

Polynesian Rugby Players' Perceptions and Experiences of Professional Rugby

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INTRODUCTION

Personal contextualisation

To initiate this analysis, I have included some personal contextualisation as a culturally appropriate way of introducing the present research and myself to the reader. Essentially, I believe it is important that the reader is cognisant of some of my story to better understand the motivation I had for initiating this research, as opposed to a traditional de-personalised approach. Here, it is important to acknowledge that throughout the research process I have been able to draw on my knowledge and background in a reflexive manner and, consequently, it is a strength of the present research that I am not anonymous or impartial.

Mālō e lelei, my name is Matani (Marty) Schaaf and this is part of my story. My interest in Pacific players' participation motivation in professional rugby stems from concern for Pacific players and Pacific Peoples in general, and from my personal passion for rugby. I had hoped the pinnacle of my life would be playing for the All Blacks. Whether you are Tongan, Sāmoan, Māori or Palagi¹, making the All Blacks is what every New Zealand rugby player dreams about. For a number of reasons this did not eventuate, however. Yet, my love for rugby will never pass, and I hope that one day one of my sons will fulfil his dream of becoming an All Black, if indeed that remains his dream. For now I have to be content with participating in rugby as a spectator, critic and conscience for Pacific People.

At 15 years-of-age, my parents sent me from Tonga to New Zealand for better educational opportunities. I ended up attending a school where sport, especially rugby, was highly valued. I began to excel at rugby and played in representative teams. Later, I had many overseas contracts offered to me and, consequently, the opportunity to pursue a career in professional rugby overseas, but after much turmoil weighing up the pros and cons, I decided not to take up these offers; the one thing that was of most importance to me at that time, and still is, was my family and their support. I could not fathom the idea of living thousands of miles away from my family. My need for my family outweighed

¹ *palagi* /*papalagi* is a white person or foreigner of usually European or American ethnicity

the benefits of a better lifestyle, financial security, travel and future career opportunities.

I have also supported a relative in negotiating two professional rugby contracts with two separate rugby Unions. The first was overwhelmingly horrific for my relative. And I pondered how much more difficult and alienating the experience may have been without my support. There was a complete lack of respect and disregard for Pacific perspectives and protocols. The Union representative kept talking to my relative and ignoring me. However, my relative who is younger than myself kept deferring to me for answers. He was treated like an idiot because he looked to my opinion in culturally appropriate deference and, thus, he did not voice an opinion. This negotiation process woke me to the reality of how our Pacific People can be treated with ill respect, and how powerless they are in this process. I see what happened as especially pertinent now that so many Pacific Peoples are entering into professional rugby. Another issue that concerned me was the lack of financial management advice provided for my relative. I believe that, although these professional players are idolised by the New Zealand public, many of them are very young and inexperienced with money management and so, broadly, there was a lack of concern shown by this Union towards the holistic welfare of the young players they were in control of.

In direct contrast to this negotiation process was the second contract negotiation I was involved with for my relative. What stood out and impressed me was the inclusion of family support and the acknowledgement of a Pacific perspective and culture. The philosophy of this rugby Union was that their contract and scholarship system was one of a 'hand up, not a hand out'. Their concern was holistic in that the entire wellbeing of the individual was important. The holistic philosophy shown was crucial in attaining my relative and his family's agreement to sign with this Union. From the above personal contextualisation, I derived the present research aims.

Research aims

The primary purpose of the present research was to investigate the participation motivation of elite Pacific rugby players. Since the introduction of professionalism into rugby in 1995, increasingly Pacific Island players have viewed rugby as a site where they can achieve success and monetary reward

within a mainstream New Zealand context. Indeed, Pacific Island players now dominate Auckland (and to a lesser extent Wellington) rugby, especially, and are more and more gaining All Black honours, to such an extent that for the All Black ‘number one’ 15 who play the South Africans in the World Cup quarter final this weekend, one-third (that is, five) of those players are of Pacific Island descent (excluding Māori players). This year the *Auckland Blues* franchise won the Super 12 and for two years running the Auckland NPC side has won the national championship. Moreover, the *New Zealand Warriors*, who play in the Australian National Rugby League competition, is dominated by Pacific Island players. In all, this means that three of New Zealand’s currently most successful and popular sports-franchises, are heavily manned by Pacific Island players. This phenomena has, in a recent *Television 3* documentary, come to be known as the ‘browning of New Zealand rugby.’

The present research, thus, stemmed from one main purpose; essentially, to find out why Pacific Island players were playing rugby or, in more scientific parlance, what was/is the participation motivation of elite Pacific Island rugby players. While there is considerable research in sport psychology on motivation, and some on motivation of elite athletes, there appears to be no research on participation motivation of elite Pacific sports people. Sport participation research has been dominated by western theories and models and have predominantly focused on North American athletes. There is no research that has incorporated a theory or model that encompasses those values that are significant to Pacific Peoples. The lack of research in this area suggests that there is little scientific knowledge, at least, about this phenomena, and that research is needed to identify what specific cultural factors exist that motivate so many Pacific Islanders to play sport. The research is, therefore, based on the assumption that different cultures have variant versions of success and failure, different values, motivations, histories, and attitudes, as opposed to a mono-cultural outlook and, thus, these factors are important to investigate in separation from other cultures.

This research is important, therefore, because understanding the culture of Pacific sports people is just one of the new challenges facing coaches, sport managers, sport administrators sport psychologists, physical educators, team and personal trainers, and others who work in the sport industry, in a rapidly

changing face of New Zealand sport. Indeed, because of the high-level of Pacific Island involvement in sport it is important for all sports groups in New Zealand to understand how to deal with Pacific Island players in terms of what motivates them to achieve or succeed. What is also of importance is the historical and sociological implications of the so called 'browning of New Zealand rugby' and so this will be a secondary issue raised within this analysis.

Dissertation summary

Consequently, in Chapter 1 the present research initially examines western research on sport participation motivation, finding that while there are useful distinctions such as internal and external motivation, the research is largely mono-cultural in that it fails to acknowledge the role ethnicity and culture plays in determining participation motivation. The second section of Chapter 1, thus, looks at those factors such as family, religion and education, which are central to Pacific Island culture. Chapter 2 provides an historical and sociological contextualisation of Pacific Island sport participation in New Zealand, and briefly examines stereotypes that surround Pacific athletes in relation to similar prejudice shown towards African American athletes in the United States. In Chapter 3, I describe the method employed within this research, that is, semi-structured interviews and narrative. In this analysis I outline the Pacific Island research ethics inherent to the research process. Chapter 4 provides the results of the present research. Here I briefly tell the stories provided by the three participants involved in this study. Because all the participants focused on similar themes, I am able to provide a thematic analysis of each participant under six subject-headings; personal contextualisation; family; education; religion; perceptions of professional rugby; and participation motivation. In the Discussion Chapter (Chapter 5), I conclude this Dissertation by discussing the relevance of the results to the aims of the research, pinpointing family, religion and education as the three most significant cultural factors that affect Pacific Island sport participation motivation. I also provide suggestions to coaches and significant others in the New Zealand sport industry based on these three cultural factors.

CHAPTER ONE

Literature Review

The following review of literature is divided into three sections. The first section re-examines research in different theories of motivation, particularly those relevant to sport. Section two reviews the area of motivation and elite sport with a specific consideration of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. The third section focuses on the area of motivation from a Pacific perspective, in particular a Sāmoan perspective.

Sport Motivation

While professionals and lay people are fascinated with motivation, it is largely poorly understood and misused in sport. Many coaches, for instance, assume that motivation and arousal are synonymous (for example, ‘pep talks’ prior to games are assumed to motivate rugby players), and that motivation is an innate entity, that is, it is assumed some people are born with motivation and some are not.²

Conversely, Glyn Roberts defines motivation as those: “Personality factors, social variables, and/or cognitions that come into play when a person undertakes a task which he or she is evaluated, enters into competition with others or attempts to attain some standard of excellence.”³ Roberts goes on to provide examples of the language used to describe achievement and motivational behaviour in sport, for instance, ‘try harder’ and ‘concentrate’.⁴ LeUnes and Nation define motivation as composite of those psychological and social factors, which impel a person to act and, subsequently, affect their levels of effort and persistence.⁵

Participation motivation

Participation motivation, generally, refers to the reasons why an individual becomes involved in sport, why they continue to participate, and why individuals drop-out of sport. It is important to understand why individuals and, in this context, Pacific people are motivated to participate in sport so that coaches, physical educators, trainers and administrators can structure the

² Roberts cited in Singer, Murphy & Tennant, 1993: 405

³ Roberts 1992:5 cited in LeUnes, & Nation 2002: 114

⁴ Roberts 1992:5 cited in LeUnes, & Nation 2002: 114

environment to enhance or maintain player motivation, maximise participation and effort, and avoid drop out.

Much of the research into participation motivation has examined youth and recreational adult populations.⁶ Few studies have looked at participation motivation for elite athletes,⁷ yet, it is important to understand why elite athletes participate. This is especially so for minorities such as Pacific Islanders because their participation expectations may vary significantly to the mainstream group, and if their participation motivations are not recognised, then these players may perform poorly or even drop-out. It has been identified that individuals participate in sport and exercise for various reasons, these broad reasons can be classified more generally as either intrinsic or extrinsic motivation.⁸

Intrinsic motivation

Intrinsic motivation has been defined as a desire to engage in an activity for no apparent external rewards, but rather for the fulfilment the activity itself provides.⁹ In competitive sport situations intrinsic motivation is a product of competency, self-determination and feelings of self-worth, and affects a person's levels of effort and persistence. High levels of intrinsic motivation generally lead to increased enthusiasm to practice and improved performance, team cohesion and overall mental well-being, with a lower frequency of injury and burnout.¹⁰

The Self-Determination Theory proposes that intrinsic motivation is maximised when an individual feels competent and in control of their participation in a self-determined manner.¹¹ The theory also asserts that extrinsic rewards can influence an individual's intrinsic/extrinsic motivation via two main processes, which are dependent upon the individual's perception of the reward. That is, rewards can either be perceived as controlling or informational. If an individual perceives a reward to be controlling their

⁵ LeUnes & Nation 2002: 114.

⁶ For example, Gill, Gross & Huddleston, 1983; Gould & Horn, 1984; Gould, Feltz, & Weiss, 1985; Gould, Feltz, & Weiss, 1985; Longhurst & Sphink, 1987, Raugh & Wall, 1987; Gill, Williams, Gould & Petichkoff, 1988; Dowd, Beaudion, & Martin, 1996

⁷ Hardy, Jones & Gould, 1996

⁸ Vallerland & Loiser, 1999

⁹ Deci, 1971; Deci & Ryan, 1985

¹⁰ Ryan cited in Halliwell, Newell & Roberts (eds) 1980:19-26

behaviour, the process will produce a decrease in intrinsic motivation and an increase in extrinsic motivation. A reward can also cause an increase or decrease in intrinsic motivation depending on the type of information conveyed.¹² For example, if the reward conveys positive information to the individual about their abilities, perceptions of competence will increase along with their intrinsic motivation. Some players may perceive monetary reward as positive information that they are successfully performing, if they view it as reward for dedication to training. However, information can also decrease intrinsic motivation if it is perceived as overly controlling. For example, if a player views monetary reward as the most significant reason they participate, then they will feel controlled extrinsically, and their inherent enjoyment for the game may decrease. Similarly, negative external feedback from trainers, coaches or significant others can also decrease a player's intrinsic motivation. Thus, the perception of the informational or controlling aspects of an extrinsic reward is dependent upon the way in which the reward is interpreted. The basic predications of Self-Determination Theory have received considerable empirical support in general psychology¹³ and sport psychology literature.¹⁴

Intrinsic motivations can be classified into more specific motives: *Intrinsic Motivation to know* occurs when people engage in new behaviour to gain knowledge about an activity. For example, often children perform activities for the satisfaction and pleasure they experience in exploring, learning or trying to understand something; *Intrinsic Motivation to accomplish* occurs when people engage in behaviour for the pleasure received through mastery of an activity. For example, a rock-climber may demonstrate mastery through successfully scaling a wall; *Intrinsic Motivation to experience stimulation* occurs when people engage in behaviour to gain positive sensations from the activity. For example, some rugby players engage in their sport for the exhilaration that contact sports can provide.¹⁵

¹¹ Deci & Ryan, 1985

¹² Deci & Ryan, 1985

¹³ Deci & Ryan, 1985

¹⁴ Vallerland & Loiser, 1999

¹⁵ Vallerland & Reid, 1990; Pelletier et al, 1995

Extrinsic motivation

Extrinsic motivation occurs when individuals take part in sport in order to receive tangible benefits such as material rewards (for example, money, medals, trophies), to achieve social status (prestige, praise), to avoid punishment,¹⁶ and/or to bolster one's self-worth. Hardy et al (1996) assert that although players are both extrinsically and intrinsically motivated to participate in sport, it would be unlikely that elite athletes would be able to maintain high levels of motivation if they did not have high levels of intrinsic motivation, due to the many external setbacks they face, such as injury.

In the new age of professional rugby, elite players receive significant financial rewards, sponsorship benefits (for example, cars), and social recognition. However, it is the way players perceive these extrinsic rewards, which shapes their motivation. As mentioned in the Self-Determination Theory, if players perceive that they are no longer in control of their participation in a self-determined manner, this can lead to an increase in extrinsic motivation and a decrease in intrinsic motivation. Moreover, external rewards can be perceived adversely, for instance, when feedback motivation is provided in a negative manner (for example, using fitness test results as selection criteria) they can also potentially decrease a player's intrinsic motivation. Some players may even become amotivated and/or disillusioned.

Amotivation

Amotivated individuals do not perceive contingencies between their actions and the outcomes of their actions.¹⁷ That is, when players are amotivated they can no longer identify the reasons for their continued participation; a condition that will often lead to a player experiencing burnout¹⁸. Maximising a player's intrinsic motivation will decrease the likelihood of amotivation occurring.

Self-motivation

A focus on self-motivation is required to avoid the possibility of becoming 'amotivated'. Self-motivation has been described as the tendency to train independent of situational reinforcement, and is considered to be a form of

¹⁶ Vallerand & Loiser, 1999; LeUnes & Nation, 2002

¹⁷ Pelletier, et al, 1995: 38

¹⁸ Pelletier et al, 1995:38-9

intrinsic motivation, where an individual will engage in an activity regardless of extrinsic reinforcement.

Knapp et al. (1984) used the Dishman self-report questionnaire (SRQ) to measure self-motivation for training amongst Olympic speed-skaters. They found that low self-motivation was related to frequent absence from training. Similarly, Palmer et al. (1999) found that self-motivation along with enjoyment and attitudes towards training were strongly linked to adherence to fitness training for elite netball players. However, self-motivation is a very broad category to identify athletes under. More specific, discrete criteria are needed to define what influences an individual's participation motivation. Goal orientations describe how individuals define their success.

Achievement Goal Theory

Achievement goal theory is a social cognitive approach to the study of motivational and behavioural patterns. It suggests that the primary focus for individuals in an achievement setting (for example, sport) is the demonstration of competence. Goal orientations refer to comparisons that performers make in order to formulate their perceptions of competence.¹⁹ If an individual demonstrates competence they perceive themselves as being successful, whereas an individual who displays incompetence will have feelings of failure.

Achievement goal theory contends that individuals seek to demonstrate competence via either task or ego orientations.²⁰ A task orientation assumes that an individual compares their performance with personal standards of success, or self-referenced comparisons (for example, when competence is based on improving personal performance levels). Conversely an ego goal orientation is other-referenced, in that competence occurs when individuals assess their ability or competence through comparison with others.

Correlation studies have suggested that performers who are high in task orientation are more likely to exert greater effort in order to achieve high levels of performance²¹ than are performers who are low in task orientation. It has been reasoned that people with ego orientations have greater potential to feel controlled by external reward and, thus, are less likely to have high intrinsic

¹⁹ Hardy et al, 1996

²⁰ Nicholls 1984, Nicholls 1989

²¹ Duda, Smart & Tapp, 1989; cited in Hardy et al, 1996

motivation.²² In professional sport, ego orientation is more prevalent because of the extrinsic rewards involved. However, research into this area has revealed that elite athletes are relatively high in task orientation and moderate to high in ego orientation; probably indicating that those players who attain elite status are more focused on completing the task than the external reward provided.²³ This may suggest that external rewards in elite sport are less able to decrease the intrinsic motivation of players, than in other sport levels.

