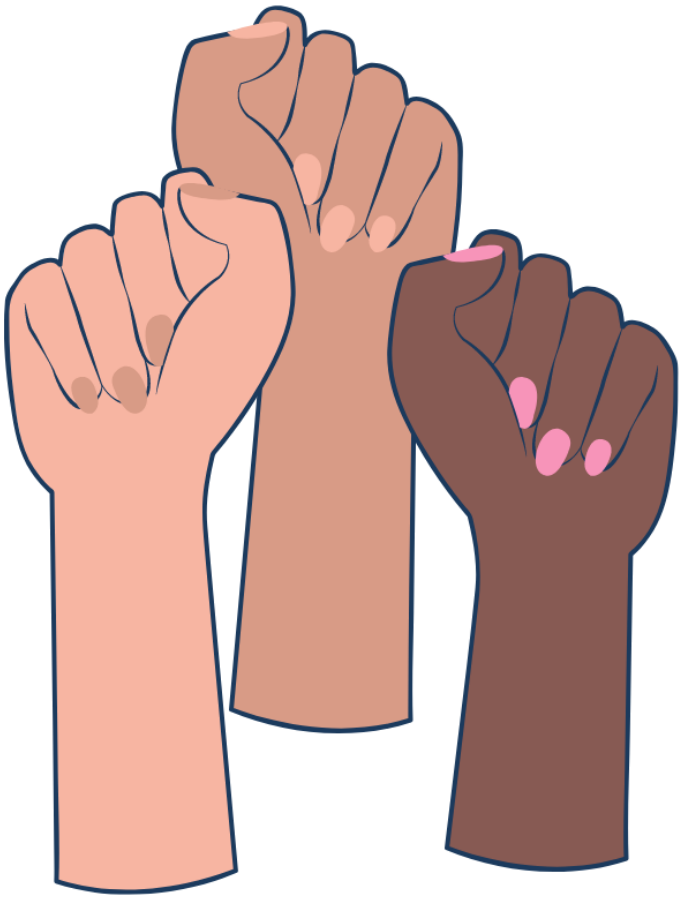
Spice up your 'Public Policy': Exploring the Operationalisation of Sustainable Development Goal 5, Target 5.C to Create Employment Opportunities for Ethnic Women in Aotearoa New ZealandGovernment Ministries



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Abstract

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their targets present an exciting opportunity for equity. SDG 5, Target 5.C aims to monitor the creation of legislation and policy that is designed to improve the lives of women across sectors. The core objective of this research was to explore diversity and inclusion in the government ministries of Aotearoa New Zealand (Aotearoa) and how the operationalisation of Target 5.C could create more equitable employment opportunities for ethnic women. This research used feminist methodology, post-development thought and decolonial principles to design the key informant interviews with Members of Parliament (MPs) and purposeful sampling of key documents. These methods were used to compare the views shared by MPs with policy documents and archival data from past governments to see how diversity, inclusion and equity are presented by government ministries. This researched highlighted that ethnic women face many barriers to gaining work in government ministries and SDG 5, Target 5.C could be a tool to help improve access to employment in the policy workforce. The SDGs have been utilised effectively by the government and for Target 5.C to be successful for ethnic women in government ministries there are wider changes that need to be made. The study concludes that the there is opportunity for Aotearoa New Zealand to be a world leader in the operationalisation of SDG 5, Target 5.C and the broader SDG agenda.

Key words: Ethnic Women, Sustainable Development Goals, Post-Development, Feminist Development, Global Governance, Politics

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"I lack imagination you say
No. I lack language.
The language to clarify
my resistance to the literate.
Words are a war to me."

Loving in the War Years
Cherrie L Moraga

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Internationally, inequities are being challenged as societies diversify due to environmental, social, cultural and economic pressures mounting in the 21st century (Smith, 2020). In Aotearoa New Zealand (Aotearoa), this is no different and ethnic minorities now make up nearly 20% the population (Statistics New Zealand, 2021). An important distinction to make is that while Māori and Pasifika are ethnic minorities, they are statistically measured as separate from ethnic communities. This report will define *ethnic communities and ethnic women* as people from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Continental Europe (Ministry for ethnic Communities, 2021). However, this grouping is broad; it is essential to note the different experiences of communities in this definition vary based on colour, race, accent, gender and religion (Young & Caine, n.d.). Diversity is a great asset for creating social change, however women[1] from ethnic communities are vulnerable and face gendered and ethnicity-based discrimination (Young & Caine, n.d.). Achieving equity for women is complicated; not only are women's rights compared with those of men, but they are compared with the rights of other women from different races, classes, religions, and ethnicities (Edwards & Cornwall, 2014). The patriarchal structures that have governed society have continued to place pressure on creating comparable equity, informing conscious and unconscious bias towards women within government structures. These biases are especially prevalent in the public service, which has yet to see the proportional increase of women from ethnic minorities in its workforce (Public Service Commission, 2021). It is essential to see this change, as diverse representation in policymaking is vital for fairer outcomes (Oltmann, 2017).

As a biracial woman within the public service, I see the struggle of ethnic women and how demands for accountability have stimulated a sense of urgency from marginalised communities to challenge the inequities they face. There are monitorable tools such as the Sustainable Development Goals that aim to provide governments with roadmaps to solving inequity issues; all it takes is politicians' momentum and political will to utilise their platform to implement change.

[1] When 'women and girls' are referred to in this project, they represent all people who identify as a woman, no matter their race, religion, physical, neurological, or psychological ability, sexuality, or gender expression (Kelly et al., 2021).

Representation matters for an inclusive and equitable public service and society. This research project aims to explore the potential of SDG 5, Target 5.C to contribute toward equity for women from ethnic minorities in government ministries.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

Aim: To explore diversity and inclusion in government ministries and how the operationalisation of SDG 5 Target 5.C in Aotearoa could create employment equity for women from ethnic minorities.

Research question: How could SDG 5 Target 5.C be operationalised to improve potential career pathways for women from ethnic minorities in Aotearoa government ministries?

Objectives:

1 To explore key barriers to diversity in the policy workforce and how they affect employment opportunities for ethnic women in government ministries.

2 To describe current diversity and inclusion strategies used in government ministries to try and create a diverse policy workforce.

3 To explain what strategies Labour MPs consider would best operationalise Target 5.C to increase work opportunities in government ministries for women from ethnic communities.

1.3 Race relations of Aotearoa

To understand ethnic minorities in Aotearoa, it is important to situate race relations within the broader context. As a colonised nation, Aotearoa has a unique foundation with no constitution (Anderson et al., 2014). Instead, Māori, the Indigenous people of Aotearoa, signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, an agreement of governance with the Crown (Anderson et al., 2014). However, the interpretation and understanding of this document have been continuously questioned. As a result, significant breaches have been made to the detriment of Māori, their culture, language and independence (Pack et al., 2016). Contemporary historians acknowledge that Te Tiriti should be the base for co-governance between Māori and the Crown (Durie, 2005). Te Tiriti is often operationalised by three key principles; partnership, participation and protection which should be the foundation of all policy-making in Aotearoa (Mikaere, 1994). In practice, this does not occur because, as with all colonisation, the oppressor has more power over the Indigenous peoples and

has built structures that represent their cultural needs without consultation with Māori (Anderson et al., 2014). In the same vein, because of these structures that reflect Pakeha culture, there is significant public pushback on suggestions of introducing co-governance structures through decolonisation efforts to meet Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations (Yap & Watene, 2019). More widely, this tension between the desire for co-governance and maintaining the status quo also means that ethnic minorities who move to Aotearoa also experience discrimination based on the colonial values and structures that govern society.

1.4 Ethnic experiences in Aotearoa

The lives of ethnic people in Aotearoa are complex; as minorities, they face a range of experiences reinforced by institutions that are not designed to adapt to their cultural needs (Cormack et al., 2018). Acknowledging people's experiences from minority groups does not mean that people within majority groups do not face hardship. However, people of colour's oppression in Aotearoa is still prevalent in public institutions (Harris, 2018). These experiences are linked to the ongoing implications of the colonisation of Māori and the contemporary consequences of colonisation that have reinforced the generational oppression of minorities (Anderson et al., 2014). For example, the institutions of Aotearoa have been built on colonial legacies and structures that continue to perpetuate a belief in Western superiority within the government that is not malleable enough to account for rapid diversification (Anderson et al., 2014).

Māori have not been silent and have resisted the colonisation of Aotearoa since the 1800s through war, governance structures, Māori economic opportunities and the creation of Māori unity (Anderson et al., 2014). Māori made these decisions with the conscious knowledge that it would not only protect their culture but also ensure that Aotearoa would be a place for all diverse people to live safely (Anderson et al., 2014). However, while Māori resistance has been strong, they and other ethnic minorities continue to experience the effects of colonisation, leading to poor inclusion and dysfunctional systems that do not work for them (Ward & Liu, 2012). Fundamentally this puts pressure on all ethnic communities, as they have to operate within a system that is not designed for their benefit and can hinder their opportunities to prosper (Lee & Cain, 2019).

In addition, the devastating effects of the March 15th Terrorist Attacks on Christchurch Masjidain have highlighted the instability and danger ethnic communities still face (Young & Caine, 2020). Fear and misunderstanding from the majority toward people from ethnic communities are still prevalent. Reports of casual racism, discrimination, and violence towards ethnic people were highlighted in the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch Masjidain (Young & Caine, 2020). The Inquiry also showed that while ethnic women had been asking Aotearoa's public service institutions for support with the racist attacks and rhetoric they were experiencing in their communities, these calls were ignored (Young & Caine, 2020). This choice to not focus resources on helping ethnic communities was a factor in the death of 51 ethnic people who were massacred by an unidentified terrorist while in their place of worship (Young & Caine, 2020). Colonisation normalised racist behaviours in Aotearoa by ingraining its discriminatory principles into the institutions (Anderson et al., 2014). Still, with growing social awareness, there is momentum toward decolonisation to create inclusive communities where diversity shapes sustainable futures for all peoples in Aotearoa.

1.4.1 Ethnicity and Gender

The connection between ethnicity and gender is mutable; it moves with the life of women and how they negotiate experiences, relationships and survival (Showunmi et al., 2016). Many women from ethnic communities negotiate sensitive and complex lives as they try to acknowledge the injustices, misunderstandings, depictions, perceptions and intergenerational traumas they face (Showunmi et al., 2016). While Western feminism has impacted the factors mentioned earlier for Western women, the same cannot be said for ethnic women, as they do not address the sensitive intersection between race and gender (Simon-Kumar, 2011).

While in Aotearoa there has been a significant cultural change to move towards gender equity through decisions such as employment relations legislation, parental leave and discrimination definitions (Public Service Commission, 2018). However, some women still face gender-based discrimination, especially in the workplace, which still mainly conforms to Westernised standards (Edwards & Cornwall, 2014). It is essential to acknowledge that ethnic women have a complex view of gender roles that do not mirror the desires of Western feminism (Pio & Essers, 2014). While some cultural traditions would still aim to limit women's rights, many scholars show that

Indigenous and Global South feminisms are not static (Pio & Essers, 2014). Women within these movements continuously adapt to challenge positions of privilege and subordination (Dulfano, 2017). This malleability allows ethnic women to define their lives, gender and agency within their cultural context, whether authority within the community, education or political resistance (Dhillon, 2020). Western, Indigenous and Global South feminism cannot be compared to one another, however they can be used in tandem to support women appropriately to have agency to make decisions about their own lives (Dhillon, 2020). Using Western, Indigenous and Global South feminisms together can challenge the missing cultural sensitivity and awareness needed to support ethnic women and pursue work opportunities that are best suited to their skills and desires, rather than societal roles deemed most appropriate for them (Ward & Liu, 2012). The Ministry of Ethnic Communities and the Ministry for Women have progressed women's voices; however, more work is needed to create diversity and inclusion in government ministries.

1.5 The importance of the Public Service

Government Ministries are the foundation of the Aotearoa's Public Service (Public Service Commission, 2018). The work they undertake is critical to all people, and there is an urgent need for an ethnic lens to be added to their work (Public Service Commission, n.d.). Government ministries, inform Ministers on policy decisions and act as liaisons for the public to ensure they capture their needs and is monitored by the Public Service Commission (Public Service Commission, n.d.). The Public Service Commission has an open work stream that is trying to create equity, but its application is varied and it needs more direction and explicit goals (Public Service Commission, 2021).

1.6 Sustainable Development Goal 5, Target 5.C

In the literature review in chapter two, I will further explain the creation and controversies of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). However, it is imperative to introduce SDG 5 and Target 5.C. SDG 5 is the only SDG to target gender inequity directly (Dhar, 2018). All the goals have a range of targets and indicators designed to guide governments to operationalise and report on the goals quickly; see Figure 1 for details (Rosa, 2017). Target 5.C aims to create and actively monitor legislation and policy directly impacting women's lives (Sen, 2019). Historically, women's needs

have not been prioritised in the legislative process; they have been side-lined, typically for economic reasons (Sen, 2019). Therefore SDG 5 is a historic target to ensure governments create accountable legal protections to decrease gender inequity (Sen, 2019). SDG 5, Target 5.C has vast potential to benefit women within the Aotearoa context, especially during the Covid recovery with inequities only worsening. This report aims to explore this potential.

Figure 1 - Targets for Sustainable Development 5 (TOTA, n.d.).

1.7 Overview of the report

Chapter one has outlined this project's background and perceived need from an academic and personal point of view. It has looked at the impacts of racism on ethnic communities and the sensitive connection between gender and ethnicity.

Chapter two will be a literature review that looks into the importance of creating diversity in policy workforces, the implications of diverse representation, and the Sustainable Development Goals.

Chapter three will then pivot to create the equity framework that will guide this research by exploring various themes that underpin inclusion and diversity.

Chapter four will define the report's methodology and design, discuss its feminist lens and give a clear description of the interview structure for data collection.

Chapter five will present the findings from my semi-structured interviews and the themes identified from this process.

Chapter six will synthesise these themes, discuss their implications regarding the research aim, questions and objectives, and offer concluding remarks.

Chapter Two: Diversity matters: The matter of inclusion in government ministries' workforces.

2.1 Introduction

Representation matters. Nations must aim to achieve a diverse, participatory and inclusive government workforce to ensure all peoples' voices are heard (Durie, 2005). This chapter will address the creation of public policy in Aotearoa, by defining multilateral United Nationas (UN) agreements, explaining the concept of diverse policymaking, and highlighting the importance of political representation in public service agencies. It will also look at how government ministry workforces try to create workplace diversity and inclusion in Aotearoa.

2.2 Using United Nations multilateral agreements as policy guidance tools: Sustainable Development Goals

The UN has taken it upon itself to design development-based multilateral agendas that challenge institutionalised bias, hoping that governments can create equity (Smith, 2020). Aotearoa has agreed to many of these agendas, including the SDGs (MFAT, n.d.). These documents inform policy decisions in Aotearoa (Saunders et al., 2020). The SDGs provide one of the most progressive equity frameworks but are not utilised to their full extent within policymaking in Aotearoa (Office of the Controller and Auditor-General, 2021).

