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MĀORI SCHOLARS AND THE UNIVERSITY

Joanna Kidman & Cherie Chu (Investigators)

Victoria University of Wellington

Final Report prepared by

Joanna Kidman, Cherie Chu, Sean Fernandez & Ivy Abella

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1.0 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this report is to review the findings of a two-year project, Māori Academic socialization and the university, funded by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (2014-2015). The principal investigators on this report were Joanna Kidman and Cherie Chu (Te Kura Māori, Victoria University of Wellington).

The study explored the ways that Māori and Pacific senior scholars became academics; how they shape their interactions and relationships with their institutions of higher learning; how they engage with their disciplines; and, how they transform academic knowledge in ways that support and sustain their cultural and tribal communities as well as contribute to national development. The project also investigates the institutional challenges experienced by Māori and Pacific faculty who work within universities and Wānanga.

Over a two-year period, the investigators conducted a qualitative, ethnographic study that included 43 participants (comprising 29 Māori participants and 14 Pacific participants) who were senior academics (i.e. senior lecturer, Associate Professor, Professor) based in a range of disciplines in the sciences, humanities, social sciences and professional and applied disciplines. The participants were located in nine PhD-granting tertiary institutions in New Zealand; a small amount of comparative data were collected from senior scholars in two universities in the Pacific region.

1.2 Key findings

The discussion and analysis section of this report is framed around the question: Ko wai, no hea tātou? – Who are Māori academics? We are able to make a number of observations about the senior scholars who were involved in this study, as follows:

1.3.1 Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi

In this study, the Māori senior academics who did their university studies in the 1970s and 1980s have achieved a level of seniority in their departments and now carry a degree of academic influence. Many of these participants were the first in their extended whānau to go

to university and later build academic careers. This particular group of scholars has a strong commitment to social justice that is drawn, in part, from their involvement with the political and cultural movements of the 1970s and 1980s.

This academic “old guard” is reaching the age of retirement and a new generation of Māori scholars is coming in behind it. The academic profession in New Zealand has changed significantly over the past 25 years in the wake of extensive reform in the tertiary sector and in line with this the incoming generation of early career Māori academics have had radically different experiences from their older colleagues. They are more likely to have whānau with university qualifications and they are more likely to identify with a Māori middle class. On the other hand, unlike their older Māori colleagues, they are also more likely to carry significant levels of student debt and some have delayed having children or buying houses as a result. Many of them have lower expectations that their jobs will be secure in the longer term and cannot imagine a time when they will be able to save for their retirement. In this case, the new net is one that is stretched tight with a myriad of very heavy responsibilities.

1.3.2 Workplace satisfaction and the role of Deans and departmental heads

In general, higher levels of satisfaction with the work environment were reported by participants who were Professors or Associate Professors, while senior lecturers were more likely to express dissatisfaction with their places of work although there were notable exceptions in both groups.

Higher levels of workplace satisfaction, in general, and with some notable exceptions were reported by university faculty in Māori Studies and Pacific Studies departments where participants have regular daily interactions with other Māori or Pacific colleagues. In departments where there are few Māori or Pacific academic staff, having a Māori or Pacific colleague in a nearby office was reported as having a positive effect on participants’ sense of belonging within the academic unit. Māori and Pacific faculty, again with some exceptions, were more likely to report feeling intellectually, socially and professionally isolated in departments where there were few or no other Māori staff. In these departments and faculties, the level of regular, positive engagement that departmental heads and Deans have with Māori and Pacific academic and professional staff has a significant influence on workplace satisfaction. These findings provide an interesting comparison with the level of workplace satisfaction reported elsewhere by staff in Wānanga. Bentley, McLeod & Teo (2014) found that, “[e]mployees in wānanga appear more likely to report that their

satisfaction had got better over time since starting work in the sector (66.7%) than those in universities or polytechnics.” (p. 29).

1.3.3 Discrimination

Despite the proliferation of formal institutional commitments to diversity, gender equity, and New Zealand human rights legislation, nearly all the Māori senior academics involved with this study (25 of the 29 Māori participants) reported having experienced or witnessed racial or gender discrimination in their places of work. Discrimination was usually of a structural nature although some also reported witnessing a range of micro-aggressions.¹ The experience of overt racial prejudice (e.g. in the form of racist comments about Māori or Pacific peoples) was relatively rare. Over half the Māori women academics in this study reported experiencing overt gender discrimination from both Māori and Pākehā colleagues as well as various forms of structural gender discrimination (e.g. in relation to promotion opportunities and career advancement).

1.3.4 Academic socialization process

Māori academics have similar or identical responsibilities, commitments, values and concerns to their Pākehā colleagues as they build their academic careers but they also have a parallel set of priorities that are located in the web of significant relationships that exist outside the academy. These relationships usually centre on whānau or hapū or other Māori-centred associations and they carry significant responsibilities.

In addition, Māori tend to begin their academic careers later than other academics; for example, the average age for a Māori doctoral student is 49 years (Nana, Stokes & Lynn, 2010). Moreover, only 5.8% of all postgraduate graduates (including Masters degrees) are Māori so the numbers coming through remain very low (Theodore, Tustin, Kiro, Gollop, Taumoepeau, Taylor, Hunter & Poulton, 2015). Accordingly, Māori academic careers have a different shape and trajectory to those of other academics (Middleton & McKinley, 2010).

¹ The definition of racial microaggressions used here is from Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo & Rivera (2008), who write, “Racial microaggressions have been defined as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group.”” (Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo & Rivera, 2009, p.183).

Since many begin their careers closer to the age of retirement, Māori academics are often engaged in early career activities at a later age than many of their Pākehā colleagues. Consequently, these academic careers are of much shorter duration than those of Pākehā scholars and this is problematic because academic careers take many years to build. As a result, this “swinging door” situation makes it difficult to establish a stable, sustainable Māori research workforce within the higher education domain.

Moreover, the research audit culture of universities through the Performance-Based Research Fund (PBRF) creates challenges for all researchers who wish to generate long-term solutions to the “big” social, environmental and economic problems that face New Zealand as a nation. Since Māori research careers are often foreshortened there are fewer senior and experienced Māori researchers available who can conduct the long-term research that is needed to address difficult, intractable or highly complex social, environmental, economic or political problems that confront Māori communities. The lack of a critical mass of Māori researchers therefore makes it difficult to generate multidisciplinary solutions and potentially, this will have a corresponding effect on national development initiatives.

1.4 Future research

If Māori academics are to contribute to national development goals to their fullest extent through their teaching and research and engage fully in seeking solutions to some of the “big” problems of our times, there are a range of issues that need to be better understood. In particular, the very low number of Māori staff on permanent academic contracts is a significant problem for universities in New Zealand. At the end of this report, the need for further research on the graduate career destinations of Māori PhD graduates and the structuring of professional occupations (both in the universities and more widely) is discussed and the need to understand more about the impact of PBRF on Māori scholarship is also commented on.

2.0 INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

Despite the proliferation of equity and diversity plans and policies that have been established in universities across New Zealand over the past 25 years, Māori academic staff make up only a very small proportion of the nation's academic workforce (6%) and the proportion of Pacific academic staff is even smaller (2%) (Sutherland, Wilson & Williams, 2013). Most of these faculty are clustered in the early to mid-career stages with very few operating at senior and late career levels (Nana, Stokes & Lynn, 2010). In this report we argue that this situation reflects a wider structural dysfunction within the institutions of higher education in New Zealand that, to date, has only been partially addressed by formal mission statements and institutional strategies aimed at recruiting and retaining Māori and Pacific faculty.

This project explores the experiences of senior Māori faculty and their engagement with their institutions of higher education. It aims to shed light on these small communities of scholars and their everyday working lives within the wider communities of their disciplines and academic departments in universities across the country. This project is also a comparative study and includes Pacific scholars. Māori and Pacific peoples often find themselves sharing the same institutional spaces in terms of university policies, practices and perceptions. Many of our participants noted that they frequently feel that the concerns of Māori and Pacific academics are “lumped together” by university managers and department heads and this can lead to tensions and conflicts between these groups who frequently have little authority, recognition or status in their workplaces. This study looks directly at these institutional encounters and how they shape the daily round of academic debate, teaching, research and committee work that is performed by Māori and Pacific scholars.

Over a two-year period, we listened to the stories of senior Māori academics and their Pacific colleagues and heard about their joys and frustrations as they made sense of the institutions that they work within. We conducted in-depth interviews with 43 participants (of which just over two-thirds were Māori, reflecting the proportionally smaller numbers of senior Pacific scholars in New Zealand) in nine PhD-granting institutions in New Zealand. In addition, three interviews were conducted with academics in two other universities in the Pacific region for comparative purposes. We spoke to academic staff who are based in a range of disciplines in the humanities, sciences, social sciences and in professional and

applied fields.² For the purposes of this report, we have focused mainly on data elicited from Māori participants. The analysis of the Pacific data is scheduled for publication in academic journals and will be in the public domain in due course.

2.1 Research rationale

While Māori are well represented at levels 1-3 of the tertiary education system, only 15% of Māori move into higher level qualifications (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2010). In light of this, successive governments have prioritised Māori participation in the higher levels of tertiary education, particularly in university degree programmes. Indeed, government authorities view Māori engagement with higher education as a means of building a “productive skills base” through which to drive economic growth (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2010). To this end, it is expected that “all [tertiary] providers [...] will strengthen their engagement with iwi and Māori communities” (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2010). Similar responsiveness to Pacific communities is also expected.

If the catch cry of education policy-makers that Māori in the academy should “enjoy success as Māori” (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2013) is to have any meaning, and if one of the aims of tertiary education is to draw students into the world of a knowledge discipline in order to participate, at some future point, in economic growth; some investigation of what is happening for Māori and indigenous academics within the academy is needed. This is particularly important because Māori academics have expectations placed on them to serve a series of unresolved and often competing demands between their disciplinary knowledge bases and indigenous scholarship (see for example, Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Mercier, Asmar & Page, 2011; Nikora, 2001; Smith, 2000; Webber, 2009).

These matters, which sit at the heart of this study, have emerged from recent work in the domain of higher education, indigeneity, ethnicity, institutional racism and academic socialization (see for example, Ahmed, 2012; Pilkington, 2011; Pilkington, 2013; Hall, 2014; Zembylas, 2010; Preston, 2009). In particular, we explore here whether Māori scholars are socialized within their institutional contexts in similar ways to other academics or if unique cultural factors are brought to bear on the process. There is some evidence to suggest that

² We are aware that the broad description of academic disciplines as ‘humanities’, ‘sciences’, ‘social sciences’ and ‘professional and applied fields’ is problematic, however, the low number of Māori and Pacific senior academic staff in New Zealand universities increases the likelihood of identifying individuals so we have intentionally used these terms as a means of disguising the participants’ academic departments and disciplines.

Māori experience a form of academic socialization in terms of career trajectories, access to suitable academic mentors, engagement with disciplinary knowledge bases, and promotion prospects that poses unique challenges and tensions which differ from the trajectories commonly experienced by Pākehā academics (see, for example, Asmar, Mercier & Page, 2009; Kaomea, 2004; Kidman, 2001).

If Māori aim to make a distinctive contribution to the disciplinary knowledge bases that drive national and tribal development, and if a cohesive or potentially cohesive intelligentsia or vanguard exists to support these goals, then a better understanding is needed about how Māori and other indigenous academic identities are crafted. In light of this and in addition to exploring the socialization narratives of Māori academics we also drew upon the socialization narratives of a small group of Pacific academics. These comparative data helped us to ascertain whether institutional perceptions about indigeneity or ethnicity more generally are embedded in the maintenance of Pākehā academic privilege and how intellectual spaces within the academy are racialized/ethnicized and often marginalized.

The study falls into three intersecting parts which, broadly described, include:

a) *Academic socialization*: An exploration of the influences and forces that shape Māori academic careers.

b) *Institutional engagement*: An investigation in to the ways in which the academy engages with Māori scholars and the kinds of career strategies that are mobilized by Māori senior scholars.

c) *Engagement with disciplinary knowledge base*: A discussion about a range of Māori senior scholars' perspectives about what constitutes indigenous Māori scholarship.

2.2 Research questions

The guiding research questions for this study were formulated around the intersecting parts noted above, as follows:

a) *Academic socialization*: *How do Māori scholars become academics?*

In this part of the study we wanted to find out if Māori scholars have unique experiences of the academic socialization process that affect their career trajectories, the nature of their engagement with the institution and their disciplinary knowledge bases. If there are

distinctive patterns of academic socialization that centre on indigeneity, we wanted to understand how these intersect with other ethnicized academic identities, such as Pacific academic identities. The purpose behind this part of the study was to determine whether there are elements of Māori academic development that need to be incorporated into the policies and practices of institutions of higher education.

b) Institutional engagement: How does the academy engage with Māori academics?

In this part of the study we were interested to find out how the academy engages with Māori scholars and whether there are particular institutional barriers experienced by Māori senior scholars. We collected data about the professional and career strategies that senior Māori academics have developed over time to mitigate some of the challenges they have faced.

c) How do Māori academics engage with the knowledge base of their disciplines?

In this part of the study, we explored how senior Māori academics perceive the role of their disciplines in transforming their communities. We were particularly interested in how “Māori scholarship” is constructed and enacted by the academic researchers who practice it.

2.3 Research objectives

The over-arching objectives of this study can be expressed, as follows:

1. To establish whether Māori academics experience the academic socialization process in ways that are either similar or distinct from those of other scholars.
2. To “map” senior Māori academics’ understandings of Māori scholarship within higher education contexts and explain how these understandings inform (or do not inform) their relationship with the knowledge bases of their disciplines, particularly in relation to national development goals.
3. To explain how Māori and Pacific senior academics perceive and enact the transformative possibilities of their disciplines for Māori and Pacific communities.

4. To identify whether there is a Māori intellectual vanguard (i.e. a politicized cohort of intellectuals) in universities and Wānanga in Aotearoa and if so, explain the ways in which it engages (or does not engage) with “organic” Māori intellectuals outside the academy (i.e. a flax-roots Māori intelligentsia based in tribal communities).
5. To ascertain, through a comparative analysis of the experiences of Māori and Pacific senior academics how indigeneity and ethnicity is positioned within the “hidden curriculum” of the academy and how this shapes their everyday working lives.

These objectives are discussed further in Section 5 of this report (*Analysis of Research Objectives*). In the next section, we turn our attention to the methodology and explain the research design for this project.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

In this section of the report, we outline the research design process and discuss how and why the methodological strategy changed in the time between our early conceptualizations of the project to the data collection phase of the study.