Elite Sport Motivation and Pacific Sports people

Elite performers are athletes who are eligible for competition at the national, international or Olympic level, or who are professional sports people. This interpretation includes athletes who may not actually compete at this level, but who are described as eligible for such competitions. This definition excludes alternative competitions for older or disabled groups and “non-competitive” athletic endeavours (for example, rock climbing and alpine climbing).²⁴ However, I acknowledge that this definition is contentious.

While there is considerable research in sport psychology on motivation, the research on elite sports performance and participation motivation appears to be minimal, while the integration of Indigenous concepts into the literature is non-existent. In the motivation and sport literature there seems to be a complete disregard of the concept that different cultures have different motives for participating in sport.

The concentration on North American sports people in the literature suggests a wide dearth of what is known about participation motivation in other cultures. The literature appears to homogenize all cultures in this regard, and typifies the monocultural approach to research common to ‘traditional’ science. Yet, information on the participation motivations of people from minority cultures could prove highly valuable to coaches. An example of a person who seems to acknowledge the importance of cultural difference amongst players is Daniel Anderson with Auckland based National Rugby League (NRL) team the *New Zealand Warriors*. The team’s success has been reported in various media to be due to, in part, Anderson’s recognition of the predominantly Pacific Island

²² Ryan, 1982

²³ Hardy et al., 1996; Wilson & Hodge, 2000

²⁴ Auweele, De Cuyper, Van Mele & Rzewnicki cited in Singer., Murphy & Tennant, 1993:257

culture within the team. Differences in coaching style, with regard to motivating people from different cultures, can be seen in the following quote by Dale Aitken, the highly successful rugby coach of Ponsonby, a club predominantly made-up of Pacific Island players:

Generally the approach to coaching a white player and a brown player is different - especially when it comes to motivating them... With the Samoans[sic] especially, mana in front of the group seems to be a little more important... Really it's just a matter of time, letting them get to know you and trust you...once you have that then you can begin to be a little direct.²⁵

Previous coaches of *the Warriors*, such as John Monie, failed dismally to motivate players because he did not attune himself with the culture of the Pacific players. When Monie publicly criticised a Sāmoan player, he did not realise that the shame was not only felt by the player, but also his family and friends.²⁶

There is no research data on the participation motivation of Pacific population's in New Zealand sport. Indeed there is a lack of data on the type of sports that Pacific people are involved in, the extent of their involvement, the reasons for their participation and their motivation. Specifically there are core values of motivation from a Pacific perspective that, alongside other minority cultures, have not yet been acknowledged in Western motivation theories.

²⁵ Atkins cited in Matheson, October 2001:22

²⁶ Matheson, October 2001:34

‘Pacific Peoples’ is the official term used by the New Zealand Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs and the State sector to describe Pacific Islanders who reside in New Zealand. The term ‘Pacific Islander’ is a blanket term used in metropolitan countries like New Zealand to identify people from a number of different Pacific Island countries (and their New Zealand-born descendants). Its use conceals the historical, political and cultural uniqueness of each Pacific Island society.²⁷ For the purpose of this research it refers to people of Pacific descent who identify with their nations of origin, for example, the Cook Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Fiji, Niue and Sāmoa, to name only the largest groups. This definition includes those who were born in the Pacific Islands as well as those born in New Zealand.²⁸

Pacific identity encompasses culture, language, church, extended family, village structure and hero worship (admiration from family, village, church group and ethnic group). While snippets of Western motivation theories may be applicable to Pacific sports people, there is no one theory that could even approach fitting a Pacific world-view. There are crucial facets of Pacific identity that must be considered when working with Pacific sports people. Identity is the perception of self, shaped by social and ideological values and practices. Pacific communities rely on family solidarity and traditional hierarchical structures. For Pacific people their culture, extended family and their faith are their backbone of support.

Given that, for the most part, this research focuses on the participation motivation of Sāmoan sportspeople, I now particularise this discussion on Pacific identity. First and foremost, there is a need to acknowledge the diversity amongst the Sāmoan people themselves. It is important, for instance, to distinguish between Sāmoans born in Sāmoa and New Zealand born Sāmoans. Being Sāmoan has different meanings for different people.

For many Sāmoans identity is based on *fa`aSāmoa*, God and *`āiga* (extended family). For many Samoans the bedrock of identity is a commitment to the *fa`aSāmoa*, which is a portrayal of a unique relationship between Sāmoans and God, that has also been described as Sāmoan customs and

²⁷ Bedford and Didham cited in Krishnan, Schoeffel & Warren (eds.) 1994:22.

²⁸ Siataga, P 1998:4

tradition. Essentially, it is the Sāmoan way of doing things.²⁹ Many Sāmoans possess a common identity through the conscious and deliberate transmission of traditional values and hierarchical aspects of their culture's social structure. The concept of social stratification or hierarchy are of great significance to Sāmoans, and encompass status, prestige, honour, and their associated behaviours – *fa'aaloalo* (respect) and *usita'i* (obedience). Social honour is based upon social distinctions (age and sex) and codified rankings, while prestige results from the evaluation of level of achievement gained through effort and merit.³⁰

Lay has described the extended family (the *'āiga* in Sāmoa) as the most powerful and resilient force in Polynesian society.³¹ For Sāmoans, members of an *'āiga* inherit an identity from birth. Learning appropriate behaviours is of primary concern to the *'āiga*, because a failure to understand these social mores implies that one does not know who one is and will, consequently, bring shame on the family.³² The *'āiga* is also the vehicle through which *fa'aSāmoa* is transmitted from one generation to another. Samoans are taught to be responsible, not solely for oneself but for other members of their family as well. For instance, for New Zealand based Sāmoans there is a dual responsibility to the family in New Zealand and Sāmoa. The learning of obedience and serving others is a reciprocal behaviour based on self-discipline and personal sacrifice, and is said to be the key way by which Sāmoan family ties, hierarchies and relationships are reinforced.³³ Strict observances of respect and unquestioned obedience are measures of one's Sāmoanness. From childhood, Sāmoans are taught to respect elders, to show humility and to give unselfishly. Thus, the collective self is premised on the principles of humility, service, respect and deference.³⁴ Sāmoan children not only belong to their parents but also to their wider kin group (village and church).³⁵ For most Sāmoans, regardless of age, as long as their parents are alive they will remain under their authority, yet there is an inherent process of reciprocity. The first half of one's life is spent being

²⁹ Siataga, P 1998:4

³⁰ Duncan, 1994: 21 cited in Tiatia, 1998

³¹ Lay, 1998:14

³² Mara, Foliaki, Coxon, 1994: 184

³³ Tiatia, 1998: 69

³⁴ Taule'ale'ausumai, 1997: 161-3

³⁵ Taule'ale'ausumai, 1997: 166

cared for, protected and provided for by their parents, but the next half is spent caring for, protecting and providing for ones parents.³⁶

Many Sāmoans expect their people to achieve, not for personal gain but in order to glorify God and for the good name of the *`āiga* and Sāmoa.³⁷ A person that works for personal gain is often described as *fia Palagi* (wanting to be European). Accumulated material wealth is used for community related obligations and commitments. This obligation or duty to the *`āiga* is referred to as *le tautua* (loyalty). Members of the *`āiga* pool resources in order to ensure the wellbeing of other members of their community who may be unemployed, low on material resources, or sick. Thus, when Sāmoans, who practice these traditions, are employed they do not work for themselves alone but for others in their *`āiga*.

One cannot drink long from the riches of one's labour without feeling the parched poverty of one's family, wherever they are! To do so is to deny one's identity and attendant rights and obligations.³⁸

In this chapter I have provided a review of the literature surrounding participation motivation and elite sport. This was essential because this dissertation examines the participation motivation of elite sports people. However, the review of literature demonstrated an over-reliance on North American data. It also demonstrated the lack of participation motivation research from the perspective of other cultures. Hence, given the focus of this research on Sāmoan peoples, I thought it imperative to review the literature that discusses Sāmoan identity and cultural concepts. This was deemed necessary because it is the hope of the present research to provide insights into what cultural factors impact on the participation motivation of Sāmoan rugby players.

³⁶ Taule'ale'ausumai, 1997: 166
³⁷ Ngan-Woo, 1985: 9
³⁸ Taule'ale'ausumai, 1997: 163

CHAPTER TWO

History and Sociology of Pacific Peoples and Sport in New Zealand

The aim of this chapter is to outline the history of Pacific Peoples' contribution to sport in New Zealand. I do this by highlighting significant historical events, prominent Pacific sports people and their contribution to sport in New Zealand and, specifically, I concentrate on the involvement of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand rugby and what their involvement has meant for the integration of Pacific peoples into New Zealand society. The period this chapter will focus on is from the 1930s to the present day. I also examine issues of race and sport with particular reference to Pacific Islanders.

Historical Context

The Polynesian people were believed to be tough and intelligent voyagers from South East Asia descended from the 'Austronesians' people.³⁹ They advanced through the Pacific to Fiji and then to Sāmoa and Tonga. Throughout the 1950's and 1960's many Pacific people left their home Islands to settle in New Zealand. From personal experience, Pacific people believed that New Zealand was the promised land, the 'land of milk and honey'. Their motivations to migrate to New Zealand included employment (especially to enable the financial support of non-migrant kin), better access to medical services and educational opportunities, and lifestyle. New Zealand was viewed as an ideal place to migrate to because, firstly, New Zealand's immigration policy presented few barriers to Pacific Peoples' migration, but more importantly New Zealand was geographically close to the Islands in case of emergency. In the 1960s and 1970s New Zealand needed cheap labour and New Zealand's liberal Pacific Island immigration policy reflected this demand. Pacific Peoples were viewed as cheap labour and, thus, part of the answer to a labour -force shortage at a time of rapid infrastructural growth (especially in Auckland and Wellington). The Pacific Island immigrants were employed in jobs that many *pālagi* New Zealanders had become over qualified to do, for example,

processing, cleaning, factory work, shift work and assembly-line production; work which involved, in many cases, long hours in unpleasant conditions.⁴⁰

Ironically, later Pacific Islanders were blamed for the downfall of the New Zealand economy due to high unemployment. The 1973 oil crisis and deepening world recession cut into New Zealand's economic growth.⁴¹ With the downturn in the economy, there was a glut of labourers and to appease the public at the time Pacific people were targeted as scapegoats.⁴² It seemed that New Zealanders were all too ready to harness the physical attributes of Pacific Peoples in the building of a modern infrastructure, but once the building was complete, they were all too ready to view the subsequent unemployment problems as a 'Pacific Island problem'. The initial mutually beneficial reciprocal relationship between Pacific Islanders and New Zealanders, rapidly changed to a relationship governed by racism and mistrust.

Beginning in the early 1970s, the New Zealand police conducted dawn-raids on Pacific Peoples who were suspected of overstaying their visas. The dawn-raids acted as a control mechanism to stem the influx of Pacific Peoples migrating to New Zealand. They also had the effect of placing a huge stigma on Pacific Peoples as illegal aliens in New Zealand society; a stigma that has survived several generations.⁴³ This was a time of disbelief and terror for many Pacific Peoples, while many families were torn apart. Pacific Peoples were only one third of the overstayers, yet they comprised over eighty six percent of the related prosecutions. Citizens from the United States and the United Kingdom on the other hand, also constituted almost a third (thirty one percent) of overstayers, yet they represented only five percent of prosecutions.⁴⁴

The emphasis placed on Pacific Island overstayers as compared to other groups, can only be viewed as institutional racism on the New Zealand governments' part. State-engineered racism occurs when racial groups experience differential access in their relations with dominant institutions of society. The racist dawn-raids, for example, while initially intended to scapegoat and to gain political advantage, also served to foster a false

³⁹ Adds, Peter cited in Derek Fox (ed.) 2000:32

⁴⁰ Lay, 1996:13.

⁴¹ Barber 1989:8 cited in Krishnan et al (eds.), 1994:8

⁴² Krishnan et al (eds.), 1994:8.

⁴³ Pearson, 1990:156.

consciousness within the dominant group regarding the value of Pacific Islanders to society.⁴⁵ Sardonicly it was Pacific Island peoples who contributed to the nation more than any other immigrant group, yet they were targeted as overstayers.

The impact of the dawn-raids and other racist policies on Pacific families were far reaching. In their 1976 election campaign the National Government portrayed Pacific Islanders in television advertisements as violent people who broke the law, as responsible for deterioration of the houses and urban areas where they lived, as overloading the health and education systems, and who took jobs away from other New Zealanders.⁴⁶ The advertisements infringed civil liberties, aroused hostility among Pacific Peoples and upset the already strained relations between the New Zealand and Pacific Island governments. The state-engineered racism also provoked large public demonstration, which in turn led to reopening of amnesties, and eventually many overstayers were allowed to stay.⁴⁷ However, by the early 1980's the prosecution of Pacific Island overstayers resumed.

Pacific Peoples and Sport

Sport is a significant part of New Zealand society.⁴⁸ It impacts on all levels of contemporary society and influences language, cultural values and beliefs, individual status, ethnic relations, business life, clothing styles and automotive design.⁴⁹ Sport has often been defined as a 'structured, rule governed, institutionalised activity requiring elements of physical prowess, as opposed to work, leisure, and games'.⁵⁰ Coakley suggests sport be defined as,

...institutional competitive activities that involve vigorous physical exertion of the use of relatively complex physical skills by individuals whose participation are motivated by a combination of personal enjoyments and external rewards.⁵¹

In New Zealand the British brought cricket, various forms of football (that is rugby union, rugby league and soccer), hockey, tennis, rowing, swimming,

⁴⁴ Pearson 1990:156; Brosnan & Wilson cited in Krishnan et al 1994:18.

⁴⁵ Pearson, 1990:21

⁴⁶ Spoonley cited in Krishnan et al (eds.) 1994:15.

⁴⁷ Trlin 1987: 216 cited in Pearson 1990:156.

⁴⁸ Te'evale, 2001:212-2127 in Machpherson, Spoonley & Anae, Melani (eds.)

⁴⁹ Te'evale, 2001: 212

⁵⁰ Te'evale, 2001: 213

⁵¹ Coakley, 1998: 19

cycling, golf, polo and horse racing and institutionalised them within society. Rugby union, for instance, which originated at rugby School in England, became popular in New Zealand from the 1860s.

Although Pacific people form approximately six percent of the New Zealand population, they contribute significantly more than that to New Zealand national sports' teams (see Appendix B for a comprehensive listing of Pacific Peoples' New Zealand sporting feats). Sport is a pervasive cultural practice in Pacific communities. Pacific Peoples actively participate in New Zealand sports, especially within those sports introduced previously to their homelands: "For most Pacific Island people sport is not just a recreational activity, it is a passion. Commitment to team sports is as absolute as it is to Sunday worship."⁵² The migration of Pacific Peoples to New Zealand led to the establishment of Church groups that laid the foundation and impetus for Pacific based sports' groups.⁵³ The emphasis of both these groups was on cultural values, that is, group membership, relationships and identity.⁵⁴ These sports clubs and associations ran their own sports competitions and tournaments, while funding, administration, team selection and coaching personnel were all provided by members of the community.