The SDGs emerged following the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which set eight goals to challenge inequities in the Global South (Sachs, 2012). While the MDGs did report a reduction in poverty and other aims such as hunger and maternal health, it was clear that they were not nuanced enough (Sachs, 2012). Their one-size-fits-all approach lacked the cultural awareness and malleability needed for nations to create change (Sachs, 2012). Morton et al. (2017) state that while there was a positive change from the MDGs, the downside of this approach is that decisions are often made by politicians who identify the most pressing inequities based on their own lived experience. Subsequently, the SDGs were developed as a series of 17 holistic goals contributing to environmental, cultural, social and economic equity for all (Smith, 2020). One of the main benefits of the SDGs is that their design is malleable, meaning that every nation can alter the goals, indicators and targets to focus on critical areas of inequity in their communities (Morton et al., 2017).

Marginalised people are often under-represented in decision making spaces like Parliament (Verge, 2021). If the definition of SDG targets does not accurately reflect the inequities oppressed communities face, they can be further disadvantaged (Verge, 2021). Tools need to be able to adapt to ensure oppressed views are heard. Further commentary on the malleability of the SDGs shows that they are not intersectional enough and often forget to acknowledge the rights of Indigenous peoples (Smith, 2020). Without recognising the knowledge and oppression of Indigenous people, a framework cannot truly create equity for other marginalised groups, as inherently, it is continuing to oppress a population (Yap & Watene, 2019). Post-development thinkers advocate for governance that harnesses these critiques of the SDGs (Kothari et al., 2017), proposing that with the incorporation of the knowledge of marginalised peoples, governments can adapt the SDGs to create meaningful and effective policy change for all peoples (Kothari et al., 2017). Through a post-development lens, it is clear that there needs to be a move towards more diverse policymaking to ensure that international agreements, including the SDGs, are used to create equity for all (Kothari et al., 2017).

2.3 Diversity in policymaking

Diversity in policymaking posits that representing different perspectives is critical for creating well-informed policy, making it one of the most effective tools to encourage a fairer society

(Oltmann, 2017). When people who understand community contexts influence policy, marginalised groups have substantial positive outcomes as this approach prioritises their wellbeing (Indira, 2020). There are two critical arguments on diverse policymaking within the context of Aotearoa. The first asserts that diversity in policymaking must acknowledge Indigenous people and others whom the majority has marginalised with policies reflecting the communities they serve (Durie, 2005; Kothari et al., 2017). The second is that the most educationally qualified candidate should create a policy that better understands the academic principles that underpin a discipline such as public policy creation (Rivera, 2012). Unfortunately, the second approach overlooks the institutionalised oppression that has limited educational and employment opportunities for marginalised people (Simon-Kumar, 2014). Institutionalised oppression cannot be underestimated as an influence on diversity in policymaking, as colonial perspectives are prevalent in recruitment processes (Simon-Kumar, 2018). If ethnic women's voices are excluded, how can a workplace be inclusive enough to diversify to its full extent?

A critical body of post-development literature proposes new models for public policy which redefine the narratives and provide alternative options to contemporary issues by uncovering the potential of marginalised people (Eden & Wagstaff, 2021). For example, for women, exploring their entrepreneurial perspectives outside of the neo-liberal setting is critical for unlocking new economic, social or environmental initiatives (Lacey & Underhill-Sem, 2018). This explorative approach is now used by prominent development actors such as the UN, the World Bank, and the IMF, who are often critically challenged by post-development thinkers (Lacey & Underhill-Sem, 2018). While post-development is critical for these institutions, they significantly influence international policymaking and must start to make more progressive changes. Therefore, national governments must consider post-development thinking to ensure an equitable policy workforce. Ultimately, the hiring processes of government ministries should become the role model for all employers to create diverse workplaces through concrete action and representation.

2.4 Representation and ethnic women

Development and equity are inherently political concepts; both aim to address contentious social issues such as poverty through bureaucratic processes such as national and international government intervention (Mönks et al., 2017). In democratic societies, communities rely on

politicians or elected Members of Parliament (MP's) to represent their needs in Parliament and enact equitable legislative decisions (Verge, 2021). Ethnic people, especially women, are under-represented in global parliaments (Verge, 2021). Evidence shows that representation is the first step to creating agency and voice for marginalised communities (Mügge et al., 2019). However, post-development theorists show that there is still opposition to creating legislative change to prioritise the independent voice of marginalised people in their workplaces (Parvin, 2018).

Still, women find ways to make space for themselves despite opposition from the majority (Indira, 2020). Many women become trailblazers through participation as MP's, using their voices to create lasting and impactful change (Mügge et al., 2019). There is some praise for the increase of women in Parliaments as a step towards better outcomes for women. However, Waddilove (2018) discusses how women are viewed as token contributors in public sector workplaces and their ideas are dismissed as societal change solely-designed for women. This rhetoric illustrates the ingrained oppression of women and the lack of urgency to prioritise their voices on issues in society. This means women MPs are simply trying to survive their environment long enough to put forward the needs of their constituents, who sometimes feel forgotten by the government (Waddilove, 2018). Just because women are present in a space does not mean their voices are being heard. It is critical to use international agreements such as the SDGs to ensure that decisive, inclusive policies are created through strong representation (Denney, 2015). Women who legislate must re-politicise their efforts; everything they do as politicians can improve the lives of marginalised people (Kothari et al., 2017). It is clear that political representation can change lives by changing how the government makes decisions and influencing government ministries' workforces to create equity for more people.

2.5 Impacts of representation on the function of policymaking

Representation is a participatory tool that ensures people feel seen by their leaders who acknowledge their lived experiences (Urbinati & Warren, 2008). Hence, it has significant implications for creating inclusive policy. While there are many ways MP's contribute to their constituency, their parliamentary responsibility as either a Minister or a Select Committee member means they can contribute to the legislative process (Arseneau, 2014). However, this relies on having a range of MP's with different lived experiences to ensure that democracy is for all. Despite

Aotearoa's colonial biases, the government has a strong history of legislating for equity (Anderson et al., 2014). However, Aotearoa's attempts to create gender equity do not go far enough for women from Indigenous, Pasifika, or ethnic minority communities (Parker & Donnelly, 2021). Literature shows that partly this can be attributed to neoliberal thinking that argues that legislation is not the best option for creating equity or societal change and that legislation can overextend the government's control (McCloskey, 1991).

Traditionally, expressions of supreme governmental power have led to revolution (Zografos, 2017). While these revolutionary practices have changed, the principles of challenging power to create equity for marginalised people can be seen as contemporary protest (Gudynas, 2017). Protest is a means for the people to challenge power and call upon governments to be better (Gudynas, 2017). Parker and Donnelly (2021) argue that workplace opportunities rely on legislative and societal change to encourage employers to create inclusive workplaces; if this is not happening, it is hard to create equity. For example, in the Aotearoa context, the introduction of paid parental leave was an impressive step toward creating equity for parents (Stratford, 2016). It extended the amount of rest both parents could take to look after a child (Stratford, 2016). This change relied on lobbying calling for fairer outcomes for working parents, and because there are more women represented in Parliament, these increases have only continued to rise (Stratford, 2016).

Governments also use policy guidance as a secondary tool to provide community support (Kaltenborn et al., 2020). While helpful, policy guidance does not change the institutionalised discrimination ethnic women face (Pack et al., 2016). Policy guidance can pair well with legislation to create a resource pack that can provide advocacy roadmaps that help community leaders teach people stigma-free communication skills to discuss key barriers their communities face (Cleaver, 1999). Case studies from Afghanistan showed that when families were adequately informed about these options, it fostered community discussions about creating culturally appropriate opportunities for women in the workplace (Echavez et al., 2016). Therefore, acknowledging the benefits and challenges of legislative and policy-based tools is critical for creating a diverse and representative policy workforce in government ministries and ensuring a wide range of voices is present in Parliament to effect policy change.

2.6 Diversity and Inclusion policies of government ministries in Aotearoa

Government institutions must take it upon themselves to diversify their workforces, using human resources (HR) inclusion and diversity policies as their primary tool to create opportunities in the workplace (Sparkman, 2019). Most companies target women and ethnic minorities, but post-development literature criticises the lack of intersectionality between the marginalised groups (Mundy & Seuffert, 2020). Poor intersectionality means that there has been no nuanced thought about the interaction between marginalisation and oppression, especially for groups such as ethnic women, whose potential has not been explored to the same extent as the general grouping of 'women' (Simon-Kumar, 2014). More intersectionality must be applied in these settings, as without acknowledging how oppression is created, effective HR policies cannot be made to develop talent and, therefore, policy.

Across the literature, diversity and inclusion policies claim to be a positive step for creating diverse workplaces (Rivera, 2012). While they promote a positive goal, development scholar Collins (2017) queries governmental overuse of coined buzzwords such as empowerment, participation and agency. They attribute the overuse of buzzwords to the fact that they are often used to virtue-signal governments' authenticity and desire for more equity (Collins, 2017). Putting a development lens over these policies and accepted corporate frameworks is critical, as currently they only virtue-signal towards the workforce passively, with no intersectional or long-term considerations (Shen et al., 2009). Sharma's (2016) review shows that they do not break down barriers to create space for diverse voices. It states that good diversity and inclusion policy must have a robust framework with actions, reporting lines, and an understanding of behavioural implications. Outlined from the start, this structure sets organisations up for positive, inclusive recruitment (Sharma, 2016). While workplaces should have autonomy, the public service reports directly to the government and impacts the lives of everyone within a country. Serious consideration should be given to the efficacy of their current policies with the reasonable expectation of improvement in inclusion and diversity.

2.7 Inclusion and diversity policies in Aotearoa

In Aotearoa, there is no formal regulation for diversity and inclusion policies (Public Service Commission, 2021). Instead, the Public Service Commission and relevant non-discriminatory laws such as the Human Rights Act 1993 advise best practices (Public Service Commission, n.d.). The lack of regulation is attributed to Aotearoa's neoliberal tendencies and aversion to government mandates (Zwi, 2016). Literature that acknowledges that the tight control and lack of government legislation can cause confusion and lack accountability, as no set standard exists (Vohra et al., 2015).

The introduction of the SDGs questioned how effective current diversity and inclusion policies are and how governments can use tools such as legislation to be more targeted in creating equity in government ministry workforces (Denney, 2015). Currently, there is a range of approaches to hiring policies in the government ministries of Aotearoa, when looking at a sample of eighteen ministries to gauge the use of diversity and inclusion policies; only six are accessible on the internet and eleven are not (see appendix 1) . Of the six policies, at least three were obtained under the Official Information Act (OIA) and were not publicly available before being requested by a member of the public. The fact that most of the general policies were only made public upon request is critical to understanding the current use of diversity and inclusion policies. It shows how inconsistently they are used in Aotearoa.

Furthermore, in this selection of publicly available policies, the mention of ethnicity and gender is low, and the commitment to accountable steps is weak. This approach does not align with the current literature on best practices, which asserts that transparency is key to equity. Whether it is a development programme or a hiring policy, participants must know the foundation, monitoring, power dynamics and other goals of an institution; when these are absent, it is easy for discrimination and inequity to breed (Vohra et al., 2015). Interestingly, some of these policies identify models of recruitment, such as anonymous recruitment, which are contentious. Many see anonymous recruitment as an opportunity to remove bias by redacting key features such as names, gender, or university to provide an equal field (Rinne, 2018). However, critiques show this is problematic. In Aotearoa, European people and those with privilege who have strong resumes are overrepresented in the candidate pools of government ministries (Kroll et al., 2021). In many ways,

the inconsistencies between policies illustrate how the colonial development procedures of the Global North have institutionalised discrimination against marginalised people and continue to further this by not having cohesive recruitment policies across the public service. To further this, an example in Aotearoa saw a sample of multicultural candidates surveyed as they applied for public service roles; the results showed the Pakeha candidates were offered higher salaries as their names, university transcripts and other experience made them appear to have a high potential (Jackson & Fischer, 2007). This suggests that there needs to be a more coherent and sustainable approach that considers how bias impacts hiring processes across workforces.

2.8 Summary

Understanding the basis of diverse policymaking is essential to improving the lives of ethnic women in Aotearoa. Representation and diversity and inclusion policies are necessary, as they are the key to understanding SDG 5 and unlocking its potential. Together, they show inconsistencies in Aotearoa's current approach to diversity and inclusion of ethnic minorities in the public service workforce. There needs to be more exploration and commitment to more equitable outcomes in society and work opportunities for ethnic women.

Chapter Three: SDG 5, Target 5.C: Sustainable Development in Practice

3.1 Introduction

It became clear in chapter two that while trying to equalise a workplace, the terms diversity and inclusion are used interchangeably. As a result, there is no clarity in their meaning or relationship to each other, especially in hiring processes in government ministries. The conflation of diversity and inclusion comes down to the argument of equity vs equality. Rooted in social justice, equity is the impartial creation of fair and equal outcomes considering the background and experience, whereas equality is the state in which there are no special privileges, everyone has the same opportunity regardless of their experiences (Kumar, 2021). The equity vs equality interaction is critical, as often it is assumed based on this argument that diversity could equal inclusion by attempting to hire people from a range of communities. Kumar (2021) argues that the opposite is

true, that inclusion equals better diversity in the workplace, as to be inclusive means to change practices radically and guarantee safety, growth and prosperity, which is equity. The need for more thoughtful equity creation is the foundation of the SDGs (Griffiths & Brown, 2017). Sustainable development in practice accounts for the trauma of colonisation, poverty, gender, and lack of access to education and attempts to create economic, social, cultural and environmental equity for all people (Sharma & Bhuyan, 2021). This chapter will examine how this diversity and inclusion discussion affects the strengths, weaknesses and principles of SDG 5, Target 5.C to create a conceptual framework for equity.

3.2 Inclusion and Diversity

Inclusion within disciplines such as development and public policy is the idea that to create a cohesive, fair, respectful, and diverse community, actionable steps must be taken to break down institutional biases towards people outside of the majority (Salahshour, 2021). For ethnic minorities, inclusion means having the ability to participate while still respecting their cultural or religious needs (Pio, 2016). In Aotearoa, inclusion in the workplace is still being pursued (Pio, 2016). There is clear evidence that workplace safety and cohesion are more robust when workplaces understand religious and cultural needs, such as time off for prayer or other cultural requirements (Pio, 2016). Creating opportunities is an educative process that normalises the needs of different populations to ensure workplaces change their institutions to reflect the community rather than the needs of the majority (Chambers et al., 2017). An inclusive approach places a sense of urgency on breaking down the historical processes that are no longer fit for purpose to ensure that diversity can thrive.

Diversity is the societal acceptance of people from different races, religions, ethnicities, educational backgrounds, genders, sexualities, gender expressions, physical, neurological or mental abilities, socioeconomic status, political opinions and cultural backgrounds (Chambers et al., 2017). The predominant neoliberal view of diversity is that it trickles down when one or two diverse people are present in an institution (Adamson et al., 2021). This is a fallacy, as instead of creating structural changes that ensure all people have opportunities, institutions systematically hire a handle of diverse people to virtue signal that they are trying to move towards a fairer workplace. This approach fails to acknowledge intersectionality and the stark disadvantages

people face when they identify as one or more groups outside of the majority, e.g. ethnic women (Salahshour, 2021). Instead, contemporary theorists suggest that diversity should be viewed as a product of inclusion (Chambers et al., 2017). Inclusionary practices include legislation, policy, education and social movements to ensure that needs of diverse peoples are included without the need to be altered to fit the needs of the majority (Chambers et al., 2017).