3.1 Research strategies and data collection methods

The qualitative methodological approach taken in this study changed radically from the one that was outlined at the proposal stage. Initially, we had decided to aim for a broad sweep of participants and intended to speak with as many people as possible. At the outset, we selected group-based data collection methods, mainly Talanoa and focus groups, as our primary data sources. Both of the investigators in this study are experienced and familiar with these approaches and we had hoped that a group context would allow participants to brainstorm and shape ideas in interaction with each other. Prospective participants had also indicated to us that the Talanoa approach would be their preferred method. Once the project was underway, however, these group-based choices quickly proved to be problematic and we had to rethink our methodological strategy. We discuss this process below.

3.1.1 The original research design

The original research design involved a combination of standard qualitative approaches that were to be incorporated into the study alongside Talanoa methods and autobiographical techniques aimed at eliciting narratives of academic socialization. Talanoa methodologies have been described as:

[a] qualitative, oral interactive approach to research allows for continuity, authenticity and cultural integrity. The methodology provides a culturally appropriate setting for the researcher and those researched to talk spontaneously about whatever arises. Conversation flows freely without the intrusion of a formal structure comprising predetermined questions, such as a questionnaire. This process helps reduce the gap between the researched and researchers and gives the researched shared ownership over the direction and focus of the discourse. (Fletcher, Parkhill, Fa'aoi, Taleni, O'Regan, 2009, p. 26)

We adopted this method because Talanoa methodologies are frequently used in Pacific research and are closely related to Kaupapa Māori research approaches and philosophies (Vaiolēti, 2006). For this reason, we considered this would be the most appropriate approach for a study involving both Māori and Pacific participants. It was also a method that suited our intention to speak to as many Māori and Pacific senior scholars located in each of New Zealand's universities and PhD-granting institutions as we could.

When we began to contact participants, however, a number of problems with the Talanoa approach emerged. One practical challenge was that Māori senior academics and Pacific senior academics are exceptionally busy people with heavy demands on their time and it was difficult to get members of each group together in the same room at the same time. Even when we were able to secure a room and a convenient day, many of the participants were unable to attend the entire session. We worried that the flow of discussion would be interrupted if people were coming in and out of the sessions and began to look at other ways of collecting data.

Accordingly, we conducted some one-to-one pilot interviews and it was at this point that we were alerted to a further problem with using group-based data collection techniques for this particular project, namely, some of the participants commented that they preferred the *kanohi ki te kanohi* interview format because they would be reluctant to talk openly about their experiences of the institution in a group context. In the early stages of this project we had anticipated that certain interview topics might be slightly awkward for some participants or that a few might be unwilling to speak about some subjects and we had developed a flexible interview schedule that allowed us to talk around difficult issues or move on to other questions if participants did not wish to respond. We did not anticipate that some of the participants had experienced previously or were currently dealing with painful, troubling or traumatic situations in their work environments that they wished to talk about in the course of the interviews or during our field visits to them. This took us somewhat off-guard and ultimately led to a major re-conceptualization of the methodological design.

3.1.2 The revised research design

As a result of the issues that emerged in the pilot study we revised the interview schedule again and further reduced the level of self-disclosure that was sought (see Appendix A: Draft interview schedule) but we also put protocols in place following interviews where

participants talked about being subject to high levels of stress, anxiety, anger or harmful behaviour in their places of work.³ We decided to abandon the idea of doing group-based Talanoa and instead conduct ethnographic in-depth interviews on a one-to-one basis (Skinner, 2012).

At the same time, we introduced other elements into the data collection process in order to supplement interview data as we were reluctant to rely entirely on a single source of material for analysis. Thus, alongside the interview process, we maintained ongoing contact with many (but not all) the participants by email, skype, telephone calls and visits to their places of work. In some cases, participants invited us to attend academic events with them (for example, local conferences, lectures, departmental functions, book launches, meetings, symposia, seminars, lunch appointments with colleagues and class field trips) and this gave us additional insights into their everyday working lives.

Some of the participants preferred not to be audio-recorded and in these instances we took extensive field notes, which we showed them at the end of the interview so they could check over what we had written and make amendments where necessary. In a few other instances, interviews were conducted by telephone or participants responded to interview questions by email. But most interviews were conducted in person. This was a decision that significantly changed the shape of the study. The decision to run one-to-one interviews with multiple follow-ups with some of the participants allowed us to go into considerably more detail and we gathered richer and more textured data but it was also a more time-consuming strategy and as such we had to reduce the total number of participants that we had originally planned to invite. Joanna Kidman worked alongside members of the Māori participant group to gather data and Cherie Chu worked with members of the Pacific participant group. In this report, we focus primarily on the interview data.

3.2 Characteristics of the participants

The participants in this study were Māori or Pacific senior academics who were located in a range of disciplines in higher education institutions across New Zealand.

³ These protocols involved follow-up contact with participants and debriefing sessions for ourselves.

3.2.1 Māori participant group and Pacific participant group

We included two distinct groups of participants in this study, namely, Māori and Pacific senior academics. Within many institutional settings in New Zealand, Māori and Pacific concerns are often bracketed together (Jones, 1999) or manifests on the ground between Māori and Pacific peoples as, what Teresia Teaiwa (2005) calls, an “ambivalent kinship” (Teaiwa, 2005, p. 207). This ambivalence, she suggests, centres on a romanticized narrative of “mythic Polynesian kinship” (p. 210) that does not necessarily hold fast when Māori and Pacific people have to compete for the same scarce resources and this is certainly the case in institutional environments where Māori and Pacific people struggle to make their distinctive concerns and priorities recognized.

In this study, we have used Māori and Pacific narratives comparatively in part because the data provide a lens through which we can view the way indigeneity and ethnicity are situated within the academy but also to explore these tensions in more depth. Joanna Kidman interviewed Māori participants (N=29) and Cherie Chu interviewed Pacific participants (N=14). The relative size of each group reflects the higher proportion of Māori senior academic staff employed in universities in New Zealand compared with Pacific academics. In this report we have focused on material drawn from the Māori participants. The comparative element of this study shall appear in academic journals at a later date.

3.2.2 Academic status

The participants in this study were academics who had achieved senior job ranking in their places of work. In this regard, we looked for people who were at the rank of senior lecturer, Associate Professor or Professor, although we also spoke to people with other job titles that reflected their status as senior researchers or scholars in the academy. We chose to approach senior faculty because we wanted to speak with academics who had many years of experience in their disciplines and also in the higher education domain. In this regard, we worked on the assumption that more senior academics were more likely to have developed effective career strategies and a level of familiarity and ease with the knowledge base of their disciplines.

In addition, we hoped to speak with as many academics as possible who had experienced the massive shifts in higher education in New Zealand following the economic reforms of the 1990s and, in this respect, we recognize the work of others who have argued that the reforms of this era heralded a new form of neoliberal public management that radically

altered the university landscape in New Zealand (see, for example, Shore, 2010; Lerner & Le Heron, 2005). We were interested to find out how these seismic shifts in higher education policy and practice affected Māori scholars in the academy and considered that more senior academics would be more likely than early career academics to provide us with a “long view” of academic life in New Zealand and we were particularly interested in hearing these narratives.

In the pilot for this study, we interviewed two sub-senior lecturer Pacific academics both with long associations with their respective universities. The reason for this was that we were working with a small population and wanted to fine-tune the interview process as much as possible at an early stage of the study. Material from the pilot interviews provided us with useful contextual information but in this report we have focused on data from interviews that took place later in the study.

3.2.3 Gender of participants

Thirty women and 13 men were included in this study. Both the Māori and the Pacific groups included male and female participants.

3.2.4 Academic discipline affiliations

Participants in this study were affiliated with a wide range of disciplines in the humanities, sciences, social sciences, and professional and applied fields. Outside of Māori Studies and Pacific Studies departments, there are often very few Māori and Pacific senior faculty and we have refrained from providing further detail here in order to reduce the likelihood of identifying individuals.

3.2.5 University location

The study included participants working in each of the nine institutions of higher education in New Zealand that award PhDs. During the pilot stage of the study we interviewed participants in two universities in the Pacific region in order to provide a level of contrast and comparison with the experiences of senior Pacific academics in New Zealand universities.

3.3 Recruitment of participants

Participants were selected, in the first instance, from University and Wānanga lists of senior Māori and Pacific academic staff and from our own networks. From that point, we used snowball sampling approaches, crossing as many disciplinary areas as possible, until data began to repeat.

3.4 Ethical considerations

The project was approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee. Confidentiality agreements were signed by the transcriber of the interviews with Pacific participants' and the research assistants in accordance with Victoria University of Wellington human research ethics protocols.

Participants were given the opportunity to check over the transcripts of their interviews and in cases where interviews were not audio-recorded they were shown handwritten notes. In addition, participants had the option to withdraw from the study and also withdraw data within four weeks of receiving their transcripts (see Appendix B: Consent form). In parts of this report (e.g. parts of Section 5) we have omitted information about participants' gender as a means of protecting their identities.

3.5 Transcriptions

We were mindful that some of the data were of a sensitive nature and needed to be handled with a view to maintaining confidentiality. Initially, we had planned to pay transcribers to transcribe the material but this raised some problems in relation to data from the Māori cohort because although the interviews were conducted almost entirely in English, some of the participants spoke in Te Reo Māori during parts of the interviews and it would have been difficult for a transcriber, without some knowledge of the Māori language, to transcribe these conversations. We were concerned about maintaining confidentiality throughout the transcribing process so in order to mitigate this issue all the interviews with Māori participants were transcribed by the project researcher, Joanna Kidman. The Pacific participant interviews were transcribed by a transcriber who is based in Australia. Each participant was sent a copy of his or her transcript and invited to amend it if they wished.

Over 300 pages (173,588 words) of interview data were transcribed and 267 pages of field-notes were generated.

3.6 Coding and analysis

Data were coded using NVivo 10 (QSR) software. We used an open-ended process in the initial coding cycle and looked mainly for emerging patterns that were linked to the research questions, which in turn were developed from the research objectives. During the second cycle, we further refined the material and began to sort the patterns into broader categories and themes. In the third cycle, we checked data that had not been previously sorted and identified outlier material. The findings presented in this report are drawn primarily from the first and second coding cycles.

The coding process was relatively straightforward although long before we reached the data analysis phase we noticed unusual data “spikes” in instances where several participants had attended conferences together and this happened on more than one occasion. For example, on two separate field trips we spoke with participants who had recently returned from conferences with other colleagues who were, coincidentally, also participants in our study. During these interviews, we noticed that the participants focused on similar or identical concerns and expressed themselves in very similar terms. At the time, they either mentioned highly respected keynote speakers who had influenced their thinking about particular issues during the plenary sessions or noted that they had spent many hours, often long into the night, talking with academic colleagues in hotel restaurants or bars about matters raised during the formal conference proceedings which they later repeated during interviews for this project.

Following a conference that was widely attended by Māori academics, for example, several participants voiced strong, angry and unequivocal views about an issue of particular relevance to this study. The issue had been discussed at some length by a keynote speaker at the conference in a way that struck a chord with many conference attendees and this was the subject of many later discussions. We interviewed some of the participants at around the same time the conference had concluded and noticed that when we raised the matter there was an unusual “spike” in the data. For that reason, we returned to the issue with these participants some months later to see if they still held the same views. They did, but the force of their responses had dissipated somewhat and most expressed a sense of sorrow or resignation rather than active anger. At that point, the data evened out and reflected more closely the views of participants who had not attended that particular conference. For that reason, we have treated the earlier responses with some caution.

3.6 Limitations of study

Participants in this study were recruited in the first instance from people within our own academic networks. As a way of extending the disciplinary and institutional range of the sample groups, we used snowball sampling techniques and this allowed us to include participants in the study who we did not know personally. Snow-ball sampling (or referral sampling) is a method that begins with non-probability convenience sampling whereby a research participant is asked to recommend or name another prospective participant, who then offers the name of another prospective participant and so on. The number of participants grows much like a “rolling snowball” (Cohen & Arieli, 2011, p. 424). This is a form of chain sampling that is useful in studying “hard-to-reach” or hidden populations (Heckathorn, 2011) and can provide considerable insight into social networks that are not easily accessed by outside researchers. In this study, the strength of this sampling approach was that it allowed us to trace academic and peer networks and engage with members of intra-national, international and local institutional communities of scholars.

One limitation of snowball sampling is that the reliance on referrals increases the possibility that individuals may be excluded if they are not members of networks (Cohen *et al.* 2011). We observed this limitation operating in this study. For example, we did not get referrals to Māori and Pacific academics who do not identify their cultural or ethnic heritage in their places of work. We mitigated this problem to a certain extent by contacting people who we did not know personally and this allowed us access to people who, for many reasons, locate themselves outside the main network flows of Māori academic and Pacific academics around the country. In the main, however, the participants in this study are members of these networks and this is both a strength and a limitation of the project in that we have gained insights into the lives of people around New Zealand most of whom play an active role in these networks but little information about Māori and Pacific academics who are not. Data should be treated with caution in this respect and is not presented here as being generalizable across all groups of Māori and Pacific senior academics. In the next section we present selected findings from this project.

3.8 Quantifying terminology (“some,” “many” and “most”)

In sections 4 and 5 of this report (i.e. the findings and analysis sections), unless specified numerically, the term “**most** participants” (e.g. “most participants agreed...”) means that 85% or more of respondents expressed a similar or identical point of view. The term “**many**

participants” (e.g. “many participants agreed...”) means that 65-84% of respondents expressed a similar or identical point of view. The term “**several** participants” means that 50-64% of participants expressed a similar or identical point of view. The term “**some** participants” means that 40-49% of participants expressed a similar or identical point of view. In cases where only one or two participants expressed a point of view, the number of respondents is quantified numerically (e.g. “two participants agreed...”).

4.0 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS: KO WAI, NO HEA TĀTOU?

In this section of the report, we present selected findings from the first and second cycles of coding and analysis. These data are closely linked to several of the interview questions and this allowed us to address the research objectives. For purposes of clarity, we have framed this part of the report around the question: Ko wai, no hea tātou? Who are Māori academics? We focus here on the motivations that drew this group of people into the academic profession; how they think about their work as scholars; how they engage with the institution and how the institution engages with them. These are important matters if we are to map the intellectual territories of Māori academics in order to understand how they enact their disciplines in ways that contribute to tribal and national development.