By 1953 many Pacific sporting clubs were established including the Pacific Islands Church (PIC) Netball Club, which was formed by some of Wellington's early Pacific Island immigrants to care for the spiritual and sports needs of their community. The PIC Netball Club is one of New Zealand's most oldest and successful premier netball clubs, developing into a regular Caltex Cup holder (the national championship netball competition). It is acknowledged as one of the leading netball nurseries in New Zealand because it produces players of first class calibre, many of who have gone on to gain international honours by representing New Zealand, Sāmoa, or the Cook Islands; and in some cases both New Zealand and their native country. PIC has grown from a small church based club into a modern, business-oriented enterprise. Pacific

⁵² Lay, 1996: 99

⁵³ Macpherson in 2001: 70-74

⁵⁴ Te'evale, 2001: 219-220

women continue to control, administer, promote, coach, manage and participate as players within the club.⁵⁵

Rugby

As was the case in New Zealand, rugby was also a part of the early colonial experience in Sāmoa, Cook Islands, Tonga and Fiji – where it was first played in 1884. National Rugby Union's were established in Fiji in 1913, the Tongan Rugby Union was established in 1923 and the Western Sāmoa Rugby Union was founded in 1927. These countries now have strongly competitive national rugby teams, and the sport has a large following. New Zealand's All Black team has included Pacific players for many years. Pacific Island teams have also been highly successful in the seven-a-side version of the game, particularly Fiji.⁵⁶

As stated above, this section will focus on the period from the 1930s to the present day. I have chosen to examine this period because at this time Pacific Peoples began to excel at sports in New Zealand. In the 1930s, two Pacific sporting pioneers, the Solomon brothers Frank and Dave, both played for the All Blacks. Frank Solomon claimed two unique distinctions in New Zealand rugby. He was the first Pacific player to win an All Black jersey and he achieved the unusual distinction of playing for the New Zealand Māori team. Because of the lack of distinction between Pacific Islanders and Māori players, apparently his ethnicity was automatically assumed to be based on a Māori heritage. This seems to suggest that Pacific Islanders were at this time not recognised as an entity unto themselves, even though Frank Solomon held a high status in Sāmoan society and, when Pacific people began to migrate to New Zealand in large numbers in the 1960s and 1970s, he also was a man of some influence in this country. Specifically he was an important figure for those Pacific sportsmen who played for his rugby club - Ponsonby. As a mark of his influence and respect his All Black jersey was presented to the Western Sāmoa Rugby Union in 1986.⁵⁷

Like his brother, Dave Solomon began playing first-class rugby in the 1930s and was selected for the touring All Black team to Britain. In 1939 he changed codes to rugby league in an attempt to gain financial recompense for

⁵⁵

Saisoa`a, 2003: 235

⁵⁶

Lal & Fortune, 2000: 456

⁵⁷

New Zealand Rugby Union, 2003

his footballing skill, and later was selected for the 1939-40 Kiwi rugby league tour to Britain. Like his brother, he was, a well-known figure at Ponsonby Rugby Club over a number of years and a man held in high esteem, especially by the Pacific Island players who made Ponsonby Rugby Club their home in the 60s and 70s. As a tribute to his personal integrity he became a Sāmoan *matai* (Chief, head of the family, the Sāmoan titled leadership system) .

Prior to the 1970s there had only been a few Pacific Island All Blacks, but these players were not recognised as Pacific Islanders by selectors or the public. From the 1970s onwards, increasingly Pacific Islanders began to be selected for the All Blacks. Bryan Williams' selection into the All Blacks, for example, was probably of most note because of the immediate fame his great ability afforded, especially on the tour to South Africa in 1970. Williams was one of the New Zealanders invited to participate in the Rugby Football Union centenary matches in England in 1971 and later was named "Rugby Player of the Decade" by sporting journalists in 1980. After retiring from playing, Williams became heavily involved with coaching, first with Ponsonby Rugby Club (who he also played for), then as assistant coach of the record breaking Auckland side, and then with the Western Sāmoa team.⁵⁸

Despite all Williams' renown as a player his public persona was not that of a Pacific Islander. Indeed, few people outside the Ponsonby Rugby Club would have recognised him as a Pacific Islander. This suggests that even up until the 1980s Pacific Islanders were not recognised as having separate cultural identities from their Kiwi counterparts, especially those Pacific players that played for the revered All Blacks. That is, while Pacific Islanders were readily recognised as a means of providing a cheap labour-force, they did not fit into the image of how New Zealanders liked to view themselves through their most patriotic endeavour – the All Blacks.

At the end of the 1980s and through the 1990s New Zealand Sāmoan Michael Jones was considered an immediate starter for the All Blacks unless he was injured, or unavailable because of religious constraints. After playing one test for Western Sāmoa in 1986, he made his All Black debut in the 1987 World Cup. His style of play helped redefine the open-side flanker position and he has

⁵⁸

New Zealand Rugby Union, 2003

won acclaim as one of the most gifted rugby players world-wide of all time. He is a splendid role model on and off the field for Sāmoan's and other Pacific Islanders. He gained two university degrees and won respect for the dignified manner with which he stuck to his principles.⁵⁹

Significantly, Jones was the first recognisable Pacific Islander to play for the All Blacks. Unlike Brian Williams, who has many Western facial characteristics, Jones looked like a Pacific Islander. Moreover, his self-imposed withdrawal from any team, including the All Blacks, who played on Sundays because of religious beliefs, culturally marked him as a Pacific Islander. This, perhaps, indicates the changing acceptance of New Zealanders to the notion of Pacific Islanders as neighbours. Jones' incredible success and skill, and his humble nature and articulate ways made him a salient role model for Pacific Island youth and, thus, Jones also signified the beginning of the mass influx of Pacific Islanders into all levels of rugby, club, provincial and national. Finally, Pacific Islanders had found a site where they could gain what they had not been afforded a great deal of from New Zealanders - respect!

Although Tongans have played rugby in New Zealand for a number of decades, Jonah Lomu was the first full Tongan to be selected as an All Black in 1994. Lomu became the biggest superstar worldwide that rugby had and has ever seen. He was born in New Zealand and attended Wesley College in Auckland. Lomu was the biggest winger to ever play for the All Blacks, and his size, strength, speed and skill made him the most devastating and highly marketable player throughout the history of rugby. In 1995 he was selected for the All Blacks to play at the World Cup, where he was voted Player of the tournament, marking the beginnings of his fame.

Whether playing or not Lomu became the highest paid rugby player of all time. Many have suggested that Lomu became bigger than rugby. Revered rugby commentator, Keith Quinn, states that, "the star player of any team playing this century, for me, would quite clearly be the mighty Jonah Lomu of New Zealand".⁶⁰ Even through a debilitating rare kidney disorder prevented him playing many seasons, he was an ambassador for Tongans, the All Blacks and

⁵⁹ New Zealand Rugby Union, 2003

⁶⁰ Quinn cited in New Zealand Rugby Union 2003

rugby. As a role-model, Jonah's success both on and off the rugby field has reached the hearts of so many of today's Pacific youth.

Like Jones, Lomu was overtly a Pacific Islander. It is perceived that his mass stardom and success, coupled with his 'funky' hairstyles, 'boom-box' cars and youthful expressiveness gave him an iconic status amongst young Pacific Islanders, who undoubtedly aspired to be like him. The rapid increase in Pacific Islanders who have made the All Blacks from 1987 to today is probably a direct result of players like Jones and Lomu. In 1987 Jones was the only overtly Pacific Islander in the All Black World Cup Squad; in 2003 approximately half the All Black World Cup Squad were of Pacific Island descent. Jones and Lomu, thus, paved the way for Pacific Islanders to follow in their footsteps, that is, the brilliance of these players even though they were openly Pacific Islanders, may have meant that any racism that had previously prevented Pacific Islanders from being selected into higher level rugby teams, may have been diluted. Also, because these two players in particular provided the too few scraps of positive images of Pacific Islanders in the mainstream media, naturally Pacific Island youth were to increasingly become attracted to playing rugby in a search for the same respect afforded to these players. The question still remains, however, what does the increasingly skewed success of Pacific sport-stars actually mean for the everyday Pacific person. To end this chapter I would like to provide some insight into this question.

Sociological Analysis

As indicated above sport has provided a means of achieving success, acceptance, and status. Yet, until recently, at least, even the competence of Pacific peoples on New Zealand's sports' fields was used as a proxy for racism, and led to many limiting stereotypes that are still prevalent today. During the 1960s negative stereotypes about Pacific sports people from sports coaches and management formed. For example, the term 'Pacific Island flair' has been used to describe Polynesian sports people as unpredictable, innovative, physical, confrontational and unorthodox. Ex-national netball Coach, Lois Muir, stated that. "People had always looked at Polynesian players as 'one-offs'. They had flair but no stickability, so people weren't prepared to put shirts on them".⁶¹

⁶¹

Hyde, September 1993: 67

These stereotypes perpetuated the hegemonic ideology that the success of Pacific Island sportspeople were from superior physical talent rather than hard work, commitment and tactical intelligence, as were the reasons afforded to their *Palagi* counterparts.

Having said this, while *Palagi* continue to put limiting stereotypes on Pacific Peoples, Pacific Islanders themselves have not limited their successes to the sporting arena. Past successes in sport have appeared to help encourage a new generation of increasingly well-educated and successful individuals. Despite the initial over-representation of Pacific Island peoples in low-skilled employment areas, Pacific Island peoples are increasingly graduating from Universities and becoming more visible in prominent non-physical roles such as those within business, education, music and media. As a result, Pacific young peoples are becoming aware of the many avenues available to them rather than sport as their only option.

In conclusion, this chapter has outlined the history of Pacific Peoples' contribution to sport in New Zealand and, specifically to rugby, whilst providing a wider contextualisation of the general treatment of Pacific Peoples by New Zealanders. By highlighting some of the most prominent Pacific rugby players, and the discourse that surrounded those players, I have attempted to demonstrate the increasing acceptance of Pacific Islands people by New Zealanders, as worthy compatriots. Related to this is the notion that the acceptance of players such as Michael Jones, who was recognisably a Pacific Islander and overtly true to his culture, within teams such as the All Blacks, provided young Pacific Islanders with dignity as New Zealanders. It is also perceived that while stereotypes are perpetuated through sports discourses, sport has, on the whole, helped propagate Pacific Island success in other areas of New Zealand society.

CHAPTER THREE

Method

Aim of Research

The aim of the present research was, firstly, to review the personal experiences of the participants and those factors in their lives that led to them becoming professional rugby players. The second aim was to examine the influence of *fa`aSāmoa* on the participant's professional rugby career. Thirdly, this research aimed to discuss the extent that *fa`aSāmoa* played in motivating the participants to be successful in professional rugby.

It is important to state from the outset that even though I am Tongan, I have pre-dominantly been socialised in a Western society, and that the institution from where the research stems is Western. This is important to acknowledge because, although I have made every attempt to ensure the researcher has input into all facets of the research process and control, there is a danger of inappropriately interpreting behaviour and words when researching from a strictly Westernised framework. Below I discuss how I have approached decreasing the likelihood that this research would promote cultural misrepresentation as so much Western research has done with regard to Indigenous peoples.

Preface to research -Pacific Research Ethics

There were complexities involved in designing and creating an appropriate research framework for this dissertation because of the conflicts between the Western world of academia, and the world-views of the Sāmoan and Tongan people involved in this research as participants and the researcher, respectively. It is argued that the world of academia should recognise and understand the limitations and appropriateness of applying Western theories and methodologies to Indigenous cultures and frameworks.⁶² Therefore, an appropriate research framework for this dissertation is one which is culturally sensitive to *fa`aSāmoa* and *anga fakaTonga* and the cultural protocols of *āva* (respect and honour), *fa`aaloalo* and *alofa* (love, to treat with compassion)⁶³

⁶² Smith 1999:99-105.

⁶³ Ngan-Woo, F.1985: 9 & Tupuola,1993b: 182.

and *faka'apa'apa* (respect and honour)⁶⁴, *toka'i* (Tongan for reverence, to show the correct respectful Tongan behaviour), and *'ofa* (Tongan for love affection and concern) while still meeting Western educational conventions.

Fa'aSāmoa

Prior to discussing Sāmoan research ethics, it is important to understand why this research has come to focus on Sāmoan participants. The focus on Samoans originated because the three Sāmoan elite rugby players who became the participants of this study were the only players out of the original sample group of six (who were of various Pacific Island descent) that were able to participate in the study. It was fortuitous that they were all of Sāmoan descent in that this allows a focus on the Sāmoan elite sporting experience. While this limits the findings of the present research to only Sāmoan sportspeople, I believe this to be beneficial in that it would be remiss to homogenise all Pacific Island sportspeople under the general heading of 'Pacific Peoples' given the variant cultural differences of each specific Pacific Island group.

Tupuola states her dissatisfaction with how research in the past has described Sāmoan people, "When Samoans [sic] are studied, some have not had the power to choose what is said, how it is to be expressed and how their words should be written."⁶⁵ Much of the literature published about Sāmoan people derives from a Western anthropological worldview.⁶⁶ Labels have been used that carry negative judgements of Sāmoan life styles, such as "savages", "puritanical" and "sexually permissive"⁶⁷. Theories and models used within social sciences to analyse Polynesian societies have been saturated with Western languages and structures to describe Sāmoan behaviour,⁶⁸ languages, and structures, that "appeals only to a small, highly educated elite... firmly confined to the universities."⁶⁹ Sāmoan people have been seen as the subjects of research (i.e., as mere data) to advance the academic careers of white academics. Often as subjects, Sāmoans only find out the results of the research after the research has gone to press, and some type of academic qualification

⁶⁴ Schaaf, Koli. 2003, personal communication

⁶⁵ Tupuola, A.M. 1993b:183

⁶⁶ Mead, M 1943, Freeman cited in Wendt 1984.

⁶⁷ Tupuola 1993b:199.

⁶⁸ Ralston, 1988 cited in Tupuola 1993b:183.

or kudos bestowed on to the researcher.⁷⁰

Our histories have been defined by Palagi [sic] men...Recently Palagi [sic] women have added their voice to this...[they] have become major beneficiaries of resources which silence their Pacific counterparts.⁷¹

In light of the above discussion, I made a conscious decision to work within a culturally appropriate framework when conducting this research. While I am Tongan and thus a Pacific Person myself, I was determined to prioritise the cultural needs of the participants (along with my own). Therefore, *fa'aSāmoa* became the cornerstone of the research process. This indicates my desire to work within the limits set by the participants.

The cultural protocols of *fa'aaloalo* and *alofa* determined who had the power and control throughout the research process. To explain this mechanism it is important to understand that these two protocols reflect the fundamental values underpinning *fa'aSāmoa* and *anga fakaTonga*. Thus I observed the principles of *fa'aSāmoa* and *anga fakaTonga* from the first point of contact with all three participants. The participants were agreeable to participating in the present research with the proviso that the research be complied with the conditions of *fa'aSāmoa*.

In turn, within these two values are the power structure roles of *ta'okete* (elder brother) and *tehina* (younger brother). As the *ta'okete* I was aware of the cultural protocol and associated obligations this position held and how it may impact on the relationship with the participants. According to the *anga fakaTonga*, the *ta'okete* has elevated status and is accorded the respect of *talanoa* or *lea* (speech making or oratory on behalf of the *kāinga*) and giving out orders for the *kāinga* (Tongan equivalent of extended family). Within this context the *tehina* will listen, defer all decision-making and follow orders from the *ta'okete*.⁷² It is important to note that while the *ta'okete* holds the power and control there is the reciprocal duty not to abuse that power and control, but to use it to enhance the research relationships.

The ethos of *fa'aSāmoa* and *anga fakaTonga* guided the research

⁶⁹ Watts 1985:286 cited in Tupuola 1993a:35.

⁷⁰ Smith 1999:79-90.

⁷¹ Peteru, C cited in Pulotu-Enderemann & Peteru in Machpherson, Sponley & Anae, Melani (eds.) 2001:

124

⁷² Schaaf, K Personal Communication, 2003

relationship between the participants and I throughout the research process; it aided in the shaping of topics to be discussed and influenced the method of data collection. For instance, the participants banned the use of video recorders as participant confidentiality and privacy was of the utmost importance. *Fa`aSāmoa* and *anga fakaTonga* also guided the reflexivity of the present research in that the results were returned to the participants in culturally appropriate ways to be validated. The results were also disseminated in a cognisable language, as part of an ethical and respectful approach.⁷³

Alongside the above ethical approaches, I followed a number of principles premised on *fa`aSāmoa* and *anga fakaTonga*. These principles have been adapted from a *fa`aSāmoa* view of research ethics produced by Saisoa`a and are outlined below:⁷⁴

1. Participants must see merit in the project and consequently be supportive of the research
2. Consultation about the nature of the research must be provided so that the participants are fully aware of the research premises
3. The research must be mutually beneficial to both the participants and the researcher
4. The research must contain regular information about the process and reflexive consultation with participants
5. The research process has to enable the honouring and privilege of Sāmoan knowledge. The researcher needs to simply be a vehicle for the expression of this knowledge
6. The research process must inform the participants of their exit and thank them appropriately.
7. The researcher must provide copies of the finished document to the participants.

As a Tongan, I needed to be true to *anga fakaTonga* before working within a *fa`aSāmoa* context. Because I held the *ta`okete* role I was conscious of not stifling the roles of the participants as *tehina*. Every effort was made to ensure that the participants were not *fakamā* (hesitant) to respond or participate because of their lower status). It was important to allow the participants to

⁷³

Smith 1999:15.

speak freely and drive the research.