3.3 SDG 5 in Aotearoa

SDG 5 aims to create fair and equal opportunities for women through advocacy, reducing violence, and acknowledging that they deserve to live a life determined by themselves (Dhar, 2018). Post-development feminist scholars show that holistic approaches such as this are paramount for creating longer-term gender equality, as they can be applied in various contexts (Edwards & Cornwall, 2014). Therefore, SDG 5 is well-formed at the outset, with a range of targets and indicators that ensure no one is left behind (Rosa, 2017). While SDG 5 and the SDGs more broadly provide a clear mandate that it is time for women to be given power through opportunity, their application is varied and has yet to be harnessed well in Aotearoa.

While there are priorities, there is no roadmap on how SDG 5 will be actioned or how it could be adjusted for intersectionality to help improve women's lives in Aotearoa. A clear framework is pressing, as having straightforward options and tools enable minorities to push for change within a sector. Aotearoa does not have an official monitoring system; the data available is collected by Victoria University of Wellington and lists the specific areas identified by the government in their 2019 report '*He waka eke noa, towards a better future, together: Aotearoa's progress towards the SDGs – 2019*' (MFAT, 2019). The Aotearoa Sustainable Development Goals Dashboard (n.d.) measures the gender pay gap, parliamentary representation, intimate violence against women, and the number senior managers in the public sector by percentage. There is an identifiable gap in these measures. While the issues are paramount to women's safety, there needs to be more intersectionality, including among people who are not in senior positions. The oppression of women from ethnic minorities is top-down, so equity must address it systemically to create equal and fair opportunities (Simon-Kumar, 2018).

3.3.1 SDG 5, Target 5.C

The SDGs have been heralded as a progressive tool that could create equity, as their malleable indicators can be altered to serve a variety of purposes within nations (Morton et al., 2017). However, the success of their targets, such as Target 5.C, depends on countries adopting and strengthening sound policies and enforceable legislation to promote gender equality (UN Stats, n.d.). However, nations take a purely empirical lens on these targets, setting indicators such as the number of women in Parliament and women in managerial roles (Eden & Wagstaff, 2021). The main problem with this is that while women may be in 'leadership' positions, this does not mean they have agency or voice within those situations (Adams-Hutcheson et al., 2019). Often women in these positions, such as politicians, report high levels of stress and oppression and note how hard it is to create change within systems that are not designed for them (Mügge et al., 2019).

Research shows this to be an unsustainable approach to achieving the SDG 5 goal to create equity for women (Eden & Wagstaff, 2021). A review by the Office of the Controller and Auditor-General (2021) sets out that the best way for Aotearoa to progress is for the government to identify if it will set targets, what steps it will take and how it will measure SDG success. The recommendations of the Auditor-General would ensure that there would be data available for successive governments to work off and ensure success could be built upon. Cameron et al. (2019) suggest adopting a means-based target that links many localised goals together. Case studies show that this can be highly effective when targeting a specific issue or institutional bias, such as discrimination against women in the workplace (Kaltenborn et al., 2020). Using Target 5.C in this manner could create unexpected opportunities by radicalising policy approaches already in place; all it takes is action.

3.4 Equity Framework (Mother Tree of Equity)

The literature review showed that in regards the effective operationalisation of SDG 5.C in Aotearoa, relies on fundamental principles that are not currently used to their full potential. These principles are representation, empowerment, participation, agency and accountability. If harnessed correctly, the equity framework of this research could see Target 5.C operationalised for more than just the public sector workforce and ethnic women to create inclusion, diversity and equity within

workplaces across Aotearoa. Setting a base standard for treatment across sectors based on a public sector model would help ensure equity becomes the acknowledged normality for all women (Simon-Kumar, 2018).

This framework is visualised as a Mother Tree. Forests are living beings with highly complex relationships that see each element and plant interact to grow, thrive and survive (Rangiwai, 2018). In Te Ao Māori, elements such as trees are seen as a symbol of wellbeing because, like trees, people need spirit, body, mind and family to thrive (Rangiwai, 2018). Everything is interconnected between humans and the environment, and acknowledging this is paramount to creating holistic communities that prioritise wellbeing (Rangiwai, 2018). Therefore, the tree for this framework takes the following elements; diversity is the fruit and is grown when the sun (inclusion) grows the Mother Tree's (equity) roots (representation, empowerment, participation, agency and accountability). These roots are fed through the soil, and for this report, the soil represents SDG 5, governance, policy and legislation and how they can be used to strengthen and grow the roots of equity and, therefore, diversity. See figure 2 for a visual representation.

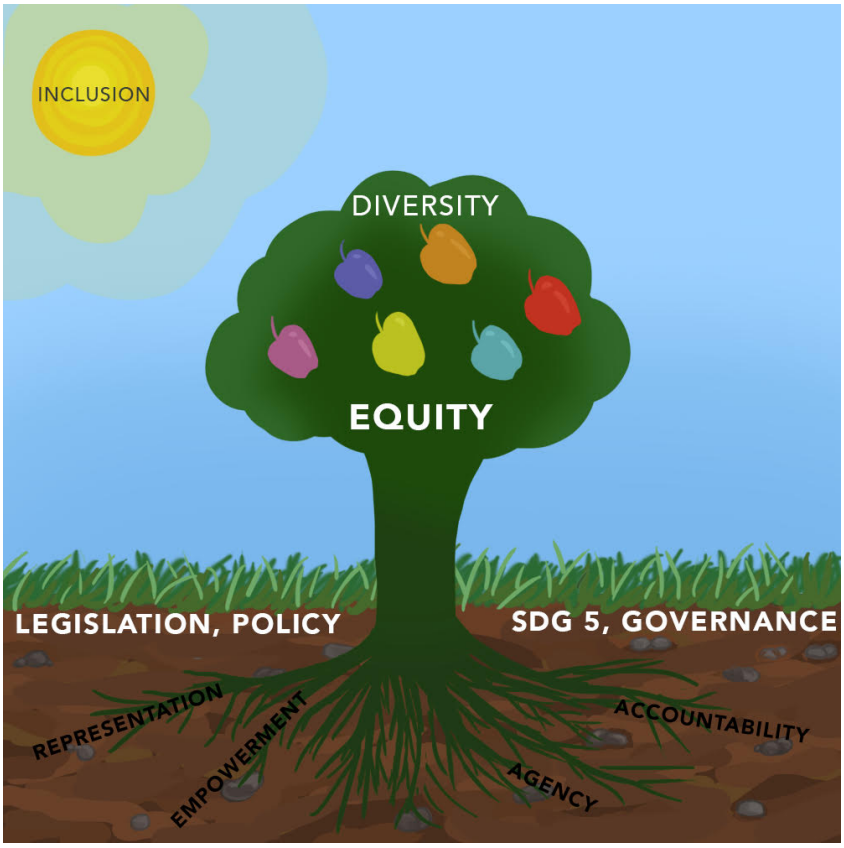

Figure 2 - Equity framework

3.4.1 Representation

One root of the equity tree is representation. Asher and Wainwright (2019) argue that depicting populations, especially marginalised groups, significantly impacts their communities' oppression. Using these principles of depiction, it is clear that representation is an environment where a variety of perspectives are heard (Mügge et al., 2019). Creating representative environments is desperately needed in the public service of Aotearoa, as evidence shows that leaders with shared experiences are essential to minimising inequity and fostering diversity in the workplace (Mind the Gap, 2021). Representation of diverse people critically challenges established power dynamics, allowing innovative new ideas to impact economic and social challenges (Desai & Potter, 2013). The issue arising with the SDGs is that representation is often measured proportionally rather than by effect (Odera & Mulusa, 2020). This measurement style has significant implications for representation in political leadership (Mügge et al., 2019).

The voices of politicians are at the heart of generating decisions and legislative change that will effect long term sustainability and equity (Verge, 2021). Creating representation on this level across sectors is a challenging hurdle for colonised communities to overcome, and as previously noted, measurement based simply on a quota is damaging (Denney, 2015). While ethnic leaders do have space to voice the concerns of their communities, they are often a minority charged with introducing decolonial thinking that will disrupt the ingrained approaches of institutions that perpetuate discrimination against diverse people (Asher & Wainwright, 2019). Therefore, representation must be measured through effect rather than proportion. Seeing a leader reflect a community is essential for that community to feel empowered and effect change.

3.4.2 Empowerment

The second root of the equity tree is empowerment. Development practitioners define empowerment as 'an unfolding process of changes in consciousness and collective power" (Cornwall, 2016, p. 1). While representation challenges established power constructs, empowerment is the side effect of this change, as it shows marginalised people that their perspectives are essential (Cornwall, 2016). However, empowerment is often used as a buzzword to signal that a powerful group is trying to be more inclusive of marginalised people.

Unfortunately, these attempts are usually made from the perspective of the majority and do not account for what diverse people need to feel empowered (Batliwala, 2007). Principles of second-wave feminism have traditionally defined women's empowerment. However, these movements are built on the experiences of white, Western women and have not accounted for the cultural differences between them, and ethnic women and Indigenous women (Lacey & Underhill-Sem, 2018).

The benefit of the SDGs is that, while a predominantly neoliberal tool, they have evolved and transformed in the light if criticisms from local and radical voices in post-development that challenge the applicability of Western-neoliberal-central ideas to their communities (Cornwall, 2016). As a result of these challenges, the SDGs have grown how they utilise monitoring, evaluation, participation, community-led forums, and community-led education to allow all women to define the journey they want to take (Cornwall, 2016). For example, case studies from South Africa show that using the SDGs as a framework helped create indicators of how to increase leaders who represent diverse women in their sector (Korb & Bornman, 2021). The ultimate effect of this was that it led to the empowerment of women, increasing their "goal orientation, generosity (wanting to give), resilience/inner strength, perseverance, and confidence." (Korb & Bornman, 2021, p. 103). This empowerment can be attributed to the fact that women designed the policies governing their workplace. This example highlights how having diverse leaders can empower women to thrive in their workplaces. Thus, through the empowerment of representation in spaces like Parliament, tools such as the SDGs can create policy for more equitable outcomes while creating spaces for ethnic women to participate in decision making that impacts their lives (Dhar, 2018).

3.4.3 Participation

The next root of equity is participation, which is created through empowerment for a collective change (Cornwall, 2016). Active participation is the state in which consultation is cemented, and diverse people's voices, perspectives and knowledge are used to make decisions (Otsuki, 2014). Participation theory in development studies has shifted; historically, participation did not place the impact of the participants at the core of the outcome, instead placing structural or institutional success as the central imperative (Otsuki, 2014). This disregard for the livelihood of participants

highlighted that participatory action was being used to virtue signal change (Chambers, 1994). For this reason, post-development theory argues that inequity is not isolated and that applying top-down and unsustainable solutions without local communities' active and sustained involvement is destructive (Mosse, 2001).

Fear of hostility and discrimination often hinder participation of ethnic communities in Aotearoa and this means their voices are not always heard in decision making (Young & Caine, 2020). However, Māori have long-established, successful resistance methods such as peaceful protest that have helped them fight against colonisation and discrimination (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Māori resistance can provide ethnic communities with guidance, tools and partnership opportunities to increase resistance and ensure they work together for the equity of all racially marginalised people (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). While the SDGs are not as steeped in Indigenous perspectives as they should be, there have been examples of their localisation channelling the resistance of diverse Indigenous communities to create participation in governance (Sterling et al., 2020). In Vanuatu, there has been an ongoing effort to localise the SDGs to ensure they are context-specific for their people (Department of Strategic Policy et al., 2016). Using a context-specific approach has meant acknowledging differences in knowledge and creating a plan for indicators called the 'Vanuatu National Sustainable Development Plan 2016–2030', which colloquially is known as Vanuatu 2030: The People's Plan (Department of Strategic Policy et al., 2016). The importance of this plan is that it was created through participation to ensure the policy objectives, targets, and indicators were designed to prioritise a range of traditional, customary values (Sterling et al., 2020). While this is a significant example that refers to all of the SDGs, it shows the potential for how a target of the SDGs can be localised to harness the participatory needs of diverse communities and create more substantial equity outcomes.

Local involvement in decision making is essential, as marginalised people do not need to be told what is best for them after years of oppression (Bhattacharya & Jairath, 2012). A foundation of participation prioritises communication, discussion, analysis, evaluation and bottom-up thinking (Bhattacharya & Jairath, 2012). The ability of ethnic communities to define their needs through participation is critical for policymaking, as government decisions are critical for all people in Aotearoa (Calkin, 2018). However, this connection between community and government relies on

interactions that encourage active participation to increase inclusion and equity (Rivera, 2012). The post-development take on participation has exciting ideas on making active participation a more utilised tool, with government agencies increasing the consultation on policy discussions and legislation (Sterling et al., 2020). Overall, there is a clear precedent for localising an SDG target to increase participation. The outcomes are highly beneficial, as they help create more agency and accountability.

3.4.4 Agency

Root three of the equity tree is agency, which is the knowledge that an individual has the autonomy to use their voice to challenge decisions that impact their life (Olatunji & Bature, 2019). Agency is created by breaking down societal norms that stigmatise the independence of groups (Olatunji & Bature, 2019). Creating agency within ethnic communities can be challenging, as power structures have often aimed to force assimilation and strip them of independence within their cultural context (Griffiths & Brown, 2017). Therefore, while agency is an independent route to equity, it is fostered and grows alongside representation, empowerment, and participation to provide a foundation for an independent voice by ensuring that communities define their own needs (Deka, 2021). Women from ethnic communities often live within cultural boundaries that enforce patriarchal control (Olatunji & Bature, 2019). Agency in these situations is nuanced, as it has different meanings to different ethnicities; this must be acknowledged for agency to be fostered for diverse women (Olatunji & Bature, 2019).

Fostering agency opens a new range of possibilities with mobility and accessibility to untapped resources and networks (Deka, 2021). Having access to resources and networks means people can operate freely to hold power to account and constructively push for change (Deka, 2021). It is important to note that agency can also be collective, not just individual (Otsuki et al., 2018). Collective agency is an essential concept within marginalised communities, as their cultures are more entwined and co-dependent (Otsuki et al., 2018). Nevertheless, often they are marginalised as one group without understanding how distinct each community is (Otsuki et al., 2018). This can present in the policy workforce through a veneered diversity that is not inclusive of individual cultural identity (Harcourt, 2016). Veneered diversity is critical, as so often it is argued that diverse hiring is not prioritised due to economic or productivity concerns (MacPhail, 2017). The argument

that productivity is the most important aspect of a workplace is in direct conflict with development studies literature that shows encouraging diverse hiring and agency of diverse candidates unlocks new and innovative economic outcomes (MacPhail, 2017). Therefore, the use of agency is paramount for creating equity for ethnic women, as it ensures they can participate actively in a manner defined by them. Using agency to create individual and collective voice to support ethnic women within colonial structures in Aotearoa is why target 5.C is needed to create accountability.