A wide range of views was articulated by the participants who were based in universities but we note here that considerably higher levels of job satisfaction and wellbeing were reported by those who are at the level of Professor or Associate Professor. Conversely, higher levels of dissatisfaction were reported by those at the level of senior lecturer although there were notable exceptions in both cases. In line with other studies in universities in New Zealand (see, for example, Sutherland, Wilson & Williams, 2013; Doyle, Wylie, Hodgen & Else, 2005) and overseas (see, for example, Shin & Jung, 2014; Bentley, Coates, Dobson, Goedegebuure & Meek, 2013; Bozeman & Gaughan, 2011) we noticed that participants in the latter group commented more often and more extensively about experiencing job-related stress and anxiety than participants in more senior academic positions. These findings provide an interesting comparison with the level of workplace satisfaction reported elsewhere by staff in Wānanga. Bentley, McLeod & Teo (2014) found that, “[e]mployees in wananga appear more likely to report that their satisfaction had got better over time since starting work in the sector (66.7%) than those in universities or polytechnics.” (p. 29).

4.1 Academic career motivations and influences

During the study, the participants were asked to talk about the factors that had motivated and supported them in building and maintaining their academic careers. Most⁴ of the

⁴ The term “most” refers here a point of view expressed by 85% (or more) of participants. See Section 3.8 for further information.

participants in this study had links to Māori or Pacific communities outside the university that played an important role in their professional and personal lives. This was not the case for all the participants, however, and we present findings here that capture some of the diverse responses that were given to this question.

4.1.1 Whānau and community

Several⁵ participants expressed a great deal of gratitude for the educational opportunities that allowed them to pursue an academic career. These participants received significant emotional and financial support from their families and tribal or cultural communities throughout their long years of study. They noted that it these ongoing relationships continue to influence the way they perceive the world and interact with it as scholars and academics. For example, one participant explained that having a PhD opened many doors that would otherwise be closed and this had allowed him to make a contribution to his community.

When you can realize anybody's dreams... let alone a community's dreams... let alone a Māori community's dreams, or even just put a glimmer of hope in their eyes that their dreams might be realized, that's what makes me happy. I'm immensely proud of my whakapapa, of all my heritage, but in New Zealand I think I can make the most difference by working with Māori communities. There's that individual thing when you make one person happy but then there's another layer when you make a whole community happy. You know all the stats about how we're all mad, bad and sad? Well, if I can contribute in some small way to shifting those stats. That makes me happy. (Māori senior academic, male)

In many respects, these complex, fluid networks provide a distinctive shape and structure to the work that many (but not all) Māori and Pacific scholars do. The participants commented, however, that much of this goes largely unseen and unrecognized within the university by colleagues who are often unaware that these networks exist and are highly influential in the working lives of many Māori and Pacific academics. As one participant noted,

⁵ The term “several” refers here a point of view expressed by 50–64% of participants. See Section 3.8 for further information.

Outside of university our lives are taken up so much by family and extended family and our respective ethnic and cultural communities and there aren't that many academics in them. (Pacific senior academic, female)

As we prepare aspects of this study for publication in academic journals we shall argue that the working days of many Māori faculty and Pacific faculty are structured around what we shall call the “invisible” labour that is done on behalf of these communities and the external networks to which they have strong commitments and obligations. These networks provide cultural and intellectual stimulation but they also provide a sense of warmth and belonging that some participants do not experience in their places of work. As one participant said,

I don't want to sound like I'm skiting. At home, they think anyone with a PhD is like the Prime Minister. I think they find hope that someone can succeed at that level. They're very happy that I still return home. That I haven't become a snob. I went home last year and I forgot to fill up with petrol but I made it to my cousin's place and I called my brother from there and asked him to bring me some gas. I hadn't seen them for ages so I called in and their son had just come in from diving and he had some kinas so I sat down with them and I couldn't get my brother on the phone so they gave me some petrol. I think we find a lot of warmth from having those relationships. They happen outside the university but it's that warmth that keeps us going. (Māori senior academic, female)

As we shall see later in this section, these connections are central to the lives of many Māori academics and Pacific academics and are embedded in the scholarship of many of those who participated in this study. We have cited here examples of warm and supportive communities but note that the participants also commented extensively on the fact that maintaining relationships with whānau and community is time-consuming, exhausting and sometimes fraught with tension.

4.1.2 First generation university students

Most of the participants in this study (39 out of the 43 participants) were the first in their extended whānau to acquire university qualifications and this had a considerable influence on how they thought about higher education. For example, many⁶ participants spoke of the

⁶ The term “many” refers here a point of view expressed by 65-84% of participants. See Section 3.8 for further information.

great sense of privilege they felt in working in a university setting. This served as a motivating factor to pursue research that was likely to lead to positive change within Māori or Pacific communities. In this respect, the participants were clear that they actively translate the knowledge gained within their disciplines into social gains for Māori or Pacific communities and it is this aspect of their jobs that brings them a great deal of happiness, satisfaction and a sense of purpose.

[The discipline] is not a career, it's a life. It's our life. It's our past. It's our present. And it's our future. You don't really make a career out of it as such. You can use your career to help you support our people. (Māori senior academic, female)

Another participant noted,

It's working with the communities. For me that's a sense of being at home. It's a sense of being with whānau. The communities I'm working with at the moment, I feel a huge sense of whanaungatanga. There are a couple that I don't know that well, but otherwise it's like working with whānau. It's a very warm environment. It's not only that it's warm, it's that we know we can make a difference. (Māori senior academic, female)

One Māori academic said that her family was proud of what she had accomplished but explained that her life could have been very different. When she was younger she said she had made some poor decisions. In light of that, she felt that her education gave her choices that had dramatically changed her life.

I am perpetually grateful that I am not the woman I was supposed to become when I was fifteen. And that would have been the one who was still working in a factory with twelve children and no teeth. Probably still living out in [name of area removed]. Maybe I would have been happier. Who knows? (Māori senior academic, female)

As noted earlier, not all the participants in this study had close familial or cultural links with tribal or ethnic communities outside the university, although they were all active members of networks that included others who did have these connections. Those participants with active affiliations with tribal, ethnic or cultural communities, however, consider these relationships pivotal to their work as academics and in most cases to their scholarship and research as well. This is a finding that has been discussed previously by others. For example, in a recent study of Māori and Pacific university students, it was found that whānau and

community were important factors that played a significant role in their academic success (Meyeda, Keil, Dutton, 'Ofamo'oni (2014) and this was a view that was strongly held by the participants in this study, most of whom had also been first generation university students themselves. They noted that these factors continue to influence and shape their academic identities as senior scholars.

4.1.3 Engagement with students

Students also play a significant role in the lives of both Māori and Pacific academics. As one participant noted,

... we're not going to live forever so we need to replace ourselves if our disciplines are going to live beyond us. That's part of our job as people within a discipline, to bring new people into it. (Māori senior academic, female)

Many participants described their contact with students as invigorating. One academic, who lectured in courses with high Māori and Pacific enrolments, commented,

I love being with the young. I'm not a young person myself anymore. When I first started out, I wasn't much older than the students and so back then I had that kind of connection. Now I'm someone who is older than their own parents or close to their parents' age. I love the young. I think they are beautiful and courageous and strong. When I look at the passionate intensity that they bring to the things that they care about, I think that the future is assured. If we look after these young people coming through, the future is in good hands. So they give me a lot of hope, a lot of strength and a lot of joy. It's time-consuming but it also makes me feel connected to something that's much bigger than just me by myself. (Māori senior academic, female)

While most of the academics expressed their pleasure in working with students, the participants who worked within a Wānanga context had the opportunity not only to work alongside students but also with their families and this brought a high level of energy and excitement to their work. One participant said,

My students now are people who have lived lives where they've come into their studies and into [the discipline] for reasons of emancipation. They're there to really make a difference. They're there to get an education because of everything that's happened in their lives. And their motivation is to use their education so that they

can support other people to get an education. So it comes from a completely different angle. (Wānanga senior academic)

Another participant who worked in a Wānanga setting said,

...when we're working with students, we're not just working with students, we're working with their whānau and their communities and more often than not there's more than one of them involved in the whole process. And the other thing I find really exciting about working with them is the differentiation in their ages, from 26 through to 70 [...], you will have children, their parents and their grandparents at varying levels throughout the institution. I find that really exciting; when their children are there and their mokos are there, and for them, education is something they're seeing. They're seeing it, they're living it, and they're experiencing it when they come in for their blocks or when they come in for their programmes. (Wānanga senior academic)

These aspects of academic life brought a great deal of satisfaction to the people who participated in this study and for the most part they considered that this makes the job worthwhile. But these elements of the work also provided a context for the way that the participants thought about other, less enjoyable aspects of academic life, as is discussed in the following sub-sections.

4.2 Academic communities

The participants in this study were asked what, if anything, “academic community” meant to them. “Academic community” is a term that usually refers to a European notion of a “community of scholars” (Clark, 1961, p. 295) or as Paul Goodman (1964) famously, and somewhat cynically described, “a community of scholars, a face-to-face, self-governing community, like a walled city within which teaching and learning and growing up are accomplished through the personal relations between the veterans and the young.” (Goodman, 1964, p. 396).

Kidman (2001) notes that although there is no uniform definition of the term amongst New Zealand academics it is a phrase that is widely understood even if perceptions about its meaning vary. The way that academics articulate their sense of belonging or distance from the knowledge or academic “communities” of their departments, universities or disciplines, however, provides insight into how academic labour is structured and organized in different

parts of the university and this in turn throws light on the way that academic knowledge circulates through a range of networks both within the university and beyond.

In the late 1990s, for example, one of the investigators for this study, Joanna Kidman, wrote her PhD thesis about academic socialization in New Zealand universities. At that time, the full impact of the neoliberal economic reforms that had taken place throughout much of that decade was not yet fully realized or understood. Academic faculty did not then know what lay ahead in terms of the increasing levels of public management that were later to emerge in universities and the public service nor was it entirely clear what the reform of the tertiary education system would bring, although some had an inkling of what was to come.

On the cusp of these changes, the Pākehā senior scholars who participated in that late twentieth century study were asked what, if anything the term “academic community” meant to them. A few of the participants commented that it meant very little to them but for the most part, the term conjured up an important and vibrant sense of place and belonging within the academy. One Pākehā participant remarked that the notion of “academic community” connected her to a network of scholars that linked its members across time and place in ways that produced strong intellectual allegiances. She said,

An academic community has a lot of meaning for me. It happens across time and across generations. I’m still in touch with my old teachers, although several of my teachers who I loved desperately are dead now. But those people who taught me are still part of my life forty years later. In the same way I hope that some of the people I’ve taught will still be part of my life in the years ahead. I do think that the relationship of teachers and students is a very privileged one. It’s one of the great joys of my life. I have students all over the world who are still in touch with me. I dedicated my first book “to my parents and other teachers.” (Pākehā senior academic, female, quoted in Kidman, 2001, p. 206).

The notion of academic community was important for many Pākehā scholars of that era because it provided them with an extensive network of colleagues and peers in many different parts of the world. For them, their “imagined communities” crossed national borders and linked them to others with whom they shared intellectual and scholarly interests and priorities. One participant commented,

I want to stress that universities, if they’re real, are international. By belonging to a university, you belong to an international community. It’s a bit like belonging to some sort of club. I can turn up in any university anywhere in the world and be

welcomed. We have people turn up here from universities all over the world. It is an international community. (Pākehā senior academic, female, quoted in Kidman, 2001, p. 206).

New Zealand tertiary education policy at that time was centred on producing graduates who would serve the cultural and labour needs of the nation (Butterfield & Tarling, 1994) and the universities were themselves heavily focused on their role within the nation-state. At the same time, they maintained a strong commitment to internationalization although Lerner and Le Heron (2005) contend that “these were largely the legacy of colonial linkages, and in all cases were international— involving relationships between nation-states— rather than the new patterns of global relationships” (p. 848) that were to emerge in later years.

The Māori and Pacific participants in this study, like their Pākehā colleagues, also looked beyond New Zealand for intellectual and disciplinary communities abroad and this was an important part of their work. Several of the Māori participants said that they enjoyed going to international conferences that were directly related to their disciplines but actively prioritized scholarly gatherings where they knew they would be able to meet and interact with native scholars from other countries and regions. In many disciplinary areas, intellectual spaces have been created by native scholars over the years and several of the Māori participants in this study said that they leapt at the opportunity to engage in these kinds of interactions whenever they presented themselves.

4.2.1 Academic communities in twenty-first century New Zealand

Tertiary education policy in New Zealand has changed radically since the late twentieth century and new forms of public management and practice have dramatically reshaped the academic landscape. Many of the Māori participants in this study were based in New Zealand universities during the 1990s and early 2000s, either as academic staff or students, and had seen a slow splintering of collegiality and sense of community within their academic departments and faculties. Indeed, in the course of our conversations and interviews, several people commented on the fractured nature of their professional relationships within the university, as is discussed further below.

4.2.2 Academic community as site of exclusion

Many of the participants in this study reported high levels of isolation in academic departments where they were the sole Māori scholar or sole Pacific scholar in their disciplinary area. Few of these people socialized with university colleagues outside working hours and some commented that they were rarely included in invitations to social events with Pākehā colleagues, for example, summer barbecues or after-work drinks. One participant noted that her academic colleagues were,

... nice enough people and it's not like they're deliberately leaving me out when they go to the pub after work or if they're taking visiting scholars out for lunch. Sometimes on Monday mornings I hear them talking about how they've been to dinner parties at each other's houses. I've never been invited to those little shin-digs. Probably, they think I wouldn't want to come. Well, it's true actually, I probably wouldn't really but it would be nice to be invited sometimes even if just to find out what's going on in [the Department]. It's cool though. I don't lose sleep over it and they're not terrible, evil people. (Māori senior academic, female)

Another Māori participant commented that the notion of an academic community did not resonate with her. She talked about her experience of the university she was working in while this study was taking place and her feelings of isolation as the sole Māori appointment in a department where academic communities were structured around powerful faculty and knowledge elites. She said,

“Academic community... to me, that doesn't include me really. It's that powerful group of academics that sits over there. I've never really had a sense of belonging to that kind of academic group. I've never even really tried to belong to it. I never saw myself as part of that kind of community. Even at [name of university removed] University, we were academics, but as a Māori team we saw ourselves as being more part of the community. Part of the Māori community.” (Māori senior academic, female).