Method of Research

Logistics

The present research involved interviewing three Sāmoan men (aged between 20 - 25) who were involved in professional rugby in New Zealand. I recruited the participants through my *kainga* and friends. Due to contractual obligations the participants' real names and the Rugby Union they were contracted with were not used, thus, each participant is identified by a letter of the alphabet, for example: Participant A, Participant B and Participant C.

Before the present research commenced, the researcher sought ethical approval and it was approved.⁷⁵ This ensured the research was conducted according to University of Otago regulations. All participants were informed that they would determine the extent of their contribution. That is, they were able to withdraw or withhold information at anytime if they chose.

The method of research involved a series of tape-recorded interviews with the participants. They were one-to-one interviews. Each participant was asked a series of broad questions relating to their experiences. The questions asked varied from person to person⁷⁶ based on a semi-structured methodology. The interviews were conducted in English. The tape recordings of the individual interviews were transcribed.⁷⁷ The transcribed interviews were sent to the participants and this allowed further consultation with each participant, enabling elaboration, corrections and deletions to the final research output.

Following the completion of the research, in accordance with Pacific Island protocol, a *mea alofa* or *me'a'ofa* (*koha*) will be given to each participant, following the completion of the dissertation. The researcher will personally deliver a copy of the dissertation and a *me'a'ofa* to each participant as a culturally appropriate form of showing one's appreciation and paying respect to the Participants who have shared their time and knowledge.

⁷⁴ Saisoa`a, R.M. 1999:43-4.

⁷⁵ Appendix C Ethical Approval Form, Appendix D Participant Information Sheet & Appendix E Consent Form

⁷⁶ Appendix D Set of questions

⁷⁷ Appendix C Ethical Approval Form, Appendix D Participant Information Sheet & Appendix E Consent Form

Research design

The design of this study employed an ethnographic framework. That is, a framework where my ethnicity, culture and personal-self in conjunction with the ethnicities, cultures and personalities of the participants were factors which impacted on the collection of data. As detailed above, one of the notions that underpinned the research was the idea that there were cultural relationships between the participants and I, which impacted on the research (e.g., the need to respect both *anga fakaTonga* and *fa'aSāmoa*, and the *ta'okete/tehina* relationship). My inherent understandings of these concepts enabled me to take advantage of the closeness that these factors bring to the relationship, so that the quality of the data was enhanced.

Interview Approach

The present research undertook a narrative-enquiry approach, which can include in-depth, semi-structured or unstructured interviews, and collaborative narratives. Specifically, the present research undertook a series of semi-structured, in-depth interviews-as-conversations. Such an epistemology was chosen because they are highly compatible, but not inherently so, with alternative ways of thinking.⁷⁸ That is, the method was chosen because it was believed it would allow for a different worldview to be communicated.

In-depth interviewing also allowed me, to some degree, to devolve power to the participants. Within an Indigenous context I believe this is crucial because of the misuse of researcher power on Indigenous people prior. Thus, I felt it imperative to abandon the desire to control, as Te Hennepe (1993) outlines:

The research participants were to be heard not only as authorities on their own experiences, feelings and observations, but also as authorities on procedures involved in analytical address to their accounts and the reporting of the results.⁷⁹

Representation in text

In the written text, some researchers conveniently slot their own voices in the textual spaces in replace of those of the 'Other' culture (Tedlock, 1987). In so doing, substituting the truths of non-Western participants with 'truths'

⁷⁸ Reinharz, 1992; Bishop, 1997; Haig-Brown, 1992; Heshusius, 1994; Lather, 1991.

⁷⁹ Te Hennepe, 1993:200.

meaningful to the researcher, his or her intended audience, and theoretical framework.⁸⁰ To create a fairer representation, Te Hennepe suggests interviewees should not merely be informants – they should be able to influence the research process and the philosophical presentation of the data also. Ultimately, what is represented in text should be a collaboration between the researcher and the researchees. The challenge to the researcher should be to create a piece of writing, which conveys meaning both parties can agree upon. The researcher was conscious of not being exploitative and culturally insensitive in the written text.

Sāmoan Perspective

It is important to realise that, although Pacific cultures share commonalities, it would be hegemonic to homogenise all the participants' experiences. Thus, it was necessary to acknowledge the diversity of the Sāmoan culture and, in particular, the distinction between *Niu Sila* (New Zealand born) Sāmoans and Indigenous Sāmoans, as this specific distinction is probably crucial to understanding variations in participation motivation of different participants.

⁸⁰

Tupuola 1993b179.

When researching in an *`āiga* context, the success of the process is highly dependent upon the consultation and guidance of an elder. In this research the participants consulted their *`āiga*, who then gave them their blessings and permission to participate. Also the participants looked up to me for guidance. Of significance were the issues discussed amongst the participants and their *`āiga*.⁸¹ These included the following :

1. The researcher is accountable firstly to the *`āiga* of the participants and then the participants
2. The researcher is connected through blood to one of the participants. Although Tongan, the researcher is also a member of a Sāmoan *`āiga*
3. There are tangible and intangible benefits to the participants through the distribution of the material, such as an increased understanding in why the participants are motivated to play, and possible increased motivation to play with a subsequent performance improvement.
4. *Fa`aSāmoa* must play an important role within the research
5. The hierarchical nature of Sāmoan and Tongan society determines the power and role of both the participants and researcher. The participants are both the kin and the *tehina* to the researcher
6. The participants, with the blessings of their *`āiga*, determine the process of evaluation and access to the research findings
7. It is culturally inappropriate for the researcher to make adjustments to the participants' transcripts without the participants' consent.

⁸¹ Smith, 1999:10. The following issues are raised. "If they are 'insiders' they are frequently judged on insider criteria: their family background, status, politics, age, gender, religion, as well as on their perceived technical ability."

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

The results section to follow reviews the personal experiences of the participants and those factors in their lives that led to them becoming professional rugby players. It examines the influence of *fa`aSāmoa* on the participant's professional rugby career and also discusses why *fa`aSāmoa* is an integral part of the participants' motivation to play and be successful in professional rugby.

The participants were three males, two New Zealand-born Sāmoan and one an Indigenous Sāmoan. They were asked to relate their personal journey with relation to their rugby career. Two participants were contracted to play Super 12 and NPC while one participant is contracted at the regional development squad level.

Analysis of transcripts

The participants are the storytellers and their stories are analysed along the following themes; family; education; religion; perceptions of professional rugby; participation motivation; and stereotypes. Some of these themes were not picked-up by some of the participants, however.

Participant A

Participant contextualisation

Participant A played rugby league from 8 to 14 years of age. He switched to rugby because his interest in rugby league had waned. He gained a rugby scholarship to attend Christ College and played of their first XV for three years. During this time he was selected for the New Zealand Secondary School A team.⁸² When he left high school he played club rugby and was asked to trial for the Manu Sāmoa (Sāmoa's national rugby team). At the age of 18 he represented Manu Sāmoa during their tour of South Africa and at the Commonwealth Games in Sevens. Presently he is concentrating on playing rugby at the regional colt's level.

Family

All the participants' families played a fundamental role in all areas of their

⁸²

New Zealand Secondary School A Team is the team below the New Zealand Secondary Schools team.

lives.

Participant A was raised in an *‘āiga* context where he had access and has a real sense of pride in Sāmoan culture and language:

...being brought up around my *‘āiga* and the Sāmoan way. I am very proud of my culture. I am in cultural groups and stuff now off the rugby field. So a bit of both. I talk Sāmoan and English at home. This reminds me of who I am and where I come from. It keeps me real. (Appendix A)

Participant A's father was instrumental in his rugby career. When his father came to New Zealand to live, he started to play rugby and had positive experiences and, consequently, encouraged his son to play rugby. A cousin of Participant A was an ex-New Zealand sevens player who grew up with him and was one of the most influential people in his life. He looked up to him, admired the way he trained and played. He wanted to be just like him:

He was the biggest influence by far, just the way he trained, the way he's just a good guy all round, on and off the field. It just made me want to be like him. He's just got a real big heart, and plus he'd made the teams that I've been wanting to make, so just made me want to push myself to those levels that he's at, that he's got more experience at. (Appendix A)

Education

In Participant A's eyes he failed completely at his first High School, not through his inability, but because he did not choose to succeed. He changed schools and was affected deeply by the totally different lifestyle and outlook of his new school, and he came out with a level of academic success that he felt he would not otherwise have achieved. This gave him a better outlook on life, and a sense of relief for having avoided the problems associated with a lesser education, which may have also negatively affected his rugby. His educational success gave him a brighter future and a backup plan should his rugby career be curtailed for whatever reason. At Christ College, however, he at first felt lost because he was the only Sāmoan and most of the boys came from privileged professional backgrounds:

I went to a school where like I was the only Sāmoan there, they were all white guys and that and I was a bit scared, but I just gutted out. It was totally different from what I thought then I went in there thinking one thing but changed it all in one year. They were good guys, they've got they're academically really motivated. Obviously their parents are all doctors and lawyers or property managers. (Appendix A)

He also thought that Christ College only gave him the rugby scholarship merely so he could play rugby for them. Participant, and personally experienced being labelled as a rugby player who could not achieve in other areas of life, however, this was not the case. He managed to succeed academically also.

Perceptions of professional rugby

Participant A believed professional rugby players need to ensure a life and career after rugby and, thus, through his Union he has learnt financial management, time management, budgeting and, most importantly, how to look after his body through eating properly and quality training.

Participation motivation

Goal-setting helped Participant A plan for the future, to focus, and to deal with challenges in his rugby career. Sheer determination was an important factor in Participant A achieving his life-goals. He suggested that mental, physical and personal application was integral to facing challenges in rugby.

I think everyone's goals are to be an All Black and to play international rugby. The problem is, they don't look at the little things, you know. To get to the big stuff you have to do the little steps, take little steps at a time, and that's one thing that I thought I had to work on is my little goals, just stuff like turning up to training early, like discipline, and having the right attitude, honesty, just encouraging yourself the only person to motivate yourself is yourself, no-one is going to tell me to go out and run like six in the morning you had to get yourself out of bed. Just got to, its just about personal awareness and that you just have to really push yourself. A lot of guys just sort of think it's the little steps at a time. (Appendix A)

For Participant A, failure meant learning from ones mistakes and making sure that the mistake did not reoccur. Participant A's ultimate goal is to be selected for the All Blacks. He believes he has given himself the best possible chance of this happening by ensuring he sets challenging but realistic goals, trains hard, has discipline, the right attitude and honesty.

Everyone trains because there's no perfect player, and you've always got competition, which is not a bad thing, it makes you push yourself mentally, physically and personally to get you to know that you have worked hard for it. It's not just given to you on a plate... I had to work on is my little goals, just stuff like turning up to training early, like discipline. And having the right attitude...The hard work is what brings the outcome. The more you put in the more you get out of it. (Appendix A)

Participant A looked up to Michael Jones and Tana Umaga because they were positive role models for Sāmoans. Another rugby player he admires is Sam Tuitupou because he is small in stature but has amazing tackling skills.

Stereotypes

According to Participant A Sam Tuitupou also shatters the stereotype about Pacific players. In that he is small in stature but makes the big tackles in rugby rather than being the teams battering ram. He believes there are stereotypes about Pacific Peoples, especially in rugby. The media portrays images of the Pacific rugby player as having only natural talent and flair. However despite these limiting images, Pacific players make up about half of the All Blacks and have improved the quality of New Zealand rugby.

Participant B

Personal contextualisation

Participant B was born in Apia, Samoa in 1983. He started playing rugby when he attended Robert Louis Stevenson School in Sāmoa. In 1997 his parents sent him to Wesley College, Auckland for his education. He played for Wesley first XV for five years. He is currently contracted to an NPC Rugby Union. He is also currently studying at a tertiary institution, taking a Bachelor of Commerce degree.

Family

Participant B's father was not keen on his son pursuing a rugby career, viewing an academic career as more important; not realising until 2001, when Participant B was selected to play at the international level, how talented a rugby player his son was.

When I tell them about my rugby they are not really interested until they realised that in 2001 I made the New Zealand team and that was like a big thing making the New Zealand team. All of a sudden, he just changes his whole view about it, you know like, and then he started having these questions, all these contracts coming in, and he was involved in it, and then all of a sudden, his whole view of things started to change and start supporting me with something that I am good at. (Appendix A)

Although his family is one hundred percent behind him in terms of support and guidance, they still have high expectations of Participant B:

I just happen to be a Sāmoan and I come from a supportive and proud Sāmoan family and like I have the talent. I have got to make sure that I use that talent and I don't let them down. (Appendix A)

Participant B has a family willing to make sacrifices on his behalf; in return he must respect and be thankful for their support.

Education

Participant B's family sent him to Wesley College to get an education. In 1997, he immigrated from Sāmoa to Auckland to study. Inadvertently, Wesley College exposed him to both a great education and the game of rugby. Because Player B's parents' first priority was an education they did consider his rugby very important. While attending secondary school the greatest challenge for Participant B was juggling both his school work and rugby commitments. The most valuable things he learnt were time management, setting achievable goals (to graduate from university) and having a dream to be selected for the All Blacks.

Religion

Participant B's Christian beliefs were important to him. He attributed his success in life and rugby to God. He believed that God and his family have guided his rugby career and his life decisions:

...my background like always involving God in my life and I believe he has given me the talent to play rugby and also a way to reach other people and things like that so like in a way of doing that I keep the motivation up. (Appendix A)

Perceptions of professional rugby

Participants B noted the benefits of playing professional rugby. While individuals have the opportunity to earn a great income, there are certain obligations that come with the big money (i.e., training takes up large hours of an individual's time):

I think it was a really good opportunity right now not many players or people that can play rugby and actually getting paid for it, you know now I'm at this stage in life I am seen as a professional rugby player and having a great chance of earning money and so, If you are getting paid for what you like doing, its great in saying that and it's really professional, its more like you have to do heaps of training and that so we loose a bit of interest. (Appendix A)

He felt some negative aspects of professional rugby, were that some players were only playing for the money and that pure passion to play was dwindling. He also thought a player's private life being constantly open to the public through the media was a negative. Another pitfall of rugby that he saw was the toll and impact it had on players' bodies; the effects of injuries not apparent until years after retiring.

I think that Professional rugby has its positive and negative. I can't say it's bad because that's killing the love for the game so there's a lot of people saying that they're in for the money only and passion and pride are not there anymore. I don't agree with them because were in an era of professionalism and it takes a lot out of the players especially their body. Now they're getting money involved and I think it's a great chance to make a career out of it. Because now it's a professional game the media involves a lot more and your life is basically a lot harder to watch because everything you do will affect your reputation and your privacy disappeared. (Appendix A)

Participation motivation

For Participant B, playing professional rugby had been a childhood dream and goal. He praised and admired Michael Jones because he was such a positive role model for him, viewing him as the best open-side flanker in the world and respecting his determination not to play rugby on Sundays because of his religious beliefs.

Michael Jones because he was a Christian he played hard on the field but fair and he was never in trouble outside the field and also he had an education. He lived by his faith even though there were heaps of temptations, for him to stand up for what he believed in was so amazing. I believe his faith helped him a lot because he took rugby to different level. (Appendix A)

However, while he recognised the importance of role models, he was a firm advocate for relying on oneself to achieve goals. His philosophy was to constantly challenge himself, to get over negative experiences and failure, and to be positive when overcoming obstacles:

If you can over come those obstacles that are trying to stop you from achieving what you want to achieve then you can pretty much do anything... I think that being a PI, it doesn't matter what you do whether it was rugby, school or whatever you will always try to be the best at it because the fame that come with it is not only for yourself but it reflects on the whole family and their sacrifice and hard work to get you to be where you are, not only that it gives you and your family respect not only in the Island but in New Zealand as well. (Appendix A)

Participant C

Personal Contextualisation

Participant C was born in Auckland, but was raised by his grandmother in American Sāmoa for the first three years of his life. He then moved to Dunedin where he was educated and played all his school rugby. From 1988-96 he played grade-level rugby for the Alambra Rugby Football Club, and from 1997-99 he played for Kavanagh College First XV. During his secondary school years he played for the New Zealand Under 16 Rugby team, the New Zealand Secondary School Boys Rugby Team and the New Zealand Under 19 Rugby team that won the World Cup in 2001 and 2002; captaining the 2002 team. Participant C is currently contracted to a Super 12 and NPC rugby union.