3.4.5 Accountability

The final root, accountability, is vital to equity as it holds power to account (Galloway & Ishimaru, 2020). The other principles discussed give people the ability to challenge supreme power by emancipating oppressed voices (Gberevbie et al., 2017). However, while having an emancipated voice is essential, there must be structures that analyse the conversations that arise to provide transparency, as without scrutiny, democracies are incomplete (Handrahan, 2018). Equitable democracy and, therefore, equitable outcomes for marginalised people thrive off the confrontation of incomplete democracies by harnessing the willingness to compromise, participate, and bargain to consolidate democracy to create measures that can generate accountable dynamic systems (Handrahan, 2018). The noted challenge to using the SDGs in Aotearoa is the absence of official accountability schema (Office of the Controller and Auditor-General, 2021). Examples from a study by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (n.d.) have shown that governments can create strong accountability measures through dashboard monitoring accessible to the public. Accountability measures are imperative for creating gender equality. Importantly, this helps the growth of the other roots of participation, equity and representation, as the needs of diverse communities are visible, and groups can lobby for change (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, n.d.).

In the governmental and workplace contexts, clear reporting lines and metrics for actions, behaviours and hiring processes are vital for equity (Oltmann, 2017). Development practices such as strong adaptive monitoring and evaluation have led to successful equity-based projects (Kananura et al., 2017). Additionally, there has been a success in merging development monitoring and evaluation tools with SDG policy creation. Figure 3 shows an evidence-based policy scheme in which consultation, experience, monitoring and evaluation are used to ensure that targets and

indicators are met and revised consistently to ensure created policies are truly equitable (Eden & Wagstaff, 2021). The importance of adopting a method like this across government ministries with Target 5.C cannot be underestimated. Governments must acknowledge that creating equity is their responsibility (Bhattacharya & Jairath, 2012). Therefore, accountability is a complementary principle that helps to foster representation, empowerment, participation and agency.

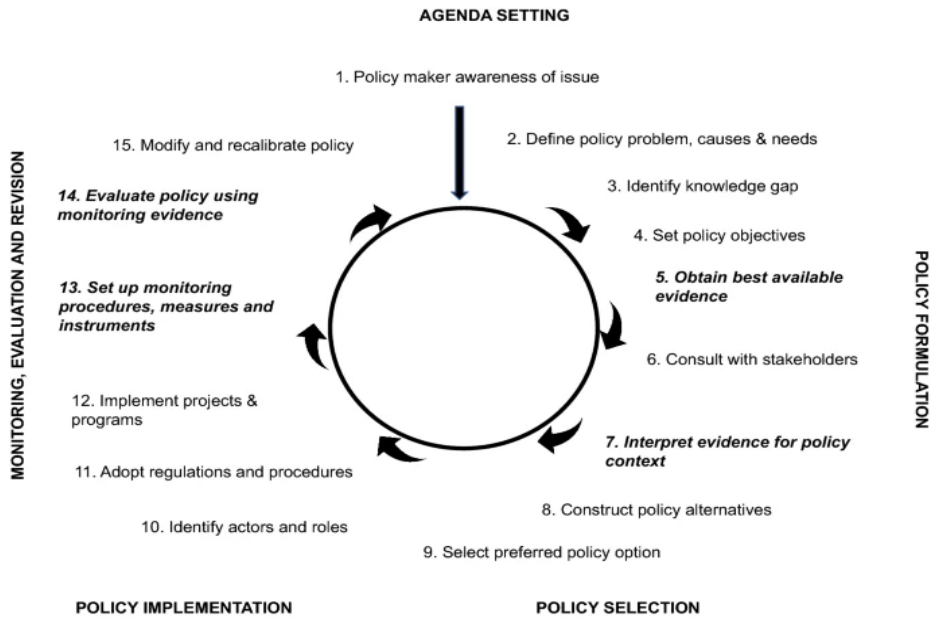

Figure 3 - Policy cycle approach (Eden & Wagstaff, 2021).

3.5 Framework in practice

Equity needs to be created for ethnic women to thrive in government ministries in Aotearoa. However, equity is not the only key theme missing; strong inclusionary practices must be used, as diversity and equity do not just appear. The analogy of the equity tree framework is a helpful depiction of how equity for ethnic women is not siloed; it is a process in which the roots (representation, empowerment, participation, agency and accountability) grow together by being fed by the sun (inclusion) and soil (policy, legislation, SDG 5 and governance) to produce equity (tree) and diversity (produce). Therefore, it is critical to understand how this framework can be applied through the governance of MPs to diversify the soil further to ensure the roots of equity grow fully. This understanding will be vital to the methodology, design and data collection process. The principles of the equity tree will underpin the questions that I will ask participants to keep equity for ethnic women at the heart of the discussion.

Chapter Four: Methodology and design: In conversation with Feminism and history

4.1 Introduction and positionality

Chapters two and three presented a range of literature on the critical arguments surrounding diversity in policymaking, access to opportunities for ethnic women in government ministries and the SDGs. These chapters helped formulate an equity framework from current literature. The framework created in chapter three identifies the concepts of representation, empowerment, participation, agency, and accountability as a tree that helps create equity through active inclusion and diversity. These concepts were critical for the methodology and design as they spoke to the social justice-based motives that inspired this research. The following chapter will look at the methodology that informed the data collection and design of the semi-structured interviews, oral history and archival selection, and the analysis procedure. It will also address the project's ethical obligations and limitations and how I handled these with due diligence and respect.

Before discussing methodology, it is essential to address positionality to achieve a robust research design. This states bias early on and acknowledges its impact on the methodological design process. This research was deeply personal to me; I have both Indian and Pakeha whakapapa (genealogy), and my biracial experiences led me to this topic and motivated me to adamantly pursue equity for women who have had similar experiences to the women in my family. It was important to be tenacious and use my platform to advance women's lives in any way possible. It was essential to acknowledge the power and privilege I hold to be able to research this report. My middle-class, bi-racial experience as a second-generation migrant means I have lived a significantly privileged life while facing some unique discrimination. This privilege has meant I can attend university at an advanced level, which has provided me with a range of benefits, including access to my job working as a researcher at Parliament and my relationship with MPs. People from ethnic communities have to fight harder for this sort of connection. I hope that I can help highlight their perspectives on this topic.

4.1.1 Limitations

Before continuing, it is important to note the limitations of this research. Firstly, there was inherent political bias in this research. Due to proximity and limitations within my workplace, I could only access Labour MPs. This is a clear bias toward the centre-left ideology in the Aotearoa context and does not represent the experiences of MPs' from across the political spectrum. I did reach out to MPs from other parties, however I did not receive a response. While this is a limitation, there was also significant value in interviewing MPs belonging to the governing party. Their majority in Parliament means currently they shape all of the legislation and policy being produced. Their consideration of wellbeing, equity, social justice and movement towards fairer, decolonial foreign policy positioned them to make important contributions to this research. Other limitations include scope and size; the broader question of the role of the SDGs in Aotearoa has been questioned, however due to the size of the project this only looks at one very specific SDG target in relation to a niche workforce. While there may be other implications of Target 5.C, this research will only touch on equitable employment opportunities in Aotearoa government ministries.

4.2 Ethical considerations

Before undertaking the data collection, it was necessary to understand the ethical obligations of research and seek ethics approval from Massey University (see appendix 2). To this end, I studied the theoretical principles in the Massey University Code of Ethics and the Institute of Development Studies process to identify three critical ethical themes to guide this project. They were culture, consent, and confidentiality. The themes ensured the project did no harm, preserved justice, and respected subjects.

Culture sets the tone, as it helps the researcher identify and mitigate any personal or institutionalised bias (Gil & Bob, 1999). Moreover, Underhill-Sem (2016) noted that using feminist ethics principles can help fortify a robust culture within research. These principles are "mutual respect, recognition of differences, commitment to non-hierarchical modes of organisation, and intergenerational transfers of knowledge and power" (Underhill-Sem, 2016, p. 3). Therefore, I constantly evaluated for personal bias and applied a high level of socio-cultural awareness to ensure that the participants' experiences were honoured. Using this respectful, non-

hierarchical approach was critical. It ensured I acknowledged the Indigenous people and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which historically have not been at the forefront of research (Durie, 2005). Massey University's Te Ara Tika framework is an excellent example of how researchers can honour Treaty obligations and principles. The principles of Whakapapa (relationships), Tika (purposefulness), Manākitanga (cultural and societal responsibility) and Mana (justice) were used to think consciously about the implications of potential findings for all people of Aotearoa (Massey University, 2017). This research aimed to be emancipatory and, in so doing, be a Treaty-based product that acknowledged the impact of the breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi on 21st century Aotearoa (Anderson et al., 2014).

Academically, consent includes the principles of informed and voluntary consent and the avoidance of harm that encompasses integrity, respect and autonomy (Berg, 2007). The interviewees were all people with whom I had built rapport. While there were still risks, building rapport was helpful, as it ensured that there was a strong relationship that was the foundation for the interviews. However, the interviewees were my senior colleagues, with whom I had previous conversations that helped shape my ideas which helpfully functioned as the beginning of an informed consent process, as they understood the project and the need for unfiltered answers. Finally, confidentiality encompasses established protocols for respect, privacy, and justice regarding the information gathered (Banks & Scheyvens, 2014). Dowling (2000) states that strong confidentiality protocols create dignity for the informants and documents by ensuring their privacy is respected and prioritised. I spent time building infrastructure, such as private drives, to protect the participants, their contributions, and other personal data collected throughout the process. These curated interview procedures ensured all participants were respected, their views represented, and the overall integrity of the process was maintained.

4.3 Methodology, methods, and data collection

Methodology is the principles, approaches, and research design that informs the data collection and analysis methods (Scheyvens & McLennan, 2014). A range of methodologies informs development studies (Wanderley, 2017). I picked this topic from a personal desire to see equity for ethnic women and my interest in how the operationalisation of SDG 5 Target 5.C could impact their employment opportunities in government ministries. Therefore, this report used feminist

methodologies and a gendered lens to explore women's experiences in an emancipatory way (O'Leary, 2021).

There are many ways to approach methodology. O'Leary (2021) presents a range of methodological lenses researchers can use when trying to understand their motivation for their project. The lenses 'theorist' and 'emancipator' are presented by O'Leary (2021) are a combination of a feasible analytical approach to qualitative research with the principles of social justice. This is important as this project aimed to use the core base of qualitative research paired with a social justice-based approach that acknowledged that knowledge is not objective, but moulded by social experiences (Kabeer, 2020). Thus, it was fitting to have used both feminist and gendered methodologies when taking a social-justice approach because feminist methodologies harness social experiences by challenging systematic bias against women in research by adopting methods that re-centre women's experiences in research (Oakley, 1998). Beetham and Demetriades (2007) note that gendered development research should bring all people along to create gender equity. Therefore, I drew upon these ideas by exploring the intersectionality of gender with race, ethnicity, religion and sexuality, and how these intersections affected women's power dynamics.

Furthermore, Stewart-Withers et al. (2014) note that intersectionality is the use of emancipatory research, a form of social justice that aims to see equity created for marginalised groups. My report channelled this aim on a small scale to describe emancipatory ideas consistent with SDG 5 Target 5.C that could improve employment equity for ethnic women in government ministry workforces. Paired with the knowledge and drive of feminist thinking, this provided a solid methodological foundation for the data collection and analysis.

Critical aspects of the feminist methodology used are:

1. Working through discomfort to find experiences and challenge ingrained sexist norms and where they intersect [see Valle (2021)]
2. Building a narrative through lived experience [see Oakley (1998) and Harcourt (2016) & Kabeer (2020)]
3. Channelling social justice brings women along and brings men into the equation to create change [See Oakley (1998)]

4. Measuring change and how it affects people - looking at quantities can be helpful. However, it does not show human experience and social needs [See Militz (2020) and Prügl (2020)].

These principles aligned well with the equity framework of this research report. At its core, a feminist methodology has always used women's experiences to explore the impact of historical challenges on contemporary issues (Moser, 2012). Johnston and MacDougall (2021) state that key informant interviews, standard literature reviews, and selective or purposeful sampling are robust methods for using feminist methodologies for emancipatory purposes. The key informant interviews were a powerful way to explore participant perspectives. It was the most challenging part of the research, as I conducted one-hour interviews with five MPs. They are considered an elite target pool, which presents challenges such as access and comfort of the interviewee (Scheyvens et al., 2014). As I worked with the MPs, I had easy access and a rapport that helped to ensure they felt comfortable (Scheyvens et al., 2014).

I also used purposeful sampling to collect a limited selection of oral histories and archival data. The use of oral histories and archival data is essential as they help to provide the historical context and nuances of situations (Vogt et al., 2012). Especially under a gendered lens, it was critical to explore how the themes and actions of the past had impacted the current state of inequity and their potential to affect future outcomes (Vogt et al., 2012). Using these select documents to synthesise the primary data ensured that stories were explored concerning the creation of equity for ethnic women in government ministry workforces by providing a chronological exploration of a range of data, including speeches, policy documents and press releases. This report took a social justice approach to a highly nuanced gender issue by combining key informant interviews and purposeful sampling, as providing women with a space to speak to own their power and share their narratives in situations where they have traditionally been excluded is imperative for a robust feminist research project.

Chapter two identified critical themes within the Aotearoa context through engagement with relevant literature. Chapter three explored concepts that create equity within a workplace by analysing the SDGs and the fundamental principles that create a workable equity framework. I

designed my key informant interviews and purposeful sampling technique with these themes and the critical understanding of issues and arguments surrounding the potential operationalisation of SDG 5 and Target 5.C. Overall, this methodological basis ensured women's voices were prioritised (Oakley, 1998).

4.4 Data analysis procedures

The primary data collection method was semi-structured interviews to ensure women's experiences are the main priority. The secondary method was purposeful sampling of oral histories, archival data and contemporary policy documents. The interviews and purposeful sampling explored women's experiences of MPs in Aotearoa, and identified the potential actions government ministries can take to see better equity outcomes for all ethnic women in government ministries. To ensure their voices and the history were honoured, the data collection and the analysis was tactile, as questions were rotated to account for different documents and participants; this was important as both processes should evolve to acknowledge different contexts and experiences (O'Leary, 2021).

It was critical to have a firm idea of how I would approach the analysis to ensure thorough and respectful findings. Therefore, my approach was naturalistic to allow the voices and knowledge of participants to be heard to their full extent. To ensure this occurred, the analysis process worked to identify common themes that appear and cross-examine them to see how they work towards equity, with no preconceived ideas or expectations based on the equity framework (Bell & Sengupta, 2021). However, this approach was supported by the themes in the literature review and conceptual framework through comparison. The pre-identified themes and critiques showed essential concepts about ethnic women in the government ministries of Aotearoa.

Thus, this pairing of the emergent and pre-identified themes helped create a systematic analysis process that reflected the urgency of exploring equity for ethnic women in government ministry workforces. Scholars such as Galletta (2013) state that this form of systematic analysis of interview data is an ongoing and iterative process. The new themes identified must be discussed with previously identified themes to acknowledge the difference between experience and theory. An iterative analysis approach aligns with the equity framework (Galletta, 2013). It shows what steps

are critical for creating equity within the current Western binary of government ministries with HR diversity and inclusion policies. Therefore, I made the most of the strengths of the qualitative approach to the data analysis by continuously looping back and writing interpretations of themes and patterns emerging both inside and outside the critical equity framework (Galletta, 2013). Patel and McCarthy (2021) state that this sort of approach, is helpful as it ensures that the research question is answered through concise and flowing thought.