Other sources of intellectual companionship and community for many Māori scholars are the significant relationships they have with other Māori scholars that extend across New Zealand. All of the participants in this study had extensive contact with Māori colleagues in other universities and other disciplines within their universities and this mitigated the effects of isolation to certain degree. A great deal of information sharing exists within these networks and in this regard Māori academics are often very well-informed about events

taking place in other tertiary institutions. These networks pass largely unnoticed within the wider university but they are a central part of daily life for many participants.

In the more fragmented environment of the twenty-first century university, Māori scholars often look beyond their departments and universities to establish a sense of belonging and community. As noted earlier, many (but by no means all) Māori academics look towards Māori cultural or tribal communities for a sense of belonging and intellectual companionship and while this can create tensions within the academy with colleagues who do not recognize these connections as being intellectually significant relationships, they provide an important framework for the way that many Māori academics structure their research, teaching and scholarship. The institutional context for Pacific academics, however, poses unique challenges, as is discussed below.

4.2.3 Pacific academic communities

Very high levels of isolation were reported by the Pacific participants in this study, many of whom also experienced the “academic community” as a site of exclusion and tension. One participant said,

This Faculty is focused on the dominant discourses of [discipline removed], of mainstream and anything that we, as in that my Pacific colleagues, try and do are usually “ghetto-ed” outside the academic community. (Pacific senior academic, female)

The same participant added that in a Faculty with low numbers of Pacific staff either on the academic or the administrative teams, she often found social occasions with other academic colleagues a little trying.

I mean I just walked around this morning and their average age, no offense to anybody, but it's 55. You're white. [...]. I don't even know if they take me seriously. I think I've been to so many meetings where they've thought I was a student representative [...] or I was just somebody random. So you get a feeling that you're not welcome in a way or you don't belong. It's not like, I...I don't even know if they do it intentionally [...]. Everything around socialising doesn't really acknowledge my identity. I remember a colleague from our School and she said to me, “Oh I didn't know you drank wine. I thought you were religious?” Well, I was just like, “God! You're supposed to be teaching about diversity!” (Pacific senior academic, female)

For many Pacific academics, the intellectual and academic communities they engage with are international in scope from the outset of their careers and this is particularly the case for those who have active connections with family or villages in the Pacific region. What was immediately evident from the data is that there is a unique nexus of international and regional relationships that surround Pacific scholars and because of this there is a corresponding difference in the way that academic communities in and around the Pacific region are constructed and maintained. Indeed, the circulation of knowledge in these communities operates on an entirely different basis from those of both Māori and Pākehā knowledge communities largely because they work across a broad range of Pacific contexts that speak directly to Pacific academics in ways that are uniquely situated in the diverse cultural milieux of the region. One participant commented,

I think, for me, [...] it was brought home when I went to our [name of Pacific community removed] community function last weekend and the privileging of other things were far more important than being an academic. [They would say], Well that's fine but do you know this and have you done [that]?" So far more important is having that cultural knowledge. Knowing who you are within a community. (Pacific senior academic, female)

Another Pacific scholar commented that the low numbers of Pacific academic staff in New Zealand universities makes it difficult to create a sense of community within the institution and for that reason Pacific academics tend to include a broader range of people in their institutional networks than their other university colleagues (both Māori and Pākehā). She said,

Pacific academics, and women academics in general, are more like, we're making family all the time. We're all like, "Oh my gosh! There's a [Samoan] secretary over here or there's a [Tongan] cleaner over here." You know? We connect. So I think that's one thing. That's a strength. The downside of that is that because there are so few of us it's easier for us to get isolated as academics. (Pacific senior academic, female)

In this respect, the circulation of knowledge around these networks engages and interacts with ethnicity and culture as well as with social class in quite unique ways and this also has an influence on the way that many Pacific academics conceptualize and enact their scholarship and research. In this respect, their academic labour is surrounded by groups of significant others who are highly visible within Pacific networks but often entirely invisible within the wider communities of academic departments or disciplines.

4.2.4 Academic communities as micro-geographies

Within universities, the micro-geographies of academic departments also have a profound effect on Māori and Pacific staff sense of belonging as well as their general wellbeing. For example, in general, higher levels of workplace satisfaction were reported by faculty in Māori Studies and Pacific Studies departments where participants had regular daily interactions with other Māori or Pacific colleagues. In departments where there were few Māori or Pacific academic staff, having a Māori or Pacific colleague in a nearby office also had a positive effect on participants' sense of belonging within the academic unit.

Not all the participants had these kinds of experiences, however, and some⁷ reported a high degree of cultural and intellectual isolation within their academic units. One senior Māori academic reflected on the impact of “pepper-potting” Māori academics across a faculty or academic department,

The consequences of “pepper-potting” if I can use that term have been absolutely devastating for my Māori colleagues and peers. They ended up so angry and isolated and disenfranchised that it’s actually affected their health. I find myself getting angry and resentful... when I left [name of faculty and university removed] there were [...] five of us out of 400 people so you could play “Spot the Brownie.” We were all in different disciplines too [...]. So we were sort of around but we were never part of something as tangible as a community. As well as that, I’m a woman and they were all very blokey blokes. In the ‘80s and ‘90s it was all very much about Māori male progression through the academic realm. So when I left [name of university removed] and went to [name of institution removed] it was a very conscious move towards a Māori community. (Māori senior academic, female)

Conversely, a sense of collegiality and belonging was reinforced in university faculties and academic departments where professorial staff and Pākehā departmental heads actively and openly supported initiatives led by Māori and Pacific academics. As one participant commented,

Here at the [name of department removed] I feel very comfortable about the people who recognize the importance of indigeneity. That’s partly because there’s a reasonably visible discussion about that. [...] I’ve found that senior people here are

⁷ The term “some” refers here a point of view expressed by 40-49% of participants. See Section 3.8 for further information.

very careful that [name removed] and I don't have to be the Māori voice on everything. (Māori senior academic, male)

Several participants also commented that Faculty Deans were critical in establishing institutional contexts that are conducive for Māori and Pacific scholars to do their work in an environment of respect, collegiality, civility and trust. Indeed, Māori participants reported higher levels of isolation and unhappiness in faculties led by Deans who were seen as weak, vacillating or tokenistic in their interactions with Māori. These participants commented that a lack of engagement or sympathy between Deans and senior Māori academics had a flow-on effect throughout their faculties to Heads of School and Pākehā colleagues who were more likely to devalue the intellectual labour of Māori scholars or omit them from their collegial networks. On the other hand, when they worked with Deans who put time into building positive relationships with the Māori academics in their faculties and who regularly consulted with them on a range of matters, the Māori participants reported much greater levels of institutional engagement and a stronger sense of community belonging.

The day-to-day interactions between colleagues in university departments are an important aspect of the academic workplace. It is through these engagements that different kinds of knowledge (e.g. disciplinary, institutional, social, professional) are broadcast and circulated and as such they shape the nature of departmental academic communities. The level of engagement or disengagement that academics have with these frequently informal flows of information reflects how they are situated within the institution and the level of influence they have with their colleagues. However, other factors also influence the level of engagement that Māori academics have with institutional or departmental colleagues, as is discussed below.

4.3 Gender

In this sub-section, we look at the gendered nature of institutional engagement with Māori academics in New Zealand tertiary institutions and the ways in which cross-cultural alliances can work towards privileging academic masculinities.

4.3.1 Māori women's access to university

As noted earlier, most of the participants in this study were first in their family to attend university. Several of these participants commented on the way that social class within the academic profession is structured and enacted through a series of social codes. For example, some felt that they were often positioned as outsiders in the middle class environment of the academy. In this respect, academic women experience and embody social class relations in ways that intersect with social attitudes about ethnicity and gender and this was discussed in some depth by those Māori women participants who did their undergraduate studies in the 1980s or early 1990s. A few of these women entered university as mature students and several had raised children at the same time as they were studying towards their degrees. Also during the 1980s, single parents who received the Domestic Purposes Benefit and who were eligible for a Training Incentive Allowance (TIA) were able to enrol at University with a limited amount of government-funded financial support.

Prior to the economic reforms, and before the “user pays” system of student loans was introduced into the New Zealand tertiary education system, the Training Incentive Allowance opened the doors of the university to many women with few formal qualifications and employment prospects. At the same time, some universities established programmes that provided support for mature students to enrol in degree studies. These programmes had an enormous impact on many Māori women who aspired to study at university but had little financial support to do so. As one participant recalled,

I was twenty-nine and I was a grown up but I had no education. It was in the mid-80s [...] I got pregnant and I was alone. I was a single mother with a young baby and [name of university removed] offered what was called a “New Start” programme which facilitated mature students, i.e. older women, because there were almost no men on the programme, to come and do university study. That’s how I entered university at the age of thirty with a baby under one arm and I’ve been here ever since. (Māori senior academic, female)

The participant added that when these programmes were closed down and the student loans system was introduced, many working class Māori women left university without completing their degrees. She said,

The impact on mature students of bringing in student fees was devastating. Getting rid of TIA meant that number was halved again so there’s been a need for an

enormous amount of tenacity by the generation who came after us. I do feel a real sense of obligation to them. (Māori senior academic, female)

These programmes and allowances made a significant, but sadly, never to be repeated difference to the lives of some of the women who were involved with this study. Those participants who did their studies through those avenues expressed a strong sense of responsibility towards younger Māori women coming into university in the present who do not have access to the same level of financial and institutional support.

4.3.2 Māori women's engagement with the university institution

Much has been written previously about the under-representation of women at senior levels of university administration and scholarship (see, for example, Savigny, 2014; Coate, Howson & de St Croix, 2015; Marbley, Wong, Santos-Hatchett, Pratt & Jaddo, 2011; Navarro, Williams & Ahmad, 2013; Robinson, 2013; Deem, 2003) but despite advances in the academy, institutional structures continue to operate in ways that privilege and normalize the concerns and priorities of white males (Savigny, 2014). The Māori women in this study also raised this issue. One participant observed,

My god, it was such a shock, the first few [management] meetings I went to. It was just so alien. So Pākehā. It was just so snotty. It took me ages to become comfortable and to start seeing the people as humans (laughs). It took me quite a while to learn to respect them and to respect their particular knowledge. It's a bit different now. Back then it was old school. Conservative bastions of male privilege. [Name of discipline removed] is like that anyway. Now there are more women. At the beginning, I was one of the only women. It was freaky. And the racism... the unconscious racism that was expressed. (Māori senior academic, female)

A participant in another institution commented that as a younger academic she was often surprised when she was not invited to meetings and hui that were directly related to her work. She recalled finding out about important meetings from junior male colleagues after they took place. She said,

Well, it's a kind of passive aggressive sort of behaviour. I wasn't one of those women who was left out at the time but I also wasn't one of the women who was taken to hui that I really should have been at. So some of these sycophantic mediocre young

males that were very nice to look at in their flash business suits got to go on those jaunts. We didn't... the women didn't. (Māori senior academic, female)

These exclusions and omissions make up the daily working lives of many women academics and they are not confined to Māori women. When Māori women's level of engagement with institutional, academic, departmental, cultural or tribal hierarchies is reduced through these omissions, however, it can have a long-term impact on their opportunities for career advancement. What is also of interest here is the degree of frustration expressed about male collusion in institutional practices that exclude Māori women, as is discussed further below.

4.3.3 Cross-cultural male alliances

Over half the Māori women in this study expressed considerable frustration with institutional hierarchies that placed Māori men and women into competition with each other. Several women commented that they frequently found themselves in situations in their institutions where they were expected to defer to Māori men. One participant said,

One of the things I find really frustrating is having to defer to men who are junior in more ways than one. They don't have the same experiences. They haven't fought the same fights. And those fights have been around things Māori and Māori women's struggles in the institutions. But because they have qualities that I don't have... like fluency in Te Reo Māori and a penis of course... that's seen as the only type of qualification they need, and that annoys me. That annoys me a lot. (Māori senior academic, female)

Māori women, especially those who do not speak Te Reo Māori, often find that their university institutions favour Māori men who speak some degree of Te Reo Māori (even if they are not confident or expert speakers) in terms of promotions and career opportunities and advancement. Several of the women in this study noted that this was the case even when knowledge of Te Reo Māori was not essential for the work they were doing; or in cases where Māori women had stronger academic profiles and track records than their Māori male counterparts. There is certainly good evidence that New Zealand universities favour male academic staff in the matter of promotions and appointments (see, for example, Doyle *et al.* 2005; Human Rights Commission, 2012) and this is a situation that is replicated in universities around the world (see, for example, Rickard & Hjerm, 2013; Baker, 2012; White, Carvalho & Riordan, 2011). One participant commented,

The appointments I've seen lately, where there have been strong Māori women candidates, but it's been the men who were appointed. That makes me wonder. When you have several appointments and maybe two thirds of the candidates are women but it's the men who get appointed. You start to wonder. (Māori senior academic, female)

Another participant said,

I see a lot of Māori men who get into positions where they don't have the experience and they may not be the right person to do the job. Sometimes a committee just looks around and they're saying they just have to employ a Māori person and they're asking who's going to fulfil that role and who they're going to put in that position and yeah... It's a difficult one. My impression is that women tend to go where they're prepared to actually do the hard work and where they think they can make a contribution to something. I've seen a lot more men who tend not to actually show that kind of thinking. Often they're standing out the front when we need people out the back where the cooks are. (Māori senior academic, female)

Several women noted that they were passed over for promotions and career opportunities that were available to their male colleagues at much earlier stages in their careers. In addition, some of the participants considered that Māori leadership, at times, enters into a degree of collusion with gendered institutional hierarchies. One participant said,

It's when very mediocre young men are enabled by very, very senior male academics. So they're enabled by the Māori leadership and they are very much followers of those very senior Māori men. They've heavily reliant on those leaders. They don't have any real ideas of their own but they will do the bidding of the male leadership. And the leadership is extraordinary but it enables young men who do not wish to engage with people who will question them. Particularly Māori women. They'll support Māori women who they consider to be acquiescent. Women who agree. Oh, yes and you have to be attractive too. If you are not attractive these young men will pass them over. I've seen this happening. If you're seen as being more suitable for the kitchen, then you'll get passed over by these young men. (Māori senior academic, female)

These issues have a profound effect on Māori women who are not only tagged with social stereotypes of Māori people as being angry, confrontational or difficult, at the same time they are also prevailed upon by some (but not all) of their Māori male colleagues to behave

in ways that are compliant, submissive, agreeable and biddable. Māori women who resist these pressures sometimes find they are criticized not only on the basis of their gender but also their cultural or social class status, appearance or presumed level of commitment to Māori culture and people.