Family

Participant C's family were an enormous influence on his life, especially his uncle, aunt and cousin. They encouraged him to be a skilled all rounder, to play hard and to study hard. They believed in his ability to be both a scholar and rugby player.

...my family had an enormous impact on my life and my rugby career. They were quite strict on me with my schooling and made sure that I got a good education and wasn't spending too much time with my rugby. They always tried to make sure that I got a good balance between the two. I was having the enjoyment of playing rugby and doing my school work. Throughout my rugby years my parents, friends and family have guided me. They have taught me that rugby is not everything, and the only thing in life and it shouldn't be my one focus. I have come to understand that importance of a good education and a good career. (Appendix A)

Education

Participant C's choice of primary school and secondary school was influenced by his Catholic faith, the school's academic merit and reputation, and the fact that all his family had attended such schools:

I think the school that I went to, they were more focused on education. I just happened to make the representative age group teams, that was it really. I didn't go to that school because of rugby. I went to that school because of my family, the people I knew that were going there, who were also my friends. (Appendix A)

However, Participant C also experienced racism and stereotyping from teachers of his school. Some teachers suggested he would end up only playing rugby and not advancing further than year 11. Throughout Participant C's life

he has dealt with stereotypes. People struggled to accept that he had both rugby skills and the intelligence to study at tertiary level. My school experiences were filled with labels and stereotypes that were used to refer to my academic ability and my playing rugby. I have learnt to have a thick skin and have managed to be successful. He proved them wrong. He gained entrance into Teachers Training College, is currently completing his second year of a Bachelor of Sports Coaching and Management, played NPC rugby in 2002, and is hoping to get a contract to play Super 12 rugby in 2004.

Religion

Participant C was raised a Catholic and is still a practicing Catholic. He holds God responsible for his life, and especially for his ability to play rugby; his success as a professional rugby player was part of God's plan for him.

For me it wasn't that I needed to be a good rugby player so I can get this and that, or these benefits, it was just like it was God's plan. He made me the person I am and the rugby player I am. It's hard for me to deny the role God plays. God is first in my life, then my family, then my being Sāmoan, then me as a rugby player and ultimately hopefully in the future an All Black. (Appendix A)

Perceptions of professional rugby

Participant C believed that professionalism led to media exploitation of rugby and its players, but he acknowledges that it has provided him with the opportunity to play with other professional players and the means to finance his academic study:

Rugby in New Zealand now it is called professional, but it is semi-professional at the moment, like we've only really where rugby is still maturing as a professional game and there's a lot of talk in the old days where, the players are there for the money, they're getting paid too much and stuff like that. The way that rugby was going and people wanting to watch and people just jumping on the bandwagon and just trying to market it and cater for everyone.

Participation motivation

Vaainga Tuigamala and Michael Jones had the most influence on Participant C. He wanted to be just like them in every way possible; from being a top-level rugby player to being a good Christian, and model Sāmoan son. He also admired Sean Fitzpatrick's leadership skills and his ability to put his team first.

If I work really hard in the next few years I could possibly be an All Black... Because of the training I have to put in the time and the physical effort, I try to conserve my energy, eat well and look after my body... This routine is hard for people to understand and accept. (Appendix A)

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

From the interviews with participants there were five themes that stood out as the most significant factors of their participation motivation, which will be the focus of the discussion to follow. These themes were participation motivation, including ‘dreaming,’ intrinsic motivation, and extrinsic motivation; and defining participation motivation from a Pacific Island perspective, including family, religion, and education. There were obviously other notions that came out in discussions with the interviewees, but most of these factors can be accommodated within the above themes. These other factors include stereotypes, role models, commitment and peer pressure. I conclude this discussion with a brief analysis of how the findings can be interpreted sociologically.

Participation motivation

Participation motivation refers to reasons why individuals are involved in sport and why they continue to participate and why individuals drop out. Much of the sport literature has focused on participation motivation in relation to intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, amotivation, self-motivation, Self-Determination Theory, and Achievement Goal Theory (refer to Chapter 1). Few studies have looked at participation motivation for elite athletes, and even fewer have looked at this question in relation to minority groups such as Pacific Islanders. Such research is crucial in the changing sports scene of New Zealand, however, because Pacific Peoples are increasingly succeeding within the higher echelons of New Zealand sport. Undoubtedly, Pacific Peoples’ participation motivations vary significantly to other groups and, thus, they need to be understood for coaches and sport administrators to modify their behaviours to optimise player performance.

It has been identified that individuals participate in sport and exercise for various reasons, these broad reasons can be classified more generally as either intrinsic or extrinsic motivation.⁸³

Dreaming

With regard to the participants of the present research, all expressed their ultimate goal or dream was to be selected for the New Zealand All Black rugby team. None of the participants had reached All Black status, but they viewed their current rugby statuses as being a step towards this dream. All participants were realistic about their abilities to become an All Black and were adamant that setting achievable goals, and absolute dedication were required if this dream were to become a reality. It is highly likely that this dream was initiated by the desire to emulate those Pacific Island players who played for the All Blacks and who (as discussed in Chapter 2) provided scraps of positive images of Pacific Peoples that young New Zealand Pacific Islanders were craving. To young Pacific people, they are “examples of success to which they can aspire.”⁸⁴ All the participants named role models who had influenced them, including ex-All Blacks Michael Jones and Inga Tuigamala (Vaainga is affectionately known worldwide as Inga). Participants B and C perceived Michael Jones as making the same commitment to sport as they did to, church and education. This finding suggests that coaches could use footage of ex-Pacific Island players or Pacific Island players themselves to motivate their players.

Another significant part of ‘dreaming’ and ultimately participation motivation for Participants was their desire to rise above the lower-class labouring stereotypes that had limited their forefathers. Many of the participants’ elders had been employed in low-paying factory jobs, and few people of their cultural background had been in high-paying professions, apart from athletes. Being a professional rugby player was one means of providing a dream out of their economic predicaments: “Being paid to play [rugby] offers one of the few avenues of escape from the economic rigours of working class life.”⁸⁵

Intrinsic motivation has been defined as a desire to engage in an activity for no apparent external rewards. In competitive sport situations intrinsic motivation is a product of competency, self-determination and feelings of self-worth. I believe the ‘dreaming’ motivations described above largely fall under

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Lay,1996:103

internal motivation because the players are searching for the capability to be self-determining. That is, in a society which still holds racist notions regarding its Pacific Island neighbours, these players wished to emulate the respect and self-determining nature of players such as Michael Jones, and also wanted to discard the 'lower-class labourer' tag so often ignorantly bestowed upon Pacific Peoples.

Intrinsic motivation

Chapter 1 found that in competitive sport situations intrinsic motivation is a product of competency, self-determination and feelings of self-worth. In the present research I found that the Participants' intrinsic motivation was influenced by their extrinsic motivation, for example, if the reward conveyed positive information to the individual about their abilities, perceptions of competence increased. All of the Participants enjoyed their rugby and were clearly intrinsically motivated through the inherent enjoyment the game itself provided them. A conscious concern of Participant B was that there were an ever-decreasing number of players motivated by the love of the game and more that were simply motivated by monetary reward. Participant A also noted that the large amounts of money in professional rugby impacted on players' internal motivation suggesting it had the potential to decrease the inherent passion for rugby.

Extrinsic Motivation

Extrinsic motivation occurs in sport when individuals take part in order to receive tangible benefits such as material rewards, to achieve social status, to avoid punishment, and/or to bolster one's self-worth. The results demonstrated varying extrinsic motivations. The participants involvement in professional rugby afforded them the ability to network with many contacts who provided them with many opportunities that would have not otherwise been available. Professional rugby also gave the participants opportunities to travel. For instance, Participant A has travelled to South Africa and England, Participants B and C to Chile, Italy, Argentina and Australia. Money was a motivating factor for all participants, for different reasons. Participant A focused on the auxiliary skills he had learnt through rugby, such as financial management and

budgeting. Participant B noted that a significant benefit of playing professional rugby was the greater financial earning potential. Participant C saw the monetary benefits as a means to continuing his education as if financed and allowed him to spend more time studying. His aim was to use his money to prepare for a life after rugby and retirement.⁸⁶ All participants reflected on the changes that professional rugby had had on their lifestyle. Like the other Participants, Participant C's lifestyle had changed to accommodate the demands of professional rugby. In order to keep his body in good condition he adhered to a strict routine including proper diet, training, no alcohol or substance abuse, and a curfew to ensure maximum sleep and rest. For a young person of his age this is not a normal practice. Participant B felt the biggest change was the lack of privacy as his life was open to public speculation. Other peripheral skills that the Participants acquired through professional rugby were healthy living, understanding their bodies, sticking to regular regimes, public speaking, financial management, and dealing with fame.

Defining participation motivation from a Pacific Island perspective

As described in Chapter 1, the western research on participation has limited applicability to Pacific Island elite sports people. In general the present research found that the participants' participation motivation was influenced by a number of factors that were broadly classified into five dimensions described above.

Family

Pacific Identity differs from identity in Western societies. When Sāmoans first meet each other, they try to determine whether they are connected through blood or village. Direct reference is made to one's parents, grandparents or great-grandparents and relations are – their '*āiga*'. The individual is no longer just an individual, he or she is a member of an '*āiga*', a church and a nation. From a Pacific perspective self worth and status could not be evaluated individually. The Participants measured their success, self-worth and participation motivation in terms of the '*āiga*' collective self.

All the participants viewed their achievements and failures as family property, for the individual's success is a direct reflection of the support

received from that individual's *'āiga*. As Participant A suggested, "I try very hard not to disappoint them because it might bring shame not only to me but my whole family."⁸⁷ Participants believed they achieved larger goals by setting and achieving smaller goals. To achieve these smaller goals they needed their families. One's successes and failures are the family's successes and failures; a powerful incentive to succeed, while an overwhelming responsibility to shoulder. Thus, coaches and sport administrators should take note of ex-*Warrior* coach John Monie's, failure to motivate players in conjunction with the public criticism he afforded a Samoan player, and the shame not only felt by the player, but also his family and friends. From these findings, coaches and sport administrators should also involve the players families within the sporting context as much as possible, and make room for players who live away from home (for example, if under a Super 12 contract away from their home province) to regularly visit their families.

For players to receive support from their families it is important they give something back. It is common for all of the money from a person's first wage-packet to be given to the parents and for regular contributions to maintenance to be made thenceforth, even to the extent of paying the mortgage: "The first thing most Polynesian sports stars do is usually pay their parents' mortgage and help put their families and relatives through school."⁸⁸ The desire to give something back to their parents stems from reciprocity between the generations. The parents incurred significant costs in immigrating, enduring many sacrifices and lots of racism (refer to Chapter 2). With this in mind the individual feels obliged to pay some amount of the debt back. Part of this desire to payback increased the players committed work-ethic, which was evident in all of the participants.

The player's individual success is another way of rewarding their families for their support (e.g., David Tua's family and church watch his bouts and revel in his success).⁸⁹ Participant stated

I think that being a PI, it doesn't matter what you do whether it was rugby, school or whatever you will always try to be the best at it because the fame that come with it is not only for yourself but it reflects on the whole family and their sacrifice and hard work to get

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Appendix A

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Afeaki, cited in Revington 2002: 22.

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60 Minutes, Television 3, November 2001

you to be where you are, not only that it gives you and your family respect not only in the Island but in New Zealand as well. (Appendix A)

Sport administrators, especially, should develop methods of involving the players' families within their franchise by having, for instance, family days that to some extent re-pay the families for their support.

Religion

Since Michael Jones' refusal to play for the All Blacks on Sundays, it has become public knowledge that religion plays a significant part in the structure and determination of Pacific Island culture. The importance of religion to many Pacific Peoples points to the lack of external motivations to play rugby and the high degree of internal motivation. Participant C, for example, asserts that, "For me it wasn't that I needed to be a good rugby player so I can get this and that, or these benefits, it was just like it was God's plan," while Participant B says, "[God] has given me the talent to play rugby and also a way to reach other people... [this] keep[s] the motivation up. Again, coaches and administrators should take heed of the importance of religion in defining the intrinsic motivation of many Pacific Island players, accommodate these needs and provide room for, say, church and community groups to be involved within the sporting context. This may involve, for instance, the provision of reduced or even free tickets for church and community groups directly related to individual players.

Education

The needs and aspirations of Pacific peoples has not changed since the 1950s when large groups of Pacific migrants started coming to New Zealand. That is, they wanted their children to succeed in society. While the participants have 'succeeded' a rugby career is a high-risk vocation. Many elite athletes train excessively and play through injuries regardless of whether the training and playing leaves long lasting, degenerative physical and psychological effects after the sport career is over. The sports in which Pacific peoples tend to excel are quite demanding on the players' bodies and are associated with high levels of injury, for example, Participant C did not to play super 12 this year due to injury. The participation of Pacific athletes' in demanding and damaging sports such as rugby is a concern.

The ‘shelf-life’ of a professional rugby player is extremely limited; eventually due to age, injuries or both, all players must retire. From this point of view, concurrent education should be essential: “For [Sāmoan] children, educational success is a significant priority in their lives despite racial, gender and class barriers.”⁹⁰ A Pacific Island viewpoint, therefore, is that education is the most significant site where one can better oneself. This becomes a strictly enforced goal, often with physical repercussions for failure:

They were quite strict on me with my schooling and made sure that I got a good education and wasn’t spending too much time with my rugby... They have taught me that rugby is not everything, and the only thing in life and it shouldn’t be my one focus. I have come to understand that importance of a good education and a good career.
(Participant C)

Education impacts on the participation motivation of sportspeople. Early on, much participation motivation comes from the prestige or honour of playing for certain school’s teams, such as the first-fifteen of one of the best rugby schools in the country: “Wesley College was a big rugby school, so motivation comes from like when you have that reputation of being in the first fifteen and playing in one of the best team in New Zealand...”(Participant B). A schools reputation can create an enormous standard to live up to, especially when a school has previous success stories such as Jonah Lomu.

Yet such a participation motivation may conflict with the families hopes. In some instances, the pursuit of a sporting career is perceived as conflicting with the pursuit of educational excellence. The family of Participant B, for example, initially attempted to dissuade his sport involvement in the hope of encouraging him academically. For all of the Participants and their families it was highly desirable for them to achieve a balance between academic and sporting goals, especially because sport is a high-risk career (that is, because of injury and missing team-selection). For the participants, professional rugby provided them with some opportunities to enhance their lives outside of rugby. Many Unions do encourage players to pursue an education, sometimes helping the individual to join a tertiary course, paying their fees, monitoring their progress, and teaching them coping strategies for juggling the competing demands of rugby and education.

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Anae cited in Machpherson, Sponley & Anae, Melani (eds.) 2001: 107

Without reserve, sporting franchises should provide encouragement into academic pursuits, which parallels their sporting goals. The New Zealand Rugby Union, for instance, should emplace educational stipulations on players entering into their academy system. Such a model is highly successful in the United States, where College athletes have to maintain a degree of proficiency in their academic learning to maintain their College scholarship.

Sociological analysis - physical stereotypes

“[Polynesian rugby players are] naturally superior to us in talent, but...didn’t have the discipline for physical conditioning.”⁹¹

“...when it came down to tactical thinking [Polynesian rugby players would] lose their way and get thrashed.”⁹²

While the present research is largely dedicated to providing information surrounding the participation motivation of Pacific Island players, there is some room for critical debate surrounding the benefits of Pacific Peoples over representation in the sport’s arena and, especially, in highly ‘physical’ and combative sports such as rugby. One question that might be asked in relation to the sociological discussion in Chapter 2 is, have the participants in their capacity as professional rugby players broken the cycle of ‘being a labourer’ that their migrant parents generation were trapped into through limiting racist notions? Although the participants were not labouring in menial factory jobs or shift work like their parents’, they were still paid for labouring on the rugby field; the only difference being the gulf in the amount of money on offer.

The stereotype of ‘being a labourer’ has continued into professional rugby because it is the physicality of Pacific sports people, like their manual labouring forebearers, which is central to their employment. As per the above quotes, Pacific peoples’ success in sport is assumed to be based on genetically predetermined biological or anatomical factors.⁹³ For example, when white athletes dominate a sport, cultural explanations such as ‘work ethic’ are provided, but when people of colour excel in sport all too often biological reasons are used to explain their success.⁹⁴ The problem this creates is that it cultivates the notion that outstanding *Palagi* athletes owe their achievements to

⁹¹ Fox, G cited in Hyde, 1993: 67

⁹² Lose, W cited in Hyde, 1993: 67

⁹³ Houghton, P, 1996.

hard work, commitment, and tactical intelligence, while Pacific athletes were just born with superior physical talent, and thus less capable of similar levels of hard work and commitment.