4.4.1 Interview schedule

Creating an effective interview schedule for a short period was key to the depth of answers while also considering the need to create in a safe environment for the participants. To create this schedule, I followed the steps outlined by O'Leary (2021) to create a set of robust questions (see appendix 5) that best approached the project's objectives. The themes that underpinned the questions can be seen in Figure 2. The drafting of questions had many iterations; together with my supervisor, I made sure they were robust and clarified any boundaries to the conversation to keep the process purposeful. I provided participants an instruction package with an information sheet and consent form (see appendices 3 and 4). To record the interviews, I used MP3 recording software on my laptop and I coded the participants to ensure flow for the findings and discussion, see below.

Participant codes

- Participant 1: She/Her, Ethnic (SHE)
- Participant 2: She/Her, Ethnic (SHE)
- Participant 3: He/Him, Ethnic (HHE)
- Participant 4: He/Him, Pakeha (HHP)
- Participant 5: She/Her, Māori (SSM)

4.4.2 Purposeful sampling design

Purposeful sampling is a method that uses a selective design based on the methodology to find information-rich case studies that create depth in the findings (Liamputtong, 2020). It uses a critical analysis of oral histories, archival data and other documents to help support the primary

data by moving away from generalised empirical measurements such as the proportion of women in a particular field (Liamputtong, 2020). Often analysis of women's experiences measured in this way does not honour the human aspect of an experience (Liamputtong, 2020). Just because women are counted empirically does not mean their voice is being heard or their experiences are accessible (Patel & McCarthy, 2021). Importantly, it takes information-dense sources to analyse and find themes to suggest new ideas or ideas of what is causing an issue (Liamputtong, 2020). For this report, I selected 9 documents (see appendix 6) to understand government perspectives on ethnicity in the public sector workforce and the adoption of the SDGs.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has outlined this research project's ethics, methodology, design, analysis procedures, and limitations. It presents exciting possibilities of the narratives that can be explored through the participants' experiences and the other data materials. It has also acknowledged the privilege of being a researcher interviewing elite subjects on a topic that influences women from all walks of life. Acknowledging the varied experiences of ethnic women and highlighting their unfiltered voice will be paramount to creating a substantive report that helps with the emancipation of ethnic women in workplaces beyond government ministries.

Chapter Five: Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the data analysis based on the research question: How could SDG 5 Target 5.C be operationalised to improve potential career pathways for women from ethnic minorities in Aotearoa government ministries? Data analysis of nine documents (appendix 6) was reviewed alongside five semi-structured interviews taken as survey interviews to explore this question fully. The key themes presented are power, intersectionality, well-being, and UN-based multilateralism.

5.2 Theme One: Power to the people: Using voice and representation to change power dynamics

The first key theme that appeared during the data analysis of the semi-structured interviews and document analysis was the misuse of power and the need for this to be broken down before change can happen. Primarily, participants expressed discontent with the existing power dynamics between ethnic communities and the majority and how the preconceived ideas of the majority play a significant role in how ethnic women experience equity in workplaces. There was a clear disconnect between the lived experience of people from ethnic communities and the documents analysed which predominantly portrayed Western perspectives. The disconnect speaks to the poor understanding of what is needed for safe and inclusive environments that make people from diverse communities feel welcome and valued. Therefore, the thematic analysis asked questions such as what and how does power manifest, what are the overt and micro presentations, what are the implications of the use of agreements such as the SDGs, and how does this affect ethnic women who are already negotiating subordination and misconceptions on their ability based on their gender and ethnicity?

Participant 1 (SHE) identified that even when breaking into traditionally hostile environments and making a name for yourself as a leader and ethnic woman, it is significantly hard to challenge power further to create the flow-on effects needed to pursue equity for ethnic women in their constituencies.

> "Representation alone does not guarantee agency, nor empowerment nor meaningful participation. The unfortunate but perhaps poetic reality is that representation is a mechanical solution from which we hope the others will flow. The poetry is that agency, meaningful empowerment, and participation are harder to legislate for. They require of others mutual respect, trust, curiosity and a deep sense of self-awareness."

Likewise, Participant 3 (HHE) expressed similar experiences and how important their role is in Parliament to represent groups who have traditionally been excluded from government structures.

> "I represent multiple community groups, including migrant, refugee, ethnic communities and the Muslim community. In Parliament, I am able to offer insight into how policy and legislation impact the communities I represent and create pathways for engagement with these communities."

However, as Participant 1 (SHE) noted above, having access to communities is only the first step for ethnic parliamentarians. The constant negotiation of making space and having to try and gain enough respect to be heard is a clear sign of discrimination. If a leader in the highest position cannot be heard, how can ethnic women trying to gain work in a government ministry hope to overcome prejudicial, preconceived ideas? Discriminatory leadership models have direct ties to colonisation. They fail to acknowledge the power dynamics of Indigenous and Global South cultures which were oppressed during the introduction of colonial power. Participant 5 (SHM) has lived experience as a wahine Māori leader in both communities and Parliament.

> "Despite wahine Māori being champions of women's rights in New Zealand politics since the 1880s, they are still under-represented. In traditional Māori society, women held positions of leadership; they had authority over people, lands and resources. This was not recognised by the early settler government; women were in many cases precluded from signing Te Tiriti o Waitangi, applying for title to land, franchise and so on, and the impact of colonisation has severely impacted the role of women"

Interestingly in the Employment Action Plan for Ethnic Communities (Ministry for Ethnic Communities, 2022), it became clear that the power imbalance between employee and employer directly excluded qualified ethnic candidates from entry-level roles.

> "Most recent migrants and former refugees often feel overqualified and report difficulties getting initial entry into the labour market."

Participant 4 (HHP) suggests, "the most important thing is for large organisations to make an active choice to provide opportunities to diverse communities through employment, training, and career

development. Many of the strategies I see are wordy, and organisations need to focus on specific goals to get people through the door, and then helping them to develop."

While also ensuring:

> "The opportunity for economic inclusion based on access to decent work. This is not just about career advancement but about ensuring that all roles, including those historically undervalued, have fair and decent pay and conditions."

The Government needs to understand what the barriers are to ethnic women, and then provide learning opportunities to ensure fair access to good working conditions. If Aotearoa is deemed safe for ethnic scommunities to live, personal bias and systematic bias must be acknowledged. While these biases need to be acknowledged, some hopeful themes based on breaking down power appeared throughout the analysis, the first being decolonial thinking.

5.3 Theme Two: Intersectionality: Engaging in decolonial thinking

The second theme that arose was the need for better intersectionality in government structures and the lack of consistency in how this was discussed. Participant 1 (SHE) made it clear that while women are visible within Parliament, the power imbalances previously mentioned significantly impact voice. If leaders were more open to intersectional communication and collaboration, women could better band together to create spaces for themselves, but they must ally with Māori women to see this change. Participant 5 (SHM) said:

> "The fact is that women have always had the skills, but there has been a bias towards men in political representation. In order to address bias, whether it is structural or unconscious, we need to look at mechanisms to overcome that and, like your thesis statement, how we operationalise these goals. I hope that I can be a role model for others. I hope that I am able to normalise wahine Māori in representation roles."

To further this, Participant 1 (SHE) also acknowledged that there were inroads to be made and that within the Aotearoa context, women need to band together to learn from wahine Māori as ethnic leaders of the resistance to colonial structures.

> "I do think Wahine Māori have much to teach us. Partly in terms of the endurance required to take small steps at every corner and big ones on the straight."

Participant 3 (HHE) furthered this discussion of how important it was to be open to representing equitably multi-ethnic groups that have never been given opportunities to thrive fully.

> "Allyship means hope. I represent multiple minority groups who have not been seen in senior or parliamentary roles before. I hope that my role inspires others like me and those from marginalised communities to dream big and to know it is possible for them to hold these positions."

This was supported across participants, with Participant 2 (SHE) speaking of personal public service experience by acknowledging that while ethnic women like herself may be aware of bias, institutions cannot and do not identify the complex needs of ethnic women.

> "I am also acutely aware that many women, including ethnic women, have identities based on ethnicity, faith and age that intersect and that discrimination they face is multiple and layered."

Participant 2 (SHE) also highlighted how exhausting this could be as an ethnic woman who does find employment in a government ministry.

> "We need our public service to become more diverse – so that we move away from individuals bearing the burden of representing the needs and aspirations of communities that make up nearly 20% of our total population. I have often felt that I have not been able to take my whole self to work – because I would be perceived differently and had to constantly explain the 'other' aspects of my identity that were less understood or accepted.

> I know many people feel this way. That needs to change because it holds us all back. Part of the work I want to achieve in this role is to help make the public service more culturally capable, more inclusive and more diverse. One way in which we are doing that is through the recently established Ethnic Communities Graduate Programme that supports skilled and experienced graduates from ethnic communities to enter the public service – that assists both the graduates and the public service more broadly by increasing cultural competence within it."

The policies and speeches (appendix 6) analysed did little to acknowledge the detrimental effects of the poor use of intersectionality in hiring diverse people. The Public Service Commission (n.d.) has an active workstream to create more robust diversity and inclusion policies within government ministries. The key recommendations they make to agencies are:

- to capture high-quality workforce information on ethnicity
- to measure and analyse Māori and ethnic pay gaps using the approach in this guidance
- to continue using the guidance from the Gender Pay Taskforce to ensure all employees are paid equitably and that bias is removed from human resources and remuneration systems, policies and practices.

Unfortunately, these are only given as optional actions that can be taken and are not in line with best practices of intersectionality. Nowhere in this document do they identify how different ethnic communities should be approached. Suppose agencies cannot acknowledge that people are layered, and the discrimination ethnic women face is a layered; how can effective change be created? Participant 2 (SHE) is an expert in this area and stated that it is not good enough. The current way ethnic communities are discussed is consistent and does not acknowledge that ethnic communities are diverse within themselves. The experiences of one group will never be the same as different migrants due to accent, colour, socioeconomic factors, religion, colonisation experience and migrant status.

> "We do need more consistent data collection across the public service to have more information that tells us where the gaps are and where we need to focus efforts. This too

> needs to change, and there is some work underway with Stats NZ to bring about this change."

Overall, better intersectionality and acknowledgement of the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is paramount for equity for ethnic women in ministry workforces and, more broadly, in Aotearoa society. While participants were strong on these ideas, policies and speeches tended to be more swayed to holistic approaches that skirted the significant issues. This is not to say that a holistic approach is not needed. This will be discussed below; however, for it to be sustainable and equitable, intersectionality for women in ministry employment and recruitment must be prioritised during hiring, job creation, management and government legislation.

5.4 Theme Three: Participation and safety: Placing well-being at the heart of change

As discussed in the literature review and outlined in the conceptual framework, equity is not simply created. It is fostered and grown by core principles, including inclusion. Inclusion is vital for diversity, but it must be done safely. Interestingly, the document analysis revealed that this holistic approach was not new when talking about equity for women. In fact, in the first speech given by a woman in Zealand Parliament, the Member Elizabeth McCombs (McCombs, 1933) said:

> "We are familiar with the habit of certain trees standing still in their early days and suddenly making a rapid growth when we have begun to despair of their being a success. If you rooted them up in disappointment, you would be throwing away all your previous expense and work, which are just about to bear fruit."

The idea that well-being can be at the core of change and that policies and workplaces can consider how their actions and hiring processes impact their employees is phenomenal and should be viewed as an analogy like a tree, that people worldwide can understand. However, while well-being appeared across the document analysis, it became clear in questioning the theme that no clear actions were being taken, such as the adoption of SDG 5 Target 5.C. Instead, there looks to be a movement to use well-being as a buzzword and signal the idea that governments want

marginalised people like ethnic women to feel safe and participate, without fully taking responsibility for how it could be achieved in practice. It is also subtly embedded in one of the most famous speeches given by Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern (Ardern, 2019) following the Terrorist attacks on March 15.

> "They were New Zealanders. They are us… It also means being free from the fear of those sentiments of racism and hate that creates a place where violence can flourish. And every single one of us has the power to change that."

The speech had a strong sentiment, it led to many substantial changes to law and a report (Young & Caine, n.d.) which was analysed. The action on meeting the recommendations has been slow. The report (Young & Caine, n.d.) highlighted how hard ethnic women especially had tried to use their voices to call for support from government ministries to deal with hate and discrimination. While these are attempts to signal care for the well-being of all people, they fail to acknowledge the level of discrimination faced by ethnic communities and how they aim to take action on:

> "Their wish for closer community connections to help all people feel safe and welcome. Social cohesion has direct benefits including people leading happy, rewarding and participatory lives, with increased productivity."

While there were significant concerns about the use of well-being used so casually, it is also clear that as policies evolve, especially the more contemporary they are, those produced in the 53rd Government of Aotearoa show some better trends that could be used alongside a more conscious and intersectional approach to equity and power.

> "The direction and strategy of the new Ministry are shaped by the priorities of the communities it serves…It has been designed in partnership with members of our ethnic communities. It represents our communities and points to the fact that we are unique individuals but powerful together. It has a strong connection to Te Ao Māori… I want to ensure that our communities: Have doors that are open to them, voices that are amplified across Government, the opportunity for all individuals to celebrate what makes them

> unique and, feel a sense of belonging and are confident of the strength in our differences and power in the collective. This is your place to stand."

The above is an excerpt from the speech given by Minister Priyanca Radhakrishnan (Radhakrishnan, 2021) at the launch of the Ministry for Ethnic Communities, which was the most significant statement by an ethnic woman MP in the 20 years since the maiden speech of National MP Pansy Wong (Wong, 1997), the first speech given by an ethnic woman in Aotearoa's Parliament. The rhetoric and experiences of ethnic people, politicians and communities seemingly have not changed; as Wong (Wong, 1997), in her Maiden Speech, said,

> "This overt racial prejudice was underpinned by fear of economic competition and a desire for racial purity. We must be honest, bold, and objective in conducting well-informed debates on race issues. Individual conduct and behaviour should not be used to discredit the entire ethnic community."

This comment furthered my thought on racial inequity in Aotearoa and how far we have come and still have to go. The issues discussed by Pansy Wong are still prominent in Aotearoa; however, the bold action taken by Priyanca Radhakrishnan with the Ministry of Ethnic Communities and the subsequent actions they have made is critical. The Ethnic Community Employment Action Plan is one of the most important products created thus far; the plan outlines the barriers to ethnic communities and how being more thoughtful in approaches to work is important for well-being. People exist outside of work and are more than just labour market statistics to measure. These actions are just as important in 2022 as the election of Pansy Wong was in 1993. It shows the critical importance of a place for ethnic women and their voices in Parliament to ensure they can help shape safer spaces for ethnic women in wider workplaces.