That attitude that I'm not Māori enough, I don't look Māori enough; I'm a woman; I don't come from a prominent Māori family; I'm not local iwi, I'm throwing my weight around, and blah, blah, blah, blah. Some of my hardest experiences have come from other Māori. (Māori senior academic, female)

... Judgements based on how often you go to the Marae or how much of the Reo you've got or whether you know your whakapapa or who's more "qualified" to speak than someone else. I mean, what kind of construct is that! (Māori senior academic, female)

In the next section of this report, we explore other structural issues including the positioning of indigeneity in the academy.

4.4 The institutional positioning of indigeneity

The way that universities position indigeneity in post-settler societies like New Zealand, Australia or Canada tells us a great deal about how the knowledge that is produced by indigenous scholars is situated within institutional and disciplinary networks (Byrd & Rothberg, 2011; Ndofirepi & Cross, 2014). These engagements are discussed below.

4.4.1 Tertiary institutions as microcosm of society

The participants in this study reported considerable goodwill from most of their Pākehā colleagues, especially those who shared strong views about social justice or who came from working class backgrounds themselves. They were less enthusiastic about their interactions with the broader institution although some participants commented that the university, as an institution, did its best. One participant said,

Some days I think that they want to know how to position indigeneity. Some days I think that they see it purely as an obligation that they just can't get their head around.

I think that within the grand narrative of the whole institution, there has been an earnest attempt at trying to position indigeneity within this space. (Māori senior academic, female)

Other participants commented that while there is always a hope that tertiary institutions are part of the society that created them and replicate some of the same inequalities that exist elsewhere. As one participant said,

...the university doesn't stand apart from the society it's in. It's an institution that's embedded in the wider social institutions that surround it. So it's a nice idea to hope that the university is going to be any different or a bit less racist than anywhere else but in the end the university is a creature of the society that made it. It's a creature of its history. [...] So I think the university positions indigeneity in terms of its institutional narratives quite positively but I think that sitting underneath that are a whole lot of tensions and anxieties. (Māori senior academic, female)

The structural nature of these engagements was widely commented on by the participants. They noted that institutional initiatives aimed at rectifying a particular issue, for example, increasing the number of Māori staff in particular disciplinary areas, can sometimes further entrench the problem. One participant commented,

They add things on that are supposed to help Māori. So for example, they'll get a position that's kind of Māori-designated but it does nothing to permeate any of that throughout the university. It's not about anything that changes the power structures of the universities. [...] So that says to me that it's not about the Treaty; it's about "Others". We become part of a list of cultural "Others" that's ever-expanding. (Māori senior academic, female)

If universities are microcosms of society, however, they are also public institutions that have a responsibility for reporting on organizational matters, as is discussed below.

4.4.2 Institutional perception management: Equity and diversity policies

Sara Ahmed (2012) has written about the ways in which university institutions in Britain and Australia construct diversity policies and this is a matter that concerns this study.

Interestingly, her work had been widely read by a number of the people who were involved

with this project and has been influential in shaping the conversations that many Māori, especially in the humanities and social sciences, are having about this issue. Indeed, we often saw copies of her book in the offices we visited in different parts of the country and it was not uncommon for participants to quote from it during our conversations.

One of the arguments that has influenced Māori academics' thinking about university equity and diversity policy-making is Ahmed's discussion about the way that institutions "manage" public perceptions about how they engage with staff and students from marginalized groups. She writes that "[o]rganizations manage their relation to external others by managing their image. This management can take the form of [...] "perception data", that is, data collected by organizations about how they are perceived by external communities." (Ahmed, 2012, p. 34).

Ahmed suggests that when institutions work on managing public perceptions, their underlying motivation is that it is the perception, not the institution, which needs to be modified and rectified. In other words, if people have a view that an institution is "white, elite, male, old-fashioned" (p.34), she argues, academic managers and HR teams usually contend that it is the *perception* that needs to be altered rather than the structures of the organization.

In line with this argument, Māori and Pacific academics talked about how they are frequently called upon to support the institution in doing the work of perception management and this is a cause of intense frustration for many. During our discussions with participants one of the most frequently quoted sections of Ahmed's work was as follows: "We are asked to embody a commitment to diversity. We are asked to smile in their brochures. The smile of diversity is a form of political recession" (Ahmed, 2012, p.163). As one participant said, "I don't think institutions care about indigeneity. They talk about diversity but they don't worry too much about indigeneity." (Māori senior academic, male). Another participant commented,

It's the incorporation of difference without any structural adjustment. There's a pick and mix, additive logic where, oh well, TEC says we have to get more Māori and Pasifika students and here's the equity initiative from down on high. (Māori senior academic, female)

When "cultural difference" is incorporated into institutional policies without subsequent change to the structure, practices or ethos of the organization (Hughes & Flowers, 2012;

Niemann, 2012) under-represented groups, like Māori academics, sometimes find themselves pushed further into the margins of the university,

I don't think [indigeneity] is positioned. It's very much on the borders. I think that being indigenous is seen as useful when there's a research project coming up and they can get someone who's Māori or Pacific in to make themselves look good. That's when they find uses for us. Other than that, there's no recognition. (Māori senior academic, female)

The proliferation of university diversity and equity policies in recent years has left the majority of the participants in this study feeling cynical about their institutions. One participant commented that despite institutional talk about the Treaty of Waitangi and the value of Māori scholars to the life of the university, there was often little substance to the initiatives that were put in place and in some cases these policies had the effect of increasing the policing of Māori and Pacific academics.

But in terms of political economy too, the TEC initiatives and the drives and the cha-ching factor on a PhD from a Māori... so PBRF is as much about cha-ching as it is about accountability. I think that regime has had a flow-on effect to other parts of the institution. And Māori and Pasifika have been defined and are increasingly identified as the risk groups. It's just so wrong-headed, isn't it! I don't know. I think it's just a doffing of the hat to difference without anything more substantial behind it and without reflexivity. Without any reflexivity about their own responsibility. (Māori senior academic, female)

At the same time, diversity policies that are not accompanied by structural change are perceived as being highly tokenistic (Pilkington, 2013) and this creates a degree of resentment amongst Māori academic staff who feel that they are called upon to serve an “ornamental” or culturally “decorative” role that works towards bolstering the institution’s public identity as a fair and equitable employer.

So there's an institutional narrative about Māori that talks about the Treaty and partnership. This university has a statute about the Treaty and there's a lot of “soft” talk about partnership. I think that some managers think that partnership just means being nice to Māori people and smiling at us when we go past them in the corridor. I don't think they have a sense that it means changing anything structural about the institution itself. I don't think they see it in terms of changing institutional priorities, changing behaviours, changing their employment practices. It's kind of like if they

smile at one Māori a day, they've ticked the diversity box for the institution. [Laughs].
(Māori senior academic, female)

One participant commented that these policies had increased institutional surveillance over the way that culture and ethnicity was enacted. He said,

The institution has a whole lot of equity and diversity policies in place and a whole lot of boxes for [Heads of departments] and Deans to tick. So Māori are always and forever a diversity question or an equity question. And in some ways that's a bureaucratizing of Māori-ness or a bureaucratization of Pacific-ness. Ethnicity is just bureaucratized. It becomes a puzzle for university management that needs to be solved and quite often, the people who are brought in to solve those problems are Pākehā. There's an attitude that Pākehā are more knowledgeable about how to solve the problems of social injustice within the institution that we are ourselves. (Māori senior academic, male)

The scepticism that the majority of participants felt about institutional equity strategies related to concerns about how ethnicity and culture can be lucrative for universities that seek targeted funding for Māori or Pacific student enrolments or research and some Māori academics considered that this forces them into making difficult decisions about where their loyalties lie and the degree of academic “capitalism” they were willing to comply with. A common concern was expressed as follows:

Māori is seen as relevant if you can make money out of it. Māori are useful to the institution mostly for our economic value. It's about whether we can be used to make the university brand more attractive. It's about “can we use your smiling face on our advertising?” You're only worth something if you play the game. So we have to decide, are we going to be an Uncle Tom? (Māori senior academic, male)

These concerns were expressed by many participants were cynical about how institutions university engage with ethnicity and indigeneity.

Universities are in a position where they have a relationship with Māori because the Treaty requires them to, not because they choose to otherwise. In my simple world of carrots and sticks, universities have relationships with Māori because it's a stick. They have to do it. I think that individuals within institutions see the carrots. In the last three to five years universities have suddenly realized that there's real value in these relationships. It's driven mostly by the fact of that 36 billion dollar Māori economy

that Ganesh Nana et al. are putting out. They do see those carrots now but they are self-serving in their desire for a relationship because they want some of those carrots. Fundamentally, they still don't see that there's a good basis for a relationship where both parties can grow mana. With respect to positioning indigeneity, I don't think they could care less. (Māori senior academic, male)

Despite concerns about some aspects of institutional practice, organization and management, all of the participants in this study had reached a level of academic seniority within their universities and developed a series of coping strategies over time, as is discussed below.

4.5 Coping strategies

During the study, we asked the participants to think about what they had learned about working in the academy over the years and what advice they would have liked to have been given when they were starting their academic careers. We also asked them what advice they would give to younger Māori academics coming into the university now. We had hoped that this would yield some clear themes that could potentially be embedded in academic development programmes but the institutional, departmental and disciplinary environments that academics work in are simply too diverse. However, two key ideas were elaborated by the majority of participants, namely, the importance of academic mentors and the need to engage with academic networks. This is discussed below.

4.5.1 Academic mentors

Nearly all of the senior academics (26 of the 29 Māori participants) had academic mentors when they began their careers. These mentors were senior scholars, usually in the same department or discipline, who had looked out for them and provided them with advice, support, guidance and often decades of affectionate respect as well. They also had a major influence on the careers of many of the participants and during the interviews they were recalled with a warmth and esteem that had carried over many years.

Universities provide a rich climate for these kinds of professional friendships (Kidman, 2001) and they were critical for the participants in this study. Many of the older senior academics talked about Pākehā mentors who had helped them in their careers at a time when there were even fewer Māori scholars in universities than there are today. These

people had supported them in establishing themselves in their disciplines and departments and had often advocated for them when other departmental colleagues were hostile or unsympathetic. The younger participants who began their careers in the early to mid-2000s were more likely to have had Māori mentors who had nurtured their careers. Academic mentors provide invaluable systems of professional and disciplinary support and they are particularly important for early career academics from under-represented groups in Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) like universities (see, for example, Teasley, 2012; Marbley, Rouson, Li, Huang & Taylor, 2015; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2008; Chang, Longman, & Franco, 2014; Lloyd-Jones, 2014). They can also facilitate access to important academic networks, as is discussed below.

4.5.2 Academic networks

Being part of disciplinary, departmental and institutional networks is viewed as very important by the senior academics in this study. Several noted that they did not especially like the “Hail fellow, well met,” aspects of professional socializing especially with people whose company they did not enjoy but in small communities, like university departments or academic disciplines, having access to information flows was seen as being vital to the work of scholarship. The senior scholars in this study were, for the most part, active members of Māori academic networks across New Zealand; native scholars’ networks overseas; electronic networks related to their disciplines, members of professional or academic societies, and so on. Along the way, they learnt some valuable lessons, a compilation of which is presented below.

4.5.3 Some tips from “old-timers”

We summarise the advice that the participants said they would either give to early career academics or wish they had been given when they were starting out.

- *Career planning*
 - Be clear about your career path; know why you have chosen it
 - Consider alternative pathways
 - Know what tasks are career enhancing
 - Understand the value of your contribution to the discipline and to the university

- Always have an exit strategy from the university and decide if there is a line that you will not cross.
- *The discipline*
 - Know your literature as well or better than your colleagues
 - Know the politics of your discipline
 - Do not over-invest in your work. Choose when to be visible and when to keep off the radar
 - Be strategic in how you make people accountable
- *The institution*
 - Confide in people you trust. Do not let people you do not trust see you hurt
 - Try to understand other people's point of view even when you know you'll disagree with them
 - Engage with colleagues, even if just for coffee, but also focus on maintaining relationships outside of work
 - Do not say yes to everything

Some more general “tips” were:

- Be courteous and humble. It's not always about you
- Have the courage to challenge the unknown
- Stop, think and question your motives before you act
- Your successes and failures will define you in the university. Learn from both.
- Not all problems can be solved.
- Spend time on taking care of yourself. Do not allow work to take over your life
- Celebrate your successes
- Be realistic about your goals
- Be passionate about your work
- Choose your battles and learn when to let things go
- Even when it's personal, don't take it personally
- Know what you're getting into in the institution before you get into it. Be prepared. Always do your homework.

4.6 Ko wai, no hea tātou?

Who are Māori academics? In this section, we have looked at the career trajectories of Māori senior scholars, many of whom were the first in their family to go to university and later build academic careers. For most of them, whānau and community are at the centre of their lives as scholars and each have sought to bring these different parts of their lives together in their own way. Some are part of warm and vibrant academic and departmental networks whilst others experience a significant degree of isolation in work environments where there are few or no other Māori colleagues. Pacific academics, however, experience significantly higher and more sustained levels of intellectual and cultural isolation and this tells us something about the persistently monocultural nature of the New Zealand university system.

Māori women report experiencing particular challenges within universities and this is an area of academic life that continues to fall well below the mark. On the other hand, Māori senior scholars also report a sense of excitement in their engagement with the knowledge base of their disciplines and some are in departmental contexts with colleagues and departmental heads who are supportive of their aspirations and ambitions.

In the next section of this report, we review some of the findings from this study in relation to the project objectives and turn our attention to the work that Māori senior scholars do and how it contributes to national development.

5.0 ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES: HE AHA NGĀ MAHI?

In this section of the report, we analyse the research objectives in the light of the findings from the study. This part of the report is framed around the nature of the work we do as Māori academics and asks: He aha ngā mahi?

The objectives for this study are as follows:

1. To establish whether Māori academics experience the academic socialization process in ways that are either similar or distinct from those of other scholars.
2. To “map” senior Māori academics’ understandings of Māori scholarship within higher education contexts and explain how these understandings inform (or do not inform) their relationship with the knowledge bases of their disciplines particularly in relation to national development goals.
3. To explain how Māori and Pacific senior academics perceive and enact the transformative possibilities of their disciplines for Māori and Pacific communities.
4. To identify whether there is a Māori intellectual vanguard (i.e. a politicized cohort of intellectuals) in universities and Wānanga in Aotearoa and if so, explain the ways in which it engages (or does not engage) with “organic” Māori intellectuals outside the academy (i.e. a flax-roots Māori intelligentsia based in tribal communities).
5. To ascertain, through a comparative analysis of the experiences of Māori and Pacific senior academics how indigeneity and ethnicity is positioned within the “hidden curriculum” of the academy and how this shapes their everyday working lives.