This problem cannot, however, be laid at the feet of individual players, because they live their lives according to the opportunities they create and are afforded to them. Yet, it must be commented upon that the acceptance of Pacific Island Peoples into mainstream New Zealand society has largely been through sport, which probably suggests that this is an acceptable area for Pacific Islanders to achieve because the inherent 'physicality' of sport means success within does not threaten the dominant stereotypes surrounding Pacific Peoples. The danger here is not due to Pacific Peoples being successful in sport, but rather that young Pacific People limit the opportunities to success within the 'physical' realm (that is, the factory and the sports field), and further that they 'throw all their eggs in one basket' in attempts to 'make it' as a sports-star. A dream that only very few hopefuls will ever aspire to and/or make a credible living from. Thus, it is heartening that all of the present Participants had the foresight and family support to realise the importance of education to parallel their sporting aspirations. The present research's most significant implication, then, is that elite Pacific sports people are afforded educational opportunities by the sporting franchises they play for, not only to benefit the individual players, but also so that the public attention they receive demonstrates these athletes as educated and, thus, provides role models for young Pacific Peoples to aspire educationally as well as physically.

Conclusion

The present research has focused on providing information and discussion surrounding the participation motivation of Pacific Peoples, specifically three New Zealand based elite Samoan rugby players. While useful, the Western research on participation motivation can be perceived as mono-cultural. The present research asserts that different cultures have variant versions of success and failure, different values, motivations, histories, and attitudes. The main aim of this research, therefore, was to suggest that because Pacific Island culture significantly differs to other cultures, in general, Pacific players will be

motivated to play and to perform for different reasons. Understanding the culture of Pacific sports people is just one of the new challenges facing coaches and management, and that these reasons must be accommodated by the sport franchises Pacific Peoples play for. Undoubtedly, while not wanting to homogenise, the Participants viewed family, religion and education as the most important participation factors. Probably the most significant factor that, coaches, management and administration must be cognisant of is that the participation motivation and performance levels of Pacific players largely revolve around their families and communities. If a player's family is content then this will be reflected in a greater desire to participate and improved performance. These factors must be taken into account when coaches, sport administrators and others who work in the sport industry are dealing with Pacific players. Indeed, it is important for any kind of sports union in New Zealand to understand how to deal with Pacific Island sports people in terms of what motivates them to achieve or succeed. The present research, therefore, affirms the importance of the inclusion of a Pacific perspective in the sporting arena.

While research into the area of elite sports people is scarce it is practically non-existent in elite Pacific sports people. A minor focus of the present research was to provide insights into the sociological and historical context from which Pacific peoples have developed and lived and, in particular, how this context is relevant to the 'over-success' of Pacific Peoples in sport and any limiting stereotypes that may have resulted. Another minor factor that has arisen out of the present research is that there is no one best research method when dealing with different cultures. The research endeavour has to be tailored to take account of difference in order for the results to be authentic and to produce relevant and valuable conclusions.

APPENDIX A

Participant A

DATE: 9 August 2003

Place: Christchurch

RESEARCHER: *Can you tell me about yourself and your interest in professional rugby?*

PARTICIPANT A: "I was a league player until I was 14, as I started playing at about the age of eight I switched to rugby when I was fifteen and I had to have a go because league were sort of fallen down in Christchurch, and then so I switched to rugby that's where everyone goes in Christchurch, then I was able to pick up a rugby scholarship at Christ College. Tony Laws approached me, he was from Otago and he asked me to go there to Christ College and so I stayed there till it all started. I just went up from there from rugby. I played first fifteen for three years then I made the New Zealand's A Team. When I left there I went to play for a club called Lynwood and got asked to trial for the Manu Samoa team. I was pretty much just filling in; I was only eighteen at the time. And then I managed to make the team; I had a good trial. And then I went away last June, late May-early June 2002 because I just made the Manu Samoa team tour of South Africa. Then when I got back, just back under two months, then they asked me to trial for Manu Samoa sevens team. I made the sevens team, that went away to the Commonwealth Games for two weeks, it was great experience there. Now I am just concentrating on the xxxxx Colts."

RESEARCHER: *How long have you lived in New Zealand?*

PARTICIPANT A: "I was born here, my parents are from Samoa, both of my parents, I have an older sister, she was born there in Samoa, but me and my two brothers were New Zealand born here in Christchurch."

RESEARCHER: *Did you grow up here?*

PARTICIPANT A: "Brought up here in Christchurch, yeah!"

RESEARCHER: *How long would that be here?*

PARTICIPANT A: "Pretty much between 7 to 10 years ago playing rugby."

RESEARCHER: *So what are you doing now?*

PARTICIPANT A: "I started Uni. last year, I am doing a Bachelor of Commerce in Management Majoring in Marketing. It was cut short because I went away on the Manu Samoa tour of South Africa and then with the Manu Samoa team to the Commonwealth Games. I came back near the end of, sort of the middle of semester two. Done a couple of exams, thought I'll take this year off because I have been full on school and then I should have a bit of work experience and so I'm doing a bit of part time work now. I am looking for full time work, and then I'm going back to Uni. Next year, I definitely want to get a degree."

RESEARCHER: *What cultural factors influence your perception and what motivates you to play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT A: "As a Samoan, it was just guys like Michael Jones, Tana Umaga, you know although they were All Blacks to me they represented what was great to and about Samoans when I was little, just watching those guys, eh! I look at them now, everyone loves them, just real big idols."

RESEARCHER: *Does that make you feel like that you are a New Zealander or a Samoan?*

PARTICIPANT A: “Both because I’m you know brought up around New Zealanders, and also being brought up around my ‘āiga and the Samoan way. I am very proud of my culture. I am in cultural groups and stuff now off the rugby field. So a bit of both. I talk Samoan and English at home. This reminds me of who I am and where I come from. It keeps me real.”

RESEARCHER: *How did your family influence your perception and motivation to actually play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT A: “My father was a league player, that’s why I played league but he really encouraged me to play rugby because that’s where he started. When he came here he was out in the country so he played for Glenmark, that’s Robbie Deans, he was in Robbie Deans’ team, Craig Green, all the ex All Blacks. Now he’s like the Crusader’s coach, the All Blacks coach. He played with them, so he’s really like, his experience of rugby was real great, so that’s why he wanted me, pushed me into trying to reach a level in rugby where I can reach my full potential.”

RESEARCHER: *How did your schooling and experience influence your perception of and motivation to play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT A: “At school, I went to a school where like I was the only Samoan there, they were all white guys and that and I was a bit scared, but I just gutted out. It was totally different from what I thought then I went in there thinking one thing but changed it all in one year. They were good guys, they’ve got they’re academically really motivated. Obviously their parents are all doctors and lawyers or property managers or whatever they are called, I don’t know. Yeah being around them was just the learning experience, they have a whole different lifestyle. And so I look at it like I wanted to get something, to come out of school with something so I can fall back on after rugby, so I went out and I passed my fifth, sixth and seventh form. I got all my certificates and that cause I really don’t want to be known as a rugby player only and I don’t want my life to be just based on rugby. I want to fall back on something like a degree, have a good job, like have a family and stuff like that. So school was just really a sort of my education or my backup plan and it was very important to balance the two.”

RESEARCHER: *Well is that it?*

PARTICIPANT A: “Yeah, and when I was at my previous school.”

RESEARCHER: *For you, what are the main issues which have affected your schooling, experiences regarding your perceptions of rugby and why? Any issues, while you were at school?*

PARTICIPANT A: “No not really, they have always been positive. There were times I’ve just, when I was always thinking of having my like first trial for New Zealand sixteen’s, I missed out, in New Zealand schools I missed out. But no, I just thought if I don’t make it, I don’t make it, I just move on you know. There’s nothing that can really set myself back on that so I just kept on pushing myself and just got to work harder knowing that I just have to push myself again. So I just thought there’s always something else in the future, just carry on and never give up otherwise I spend the rest of my life saying what if.”

RESEARCHER: *Was there any stereotypes or anything like that, that went on at your school?*

PARTICIPANT A: “No, no stereotypes, nothing like that. No never pressured into anything like that.”

RESEARCHER: *The next question is about role modelling. Was there a person or a group that had a big influence in your perception and motivation to play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT A: “There wasn’t really any motivation to play rugby, it was just the only option, cause League was actually dead but as time got on the person that motivated me the most was my cousin Jason Tiatia, he was a New Zealand Sevens player. He’s like the only child. So all he was doing was hanging out with my brother and me. He was the biggest influence by far, just the way he trained, the way he’s just a good guy all round, on and off the field, it just made me want to be like him. He’s just got a real big heart, and plus he’d made the teams that I’ve been wanting to make, so just made me want to push myself to those levels that he’s at, that he’s got more experience at.”

RESEARCHER: *Peer pressure. Does peer pressure influence your perception on rugby? And if so how? You know you’ve got to live up to?*

PARTICIPANT A: “No not really, my Dad was, if it was anyone it would be my Dad. When I was younger, I can remember him yelling at me from the side of the field. I dropped the ball. All Samoan dads are like that but at my age now, I think there is always pressure, you are always up against like, there’s always someone better, that’s why you train, if you’re the one on the top you will have to train hard. Everyone trains because there’s no perfect player, and you’ve always got competition, which is not a bad thing, it makes you push yourself mentally, physically and personally to get you to know that you have to work hard for it. It’s not just given to you on a plate, hand over sort of thing, got to work hard for it so there’s always pressure but not individually.”

RESEARCHER: *What image of Polynesian rugby players does the media portray in the mainstream in New Zealand? Its pretty much looking at the media and how do they perceive the Pacific Island players, how they really try and?*

PARTICIPANT A: “They think we’ve got just real good natural talent. Guys like Umaga and Lomu. Even like Fijian players, they’re all fast, they’ve got real good physical like abilities.”

RESEARCHER: *Are there any negatives?*

PARTICIPANT A: “I think so, off the rugby field like Mills Muliaina and that. There’s positives and negatives, not just the Pacific Islanders, but I think the Pacific Islanders have put the New Zealand rugby, the quality of rugby up. If you look at the All Blacks, there’s a few Pacific Islanders in there. They make up half of the team almost. They’ve just got a different style of playing the game, everyone looks at us AB’s as them as they’ve got different talents and skills not to mention the Pacific flair, which is good you know, having different kinds of talents and everyone looks up to them.”

RESEARCHER: One thing that makes me worried bro, is that you know how we are always seen as.

PARTICIPANT A: “We’ve got good physical body and natural talent.”

RESEARCHER: *Yes, I find that sometimes coaches and unions, normally put our people in certain positions and try and sort of like not encourage, but sort of like “no I don’t think you’ll suit that position cause of your body or maybe your build is not suited to that sort of position” do you think that happens today?*

PARTICIPANT A: “There’s a guy that really showed everyone up was a guy called Sam Tu’itupou he’s probably a bit smaller than me, but he’s playing at Super 12 level, he’s an absolute, he’s crazy, real hard man. He tackles like a big prop would or something, but he’s only a little guy you know. I’ve had people telling me that I should change to first five, and I’m not playing any better, but I just look at Sam, he’s all hard,

he's all hard. I'm a bit bigger than him and he's out there doing the damage, you know, so its really, you just have to put your mind to it. I just went by what I think, and if I think I can do it, I just go out and do it if I can. "

RESEARCHER : You don't really want to listen to someone else.

PARTICIPANT A: "But its good to take in advice, like there's nothing wrong with getting advice from top coaches, but on the other hand you're the one that has to sort of put it together, use it to your potential and that."

RESEARCHER :How well have you known Polynesian personalities different to perception and motivation to play rugby?

PARTICIPANT A: "Guys like, as I say Michael Jones. You know how he's got this personality everyone just adores, you know, he's like just so honest and hard on the field. On the field he's a mongrel but off the field he just shows that you don't have to be hard off the field, and show that you are tough, he's just like a typically nice guy, which is good because everyone looks up to that, like you know you don't have to be all hard and mongrel and tough like that. Yeah, the personalities are really important, because then the kids that want to see a real wicked player who comes off and get into trouble and they are just setting off a bad example and that. That's why guys like that are always shown on TV, using ads cause they are just good people, good personalities, just the way they want rugby players in New Zealand to be, like them. All idols."

RESEARCHER: *Before we were talking about motivation, How do you set up like set goals and stuff to motivate you to be what you want to be or to get to that goal that you always aim for?*

PARTICIPANT A: "I think everyone's goals are to be an All Black and to play international rugby. The problem is, they don't look at the little things, you know. To get to the big stuff you have to do the little steps, take little steps at a time, and that's one thing that I thought I had to work on is my little goals, just stuff like turning up to training early, like discipline, and having the right attitude, honesty, just encouraging yourself the only person to motivate yourself is yourself, no-one is going to tell me to go out and run like six in the morning you had to get yourself out of bed. Just got to, its just about personal awareness and that you just have to really push yourself. A lot of guys just sort of think it's the little steps at a time."

RESEARHCER: *Not to rely on anybody to push you like...*

PARTICIPANT A: "In the end they're your legs, they're not gonna actually physically move your legs to make you run. That's the thing about Samoans, they're known as quite lazy and they are always getting last in the beep test and that you just got to go out and do the hard work. The hard work is what brings the outcome. The more you put in the more you get out of it they say. That's why I am at the Canterbury Academy and I'm just trying and focusing on the little goals, like speed work and just spreading up my training during the week, just getting down to eating well, and just all time management. It's all about attitude, like doing the right things at the right time."

RESEARCHER: *Looking at being a rugby player, being like got this sort of like label "he's a rugby player", was that the only avenue that you wanted to take?*

PARTICIPANT A: "I have actually got that thing. I've actually got a label, oh "he's a rugby player" oh, he went away for this but I've been known as a nice guy you know. I want to be known as a good guy, if anyone's got problems come up to me you know, like just being helpful, I just tell them how to side step or whatever. As a person, I just want to be an all rounder in sports like psychological you know, I can talk to anyone I just, if anyone comes up to me I just try to be as friendly as much as possible, try to sort things out."

RESEARCHER: *And rugby was a way for you to be able to sort of like, the reason why I play rugby, cause there is a lot of people in the media that sort of like say oh yeah, they are only good for rugby. Was that the reason why you wanted to choose rugby, or was it just?*

PARTICIPANT A: “I was like that when I was young you know. When you are young I was like, I was quite good, I was good at League, I was making Canterbury League teams and now I’m making the Canterbury team. I don’t think of myself that I am just good at rugby you know. I just proved myself when I was at school. I was at a school called Cashmere High where I wasn’t doing that well, that was only because I chose to, not because I was dumb or anything. But when I went to Christ, they really up my, you know the teachers are on your back, and on your case. The discipline at that school was just so much, and then, that’s why they are just so successful and educational wise academically, top stream that’s come out of that school. That’s why I’m really, that’s probably the best move that I have ever done in my life. I came out with all my education and all that all sorted.”

RESEARCHER: *So you went from, which school did you go to?*

PARTICIPANT A: “Cashmere High”

RESEARCHER *And then you went from there to?*

PARTICIPANT A: “Christ College. I was at Cashmere for three years, third, fourth and fifth form. I absolutely flunked it. And then I went to Christ and they said, no, I honestly thought they were just going to use me for rugby.”

RESEARCHER: Is it Christchurch Boys?

PARTICIPANT A: No, Christ, they are our rivalry. We have good rugby matches against them. “No it’s a private school, it’s just by the Christchurch museum. It’s quite a sacred, it’s one of the oldest schools in New Zealand. And since I went there and I passed all my subjects, I just really, it was probably the best move I’m just so glad I’m coming out at that level, something, not just rugby you know. Cause you never know, I could break a leg and could be out, or hurt myself and that could be my career, and what do I do then, I haven’t got anything to fall on. But that’s what they try and teach you nowadays, to have something to fall on, which is what I fully understand. I have matured about that, not everyone can be an All Black, I’ve seen heaps of guys that are young that have always made it then all of a sudden they just, you don’t see them again.”

Participant B
DATE: 9 August, 2003
Place: Christchurch

RESEARCHER:

Can you tell me about yourself and your interests in professional rugby?