Applying tools and asking how government tools impact ethnic women is vital. Ethnic women do not exist in silos; they need to be consulted to discuss how they can unlock change and create meaningful and long-lasting employment opportunities for themselves in government ministries. Until these are thought of more broadly and in context to the communities they aim to serve, authentic well-being approaches cannot be achieved. Participant 2 (SHE) suggested:

> "I think this sort of change firstly requires political will and secondly, for government agencies to be more connected to the communities they serve. Agencies also need to be more agile and work together, not in silos. Agencies also need to understand better and value their relationships with different communities and not rely on transactional approaches to funding or engagement."

Participant 4 (HHP) also proposed other campaigns which politicians could use to highlight well-being as a form of equity to prioritise dignity and safety at work.

> "Some strategies I support include paying the Living Wage as a minimum, supporting collective bargaining and strong engagement with unions, and working to directly identify areas where diversity is lacking and then setting clear targets for improving this within reasonable periods."

Finally, Participant 1 (SHE) brought together the idea of well-being as a policy agenda by showing that it is complex but will be critical for meeting the economic, social and environmental challenges of the 21st century.

> "Yes, a representative policy workforce at all levels is essential, including research and drafting and at the most senior levels of provision of advice. Understanding the impact of the lack of policy or an active policy depends on academic research and nuances of experience. I have often thought that the neutrality that we value in objective professional policy advice is a double-edged sword. While it avoids the bias of personal interest, it lacks the depth of understanding of personal interest. In truth, in my view, we are all biased, and a lack of experience of certain things, whether it be racism, poverty or gender bias, creates a bias in itself."

Participant 3 (HHE) noted that, in part, the structure of Aotearoa workplaces is not adaptable enough to make space for the cultural needs of ethnic women.

"There are barriers to professional development due to cultural values; ethnic women may not be able to participate in certain aspects of kiwi work culture;

1. They may not be able to attend networking sessions, resulting in being overlooked for certain roles.
2. There is not enough cultural competency."

The clear mandate from these two participants is that there needs to be more cultural competency ingrained into hiring policies. Making space for ethnic women is critical for well-being and equity when creating a more representative policy workforce. As Participants 1 (SHE) and 3 (HHE) state, a diverse policy workforce is important to ensure that all people feel seen and that their ability to thrive within their context is supported. This is important in the Aotearoa context and has broader implications for how Aotearoa pursues the attainment of global agendas such as the SDGs with the confidence of the communities they serve.

5.5 Theme Four: Global governance: Reframing aid, multilateral UN agreements, human rights in Aotearoa

What became clear during the data analysis process was that if Aotearoa wants to lead in global sustainable development, we need to reframe how we approach multilateral agreements designed by the UN. Throughout this process, the understanding and availability of official information regarding the use of the SDGs to support equity for women or policymakers that monitor the creation of legislation and policy were poor. There was only one speech available by the Minister of Women in 2016, when the SDGs were signed. Her contributions fell short and failed to acknowledge how Aotearoa would approach them, and instead tried to be aspirational. The Minister (Upston, 2016) promised the following three things:

1. Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development will be a Vaka, a canoe that takes us towards gender equality. We need: a navigational map – a strategy, a sail plan – a set of actions, a tracking device – to monitor and indicate how we are going.

2. Aotearoa is small, so we need to be efficient. Our approach to achieving the goals and, indeed, achieving gender equality is to work together and use existing systems and data to and track progress.
3. Aotearoa will expand opportunities for economic empowerment, increase women's participation in decision-making.

There were no further comments on the topic. The MPs who participated in this study, nearly seven years after the speech in 2015, had nearly no institutional knowledge of the SDGs. They could not point to how they use them in their policymaking. This is a significant misstep and shows that since the agreement on the SDGs in 2015 and 2022, there has little commitment to meeting the monitoring obligations.

> Participant 1 (SHE): "The MDGs and then the SDGs give a sense of pace and focus to global human rights goals. They are a collective expression of our burning issues and our shared desire to address them. While not all MDG objectives were met, their legacy demonstrates that significant movement was made in several areas, including extreme poverty, child mortality and HIV/Aids. In many ways, these shifts created a foundation for the SDGs and evidenced that global goal setting can deliver change. However, there are several challenges to giving effect to the SDGs, including the focus on primary importance. The fact that some goals rank in urgency might mean others receive less attention. The emergence of global crises outside the SDG framework has serious consequences for SDG objectives – e.g. the COVID pandemic and political instability. Here in New Zealand, my sense is that the SDGs do offer a useful framework on which to map some of our policy objectives. The key will be ensuring they are operationalised through legislative and policy mechanisms and that we benchmark progress."

> Participant 2 (SHE): "The SDGs set a global agenda to achieve sustainable economic, social and environmental development. NZ aims to contribute to this through domestic action, international leadership and support throughout the NZ Aid programme. We know that sustainable development domestically will only be achieved through cross-government efforts. That is the approach we have adopted through, for example, the Child

and Youth Wellbeing Strategy. Our approach is different because our work is also guided by our commitment to Te Tiriti O Waitangi."

Participant 3 (HHE): "Yes, we could adapt this to NZ easily. I have seen SDG causing confusion and backlash in countries that are culturally different from New Zealand, but here in New Zealand, the recommendations align more closely with our values. Target 5.C would allow us to hold more accountability on employers and agencies to achieve equity."

Participant 4 (HHP): "I support the direction of the SDGs and think it would be good for them to be given more prominence."

Participant 5 (SHM): "Meaningful monitoring is important for accountability."

The understanding of the participants ranged with experience and expertise. Participant 1 proposed some further ideas on how to make the SDGs work better, that will be included in the discussion section of this report. What was surprising was that except for the first speech given in 2016 by the Minister of Women, none of the reviewed documents created post-2015 mentioned the SDGs. Instead, they talked about the need to change. Some provided recommendations, suggestions, and action points that would help create equity. Mainly, the speeches, documents, and participants commented on tools such as action plans. Action plans are strong policy recommendations; however, while their intent is good, they do not have transparent monitoring systems, which is where a tool such as Target 5.C becomes important. However, none showed how they would track, monitor, and report how change was made transparently. Overall, this signalled that Aotearoa's governments had ignored their SDG obligations. There needs to be a radical change in how they first educate MPs, policymakers, and the public on the SDGs. This acknowledgement of the SDGs and, more specifically, Targets such as 5.C, which is more adaptable, requires immediate attention. How are our leaders supposed to create opportunities for marginalised people in the broader society without monitorable tools?

Participant 5 (SHM) talked about their parliamentary experiences and how they often question Crown agencies on diversity. From her experiences, using Select Committees is one of the only

current ways to hold government ministries to account; however, there is minimal opportunity to do this. This transparency must be improved if agencies are going to become more diverse.

> "In my role as an MP and through Select Committee, we constantly ask our agencies what they are doing to address diversity. I asked these questions of the Treasury and the Reserve Bank. Historically both organisations have not employed many Māori or women, and two, they are typically not at management levels. I believe that in order for the Crown to be able to meet its Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations, there is a significant value in ensuring Māori are employed in the agencies. I think the business case for diversity is clear. The Māori economy is significant and growing. So the question is, what advantage are organisations potentially missing out on from not having that perspective?"

5.6 Summary

Overall, the themes identified align with current literature and particularly the unique equity framework of this project. Together they join to show the significant barriers facing SDG 5 Target 5.C's strong operationalisation and how the current framing of discrimination does not allow Aotearoa to pursue equity within government ministry workforces for ethnic women. However, the research does present hopeful opinions of current political leaders, whilst also showing how critical the changing of political representation is for outcomes for both the SDGs and their intersectional use in Aotearoa.

Chapter Six: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This project aimed to explore diversity and inclusion in government ministries and how the operationalisation of SDG 5 Target 5.C in Aotearoa could create career opportunities for women from ethnic minorities. What has become apparent through the data analysis is that there is a poor understanding of what diversity and inclusion are, how they interact, and how the government is working to create or use tools (such as SDG 5, Target 5.C) that could create localised employment equity for ethnic women in Aotearoa government ministries. More broadly, outside of the poor

understanding of SDG 5, Target 5.C, and the non-existent accountability measures for workplace equity for ethnic women, there is a poor understanding of the SDGs and their purpose in Aotearoa. This chapter will revisit the research question and objectives and situate the equity framework discussed in chapter three regarding the findings.

6.2 Situating the equity framework

Many things became clear through the findings; the first is that while the initial equity framework presented a sound understanding of theoretical principles needed to create diversity equitably. However, it cannot operate in isolation without understanding of the key theme identified in chapter five. Therefore, a more robust framework was shaped by joining the four themes of the findings with the concept of an equity tree framework. Maintaining a visual presentation is critical within decolonial thinking as it captures the importance of using storytelling and imagery to make theories more accessible to all people (Smith, 2021). The participants' voices and the language used in the analysed documents used imagery and analogy to build their story. Honouring their voices and how they intentionally create narratives that are accessible to marginalised people is critical. See below.

6.2.1 Culture

What became clear through the findings and reflection on the literature review was that the overarching theme that informed the equity framework was culture. Culture, and more importantly, cultural competency, is critical to creating equity for ethnic women. Especially in a country like Aotearoa, it is critical to acknowledge how different cultural beliefs interact, which informs different forms of bias, understanding and experiences. All forms of bias have implications for inclusion, diversity, voice and safety. It is paramount that the expression and malleability of culture within Aotearoa change to ensure that the true diversity of the people is reflected in policy decisions (Rangiwai, 2018). Overall, culture is the key to workplace equity for ethnic women. Therefore, the new equity tree is a cultural competency framework for equity for ethnic women (see at the end of the section).

6.2.2 Voice

Voice is one of the new roots within the framework. It captures the importance of ensuring that all people's independent voices and perspectives are heard in decision-making. While ethnic women are not voiceless, their voices are often silenced in communities where they are not the majority, as experienced by Participant 2 (SHE). It captures accountability and transparency by giving power back to the people by ensuring communities are asked what they need, the cultural implications, and how a policy will impact their lives. By defining voice in this manner, it means that the agency of communities and individuals is respected (Olatunji & Bature, 2019). Participant 1 (SHE) made it clear that having accessible frameworks that show women how they can speak up and make change is vital. Fostering a voice at this level will work to empower and ensures that our democracy is transparent and accountable to all (Griffiths & Brown, 2017). Emancipated voices must be normalised for equity to grow and Aotearoa to be a fair multicultural community.

6.2.3 Intersectionality

Intersectionality also becomes a new root. The findings make it clear that while inclusion is needed to create equity, intersectionality needs to be thought about, especially for ethnic women, who live multi-layered lives determined not only by their gender and ethnicity but by factors such as sexual preference, religion, nationality, migrant status and educational experience. The women who participated made it clear that placing intersectionality at the centre of change is critical. Without the support and growth from intersectionality, equity for marginalised people cannot be created (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014). This change to the framework also simplifies requirements in equitable policymaking significantly by providing clear guidance that intersectionality must be considered when trying to understand the impact of a policy. While some of the participants and policy documents thought that the simple instruction of intersectionality is enough in policy guidance and legislation, the answers from Participant 2 (SHE), an experienced public servant, show that it does not work in practice. Instead, it has to be fostered, there needs to be better guidance from national leaders such as politicians, and it cannot be an option as it currently is.

6.2.4 Participation and safety

Participation and safety are the last roots of the revised equity framework. Participation has the same meaning as the original framework, however, based on the findings, it also incorporates safety. Safety was a theme raised by all five participants and was a consistent theme carried through the documents analysed. It pairs with participation, as in Aotearoa ethnic women often feel unsafe or alone when trying to participate in society and its institutions. Safety concerns were evident, especially in the Inquiry into the Christchurch Attacks findings, where ethnic women tried to use official channels to express the discrimination they were facing but were not taken seriously (Young & Caine, n.d.). It also became apparent when discussing with Participants 1 (SHE) and 5 (SHM) that there is a role for ethnic women in supporting decolonisation and the struggles that Wahine Māori face when trying to gain access to opportunities in Aotearoa (Mikaere, 1994). Understanding government obligations to Te Tiriti and ensuring commitment to decolonisation in a participatory and safe way is critical for working toward better partnership for all minorities within colonial structures to work toward a more equitable society (Anderson et al., 2014). Therefore, participatory tools still need to be fostered and used to create equity, to improve the safety of ethnic women and other marginalised people in Aotearoa.

6.2.5 Global Governance

The last theme of the findings was the potential benefits to Aotearoa of actively adopting global governance structures such as the SDGs and other UN based human rights agendas for equity for marginalised peoples. Global governance acts as an additional type of soil that helps to grow the equity tree, alongside national policy and legislation and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Participant 1 (SHE) was clear that the government must use these national frameworks alongside global frameworks, and was the only participant to cite the changing pressures governments will deal with going forward. It is one thing to sign on to these agreements; it is another to enact them effectively (Cameron et al., 2019). The answers from the interviews made it clear that MPs were not equipped with a strong enough institutional understanding of the SDGs to use them in their work. This must change if Aotearoa wants a robust, internationally renowned society based on building equal rights for all (Dhar, 2018). If Aotearoa wants to be the world leader it claims to be in gender equity, it has to put in the work to reflect that locally (Office of the Controller and Auditor-General, 2021).

Being one of the first Global North countries to implement a significant monitoring platform for the SDGs would be ground-breaking. To feed into the narrative, Aotearoa can use these tools such as the SDGs to diversify our soil and grow local governance, representation, and policymaking, opening new work opportunities and ultimately making society more equitable.

Equity, diversity and inclusion remain the same as the original framework; they are the desired outcome of creating equity.