In order to explain how our findings address these objectives we have organized them in a different sequence below and merged objectives three and four. We begin with a discussion about Māori scholarship as a form of activism that is carried out in the interests of social transformation for Māori and Pacific communities (objectives 3 and 4) although we have focused primarily on Māori scholarship in this report. Discussions about Pacific scholarship shall be carried over into future publications.

5.1 Political activism and Māori scholars

In this sub-section, we frame our findings around the question: He aha ngā mahi? What is the work of Māori academics? As noted above, our focus in this sub-section is on project objectives three and four. A clear finding in this study is that Māori academics hold marked, albeit highly diverse political views and most of them have been or are currently involved in a range of activist campaigns. They bring these values and ideals into their scholarship in many different ways. It is not unusual for academics to be involved in political activism; indeed, there is an international literature on the subject (Croteau, 2005) and Māori scholars are no different in this respect. The Māori academics in this study, however, were largely engaged in activities and organizations that advocate for Māori environmental, political, social and cultural concerns (although this was not the case for all the participants) and this is the focus of the discussion below.

We have used Jennifer Bickham Mendez's definition of scholarly activism to advance the discussion below. Mendez (2008) describes this as a context in which "the researcher uses her position within the academy to contribute to social justice struggles, while at the same time working to place at the centre alternative voices and ways of knowing." (Mendez, p.138).

Following our analysis of the findings, we have divided the participants into two distinct groups in the sub-section below. The first group we discuss is comprised of older academics, aged around 55 years or older, who did their undergraduate studies in New Zealand universities during the 1970s and 1980s. Fourteen of the 29 Māori participants in this study were in this age range. These academics had been involved with an extensive range of political activity in their youth and many continued to be active in tribal or Māori community organizations and politics. Of particular interest here, is that a significant number of these participants, including several who did not major in Education, were part of a cohort of Māori students (mainly women) who had studied at the University of Auckland during the 1980s and 1990s under Māori Education scholars, Linda Smith and Graham Smith. Several of the members of this cohort have gone on to build highly successful academic careers in a range of disciplines and fields.

The second group discussed in the sub-section below is comprised of younger Māori senior scholars who began their academic careers in the early to mid-2000s (15 of the 29 Māori participants). These participants have different aspirations from their older colleagues partly because they have experienced the post-reform university system in different ways.

Despite this, they maintain a strong commitment to issues of social justice particularly for Māori.

Like their older counterparts in the academy, members of this group are also highly active in various political arenas and bring these ideas into their work. Nearly all of the people in this second cohort (12 of the 15 Māori participants in the second cohort) have links with Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga in one form or another and their association with this organization performed many of the same functions, in terms of networking and academic mentoring, that were a feature of the work done by two Māori academics (Linda Smith and Graham Smith) in the School of Education at the University of Auckland during the 1980s and 1990s.

We do not wish to overstate the degree of political engagement of Māori scholars in New Zealand universities. As noted earlier in the Methodology section of this report (see Section 3.6), our sampling method is one that relied on chain referrals and this carries an increased likelihood that people who are not members of social or professional networks will be excluded. For that reason, we do not speak here for Māori senior scholars who were not included in this study and are not active members of these networks. We are confident, however, that the views expressed in the sub-sections below represent those of a significant group of Māori scholars currently working in New Zealand universities.

5.2 Scholarship, intellectual vanguards and social transformation

Our analysis of data that relate to research objectives three and four are linked to sociological questions that centre on intellectual labour, knowledge elites and knowledge production (see Gramsci, 1971; Jacoby, 1987). This element of the study is planned for publication elsewhere at a later date but a summary of our findings is provided here. In particular, our analysis is linked to discussions and debates in the field of activist scholarship and its transformative possibilities for marginalized populations (see, for example, Came, MacDonald, & Humphries, 2015; Apple, 2010; Striffler, 2015; Sudbury & Okazawa-Rey, 2009).

In brief, we contend that a cohort of Māori scholar activists operates within New Zealand universities that is closely affiliated with tribal and cultural communities but that their scholarship has changed significantly in response to the neoliberal reform of the tertiary

education sector over the past 25 years. In the following sub-sections, we outline how this cohort of intellectuals evolved over time and how they enact their scholarship in the present.

5.2.1 The 1979 University of Auckland engineering students' "haka" party

The political awakenings of many Māori scholars who studied at New Zealand universities during the 1970s and 1980s began in a range of social and political movements. A number of the participants in this study, for example, traced the origins of their own political journeys to an incident that took place in 1979 at the University of Auckland with the annual performance by engineering students of a mocking rendition of a well-known haka (Tauroa, 1982). This performance was a regular feature of the annual student capping parade and over a period of 10 years it caused considerable offence to Māori and other members of the university community. In the late 1970s, the engineering students provoked further controversy by painting expletives and images of genitalia over their bodies as they performed their derogatory version of the haka while drunk and dressed in grass skirts and hard hats.

Despite repeated requests from Māori and other members of the University of Auckland community to refrain from these actions, including complaints through formal university channels, these jeering performances continued unabated. Matters came to a head in 1979, when members of a Māori protest group, He Taua, confronted the engineering students during their performance and a violent brawl broke out that resulted in broken bones, bruises, hospital admissions and stitches (Tahana, 2009).

For Māori, what added further insult to injury in the aftermath of this incident was that members of the protest group were arrested on a total of eighty-eight charges (most of which were subsequently dismissed) and accusations of police brutality towards the Māori protesters, which were never subsequently denied, also began to surface (Quince, 2007). The subsequent court appearances of He Taua members were marked by large anti-racism protests that were held in their support.

Over the weeks and months that followed, He Taua protestors were tagged by the media as being petulant, easily offended and over-sensitive while the engineering students were portrayed as high-spirited young men whose high-jinks had intended no harm (Harris, 2004). These events were an important touchstone for many young Māori university students who were studying in New Zealand universities at that time. As one participant described the incident,

... it had to do with cultural offence caused by [engineering] students performing a mockery of a haka; grass skirts, profanities written on their bodies and using swear words. The Māori community had remonstrated with them. Every year they did this [...] but the arrogance of that group of people meant that they perpetuated that practice. Eventually it escalated to the point where Māori students formed a collective and responded to that cultural violence with a violent act, even though the Engineers outnumbered the Māori students who were trying to prevent that offence being caused again. The issue there was that the lesson wasn't learnt by [...] that Faculty because the issue was prosecuted in Court and the Māori students were found guilty. But the Courts went even further and executed a criminal prosecution against those students and that had significant implications for them in terms of their qualifications and their future careers. It created an injustice or a hara that was there for the next thirty years. (Māori senior academic, male)

This view was shared by a number of participants in this study and the Māori response, particularly that from Ngā Tamatoa, the Māori activist group that drew heavily on the political philosophies of leading members of the American Black Power movement (Walker, 1990), had an enduring influence on the politicization of young Māori, some of whom were later to join the academic profession. As one participant who was studying in the Auckland region during the 1970s recalled,

... each year, those guys used to come running through our dormitories [...] The Engineering students were right up the other end [...] and they had to pass by us [...]. So once a year they'd come rampaging through our dormitories in paper piupius with scribbles all over their faces. They were all white guys [...] it was pseudo-savage-type stuff but they did it in pen so it was supposed to be funny. But it was just scribbles. I was only about 17 or 18 at that point and I knew instinctively that there was something terribly, badly wrong about what they were doing but I did not then have the language or the critical analysis to articulate what it was but I knew it wasn't right. But I was humiliated by it. I was humiliated by it. [...] Ngā Tamatoa did have the analysis and they knew about the Black Liberation Movement in the '60s. You see, I didn't have that education. All I knew was that I felt humiliated. I didn't know why but I knew this wasn't right. That was [...] in the early 1970s and ten years on, they were still doing it. (Māori senior academic, female)

Another participant also credited the events surrounding the Engineering students' haka party as being an important turning point in her own political activism,

I'd just come out of political movements and I'd been involved with Hīkoi ki Waitangi and what not. So all through the '80s my education was actually the political movement. When I first came [...], it was 1979 when the Engineering students got beaten up. I'm one of those students that was there. There was a hundred and twenty-five of us. For me, that was the biggest eye-opener. I'd always known there was something wrong but I could never quite put my finger on it. That's when my education actually started. Being involved in that and meeting all those dynamic personalities and being involved with that for a few years. (Māori senior academic, female)

These events, and the Ngā Tamatoa response, had a profound impact on many Māori at the time and not only in the Auckland region. Participants in different parts of New Zealand were aware of what had happened in Auckland and were united in their anger about how the matter had been handled. While this incident was a flash point for a range of political responses, some of the older participants in the study were active in various forms of political activism during the 1970s and 1980s, as is discussed below.

5.2.2 Political activism

A number of the older participants in this study were heavily involved in a range of political activities in their youth. But this was no “Golden Age” for them; it was described to us in terms of being spat at during demonstrations or handled roughly by police or being turned down for rental accommodation by landlords or missing out on jobs or mortgages and bank loans because they were Māori. Some were associated with Ngā Tamatoa, others were active in tribal politics or other forms of Māori activism throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Some began their political education in the Women’s Movement or the trade unions. Others began their political journeys during the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand, and some acted as student representatives on university committees. Many were active in the language revitalization movement, for example, in Kōhanga Reo. A selection of memories from the participants is cited below:

I think what we've learnt over the past twenty years is important. I've come from the protest movements. In my early days, I was part of the union movement, part of various workers' movements, [...] the women's movement. I was part of that resistance. [...] My parents used to dread turning on the news at night because they worried that there'd be another protest march and that I'd be at the front of it! So I

used to ring them and say to them, “Look, I’m going to be on the news, perhaps you don’t want to watch it tonight!” (Laughs). That’s where I come from... political movements. That’s where I cut my teeth. So I learnt from older activists who would never ever, ever, ever agree to the sorts of things we agree to now. They would always say no. I think that’s what we’ve learnt. We keep the dreams of struggle alive. (Māori senior academic, female)

I come [into the university] as an old soldier from the Māori protest movement and I can’t stop being that person. So that’s what I think a lot of us have learnt. As we watch the unions getting smashed up and the university becomes more corporatized it’s very easy to lose spaces for that kind of thinking. But these are the challenges that confront us. The old days of protest, we keep them [with us]. Look around us here, [indicates posters on the walls] we’ve got quotes on the walls from the Black Power Movement, from the Panthers, from the anarchists... (Māori senior academic, male)

Recently, I stood at Rewi Maniapoto’s grave. He was a man who stood and fought at a time when the Crown was saying that it would take the land. And what he did was to say “No way!!!” He locked down that land and he stood and he fought. So many Māori died in that struggle. So many people died for it. And that’s what we need to remember. We have a history where people fought and died for what was right. They fought for future generations and that’s what we need to do inside the institutions; we need to fight. [...] We need to believe in ourselves and we need to stand up for the [...] generations of Māori who will come after us. (Māori senior academic, female)

The range of political activity that people engaged in is not entirely unusual amongst New Zealand-born and raised senior academics (both Māori and Pākehā) who were studying in New Zealand universities during the 1970s and 1980s. For the participants in this study, however, much of their activism was linked to Māori protest organizations and Māori communities (such as those involved with the 1975 Land March and the Bastion Point occupation in 1977 and 1978) although there were many cross-overs into the Women’s Movement and Trade Union movement.

Some of the academics who began university in the 1970s and 1980s had to leave their homes in small towns and rural areas to do their studies. For a number of them, life in the cities during that era was exciting. They talked about how, for the first time, they were in an environment where people did not know them and that anonymity allowed them to have new experiences.

My Dad had said to me in my first year, on the Sunday night before I started my first class on the Monday, he told me that there would be some things I'd see that I hadn't really seen before. And I thought "I doubt it!" [...] Well, the first thing I saw was a Pākehā boy dressed up as a girl. Then I met [name removed] who's my whanaungatanga from [name of region removed] who was also gay. I didn't meet [name removed] straight away but I first saw her in the cafeteria when I was with my Pākehā friend from high school and we looked up and there's [name removed] and this [...] woman pushing up! Honestly, we just about dropped our coffee. (Māori senior academic, female)

These kinds of stories were told many times during our discussions with participants. During the 1970s and 1980s, the cities afforded young Māori university students a degree of relative freedom to reinvent themselves or to embark on new lives. This is a common experience for many young people as they make the transition from school to university but for Māori it has a particular significance. Kidman (2001) has noted this phenomenon previously, and records one of the Māori participants in her doctoral study as saying,

There are constraints to being a Māori in New Zealand. The Māori world is full of constraints. So many of us go overseas. Sometimes I think it's because you get released from the constraints of being a Māori in New Zealand. In New Zealand you always have to make choices about how much inside the Māori world you want to be. That's partly because most of the Māori in New Zealand are so young. They're mainly urban dwelling. So that means that in a lot of situations there's a separation from the cultural roots. It's also easier not to be Māori if you live in a city or in an urban situation. If you live close to your Marae you're compelled to be involved in community stuff even when you'd normally choose not to be. It's like a joker I used to know when I taught in a school in a small rural area in the Bay of Plenty. It was a little Māori community. A very Māori place. Very traditionally-oriented. Well, years later I saw him on a plane from Auckland. I did a double-take when I saw him because of the flashy way he was dressed. He looked like Sporting Life out of *Porgy and Bess*. I asked him what had happened to him and he said that since he'd been living in Auckland, it

was the first time in his life that he could be anonymous. That's the thing about being Māori and living in a small community. It's great but you can't always develop yourself in the ways that you would if you could just be anonymous for a while. (Māori senior academic, comment quoted in Kidman, 2001).

The 1970s and 1980s were a period of intense political activity in New Zealand and many of the participants in this study were involved with various political movements that were to have a significant impact on their later scholarship, as is discussed below.

5.2.3 Activist scholarship

Over the years, the participants in this cohort took what they learned in the protest movements of their youth into their scholarship and these ideas and understandings informed their enactment of their “critic and conscience of society” role in the present, a responsibility that they each took very seriously. Emancipatory scholarship for many Māori senior academics is not simply a matter of paying lip service to a particular theory of liberation or social justice nor is it usually thought about primarily as a means of increasing PBRF rankings or publication outputs or gaining academic promotions. Many of the participants in this study, particularly those who were older, were first generation university students who had grown up in households and marginalized communities where there were ongoing financial struggles and these experiences have framed their commitment to social and political justice throughout their lives.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2015) has written about this phenomenon in indigenous research, noting that many scholars who conduct their studies in marginalized communities are often members of those communities themselves.