PARTICIPANT B: "About myself, I was brought up and raised in Samoa, in 1997, I was a fourth former, my parents decided to send me over to New Zealand to take up school in New Zealand. Basically I came over just for my schooling nothing about rugby. And then I went up to Wesley College and by chance that was a rugby school. That's how I got into rugby up there every week. I said okay so I started challenging myself by playing well and sort of everything started coming right."

RESEARCHER: *What about your interest in professional rugby now?*

PARTICIPANT B: "I think it was a really good opportunity right now not many players or people that can play rugby and actually getting paid for it, you know now I'm at this stage in life I am seen as a professional rugby player and having a great chance of earning money and so, If you are getting paid for what you like doing, its great in saying that and it's really professional, its more like you have to do heaps of training and that so we loose a bit of interest. I just want to rest and that. I think it's just a natural thing that comes with it, as well."

RESEARCHER: *So how long have you been involved with the rugby as a whole?*

PARTICIPANT B: "When I was in Samoa, usually in Samoa you always pass the ball around and you get the old coconut to use as a rugby ball back then. Then I was a big boy back then and I was a bit chubby and that so there was no chance of me playing rugby when I was there I was playing as a big first five when I was at primary school, then all of a sudden I went to Robert Louis Stevenson School and that was when I was sort of played sixth grade in the third form and physically enjoyed it. So I was just playing tennis and when I came over to New Zealand, as I said before, I went to Wesley College and it has a big rugby culture."

RESEARCHER: *How big was the rugby culture at Wesley?*

PARTICIPANT B: "Exactly, people are chanting, the whole school is chanting for the first fifteen and it is a great experience to have the whole school cheering for me. It started one day I said to myself that I would be part of the first fifteen one day and it did happen. These are the days getting into it and I started playing time as the time comes for big honours and that playing for the region or playing for New Zealand. Things are getting tougher like there's not much time for fun as there use to be at school. Its all part of how more money is involved so they have to get the best out of you, because you're getting more money for what you're doing in rugby."

RESEARCHER: *What cultural factors influence your perception and motivation to play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT B: "I guess there's not much of a cultural factor I think since my background like always involving God in my life and I believe he has given me the talent to play rugby and also a way to reach other people and things like that so like in a way of doing that I keep the motivation up. When I go out there I make sure that I'm not playing for anybody else you know at the same time I play for the team, also my friends and myself as well, so the motivation is that I just want to do well, you only get these opportunities once in a lifetime. If you let it slip by, you know you'll regret it for the rest of your life. You don't want to grow up thinking if only I did this or do did that, if only I took the opportunity, so it's a matter of thinking of choices, discipline and making the most of everything that rugby has to offer."

RESEARCHER: *Is that why you play rugby because you've just got here and you wanted the New Zealand community to accept you as a Samoan?*

PARTICIPANT B: "You know when I was young I would always look up to the All Blacks because at that stage there was quite a few Samoans in the team, like now, so just looking at that, it make myself really proud of them and good on them for doing well but for me its, I just happen to be a Samoan and I come from a supportive and proud Samoan family and like I have the talent. I have got to make sure that I use that talent and I don't let them down. Nothing concerns me that I'm Samoan and that it's good I am really proud of being Samoan and playing rugby so I thought I'll keep that Samoan thing going on because there's a lot of Samoan All Blacks."

RESEARCHER: *How did your family influence your perception and motivation to actually play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT B: "It's really, they said come to New Zealand, they wanted me to just do my schoolwork. My dad, especially my dad, he's a bit of a hard man back in the days I use to get a bit of a hiding for not doing my school work so I think that was the main reason why I came over to New Zealand. When I tell them about my rugby they are not really interested until they realised that in 2001 I made the New Zealand team and that was like a big thing making the New Zealand team. All of a sudden, he just changes his whole view about it, you know like, and then he started having these questions, all these contracts coming in, and he was involved in it, and then all of a sudden, his whole view of things started to change and start supporting me with something that I am good at. My dad always says 'Son make sure that you should do your school work first. You can only play rugby for a period of time. It's not like golf, you can play for 50 or 60 odd years, whereas rugby is 5-10 years cause it's really a physical game. Now I'm doing well in rugby and my family are all behind me I try very hard not to disappoint them because it might bring shame not only to me but my whole family."

RESEARCHER: *How did your schooling experiences influence your perception and motivation to play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT B: "At school, yeah Wesley College was a big rugby school so motivation comes from like when you have that reputation of being in the first fifteen and playing in one of the best team in New Zealand and when people say how was that hiding you got? I'm not really a person that's trying to get caught up in the hype. I always try to stay humble and concentrating on the game and things like that, but you know the whole school thing where some of the peers who have been there, the likes of Jonah Lomu really gives you motivation to live up to. Having the whole school in the background chanting, singing songs and cheering the whole team it really makes you feel like playing hard and trying to get the most out of yourself pushing it to the limit and making sure that you don't let the school down, you know, they stand a 100% behind you and now it's your chance to pay back to them and saying thank you for being there and supporting the team."

RESEARCHER: *Tell me a little bit about your experiences at school like the positives and the negatives?*

PARTICIPANT B: "The positive at school was the reputation because when people hear about Wesley College and their players, how big they are, and they are Tongan, Samoan and Fijian, and is a really good rugby school. So those are the positives because we beat teams by 30 or 40 points. And then when it comes to losing its pretty hard especially losing to a lower team and I guess its part of the learning experience and also as you grow up you learn to accept that you can't always come first because there has to be a runner up in every competition."

RESEARCHER: *For you, what are the main issues which have affected your schooling experience regarding your perception of rugby?*

PARTICIPANT B: “My rugby wasn’t affected by anything because I was still making the teams that I want to make but my school work was not up with my rugby. At the time I was a 7th former and this was a big year for me not only in rugby but first and foremost schooling. I was then the first fifteen captain and on top of that I was the head prefect and really it was a huge year because I didn’t want to give up rugby and schooling. I wasn’t able to balance the two up and sometimes you get so tired and I can’t do my school work. My whole mind was so, it was always rugby, rugby so it was kind of hard especially trying to sort out and balance the two and my other commitments. I got through in the end and I think it was a good experience because it taught me about time management and being independent because my family are not here to help me. It was really, really tough, playing rugby and at the same time trying to look after yourself, I use to go out and do notices for the school and things like that so it was really hard. And so then my schoolwork just went downhill from there. Something that I regret right now but now I have the chance to go back to university and make sure that I get the result and that because that was the reason for me being in New Zealand in the first place. I think the happiest day of my life would be my graduation day which I’m looking forward to it and to top it off maybe becoming an All Black which is my ultimate goal.”

RESEARCHER: *Was there a person or a group that had a big influence in your perception and motivation to play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT B: “Not really. I think that if there was a person that I like than it would have to be Michael Jones because he was a Christian and he played hard on the field but fair and he was never in trouble outside the field and also he had an education. He lived by his faith even though there were heaps of temptations, for him to stand up for what he believe in was so amazing. I believe his faith helped him a lot because he took rugby to a different level. . Just looking at some of the old players at school and that really motivate me to be like them. I think that being a PI, it doesn’t matter what you do whether it was rugby, school or whatever you will always try to be the best at it because the fame that come with it is not only for yourself but it reflects on the whole family and their sacrifice and hard work to get you to be where you are, not only that it gives you and your family respect not only in the Island but in New Zealand as well.”

RESEARCHER: *You know like looking at someone in New Zealand as a role model? Did you have someone or a PI to look up to as a role model to motivate you?*

PARTICIPANT B: “Not really. I did not look at someone to be a role model. It was something that I wanted to do as a kid and it comes down to what you do and how you do it to get there. It’s good to have someone that’s been there and done it so he can give you good and valuable advise so you can achieve that dream or goal, but on the other hand I like to challenge myself and push it to the limit because you learn faster from your mistakes and it can only help you in the long run because you don’t have to rely on anybody. I did not really need any motivation from anyone because I was so determine to achieve my goal, there were some rugby players that I liked the way they play the game (for example, Tim Horan, Inga Tuigamala, Michael Jones) but not to the extent that I mirror them in their every move.”

RESEARCHER: *Was there any peer pressure to influence your perception on rugby?*

PARTICIPANT B: “There was nothing like that, I think it was because I went to Wesley College and it has a huge rugby culture and history that I have to live up to because I happen to love the game. I think that God had his own plans for me and that’s the main reason why I am where I am right now. Sometimes there’s a lot of temptations, you got to expect that in a rugby environment like too many girls and

alcohol so I tried very hard to keep my morals and reputation good because when it's not good then it reflects on my whole family, the church and my country (island)."

RESEARCHER: *In your view was rugby the only avenue that you could take or was there other avenues?*

PARTICIPANT B: "I think that rugby was by chance and every time I go and play rugby, I've gone this far, why don't I just take it to another level and further on and so this is how I started to enjoy rugby. I will try and make the next team so that will lead me from one thing to another. I found that rugby opened a lot of doors because I wanted to do something with my life so I don't get labelled as a rugby player only. That's why I'm doing my school work now because if I don't then there's nothing for me to fall back on after rugby."

RESEARCHER: *What do you think about Professional rugby? Is it a bad or good thing and what has it done to you?*

PARTICIPANT B: "I think that Professional rugby has its positive and negative. I can't say it's bad because that's killing the love for the game so there's a lot of people saying that they're in for the money only and passion and pride are not there anymore. I don't agree with them because we were in an era of professionalism and it takes a lot out of the players especially their body. Now they're getting money involved and I think it's a great chance to make a career out of it. Because now it's a professional game the media involves a lot more and your life is basically a lot harder to watch because everything you do will affect your reputation and your privacy disappeared."

RESEARCHER: *How do you motivate yourself and how do you go about achieving that goal?*

PARTICIPANT B: "I think sometimes I'm really hard on myself, I challenge myself and if I don't play well my feeling are really down, so when it comes to a negative there's always a positive and so I really pushed myself, set little goals and try to achieve that. It's good to have a vision so if you get to achieve those vision, which is what I'm trying to do right now then I think it's starting to pay off. You got to enjoy your time when things are going well and there's always challenges that comes in the way and if you can overcome those challenges, behind those challenges there's always something good that's gonna happen. If you can overcome those obstacles that are trying to stop you from achieving what you want to achieve then you can pretty much do anything. Of-course there's always something that's trying to pull you back but if you focus in what you want to do, than no-one is going to take that away from you, so the time that I walk away from it all than I won't have any regret. So whatever comes in my way all I have to do is to think positive and just look ahead. Don't look at the negatives but sometimes it's good to look at the negatives to get the positives, but I'm not going to let that get the best of me."

RESEARCHER: *What are you doing at the moment?*

PARTICIPANT B: "I'm currently studying at Canterbury University doing a Bachelor of Commerce degree majoring in Marketing. I'm only doing three papers because it's very hard to be a full time student and playing professional rugby at the same time."

Participant C
DATE: 9 August, 2003
Place: Christchurch

RESEARCHER: *Can you tell me about yourself and your interest in professional rugby?*

PARTICIPANT C: “My family came from Samoa, and I was born in Auckland. I grew up down in Dunedin with my mum and dad. Then I moved out and lived with my Auntie, Uncle and cousins. When I young and was growing up I was not really interested in rugby to start off with. I think over time, was when I developed my skills and started enjoying the game. That’s when rugby became a big part of my life and it helped me in many ways.”

RESEARCHER: *Can you describe what is your involvement in professional rugby?*

PARTICIPANT C: “At the moment I’m involved in one of the Rugby Union and I am part of their development squad. Their development programme helps me with my financial costs, like school fees and accommodation, because I am required to live away from home.”

RESEARCHER: *How long have you been involved in rugby?*

PARTICIPANT C: “I have been involved in rugby for a long time now. I started playing when I was eight. So about 13 years.”

RESEARCHER: *Can you tell me about your career in rugby and how far have you gone up the rugby ladder? That is your highest rugby honours that you have gained?*

PARTICIPANT C: “So far I have made all the New Zealand age groups from New Zealand Under 16 to 19 rugby teams, the New Zealand Secondary Schools team. I’ve made a few XXX NPC (National Provincial Championship) games which was a bit of a highlight for me last year. I have been unlucky this year with injury and have not had a game at Super 12 level this year, so that was the highlights to date of my rugby career.”

RESEARCHER: *What are you doing now?*

PARTICIPANT C: “At the moment I am nursing an injury, I am also balancing my commitments with Teachers Training College where I am in my second year studying for a Bachelors Degree in Sports Coaching and Management. Because of my injury, my studies at the moment it takes up a big part of my life as I have less rugby commitments.”

RESEARCHER: *What cultural factors influence your perception of and motivates to play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT C: “I know there are cultural differences as I grew up in Dunedin, however I have not encountered them recently. People get into the mind set that oh yeah he’s a Samoan or he’s a PI and he’s only good like rugby-wise and that’s quite a negative part. I am very proud of my Samoan heritage and where I come from. I like to see myself as an all rounded person, like yeah, maybe I’m good at rugby but I do have a head on me. I am interested in my academic studies and work hard at all facets of life. I am really enjoying my course of study it at the moment, like at the moment I am learning about how young kids learn and how coaching is related to teaching and I am really enjoying my studies.

It is real funny because at secondary school I was told I would not make it past year 9 and that I should concentrate on doing a labouring job or something like that. They thought all I was good at was playing rugby. There were only a few teachers who believed in me and what I wanted to achieve. So here I am studying at a tertiary institution and playing rugby at an elite level.”

RESEARCHER: *“How did your family influence your perception and motivation to actually play rugby?”*

PARTICIPANT C: “Actually, my family had an enormous impact on my life and my rugby career. They were quite strict on me with my schooling and made sure that I got a good education and wasn’t spending too much time with my rugby. They always tried to make sure that I got a good balance between the two. I was having the enjoyment of playing rugby and doing my school work. Throughout my rugby years my parents, friends and family have guided me. They have taught me that rugby is not everything, and the only thing in life and it shouldn’t be my one focus. I have come to understand that importance of a good education and a good career. That’s why I am studying Teachers College.”

RESEARCHER: *“When you were growing up playing rugby, was that part of your motivation to play well and to become someone in rugby? (Was that a part of you trying to make people accept you as a PI or was it just like a dream or goal?)”*

PARTICIPANT C: “It sort of clashed between both, me being a rugby head and me being capable of academic study. There was I think times where there was, yes, I’m good at rugby and the people accepting me for that and then people wanting to be my friend because I played rugby. For me people who wouldn’t normally take the time to talk to you , started to because they saw me as a high profile rugby player or people know that you play for such and such team. People are still shocked when I tell them that I am in my second year studying at Teachers College.”

RESEARCHER: *“How did your being a PI, your Samoan identity influence you being a good rugby player, like was because you are Samoan?”*

PARTICIPANT C: “I don’t think my Samoan identity had much to do with it. I’m very proud of my Samoan culture and where I come from, but with me it was just, like I had this talent. For me it wasn’t that I needed to be a good rugby player so I can get this and that, or these benefits, it was just like it was God’s plan. He made me the person I am and the rugby player I am. It’s hard for me to deny the role God plays. God is first in my life, then my family, the my being Samoan, then me as a rugby player and ultimately hopefully in the future an All Black.”

RESEARCHER: *“How did your schooling and experience influence your perception and motivation?”*

PARTICIPANT C: “Well it was firstly my family, that is my Aunty, Uncle and my cousin who all motivated me to look at professional rugby as an achievable option. Schooling and my family gave me the opportunity to play rugby. They and myself gave me the motivation to play professional rugby. It was yeah I’ve got the right skills that can help me out through out my life. I used my family’s advice and support; my faith and my education; so I just took that opportunity to combine rugby with my schooling. Success at rugby and school was just like an aid for me to get some where in life, and like a break away from school stereotype of Pacific people failing and just playing sport. I think also a constant reminder for me that if I put the right amount of time into rugby and be good at it, you know flip the card, if I put so much time into my school work and studies then I should have a balanced life.”

RESEARCHER: *“Can you tell me about your schooling experiences?”*

PARTICIPANT C: “I never went to a school that was well known for rugby. I went to a school that most of my family and cousins that I grew up went to. I used to get along there when I was still at high school and it looked like they had fun and I just got involved with that enjoyment so I went along.”

RESEARCHER: *So the school didn't really have that sort of background or culture that you know you go to school, got a very high professional type of rugby school kind of thing?*

PARTICIPANT C: "No, I never went to a school like Otago Boys or Kings High School that were schools renowned for its rugby teams first fifteen and having a lot of the top players come out of that school. I think the school that I went to they were more focused on education. I just happened to make the representative age group teams, that was it really. I didn't go to that school because of rugby. I went to that school because of my family, the people I knew that were going there, who were also my friends."