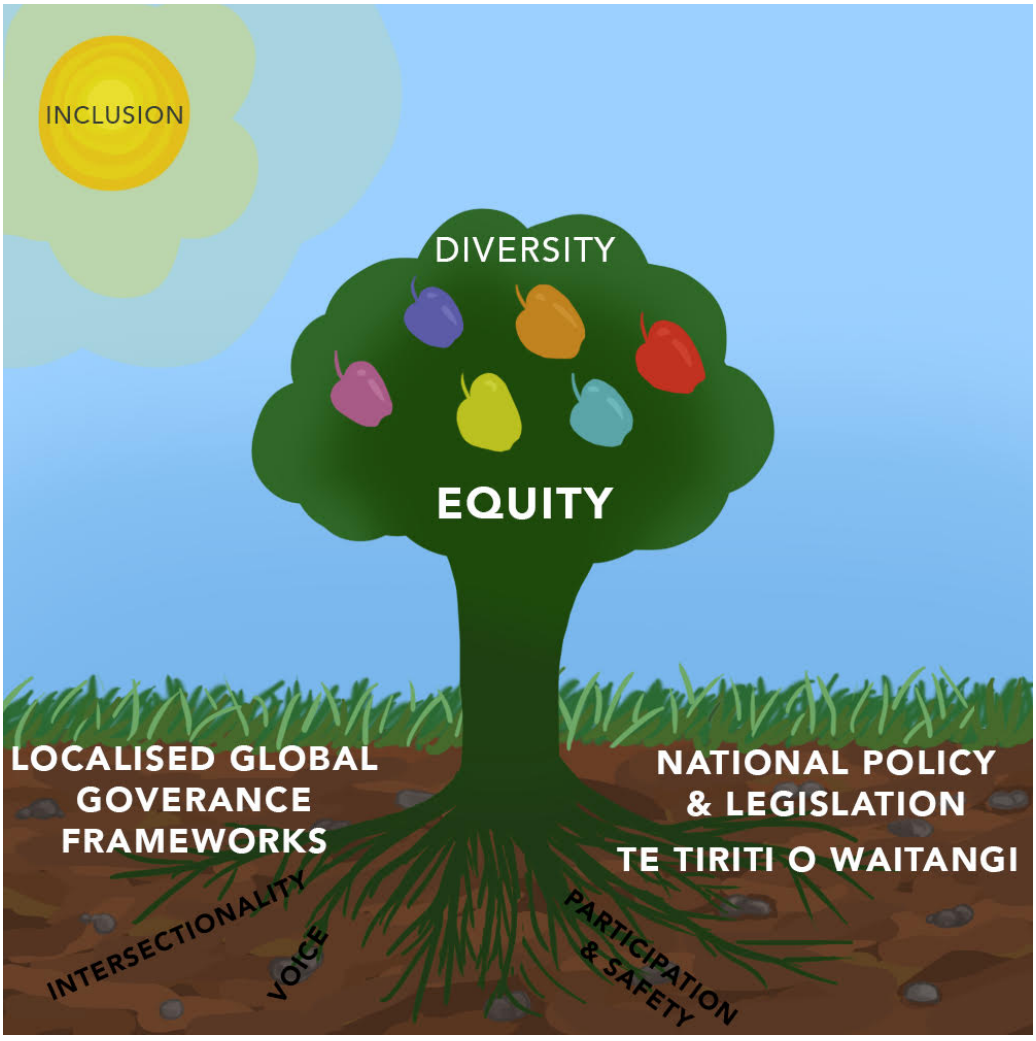

Figure 4 - Revised equity framework for cultural competency within Aotearoa government ministries

6.3 Research question and objectives

6.3.1 Critical barriers to diversity in the policy workforce and how they affect employment opportunities for ethnic women in government ministries.

The colonial history of Aotearoa is critical to understanding the key barriers to creating a diverse and equitable policy workforce and has significant implications for the employment of ethnic women. Throughout the literature review and the data analysis, what became evident was that the main barriers to employment for ethnic women in government ministries stem from the colonial structures governing Aotearoa. As with all colonies, the racial imbalance created during colonisation has imbedded a racial superiority within government structures as a control mechanism (Anderson et al., 2014). In Aotearoa, colonial structures are based on Western paradigms (Anderson et al., 2019). Western dominance within the government ministry context result in inherently biased processes, including hiring policies based on one cultural context that does not represent equitably Tangata Whenua (indigenous peoples) or the rapidly diversifying population of Aotearoa (Cormack et al., 2018).

It is important to note that ethnic minority migrants also have colonial histories in their countries of origin. Participant 1 (SHE) made it clear that without acknowledging the impact of colonisation globally, there was only so far Aotearoa could go in creating equity within their policy workforce, as we would still be operating in a global system built on colonial supremacy. The literature furthers this idea when looking at creating the SDGs. While the SDGs are aspirational and have the base to be transformational if used correctly, they are fundamentally flawed in their creation (Kothari et al., 2017). They approach the rights of Indigenous peoples in a tokenistic way (Kothari et al., 2017).

Colonisation has implications for ethnic women trying to gain employment in government ministries. It has led to workplace discrimination based on migration status, accent, socioeconomic status, university, religion, and gender. Participant 2 (SHE), the only MP to have worked previously within the policy workforce, noted that she was the only ethnic woman in her team. Her

experiences were not favourable; she was exhausted by continuously fighting for her voice. Even worse, she had to hide aspects of her life to fit within the Western paradigm expected of employees of government ministries. The fear and exhaustion expressed by Participant 2 (SHE) were also mirrored across the literature, which showed that if governments cannot rapidly start to decolonise spaces and become more intersectional, there will be little chance of ever achieving sustainable development globally (Smith, 2021).

A further barrier presented was the need for policy workers to be apolitical. As has become evident in the literature review, development is never apolitical; instead, there is a movement to politicise the field, as every decision made impacts the lives of people and the sustainability of the global community (Kothari et al., 2017). The idea that women should leave behind their opinions, experiences and mana to enter the policy workforce is highly distressing to ethnic women. Ethnic women, like all people, are highly complex, and they often gain their strength from the experiences they have gone through, the negotiations they make, their culture and many other factors (Showunmi et al., 2016). Expecting ethnic minorities to assimilate to the Western idea of what is right is traumatising and does not allow for people to feel safe, welcome and respected in the communities they live in.

Nevertheless, while these barriers are recognised, and the need for a diverse policy workforce is acknowledged, there is little will to change this evident within the current literature and the policies analysed. Instead, across these documents, they made some mild attempts to show support for challenging inequity; most came across as an equality-based approach. Kumar (2021) noted that equality should not be the goal. It does not acknowledge the lived experiences of marginalised people. Instead, equality-based approaches focus on conformity once marginalised people have been included in the workplace (Kumar, 2021). The following section on objective two will discuss this idea further.

6.3.2 Current diversity and inclusion strategies are used in government ministries to try and create a diverse policy workforce.

At the core of this project was how government ministries currently use diversity and inclusion to create equity within policymaking and if a tool such as SDG 5, Target 5.C would improve accessibility to employment. This research showed that the current state of diversity and inclusion strategies in government ministries was disappointing. In practice, this study showed how the barriers discussed above manifest. The document analysis, literature review and interviews with participants made it clear that there is a need for a more unified system that could be monitored by tools such as SDG 5 and Target 5. C. The critical issue that presents with current diversity and inclusion policies for government ministries is that they do not have standards set in law. This means that each government ministry is given a license to create policies as they see fit. As discussed above, government ministries are built on colonial structures; their hiring policies have principles inherently discriminatory against people outside of the majority. This has led to a significant disconnect between government ministries, with many of the policies being inaccessible, redacted, and varying in length, with few actionable steps. What was particularly striking was the number of policies only available through the OIA. Members of the public have to request that the information be legally released to the public. While the OIA is a good tool, it is nonsensical that the public should have to use it to obtain diversity and inclusion policies that inform an employee's safety within a workplace.

The participants had a different take if diversity and inclusion policies should be legislated in government ministries, most claiming that while there was space to grow, the government was taking actionable steps through tools such as action plans, strategies and ministry instructions. However, while these policies do exist, when looking specifically at the Recent Migrant, Refugee, and Ethnic Community Employment Action Plan used in the document analysis, the claims made by MPs did not align with the steps in the policy. While the policy and the archived speeches were aspirational and aimed at good things, they did not have clear accountability plans that were easy to understand for the public. This does not align with the best practices found in the literature. Instead, Kananura et al. (2017) advocate for precise reporting mechanisms available for public monitoring. There needs to be a significant movement to move away from plans, strategies, and

unenforceable policies. If strategies are not accessible and vary across government ministries, disproportionate discrimination against ethnic women will not improve, as accountability is not prioritised.

Participant 4 (HHP) also proposed counter ideas to the SDGs, suggesting using campaigns such as the Living Wage and Fair Pay Agreements as tools that employers can utilise within "reasonable periods." These suggestions pose significant concerns related to the colonisation of Aotearoa which stripped cultural sovereignty of Māori. It is time for this to change to account for the rights of Indigenous people and the rapidly diversifying migrant community who have much to contribute to Aotearoa. Secondly, while Fair Pay Agreement's and the Living Wage are important, they do nothing to fix the institutional discrimination built into the hiring policies of government ministries. Yes, they may show where discrimination is and help workers, but if ethnic women cannot first get their foot in the job to contribute, how are they supposed to bargain for more equity (Vohra et al., 2015). The first step is representation on a national level that impacts internal policies that ensure hiring managers are not exclusionary based on false metrics such as work experience, migration status or accent. A tool such as SDG 5, Target 5.C could assist this.

The government's aspiration needs to be paired with action to turn strong ideas such as Employment Action Plans into legislative-action that government ministries can deliver to create equity for ethnic women. There is an appetite for it, but it will rely on breaking down the discussed discriminatory government structures and creating accountable replacements.

6.3.3 Strategies Labour MPs consider would best operationalise Target 5. C to increase equitable work opportunities in government ministries for women from ethnic communities.

A keen sense of hope for a better future for all people in Aotearoa was evident from the selection of MP's who participated. However, they are all highly talented orators, who know how to shape their words for impact. Therefore, when analysing the strategies they presented, an understanding of political agility needed to be considered to find the meaning in their narratives. As the participants are skilled wordsmiths, they also managed to not answer directly the question

specifically on SDG 5, instead proposing to use the ideas of the SDGs to create equity for ethnic women in government ministry workforces through more holistic approaches. The participants all made suggestions as to how SDG 5, Target 5.C could be operationalised for the betterment of ethnic women. However, these answers existed on a spectrum between lacking detail and overly detailed.

One of the main arguments was the idea of 'political will' to support the direction of the SDGs. If Aotearoa has already agreed to the SDGs in principle, this is the people's political will. The government has the responsibility to begin meeting its obligations actively. The Auditor-General clearly stated that the government needed to create a workable system; if they cannot do this quickly, they are failing their obligations to people in Aotearoa (Office of the Controller and Auditor-General, 2021). Again, on the weaker side of suggestions was the MPs' acceptance that the government should be doing more to utilise the SDGs more explicitly, as, for example, Target 5. C complements Aotearoa's approach to creating change through legislation and policy. While somewhat passive, this recognition showed a desire to change the approach to the SDGs in Aotearoa to create a unified government approach to Targets like 5.C.

In the middle of the spectrum were suggestions about the role of Māori, especially Wahine Māori, when trying to meet obligations to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Wahine Māori have a long history as leaders of resistance; therefore, understanding and harnessing the power they hold to push for change will be critical for ethnic women. Historically, Māori have been expected to fight for their rights and force the Crown to honour Te Tiriti (Anderson et al., 2014). This set the precedent that marginalised people need to use resistance to ensure that the people's voices are heard; this is also the case for SDG 5 in Aotearoa (Office of the Controller and Auditor-General, 2021). Participant 5 (SHM) critically shared that before colonisation, Māori society had safer spaces for women to lead. This leadership model is still seen in her iwi, and also ensures that everyone in the community can participate in decision making. Learning from Māori leadership will be critical in creating fairer outcomes in Aotearoa. While the action plans the government currently uses are a reasonable basis for change, they do not have transparent monitors; if the government partners with communities to decide how these action plans are created, they can also partner with them to create an SDG monitor to track the differences being made through the action plan.

The significance of community partnership and collaboration from the findings is directly linked to active participation. Otsuki (2014) discussed active participation in which communities come together to share their needs, experiences and desire for fair change with leaders, as one of the best ways to create meaningful and equitable change. However, one of the best parts of active participation in the development sense is its ability to have robust monitoring capabilities accessible to the participants and the broader community for transparency. There is precedent for this sort of change with Pacific examples such as the Peoples Plan in Vanuatu, a collaboratively built SDG strategy and monitor system for the people, by the people (Department of Strategic Policy et al., 2016). A solution such as this could be achieved in Aotearoa, even if they only picked specific targets such as SDG 5 Target 5.C, which monitors legislation and policy in specified areas. Uniting to create a plan for the people, by the people would be monumental for ethnic women, as it would signal that the voices of all people are important in decision making.

The final suggestion that was made by Participant 1 (SHE) who was the only participant to propose radical change through the creation of a specialised Global Governance/Human Rights Select Committee. This new committee would be responsible for all legislation and UN-based agreements signed by Aotearoa to ensure Parliamentarians across the House scrutinised them and that the government was accountable for the decisions they make, such as agreeing to the SDGs. Literature shows that Aotearoa has not yet done enough after agreeing to the SDGs (Dhar, 2018). Therefore, an idea like a specialised committee to scrutinise agreements and their implications on Aotearoa would ensure that politics is put aside, and equity is placed at the heart of change. In terms of Target 5.C, it would mean that policymakers would operationalise it to monitor the creation of legislation that aims to create gender equity. This committee could be the Parliamentary accountability mechanism that ensured Target 5.C was accessible and that legislative decisions it generated had a positive impact. As Select Committees are a collaborative space, public participation would shape suggestions and ensure that changes were made for all marginalised women, including ethnic women.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion – implications, significance, and challenges

To conclude, this research demonstrates the potential for the operationalisation of SDG 5, Target 5.C to create workplace equity for ethnic women in Aotearoa government ministries. However, while small in focus, this research explored a much broader institutional failure to prioritise diversity in government ministry workforces and the wider Aotearoa community. The operationalisation of this target would see a monitor established to track all policy and legislation that was being created to impact women in Aotearoa; an example of this could be steps taken to increase employment opportunities for ethnic women in government ministries. While this Target can be operationalised, the lack of political will from both the current government and the government that signed the SDGs has put Aotearoa on the back foot in creating the needed changes. Instead, this research has opened the door to further exploration into how the government can use the SDG 5, Target 5.C as a trial goal to see if a centralised monitoring system of the SDGs would create governmental accountability for sustainable development in Aotearoa.

The operationalisation of SDG 5, Target 5.C in Aotearoa to create better work opportunities for ethnic women in government ministries is a highly nuanced and layered topic. The findings of this report show that while there is an appetite for change within both the government and its ministries, there is a poor commitment to using genuinely accountable and transparent tools that increase access to spaces from which ethnic women have traditionally been excluded. This links directly to colonial thinking and the supremacy of Western paradigms in Aotearoa. With the population diversifying more rapidly than before, it is time to engage in concerted decolonisation and Indigenisation efforts.

While writing this final chapter, there is an ongoing discourse in Aotearoa about the role of co-governance, and race relations are extremely tense. The governance structures of Aotearoa are unique due to the creation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the subsequent breaches made by the Crown; any further action must be placed within the context of honouring Te Tiriti, where co-governance is the norm. However, the co-governance conversation proves the need for equity for all

marginalised people, especially ethnic women who will face the brunt of hate from people who are anti-diversification (Young & Caine, 2020). Therefore, the government cannot take decolonial thinking in policymaking lightly. It must be discussed urgently to ensure that accountability is placed at the heart of government. Simply put, policies such as diversity and inclusion must be available, unified, and break down old structures perpetuating discrimination. Importantly, this research has highlighted that there is an urgent need to explore more than just the operationalisation of SDG 5, Target 5.C. Based on the findings and discussion, the following steps could be taken to operationalise SDG 5 Target 5.C in Aotearoa to increase workplace equity for ethnic women;

1. Initial trial of SDG 5, Target 5.C in Aotearoa government ministries to gauge how the operationalisation of an SDG would work in a small setting.
    a) A trial could be run out of the Public Service Commission, to monitor the implications of unified hiring policies, workplace legislation and its impact and changes in ethnic women's experience at work.
    b) From here appropriate steps could be taken through the monitoring system, to create the policy or legislation to help create equity for ethnic women.
2. More broadly, the adoption of a complete SDG monitoring system and commitment to using it to promote equity for all marginalised people in Aotearoa is needed.
    a) It could focus on Targets like 5.C which directly monitor current government action and allow the public to hold institutions to account on inequity.