There are also researchers, scholars, and academics who actively choose the margins, who choose to study people marginalized by society, who themselves have come from the margins, or who see their intellectual purpose as being scholars who will work for, with, and alongside communities who occupy the margins of society. If one is interested in society, then it is often in the margins that aspects of a society are revealed as microcosms of the larger picture as examples of a society's underbelly” (Smith, 2015, p. 358).

Smith also notes that these commitments and affiliations can “unsettle” the status quo and this can have an adverse effect on the academic careers of indigenous researchers. Indeed,

when indigenous academics call on their scholarship to claim intellectual spaces or mobilize other indigenous scholars to seek or demand recognition within the academy, they are often met with resistance, defensiveness or silence. As Melinda Webber (2009) notes,

I believe there is no seamless fit of researcher to researched. It is an achievement involving emotional life, the researchers' subjectivities as ever present, and should also be recognised as crucial in the development of ideas. Our writings and visions are never politically neutral.

These tensions, however, have multiple implications for indigenous scholars. In his discussion about activist scholars, for example, Michael Apple (2010) contends that theory and scholarship needs to be connected not only to the material circumstances of social life but also to the actors in those situation; the people who deal with oppression, discrimination, prejudice and harm. He notes, "[t]he balcony may be an interesting piece of architecture but the scholar/activist needs to spend less time there." (Apple, 2010, p.155) and this is certainly the case for many Māori scholars who have embedded elements of political activism into their own work.

One of the challenges for these activist researchers is that due to the low numbers of Māori working in universities, it is difficult to bring together multidisciplinary teams of Māori to investigate social problems. There are many examples of Māori academics working in research teams with non-Māori and many more examples of Pākehā research teams but fewer instances where Māori teams work on solving problems that directly affect Māori communities. This is where the absence of a Māori academic critical mass within and across university disciplines has a direct impact on the nature of research that is prioritised and carried out.

A further issue for Māori is that in moving beyond merely observing and documenting problems in the social world to actively intervening in them, at times creates conflict with their colleagues in the academy. Those scholars who do speak out about social and political injustices against Māori or who challenge the institutional status quo, for example, sometimes find themselves positioned by colleagues or within their disciplines as being "angry" or belligerent and these attitudes are invariably linked with pervasive social stereotypes of "angry" Māori "radicals" or "angry" Māori women (or men) in consequence.

If I have an opinion and I'm assertive, they don't see a logical, smart, intelligent person who's arguing for something that's quite reasonable. They go, "Oh my God, I feel intimidated. I feel threatened." So this is supposed to be an institution of free

speech, of openness and opinions that may differ from yours. But if your opinion differs or if you're perceived to be too passionate in your delivery then you're seen as playing the race card and people fear you. (Māori senior academic, female)

One of the participants talked about being ostracised by Pākehā colleagues after disagreeing with a senior university manager with whom he had previously had a good relationship. The participant had spoken with other Māori colleagues, in support of a Māori woman who they believed had received unfair treatment for speaking on behalf of Māori concerns.

[I was seen as] crazy, angry, bad, incompetent. [I was seen as] the angry Native! And I have been very angry. (Māori senior academic, male)

Or, as another participant commented,

... we have to deal with being constructed as the angry native but no one says anything about how we have to endlessly deal with the “angry smile.” Those angry liberals with their clenched jaws and their angry smiles. (Laughs). (Māori senior academic, male)

In the contemporary university, political activism is increasingly viewed as something that is better kept out of the workplace. When Māori academics do speak out they sometimes find that there are particular penalties for doing so, as is discussed below.

5.2.4 The racializing of Māori scholars

The racializing of academics who challenge the status quo in the post-9/11 era has been the subject of considerable discussion and debate both in New Zealand and internationally (Kidman, 2007). In their discussion about the stereotyping of Muslim scholars in the West who speak out about prejudice or discrimination against their communities, for example, Chatterjee and Maira (2014), note that, “... we see a gendered and racial logic in academic containment where the figure of the “angry Arab” (or Muslim) male scholar is often subjected to policing by a deeply politicized notion of academic “civility.”” (Chatterjee and Maira, 2014, p.28). They add that there is a deep sense of unease “with “uppity” Arab male academics who challenge the powerful status quo in the academy” (p.29) and this exposes an inherent contradiction that sits at the centre of academic anxieties about outspoken “Others” who are seen as both a threat at the same time as being “inherently victimized and in need of protection” (p.29).

Similar experiences were articulated in this study by participants who spoke of their deep frustration with being labelled as “angry” Māori radicals when they challenge the status quo. Māori women, in particular, felt especially vulnerable to this form of racial typecasting, which they said was frequently overlaid with highly gendered stereotyping. As one participant commented,

They want me to be an angry native? They want to see me as an angry, intractable Māori woman? Ok, cool, I am an angry Māori woman. Here I am. Pleased to meet you! I am your creation. I am your worst nightmare made flesh (laughs). (Māori senior academic, female)

Sara Ahmed (2012) has written about the way these attitudes towards women are enacted in university environments, commenting that, “[t]he diversity practitioner, rather like the feminist killjoy, is heard as an obstacle to the conversational space before she even says anything. She poses a problem because she keeps exposing a problem. *Another meeting ruined.*” (Ahmed, 2012, p. 62ff), and this was an experience shared by several of the participants in this study.

The racializing of academic dissent within universities often contains implicit and explicit assumptions about gender, men and masculinity. The philosopher, George Yancy (2015), for example, has written of his experiences as an African-American male in academia. In a recent essay, he writes about a talk he gave in an academic environment. During the question and answer session afterwards, a white academic rose and suggested that Yancy was “angry.” Yancy writes,

As raced and gendered, I am a black professor, and yet I am also the “hypersexual beast,” the “raper of white women,” the shadow lurking in the dark. The context can become downright volatile. “I see an angry black professor!” functioned to erase my critical subjectivity. I became the quintessential angry black man, a powerful racist trope that signified that I was out of control and possibly in need of some form of discipline. (Yancy, 2015, p. 104ff)

Some of the Māori male participants in this study had similar or identical experiences to those illustrated in the quote above although few wished to go on the record in case they were identified. Ahmed (2012) describes the depiction of scholars of colour as angry people as a form of racial silencing, “[i]t is as if we talk about racism because we are angry, rather than being angry because of racism.” (Ahmed, 2012, p.159).

The racializing of dissent as a form of academic silencing has been widely discussed in the international literature on higher education (see, for example, Ahmed, 2012; Carbado & Gulati, 2013; Chatterjee & Maira, 2014; Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Foster, 2014; Pilkington, 2013; Pilkington, 2011; Preston, 2013; Yancy, 2015; Zembylas, 2010) and it has ongoing consequences for many academic scholars who are politically active in their own communities or alongside marginalized populations.

One serious concern for many Māori senior academics is the ways in which the construction of disciplinary knowledge in university contexts can work towards delegitimising the intellectual labour of Māori scholars. Here, we follow the works of Scheurich and Young (1998 & 1998) and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2001) who have explored the problems that African American and other faculty of colour encounter when naming racial prejudice. As Scheurich and Young (1998) argue,

One of the reasons we think “talk” about racism is heard differently by Whites when Whites are authoring the talk, is that when Whites discuss racism, it is seen, mainly by other Whites, as more legitimate, more important, more objective. It is as if when scholars of color talk about racism, they are seen as just making a self-serving point, as if they cannot be trusted to be “objectively” insightful about race or racism.”
(Scheurich and Young, 1998, p.28)

In line with this argument, Bernal and Villalpando (2002) note that universities are places where certain kinds of knowledge are validated and legitimated but these processes are not neutral and are caught up with power relations. They argue that for many faculty of colour, these processes are often highly racialized. This was an issue that was raised again and again by participants in this study. Many of them agonised about how they would present research findings that show evidence of prejudice and discrimination. One of the many participants who commented on this dilemma said of her academic department,

[I]f you are Pākehā and you do research on Māori— you get a promotion. If you are Māori and you do research on Māori— you get ignored or it’s seen as being very threatening. If you are Pākehā and you speak in support of Māori, you are seen as a good person. But if you’re Māori and you speak in support of Māori, you get accused of cronyism. The “R” word; “Racism,” seems to have a kind of magic power over Pākehā. When the word is used, it’s like the flick of a switch and the defences go up. I used to use the word to give what was happening a name... but I’ve stopped doing that because all it does is make white people go deaf. They literally cannot hear

anything that is said after the word “racism” is used in a sentence. (Māori senior academic, social scientist)

This is an issue that was raised repeatedly by the participants and it was a source of deep frustration for many Māori faculty who felt that there were few intellectual spaces within universities where they could raise these kinds of concerns. The creation of new spaces for discussion and debate has begun to take shape in some parts of the academy in recent years, however, and these have had a powerful influence on the Māori academic landscape through providing a forum for questioning the status quo, as is discussed further below.

5.2.5 Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and the new generation of Māori scholars

In the early years of the twenty-first century, a new generation of Māori scholars entered the academy as early career academics although some were senior graduate students who would shortly embark on academic careers. This tranche of academics had very different experiences of higher education from those of their predecessors. One reason for this was that the reform of the tertiary education system was well underway by the time they reached university and for the first time, New Zealand university students were not only graduating with their degrees but also with a high level of student debt. At times, the nature of these reforms and the climate of governmentality that came with the culture of audit and compliance also rubbed up against cherished notions of academic freedom that are widely upheld by members of the New Zealand academic community (Harland, Tidswell, Everett, Hale & Pickering, 2010).

During this era, government policy was heavily focused on introducing higher levels of accountability in public institutions of higher education as well as re-orienting the nation's universities to provide greater levels of support for the development of citizens who could operate in a free market economy (Olssen & Peters, 2005). In line with this, Olssen and Peters (2005) argue, knowledge came to be seen as a new form of capital and this thinking underpinned a range of new initiatives in higher education that were geared towards increasing the nation's research capacity and capability. One of the initiatives that was picked up enthusiastically by Māori scholars was the establishment of inter-institutional research networks that were hosted by Centres of Research Excellence (CoREs). The role of the CoREs was to produce research aimed at national and economic development, as well as training new researchers, and in 2002, a Māori Centre of Research Excellence was launched. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the Māori CoRE is hosted by the University of

Auckland and includes formal relationships and partnership agreements with Māori and other researchers in universities, Wānanga, Crown Research Institutes, museums, Institutes of Technology and Polytechnics around the country.

With the launch of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, Māori academics had access to an organization that was dedicated to Māori development and dependent on their skills and knowledge. The CoRE quickly established itself as an international presence and Māori researchers had fresh access to other indigenous researchers in universities abroad. This was an exciting period for Māori faculty around New Zealand. Until that time, most were very isolated within their institutions and few were active members of Māori disciplinary knowledge circuits (indeed, in several academic disciplines, Māori knowledge networks simply did not exist). The Māori CoRE was influential in changing the nature of academic work for Māori researchers, for example, cross-disciplinary knowledge networks were rapidly developed that allowed them to engage with other Māori and indigenous scholars locally and internationally on a regular (often daily) basis.

In the early 2000s, Māori researchers across New Zealand worked tirelessly towards building a Māori CoRE that could be future-proofed as far as possible in a climate of economic and political uncertainty. For many scholars, the Māori CoRE represented an intellectual space whereby the discussions and debates that were sometimes silenced within their own disciplines or academic departments could be carried out in an environment of collegiality and respect as well as robust (and sometimes very heated) intellectual inquiry. As one participant explained,

I just got caught up in [it]. When we were in it, it was fantastic. You just can't explain to people who haven't experienced how moving it was. You would work until 11 o'clock at night and then you'd get up at 4 o'clock the next morning and begin working on it again. It was what you did because you just believed it was going to make a difference. You just absolutely believed you were going to change the world. I don't think people have that same feeling now. (Māori senior academic)

One of the capability-building initiatives that was put in place by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga was Te Kupenga o MAI: The National Programme for Māori and Indigenous Postgraduate Advancement. This 10-site initiative provided support for Māori and other indigenous PhD students as they were conducting their doctoral studies. The programme was highly successful. Its original aim was to support 500 Māori PhD students from enrolment through to the completion of their degrees within a five-year period. That target was exceeded before the five-year deadline and in 2015, over 700 students are active in the programme (Ngā Pae

o te Māramatanga, 2014). There is considerable support from government agencies for the view that Te Kupenga o MAI and other associated initiatives (e.g. summer research internships) played a role in the three-fold increase in the number of Māori PhD enrolments between 2001 and 2010. The programme generated a lot of excitement and it also established a professional network for new and emerging Māori researchers. “I did feel quite special to be there and to be part of [...] the MAI network,” said one participant. Another senior scholar commented,

I'm always in awe of the MAI programme when they bring people together from all over the whole country and they all know each other. So they've already got a network as up and coming scholars and that's something I wish I had when I was going through. (Māori senior academic)

These initiatives were important and they contributed to the establishment of a new generation of Māori scholars but these programmes also took place within a broader economic and political framework that was not always beneficial to Māori. Accordingly, a sense of fatigue set in for some Māori scholars,

... back in the late 90s and early 2000s there was this feeling of academic excitement. It was that absolute belief that we were going to make a change. And now that I look at it I try to understand how did we come to believe that? Now it seems so... gap-py. I'm like, why did we believe that? Because there wasn't a lot of evidence that that was going to happen. Yet we did. We did everything for it. I absolutely believed we could make a change. Now I think I can make a change in much more limited ways. (Māori senior academic)

This sense of fatigue and in some cases, disillusionment, was triggered partly by ongoing frustration with pervasive political and ideological forces that have radically affected the lives of all academics in New Zealand universities. As one participant commented, “[e]ven just going through this Ngā Pae [rebid] exercise, I think government agendas will be far more in play than before. I think that's where universities are heading. The signs are already there.” These considerations are discussed further below.