RESEARCHER: *For you, was there any issues that affected your schooling, experiences regarding your perceptions of rugby?*

PARTICIPANT C: "When I was growing up school wasn't most keen thing I would do is that I spent most of my free time being involved in sport, just mucking around with friends and stuff. Throughout the years when I had to knuckle down and do some good studying, make something of school and get an education. People who are at school have that perception that I couldn't do it or that his rugby has taken over, and that he'll do it for so long, rugby will take over, and he'll miss all these classes and all that. Yeah, I was quite saddened about that. I still strike it now at Teachers College with people that they just don't understand that. Sometimes rugby, if I am a professional rugby player, like semi-professional rugby player and this is only a little window of opportunity when you're at your prime in rugby."

RESEARCHER: *Have you encountered any stereotypes?*

PARTICIPANT C: "They're sort of just like yeah, that's all he's good for really, at rugby, that's why he comes out of school that's what other people say and do, they just stereotype you because you're big and can run fast and smash people."

RESEARCHER: *The next question is role modelling. Was there a person or a group that had a big influence in your perception and motivation to play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT C: "I think New Zealand rugby as a whole influences everyone because New Zealand is a huge rugby nation and it New Zealand and international rugby gets massive media attention. Over the years I've come to like rugby greats, but there's PI sports people like 'Inga the winger', the 'iceman' Michael Jones, Josh Kronfeld, and Tana Umaga who have influenced me in my life and rugby because they are all Samoan. They were and still are awesome rugby players and yeah that's what influenced me. They both motivated me to be like them psychically and mentally, to aim high and have dreams to be like them, and to think all the time about my actions on and off the rugby field. I hope that I can fill their shoes one day."

RESEARCHER: *How did peer pressure influence your perception of rugby?*

PARTICIPANT C: "I think over the years I was making and qualifying for representative rugby teams and there can be peer pressure from you team mate's and other people who don't play rugby. Your team mates look at you to turn the game around and if you did not have such a good game, they'll easily point the finger at you and say he made this team and that team but he had a bad game. They expect you to perform and the expectations can be unrealistic sometimes. When we play the opposition, that peer pressure comes onto you like and it might not be verbal, people will not tell you but you can easily pick it up with their body language, their eye contact, yeah there's a lot of pressure on you and other players playing professional rugby.

There are other people who don't play rugby or make the national and regional teams. I find they can be really supportive and then some are out to put you down. Because of the training I have to put in time wise and the psychical effort, I try to conserve my

energy, eat well and look after my body. When I go out to socialise, people can pressure to stay out all night and to drink. I have a rigid routine that I try to stick to. This routine is hard for people to understand or accept. So often my mates are out partying hard or socialising to all hours. I am also have to travel a lot and time away means I tired a lot. Some people think I take training and routine too seriously. But it is what has got me to the level I am at today.”

RESEARCHER: *So when playing professional rugby, what mechanisms do you use to cope?*

PARTICIPANT C: “Firstly I have my family who support me and then the good man upstairs is watching me. As for my rugby performance, I have to analyse myself that is my game - rugby performance. I model it on the best game I’ve ever played to the game to date, of how I could have improved or if there was any part of my game that needed improving and what actions to improve it. Mainly, I have look inside myself when there is criticism, and say to myself, ‘are these people right or are they wrong? I then deal with it that way, I wouldn’t try to let them make me get down or depressed, I just try to move on.”

RESEARCHER: *How do you pick up the good things that you hear and then ignore the bad things?*

PARTICIPANT C: “Yeah, sometimes you need to be saying, ‘you’re not doing this right and this is not right’ to help you improve your game. I think over the years people try to dis’ your play or something like that, that you’ve got to take that information and say is this correct, or no, cause what they could be saying could be right or what they could be saying is wrong, so you need to pull out both the positives and negatives so you can improve your game.”

RESEARCHER: *What Polynesian personalities have influenced your perception of and motivation to play rugby? Was there anyone who you wanted to be like?*

PARTICIPANT C: “I wouldn’t say there was one specific person that I’d say, yeah, I want to role model him. There was a number of people, like I’ve already said, Inga the winger’ and Michael Jones. Jones was the first to tackle and it was his hunger to get to the breakdown, and make something out of nothing. Inga the winger just had an aura about him, and when he did those cheese ads, you know he’s a great person to meet and the way he played rugby was hard and fast and yeah, those were the people who influenced me and there were a number of other people as well. Sean Fitzpatrick, the way he handled himself and how he captained the Auckland and All Black Team. He, put the team first, and all those great sort of players will all influence me in the way I wanted to play and some of my favourite players, well I just pick the good things, took the things that I like out of them and try to mould them into the way I’m trying to be now.”

RESEARCHER: *When you think about your experiences, was it the only avenue that you could be doing, to play rugby?*

PARTICIPANT C: “No, I don’t think it was the only option, for instance, if I didn’t, or I wasn’t good at rugby or I didn’t want to play it, then there’s a huge amount of options that anyone could take. While rugby was there, and I did have the talent then you know its, I think if there is an opportunity there, you just can’t turn it down, if you know how to manage it right with your schooling, then you can be very successful, and I don’t think it’s my only option. I was just, as an option here, you know you can take this road or the other road. I took the road with rugby because it was assessable and available really. It’s a good option. It wasn’t the only option.”

RESEARCHER: *Can you now talk to me about your motivation to play professional rugby. How do you set goals and stuff to motivate you to be what you want to be or to get to that goal that you always aim for?*

PARTICIPANT C: “The ultimate goal is to be an All Black. The motivation is that the All Blacks were my number one goal when we just had wee little footsteps goals to make this team, talk to people, talk to the trainers and coaches about how I can improve my game, and where I am at cause I want to be on the right track to make that end goal. The motivation was just to, well I’ve got the motivation now because it could be quite close, and like there’s a chance if I work really hard in the next few years I could possibly be an All Black. That motivation there is just driving me on like when I left school the motivation was just that it was that I got to see new people and I was getting closer to becoming an All Black and making some good teams, travelling around the world, and I think that, that was my incentive at school, but now I’m out of school, it could be a couple of more years that I could be playing in the All Black jerseys. That’s the sort of thing that keeps me in the game.”

RESEARCHER: *What are your thoughts about and experiences of amateur and professional of rugby? What have been the positives or negatives?*

PARTICIPANT C: “Rugby in New Zealand now it is called professional, but it is semi-professional at the moment, like we’ve only really where rugby is still maturing as a professional game and there’s a lot of talk in the old days where, the players are there for the money, they’re getting paid too much and stuff like that. The way that rugby was going and people wanting to watch and people just jumping on the band wagon and just trying to market it and cater for everyone. Professional to me in some ways it can help me, like help me with my schooling and my financial backing, like if I use my money wisely then it can give me a kick start for my future life and retirement, so if I set myself little goals and try to achieve them and hopefully bigger things will happen in the end and maybe I will achieve the ultimate goals. If I look after rugby or professional rugby now and maybe professional rugby will return the favour in the future.”

APPENDIX B

- ☐ In 1950 Tau Liota won the New Zealand Light-weight Boxing title.
- ☐ All Black rugby greats: Bryan Williams, Joe Stanley, Michael Jones, Va`aiga Tuigamala, Olo Brown, Frank Bunce, Walter Little, Graeme Bachop, Jonah Lomu, Josh Kronfeld
- ☐ Pacific rugby players continually achieve All Black selection, and professional contracts: Christian Cullen, Pita Alatini, Carl Hoefft, Tana Umaga, Keven Mealamu, Rodney So`oialo, Bradley Mika, Doug Howlett, Joe Rokocoko, Ma`a Nonu, Mils Muliaina
- ☐ Bernice Mene and Ana No`ovao have captained the Silver Ferns netball teams
- ☐ Beatrice Faumuina became a world athletics champion (discus) and 1997 New Zealand Sports Person of the Year and Valerie Adams became a junior world athletics champion (shot-put)
- ☐ David Tua and Jimmy Peau have achieved international fame in both the amateur and professional boxing ranks. David Tua, in particular, has achieved professional status and is a contender of the WBC (World Boxing Championship) and the IBF (International Boxing Federation) titles. He represented New Zealand and won a Bronze medal in boxing at the 1992 Barcelona Olympics. He is the first Polynesian to win an Olympic medal in any sport.⁹⁵
- ☐ Volleyballers Pauline Tuavera, Craig Seuseu and Gilbert Enoka have played and coached New Zealand representative teams
- ☐ The Tall Blacks have utilised of Byron Vaetoe and Pero Cameron
- ☐ Claudine Toleafoa has represented New Zealand at tennis, Murphy Su`a at cricket, Siobhan O`Neill in bodybuilding, Ray Sefo at kickboxing, Chris Tuvalu at multisport and triathlons.
- ☐ In 2003, Joe Rokocoko a Fijian winger who was born in Fiji and schooled at St Kentigern in Auckland. He has speed and strength far superior to his young age 20 and was selected to the All Blacks without having a National Provincial Championship season under his belt. His maturity and flair has lead experts to

⁹⁵

Te`evale, 2001: 217

predict that he is going to set the rugby world cup alight as he has already scored 11 tries in seven test matches.

- Pacific people have made impressive achievements when family dynasties have represented New Zealand. To name a few, there have been father and son Joe and Jeremy Stanley, the Bachop brothers (Stephen and Graeme), and the Mene family's achievements in athletics, netball and basketball.
- 1982 Margharet Matenga and Rita Fatialofa are the first Pacific Island women to be selected for the Silver Ferns.
- All Joe Stanley's teammates from the 1980s and 90s rated him as the best centre of their time. He was a member of the Baby Blacks in 1986 and graced international rugby for six years. In the time since his representative days closed, he has played in Japan, acted as a tour guide on many occasions and, in 1998, assisted in the coaching of the Auckland side.⁹⁶
- Rita Fatialofa (netball, softball, part of the New Zealand Women's Softball team that won the 'World Crown' in 1982.1), Joan Hodge (netball, softball and the longest serving Silver fern in the 1980s) and Jeremy Stanley (rugby, softball) have achieved double international status.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ McConnell, R, 1994

⁹⁷ Te'evale, 2001: 217

APPENDIX C



ETHICAL APPROVAL AT DEPARTMENTAL LEVEL OF A PROPOSAL INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS (CATEGORY B)

NAME OF DEPARTMENT: Te Tumu School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies

TITLE OF PROJECT: Polynesian rugby players' perceptions and experiences of professional rugby

PROJECTED START DATE OF PROJECT: 1 March 2003

STAFF MEMBER RESPONSIBLE FOR PROJECT: Dr Brendan Hokowhitu

NAMES OF OTHER PARTICIPATING STAFF: N/A

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT: Please give a brief summary (approx. 200 words) of the nature of the proposal: -

The purpose of this project is to undertake research for my BA (Honours) dissertation. This dissertation aims to record and research the perceptions and experiences of Polynesian male rugby players, with particular reference to professional rugby in New Zealand. This dissertation will involve interviewing Polynesian men who play rugby. This project hopes to elicit information regarding Polynesian men's involvement in professional rugby, the extent of their involvement and the reasons for their participation and their motivations.

DETAILS OF ETHICAL ISSUES INVOLVED: Please give details of any ethical issues which were identified during the consideration of the proposal and the way in which these issues were dealt with or resolved: -

This dissertation will involve interviewing 2-4 Polynesian men (aged between 20 - 30) who are currently involved in professional rugby in New Zealand. The participants will be recruited by myself through my *kainga* (family) and friends. Due to contractual obligations the participants' real names will not be used. Each participant will be identified by a letter of the alphabet, for example: Player A, Player B, Player C and Player D.

The method of research involves a series of tape-recorded interviews with the participants. These will be one-to-one interviews. All participants will be informed that they will determine the extent of their contribution. That is, they will be able to withdraw or withhold information at anytime if they choose. Further consultation with each participant will enable elaboration, corrections

or deletions to the final qualitative output. Questions will vary from person to person based on a semi-structured methodology. The interviews will be conducted in English.

Following usual Polynesian protocol, a *me`a`ofa (koha)* will be given to each participant.

ACTION TAKEN

☐ Approved by Departmental Committee

Approved by Head of Department ☐

☐ Committee

Referred to University of Otago Human Ethics
☐ referred to another Ethics Committee
 Please specify

DATE OF CONSIDERATION:

Signed (Head of Department):

Please attach copies of any Information Sheet and/or Consent Form



[Date]

Polynesian rugby players' perceptions and experiences of professional rugby

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

The purpose of this project is to undertake research for my Bachelor of Arts (Honours) dissertation. This dissertation aims to record and research the perceptions and experiences of Polynesian male rugby players, with particular reference to professional rugby in New Zealand. This dissertation will involve interviewing Polynesian men who play rugby. This project hopes to elicit information regarding Polynesian men's involvement in professional rugby, the extent of their involvement and the reasons for their participation and their motivations.

What Type of Participants are being sought?

Polynesian men (aged between 20 - 30) who are currently involved in professional rugby in New Zealand.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to

Give your personal story in relation to your involvement in professional rugby.

You will be asked some open questions which will help guide the discussion.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

You may withdraw from this research project at any time without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

This project involves an open questioning technique, where the questions asked will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although Te Tumu School of Māori, Pacific and indigenous Studies is aware of the general area explored in the interview, Te Tumu School of Māori, Pacific and indigenous Studies has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you may decline to answer any particular questions(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage to you.

It is anticipated that your personal story will form the qualitative basis of a dissertation and subsequent publications where I will describe and discuss Polynesian men's involvement in professional rugby, the extent of their involvement and the reasons and motivations for their participation. The edited transcripts will be included in the dissertation.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about the present research project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Matani Schaaf

or

Dr Brendan Hokowhitu

Department of Māori, Pacific

Department of Māori, Pacific

and Indigenous Studies

and Indigenous Studies

University Telephone Number:- 479 8805

University Telephone Number:-

479 3976



Polynesian rugby players' perceptions and experiences of professional rugby

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what the research entails and am happy to continue as a participant in the present research project. I understand that:

1. I am free to request further information at any stage,
2. my participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
3. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage to myself;
4. the audio-taped data will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but the interview transcripts, by which the results of the project depend, will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which you will be consulted about the disposal of this material;
5. this project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions to be asked have not been determined in advance, and depend on the development of each individual interview. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage to myself,
6. the results of the project may be published but my anonymity will be preserved.

I agree to take part in this project.

.....

.....

(Signature of participant)

(Date)

APPENDIX D

Interview Topics:

1. Biodata (date of birth, place of birth, background)
2. Rugby (past and current involvement in netball)
3. Family (upbringing as a Polynesian male, parental influence on personal perception of rugby)
4. Culture and Church (influence on personal perception of the rugby)
5. Schooling (influence on personal perception of rugby)
6. Role modelling and peer pressure (influence on personal perception of rugby)
7. Media pressure (influence on personal perception of rugby)
8. Polynesian personalities (influence on personal perception of the rugby)

Interview Questions:

1. Can you tell me about yourself and your interest in rugby?
Probes: How long have you lived in New Zealand? Where did you grow up? What is your involvement in rugby? How long have you been involved in rugby? What are you doing now?
2. What is your knowledge of rugby?
3. What cultural factors influenced your perceptions of and motivation to rugby?
Probes: culture, rituals, Pacific heritage/identity, and beliefs
4. How did your family influence your perceptions of and motivation to play rugby? Probes: culture, rituals, Pacific heritage/identity, beliefs, practices
5. How did your schooling experiences influence your perception of and motivation to play rugby? Probes: tell me about your school experiences, positive and negative.
6. For you, what are the main issues which have affected your schooling experiences regarding your perceptions of and motivation to play rugby? Why?
Probes: physical education classes, teachers, stereotypes
7. Role modelling: Was there a person/group which had a big influence on your perception of and motivation to play rugby? Why?
8. Peer pressure: Did peer pressure influence your perceptions of and motivation to play rugby? If so, how? Probes: What were your coping mechanisms?
9. What image does the media portray in mainstream New Zealand of rugby?
Probes: Television, movies, videos, music, literature
10. How have well known Polynesian personalities influenced your perception of and motivation to play rugby? Probes: Michael Jones, Joe Stanley, Tana Umaga

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