        E.g. A new SDG monitor would highlight where inequity was and encourage them to take action such as legislating or providing clear policy guidance on how to start solving an issue.
3. Unified lobbying by the development community, awareness campaigns about the SDGs.
4. Finally, further research into the sustainability and equity of the SDGs is needed in Aotearoa. There also needs to be investigation into the equitable role of political voice and representation of ethnic women who want to shape UN-based global governance agendas.

Challenges to pursuing these recommendations may include political availability, political tension, members' political boundaries, and the poor understanding of the SDGs. However, researchers must persist, as while this study collected rich data for this project, it will be critical to understand

the entire political spectrum and to see the impacts of changing executives on the role of development or equity creation in further pursuits of this topic.

While there is still significant work to do in ensuring that Aotearoa politicians are strong world leaders in decolonial thinking and the emancipation of marginalised voices, there is the political will to make a lasting and equitable change in policymaking for not only ethnic women, but all people whom colonial structures have marginalised. Monitoring policy and legislation through a tool such as Target 5.C will be the first step in beginning to prepare for whatever comes at the end of the SDGs. Becoming leaders of strong global governance will only become more crucial to ensure social safety, wellbeing, inclusion and equity for all women. It is time for us all to stand up, use our voices and seek change, not only for ourselves but for the women and girls who will come after us.

This is our place to stand.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ministry Diversity and Inclusion policies used in Chapter 2

Availability of Diversity and Inclusion Policies (Aotearoa Government Ministries)		
Ministry	**Publicly available Jan 2022**	**Notes**
Crown Law Office	No	Currently in development with a focus on gender, little intersectionality (COL, 2021).
Department of Conservation	Yes	focuses on pay parity strong interaction between gender and ethnicity (DOC, 2020).
Department of Corrections	No	Intersectional webpage, but no official documentation (Corrections, 2021).
Department of Internal Affairs	No	Limited, no intersectionality. Comments on Indigenous rights but lacks action (DIA, 2021).
Ministry for Culture and Heritage	No	Stated intentions to work on intersectionality in the annual report (MCH, 2021).
Ministry for the Environment	Yes	Strong deadlines, actions, guidance on ethnicity, disability, gender. Well rounded (ME, 2021).
Ministry for Ethnic Communities	No	New ministry, focussing on hearing from the people what they need before finalising a public plan (MEC, 2021).
Ministry for Women	No	Nothing clear, but resources for other Ministries on the website (MW, 2021).
Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment	Yes	Obtained by OIA - barely mention ethnicity or women - no action (MBIE, 2021).
Ministry of Defence	No	Statement of Intent available, as is a web page on what they want to achieve. Not great (DOF, 2021).

Ministry of Education	Yes	Obtained by OIA - limited action points and Focused on arbitrary gender and ethnicity measures (MOE, 2021).
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	Yes	Both overall and ethnicity gender pay gap reduction plan. Clear, good reporting lines - anonymous recruitment (MFAT, 2021).
Ministry of Health	Yes	Obtained by OIA - good analysis of weaknesses and where they want to go but no plan (MOH, 2021).
Ministry of Housing and Urban Development	No	Does not have anything accessible (MHUD, 2021).
Ministry of Justice	No	No clear plan, only intent to implement to include more diversity. Focussing on the pay gap, no mention of ethnicity (MOJ, 2021).
Ministry of Social Development	Yes	One provided (intersectional) and one by OIA (average) (MSD, 2021).
Ministry of Transport	No	Gender action plan (one paragraph on ethnicity) plus a statement of intent with no mention of ethnicity (MOT, 2021).
The Treasury	No	Speech on intent no policy ethnicity (Treasury, 2021).

Appendix 2: Ethics approval notification

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Dear:

Thank you for your notification which you have assessed as Low Risk.

Your project has been recorded in our database for inclusion in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

If situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your ethical analysis, please contact a Research Ethics Administrator.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director - Ethics, telephone 06 3569099 ext 86015, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz. "

Please note, if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to complete the application form again, answering "yes" to the publication question to provide more information for one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Brian Finch Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise
Massey University, Private Bag 11 222, Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand T 06 951 6841; 06 95106840
E humanethics@massey.ac.nz; animalethics@massey.ac.nz; gtc@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 3: Information sheet

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

Spice up your public policy: Exploring the operationalisation of Sustainable Development Goal 5, Target 5.C to create employment opportunities for Ethnic women in New Zealand government ministries.

INFORMATION SHEET

Introduction

This research asks the question: How could SDG 5 Target 5.C be operationalised to improve potential career pathways for women from ethnic minorities in Aotearoa New Zealand government ministries?

SDG 5 asks nations to prioritise the safety and prosperity of women and girls across the globe. Target 5.C then asks them to monitor the strategic creation of policy and legislation that creates gender equality. This is yet to be explored in New Zealand, and for the purposes of this project will be explored in relation to hiring policies of government ministries for better diverse policy making.

The research is being conducted through case studies in Aotearoa New Zealand by Shanti Patel Cornish, Masters Candidate at the Institute of Development Studies, Massey University:

Project Description and Invitation

Ethnic minorities now make up nearly 20% of Aotearoa New Zealand's population. Diversity is a great asset for creating social change; however, women from Ethnic communities are vulnerable and face gendered and ethnicity-based discrimination. The continued pressure of colonial thinking and patriarchal norms that have governed society, inform conscious and unconscious bias towards women within government structures. public service has institutionalised these discriminatory structures against women, and have yet to see the proportional increase of women from Ethnic minorities in its workforce. It is essential to see this changed, as diverse representation in policymaking is vital for fairer outcomes. This project aims to examine the key principles needed to create equity for Ethnic women policymakers in government ministry workforces through the eyes of current government policymakers in the Parliament of Aotearoa New Zealand in relation to the possible operationalisation of SDG 5 Target 5.C.

This research will utilise predominantly qualitative research methods including interviews and data analysis to allow insights into how Members of Parliament understand the SDGs, how they impact women, and potential uses for SDG 5, Target 5.C in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I have asked you to participate as I would like to draw on your experience and insight to help build an understanding of how the SDGs can potentially lead to meaningful outcomes. I want to thank you for taking part in this research. There are written questions attached to this form with some sub questions. It would be appreciated if you could answer these questions with small paragraphs, drawing from your personal experiences. At any time, you can choose to skip a question, or instead provide comment on the topic or a topic that you feel is more relevant to your understanding of the topic.

Attached to this information sheet you will find the written questions, please see here for more information on the Sustainable Development Goals.

Data Management

The information you provide will be kept confidential and stored safely. All physical data, including interview transcripts and notes will be stored in a lockable cabinet or suitcase, and electronic copies of

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa
School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand. **T** +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737. **http://pep.massey.ac.nz**

this data will be saved on the research project's password-protected Google Drive. Participants will also be provided with a selective transcript of data that will be used in the final text, with the ability to amend any answers before publication.

Participant's Rights

We would be delighted if you agreed to participate, but please be assured that you are under no obligation to do so. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study at any time;*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.*

Project Contacts

If you have any questions about this research please contact the following investigators:

Shanti Patel Cornish (researcher)
Mobile: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

Lorena de la Torre Parra (supervisor)
Email: L.delaTorreParra@massey.ac.nz

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Massey Notification number (4000025716). Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact humanethics@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 4: Participant consent forms

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

Spice up your public policy: Exploring the operationalisation of Sustainable Development Goal 5, Target 5.C to create employment opportunities for Ethnic women in New Zealand government ministries.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I the researcher, acknowledge the high-pressure environment that you work in. To protect anonymity and provide a high level of confidentiality I have chosen to provide participants with two options of depiction throughout the data, a pseudonym or no label within the final text.

I would like to be referred to in this study in the following way (please circle and then fill in preference):

No label/pseudonym

- My chosen pseudonym is - Participant 1

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

I do/~~do not~~ consent to the use of verbatim quotes being used in the final text.

I would/~~would not~~ like a summary report of the findings sent to me on completion of this research.

Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 10/5/22

Full Name - printed [redacted]

Email address: [redacted]

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I the researcher, acknowledge the high-pressure environment that you work in. To protect anonymity and provide a high level of confidentiality I have chosen to provide participants with two options of depiction throughout the data, a pseudonym or no label within the final text.

I would like to be referred to in this study in the following way (please circle and then fill in preference):

No label/pseudonym

- My chosen pseudonym is - Participant 3

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet. ✓

I do/do not consent to the use of verbatim quotes being used in the final text.

I would/would not like a summary report of the findings sent to me on completion of this research.

Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 4-4-2022

Full Name - printed [redacted]

Email address: [redacted]

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I the researcher, acknowledge the high-pressure environment that you work in. To protect anonymity and provide a high level of confidentiality I have chosen to provide participants with two options of depiction throughout the data, a pseudonym or no label within the final text.

I would like to be referred to in this study in the following way (please circle and then fill in preference):

No label/pseudonym

- My chosen pseudonym is - Participant 4

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

I do/do not consent to the use of verbatim quotes being used in the final text.

I would/would not like a summary report of the findings sent to me on completion of this research.

Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 10/4/22

Full Name - printed [redacted]

Email address: [redacted]

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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I the researcher, acknowledge the high-pressure environment that you work in. To protect anonymity and provide a high level of confidentiality I have chosen to provide participants with two options of depiction throughout the data, a pseudonym or no label within the final text.

I would like to be referred to in this study in the following way (please circle and then fill in preference):

No label/pseudonym

- My chosen pseudonym is - Participant 5

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

I do/do not consent to the use of verbatim quotes being used in the final text.

I would/would not like a summary report of the findings sent to me on completion of this research.

Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 5/5/2022

Full Name - printed [redacted]

Email address: [redacted]

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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I the researcher, acknowledge the high-pressure environment that you work in. To protect anonymity and provide a high level of confidentiality I have chosen to provide participants with two options of depiction throughout the data, a pseudonym or no label within the final text.

I would like to be referred to in this study in the following way (please circle and then fill in preference):

No label/pseudonym

- My chosen pseudonym is - Participant 2

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

I do/do not consent to the use of verbatim quotes being used in the final text.

I would/would not like a summary report of the findings sent to me on completion of this research.

Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 04/05/22

Full Name - printed [redacted]

Email address: [redacted]

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Appendix 5: Interview Questionnaire

Questions used for women

1. Can you tell me about your role and how it may impact the communities you represent?
    a. How do you hope your role creates change?
    b. What would you like to see in your ideal version of Aotearoa?
    c. What do you think your representation means to women from ethnic communities? Wahine Māori have been champions of equal rights - how do you think their resistance has and will continue to impact other marginalised women?
2. How do you think representation affects agency, empowerment, participation, justice and themes such as this?
    a. Can you tell me how you define equity for women in the workplace?
    b. Why do you think this is important?
3. Can you tell me about your experience working in teams and how inclusive these workplaces have been?
    a. What barriers do you think existed for ethnic women?
4. Are you able to use your position/role to influence decisions about organisational diversity? Can you tell me about this?
    a. Can you tell me when you had to challenge a diversity equity issue, what happened, and what was the outcome?
    b. How do you think the government and the work of MP's could change this?
    c. If so, how so?
5. Do you think a representative policy workforce is essential for creating equity in the workplace and society? If so, why/why not?
    a. How do you think Aotearoa can achieve this?
    b. How can ethnic women use their voices to contribute to these changes?
    c. Colonial structures are the foundation of our policy structures - do you think this has implications for racial disunity? And potentially helps to skew the portrayal of diverse people?

6. What can you share with me about your understanding of the Sustainable Development Goals and Aotearoa's obligations to use them?
    a. Do you think we could have a different approach and what would this look like?
7. ethnic women tend to be forgotten populations and are often not measured well within a workplace. Why do you think this is, and how would you like to see this changed in Aotearoa?
    a. What role do you see for the public service to be the trendsetter for acknowledging this?
8. SDG Target 5.C aims to monitor legislation or policy that creates change - could active monitoring of this be better or helpful from your experience? How do you envision this?
    a. What sort of change do you think is possible within the legislative or policy discussions to have more equitable outcomes in the workplace, especially government ministries?
9. What sorts of things are happening in your work program to increase the inclusion of women from ethnic communities?
    a. If nothing, why do you think this is?
    b. Do you think there is an opportunity in your role to create space?
10. What sort of strategies would you like to see employed by government ministries to increase equity, for ethnic women in their workforces?
    a. Do you think there is space for unified, transparent hiring policies across government ministries? How would these look to you?
    b. Would you consider using SDG 5, Target 5.C to potentially help progress the cause? If not why? If yes, how?

Do you have any further comments or statements you would like to make?

Questions used for men

1. Can you tell me about your role and how it may impact the communities you represent?
    a. How do you hope your role creates change?
    b. What do you think your representation/allyship means to marginalised people?
2. Can you tell me about your experience working in teams and how inclusive these workplaces have been?
    a. What barriers do you think exist for ethnic women?
    b. Are you able to use your position/role to influence decisions about organisational diversity? Can you tell me about this?
3. Do you think a representative policy workforce is essential for creating equity in the workplace and society? If so, why/why not?
    a. How do you think Aotearoa can achieve this?/ What steps have been taken or could be taken?
    b. How can ethnic women specifically use their voices to make contributions to these changes?
    c. Colonial structures are the foundation of our policy structures - do you think this has implications for racial disunity? And potentially helps to skew the portrayal of diverse people?
4. Can you tell me when you had to challenge a diversity equity issue, what happened, and the outcome?
5. Can you tell me how you define equity for women in the workplace?
    a. Can you tell me how you think men can be allies to women in the workplace?
6. What can you share with me about your understanding of the Sustainable Development Goals and Aotearoa's obligations to use them?
    a. Do you think we could have a different approach and what would this look like?
7. What sort of change do you think is possible within the legislative or policy discussions to have more equitable outcomes in the workplace, especially within government ministries?
8. What sorts of things are happening in your work program to increase the inclusion of women from ethnic communities?
    a. If nothing, why do you think this is?

    b. Do you think there is an opportunity in your role to create space?
    c. SDG Target 5.C aims to monitor legislation or policy that creates change - could active monitoring of this target be utilised? How do you envision this?
9. What sort of strategies would you like to see employed by government ministries to increase equity?
    a. Do you think there is space for unified, transparent hiring policies across government ministries?
    b. Would you consider using SDG 5, Target 5.C to potentially help progress the cause?

Do you have any further comments or statements you would like to make?

Appendix 6: Analysed documents

1. Speeches
    a. Maiden Statement of Elizabeth McCombs (1933)
    b. Maiden Statement of Pansy Wong (1997)
    c. Official Speech on Gender and Agenda 2030 by Hon Louise Upston (2016)
    d. House statement of Jacinda Ardern on the Christchurch Mosque Attacks (2019)
    e. Opening remarks Priyanka Radhakrishnan at the opening of the Ministry of Ethnic Communities (2021)
2. Policy documents
    a. Guidance Measuring and beginning to address Māori and Ethnic Pay Gaps in the Public Service (2021)
    b. Papa Pounamu - policy guidance for the public sector on creating diversity and inclusion in Aotearoa New Zealand (2021)
    c. Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Terrorist Attack on Christchurch Masjidain (2021)
    d. Former Refugee, Migrant and Ethnic Community Action Plan (2022)