5.2.6 The neoliberal university and its scholars

Yeah, the neoliberal agenda. We're going to get squashed. Forget about academic freedom. Research and teaching as an activity that's government-funded will take on

the American model of nine months teaching; three months research. At the end of the day we'll just work bloody hard twelve months of the year. I think that the luxury that was enjoyed by me and my colleagues up to this point in time will be something that sits in the past. Then you'll get into a "publish or perish" mentality far more than what we've experienced today. (Māori senior academic)

Nearly all of the participants in this study expressed serious concerns and in many cases, genuine alarm, about how the academic profession has changed in a relatively short period of time. The older academics, some of whom are close to the age of retirement, noted that the era of relative freedom and autonomy within universities has changed since they first began their careers. At the same time, the economic and political environment for Māori outside the academy has also significantly shifted. On one hand, for example, much has been made of the value of the Māori economic asset base which totals more than \$NZ 42 billion (Te Puni Kokiri, 2013). On the other hand, many Māori continue to struggle in the aftermath of massive economic restructuring and austerity and consequently there is an increasing economic and social divide between Māori who live in relative comfort and security and those who do not. As one participant said,

I think the world has moved on from the 1970s and 1980s when there was a lot of [...] talk amongst Māori... those were the days of Ngā Tamatoa, of the hīkoi, of the land marches... we've moved from there into a world that has been changed by massive economic reforms. So a lot of the things we did back in the day... a lot of that has been cut back for our people. For Māori people, employment in forestry, for example, that was where I grew up... all of that's been cut back. Our people are hurting. They're hurting. They're really hurting. Child poverty is cutting into our children in ways that it never has before. We live in a world where communities are fractured and disjointed and as we come through as academics, we lead very privileged lives in the university but we are part of that whole thing. So it really matters how we position ourselves. (Māori senior academic)

The positioning of Māori scholars within the contemporary university was a somewhat sensitive subject during some of the interviews, particularly for those with a background of youthful political activism. This was partly because the issue requires a degree of analysis about how they thought about themselves in terms of their own social class positioning as academics and the degree of complicity they have with a class system in which many enjoy a degree of social privilege. While all the participants who talked about these matters were very open about this, some felt conflicted about the issue. One participant commented,

It worries me that we might just create a parallel class of academics. A kind of an elite system. Māori have been mostly working class but that is changing. That's not to say that the divides between people aren't increasing because they are. But as we become part of that system and that structure I worry that the risk is that we simply replicate that system; those elite structures. People often don't understand where they come from; where their whanaunga are; what's going on. That worries me. I do worry that we'll lose our activism; that we'll lose that sense of mutual accountability. I worry about some of the judgemental attitudes that are coming through like in terms of the Reo. (Māori senior academic)

These topics led to another subject that was discussed in some detail. We refer here to participants who were critical of some of the members of the incoming generation of Māori and Pākehā scholars who are coming into the academy. Unlike mid to late-career Māori scholars, these early career academics are more likely to have parents or family members with university qualifications and are more likely to come from families with middle class aspirations and experiences. In addition, they have grown up in a radically different kind of New Zealand from their older colleagues. Nairn, Higgins & Sligo (2012) have explored this phenomenon in New Zealand following the economic reforms,

Our participants belong to a generation for whom traditional life course patterns have broken down; their grandparents, and to a lesser extent their parents, moved along a relatively standardised age-and-stage transition pathway that was structured by the institutional regime of the New Zealand welfare state. But the linearity of consecutive life stage transitions— school, employment, marriage, family, retirement— has been replaced by the complexity of concurrent transitions.” (p. 17).

For these younger people, the ideology of individual choice and free-flowing market economies obscures structural flaws at the heart of society. “As choice takes centre stage,” Nairn *et al.* explain, “collective foundations, such as gender, ethnicity and social class recede behind the scenes.” (p.26). These young people approach their identity in terms of a “project of the self” (p.27) rather than as an enactment of the collective. In line with these ideas, Louise Archer (2008) notes that academics who entered universities during the neoliberal era have often absorbed critical elements of neoliberal thought and language into their constructions of professional selfhood, for example, by according significance to producing academic “outputs” that are valued by managerial elites.

The older brothers, sisters and cousins of this generation of young people have begun to enter the academy as early-career researchers and this has changed the nature of

scholarship and indeed intellectual labour itself. For Māori scholars, this has opened up a series of intellectual divisions and cultural fractures between older and younger Māori academics. As one older participant commented,

I think that some of the younger academics coming through; these are kids who have grown up since the economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s and schools have done a very good job at creating academic identities that are highly individualistic and highly competitive. There's a lot of rhetoric about caring and sharing in schools but the practices on the ground don't always reflect that. Education itself is very much a zero sum game played by some very determined and very hungry competitors. And those who have been successful in those contexts are coming into the universities and they are campaigning for and winning the tiny number of academic jobs available and they are performing those professional identities in ways that are highly competitive and highly individualistic and highly fucking tiresome. (Māori senior academic)

Another participant commented that part of the sorrow for her was that she considered that some of her younger indigenous colleagues were complicit in these less collegial institutional engagements. She said,

I actually think the institution has become much more dangerous especially for brown women who are passionate about the cause. Now we're not only being targeted by white people but also by brown people that white people are promising rewards to if they behave accordingly. (Māori senior academic)

On the other hand, however, unlike their more senior Māori colleagues, the incoming generation of Māori scholars is more likely to carry significant levels of student debt and they are also more likely to have delayed having children or buying houses as a result. Many of them have lower expectations that their jobs will be secure in the longer term and cannot imagine a time when they will be able to save for their retirement. In light of this, despite these frustrations, the participants in this study were deeply committed to providing mentoring and support to younger Māori academics as they entered the university. They saw this as being a way of connecting Māori scholars across time and working towards building a legacy for those who came into the academy after them. In the next sub-section, we look at the academic legacies towards which Māori scholars aspire.

5.2.7 Māori academic legacies

Objective three of this project is to *explain how Māori and Pacific senior academics perceive and enact the transformative possibilities of their disciplines particularly in relation to Māori and Pacific communities*. As noted earlier, we are focusing on the experience of Māori academics in this report and shall present findings that relate to Pacific scholars' experiences in other fora.

In the discussion above, we considered the social, cultural and political backgrounds of the Māori senior faculty who participated in this study and we explored how their scholarship is frequently linked to an over-riding commitment to social and political justice for marginalized peoples and communities. In line with this, these academics think about and enact the transformative possibilities of their disciplines in a wide variety of social and cultural contexts. Throughout the study, we were able to capture elements of the work that these scholars do and in some cases we were privileged to see some of them in action in their communities beyond the university.

During our interviews with the participants, we asked them to talk about the sort of legacy they hoped to leave behind them as scholars. Their responses gave us insights into how they perceive and enact the transformative possibilities of their disciplines and their work as academics. Several spoke about how they made use of the knowledge base of their disciplines to address environmental, political, social, health, educational or economic issues that they saw arising marginalized communities. In particular, they felt a strong sense of obligation to produce research that would contribute to increasing levels of participation at all levels of society. Another urgent and pressing concern for them was climate change which is discussed further later in this report. The participants held a broad spectrum of political views and consequently they expressed a variety of ideas about how those goals might be achieved.

Alongside the commitment to a broader social justice agenda, the participants also expressed a desire to capture and transform spaces within the academy that would provide Māori students and emerging scholars with robust, healthy intellectual, institutional and disciplinary environments and networks. In this respect, they aimed to follow up the earlier work of pioneering Māori scholars who came before them in their institutions or disciplines who had created knowledge flows, networks and collectives that engaged and mobilized Māori academics around New Zealand. In the next sub-sections, we explore the other research objectives for this study.

5.3 What's Māori about Māori scholarship?

The second objective of this project is: *To “map” senior Māori and Pacific academics’ understandings of Māori and Pacific scholarship within higher education contexts and explain how these understandings inform (or do not inform) their relationship with the knowledge bases of their disciplines particularly in relation to national development goals.* In this part of the report, we look at how senior academics think about their scholarship and how it has changed over time. As noted earlier, we focus on Māori scholars’ narratives about the knowledge base of their disciplines.

5.3.1 The changing landscape of Māori scholarship

Various explanations were given to us about the nature of Māori scholarship and this is not surprising given the wide range of disciplines in which the participants were based. A small number (four of the 29 Māori participants) saw their scholarship primarily in terms of providing support for the language revitalization movement and two of them also suggested that Māori scholarship needs to be conducted exclusively by researchers who are themselves Māori. This perspective sits within an academic worldview that places Māori experiences and voice discourses at the centre of analysis. Often referred to as standpoint theory (Edwards, 2014), these ideas are associated with Marxist theorists, such as Lukács (2000), who argue that perceptions and experiences are shaped and framed by class relations. In a similar vein, philosophers, like Paulo Freire (1973) who positioned the experiences of the oppressed and marginalized as the focus of the dialogical encounter, have also influenced these understandings of Māori scholarship.

[S]ome people would say that the subject has to be Māori or that the participants have to be Māori or that the thinking has to be Māori or the conceptual framework has to be Māori or that the title has to have something Māori in it. (Māori senior academic)

The majority of participants, however, were less prescriptive and suggested that “Māori scholarship” is a term that resists tidy or over-arching definitions.

It’s fluid. It depends on which lens you throw on it. If you asked me this question when I was still a lecturer, I probably would have said that it’s Reo or tikanga, primarily Reo. As I’ve developed my own scholarship and participated in advancing Māori development, I’ve become more conscious of how knowledge differs across different contexts. Māori scholarship has a number of features but I’m not sure they

can be limited to those features. So Reo is a feature but it's not the only feature. Tikanga might be in the methodology. It might not necessarily scream Mātauranga Māori or have a Mātauranga Māori focus; it might be how the researcher behaves when they're doing the research. But you know, Mātauranga Māori... it's a bit like saying Western knowledge... what do you mean by that? It could mean a lot of things. Western knowledge is not just one discipline and neither is Mātauranga Māori. (Māori senior academic)

The term “Māori scholarship” held meaning for the participants involved with this project but most had no fixed definition and were more interested in the creative and intellectual possibilities of bringing their academic disciplines together with “real-world” problems especially those that confront Māori people.

Knowledge is always situated. There's an idea that knowledge is always neutral and objective and scientific and that in itself is a power trip. So Māori scholarship, for me, is a situated form of knowledge. But it's not one to which we can ever truly understand what Māori is. As an opening category, it's always up for grabs. It's constantly contested. If it does some work around demarcating margins, then I'm all for Māori research. If it becomes an ontological category where you have to be to do, then I'm opposed to that. (Māori senior academic)

I have a very permissive view of what Māori scholarship is. (Māori senior academic)

I don't have very firm views on what it is and isn't. From my point of view, I would like it to come from a critical view. (Māori senior academic)

There was unanimous agreement, however, that however Māori scholarship is defined, those who are practitioners of it have a responsibility to contribute towards positive, transformative social change.

So what's Māori scholarship? I don't know really. It's scholarship that makes a contribution and a difference to our understanding of the world. If it ultimately relieves suffering, then fantastic, I'll call it Māori scholarship! At the end of the day it's probably more about acknowledging who created the work as opposed to whether or not it was Māori. I suppose for me, here's the goal over here— here's a

person who's suffering. I don't care if it's a Māori way of alleviating that suffering or if a German has walked off the boat and done it. I don't care! So long as we're not causing harm and we're relieving suffering. I'm not as wedded to Māori scholarship as some of my colleagues. (Māori senior academic)

In this respect, most of the participants saw a critical connection between their scholarship and Māori political struggle. Accordingly, their priority was to claim intellectual spaces within the academy that challenged and disrupted academic complacency and those scholarly conventions which failed to recognize or address the structural marginalization or exclusion of Māori and other under-represented groups in society.

I would always want Māori scholarship to be this thing in itself but I would also want it to be a kind of disruption. (Māori senior academic)

I'm not a native speaker of the Reo. Going back to context, there are some who would define Māori scholarship as being only in Te Reo. I am not of that ilk. I believe that Māori scholarship is predicated and underpinned by the political struggle, the agenda for survival and self-determination, but also an intimate connection to that which is unique and distinctive about us as Māori. (Māori senior academic)

The nature of Māori scholarship has changed over time and within universities and Wānanga it has expanded to work within and alongside a range of disciplines in ways that both complement and challenge academic conventions. As a form of knowledge production, it is enacted in different ways depending on the scholarly context, as is discussed below.

5.3.2 Māori scholarship and knowledge production

In this sub-section, we explore how Māori scholarship is executed in practice across a range of disciplines and academic departments. For example, the scientists in this study considered that there were strong connections between the production of scientific knowledge in Māori contexts and the production of scientific knowledge in universities and labs. They noted, in particular, that in both cases, empirical knowledge is drawn from systematic and methodical observations of the natural world. By way of illustration, several participating scientists talked about the cycles of observation, prediction, and hypothesis that scientists in universities and Māori communities put in place when generating new knowledge.

In some ways, that knowledge that was built up over a very long period of time involved observations of the natural world that allowed people to make predictions about what might occur next... and becoming aware over time of the cyclical nature of those changes... but then you had new people coming in with different ways of knowing about the world but not being familiar with the particular systems of the [name of ecological system removed].⁸ (Māori scientist)

The scientists in this study drew on examples from their own disciplines about how an understanding and awareness of Māori empirical knowledge about the natural world had provided them with particular insights into the knowledge base of their disciplines that were not immediately available to their colleagues in the sciences who assumed that indigenous knowledge was merely a “superstitious” repetition of myths and legends. For example, one participant commented,

People see indigenous knowledge as paddling a canoe or... whereas indigenous knowledge is used by astronauts so that when their technology breaks down they can use knowledge or expertise that our ancestors had when they populated the Pacific. In fact the [name of discipline removed] technologies that are created that are able to co-exist within the same eco-systems that we exist with in the ‘natural world’ [are] far superior. We’re like clods stumbling around in the dark with these blunt instruments to try and address things like climate change, flooding... a whole raft of [...] challenges which are approached from the assumption that the [name of discipline removed] is the same whether you apply it here or in North America or in Europe and that the same underpinning assumptions can be universally applied. And there’s a bit of a myth behind that. There’s a whole lot that’s about [name of discipline removed] only being done within a Western paradigm. (Māori scientist)

Other participants commented that their enactment of Māori scholarship was a slow and sometimes arduous process of building a corpus of knowledge where none currently exists. In this respect, they were committed to contributing to the scholarly archive, knowledge that was drawn from hapū, whānau and iwi.

But it’s still the case that a lot of our work has to be descriptive simply because we’re still building the knowledge base. A lot of my work has to be descriptive because of

⁸ We have removed information that may lead to the identification of the participant.

that. The work in the iwi area, for example, there's a lot of description because we're in the process of building the corpus. (Māori social scientist)

Building a corpus of knowledge posed particular challenges for several of the participants. On one hand they were committed to building an archive for future generations of scholars but they were aware that in doing so they risked creating new kinds of knowledge codes that could themselves become exclusive categories.

We are creating something new. New codes. New conversations. Some of the codes that I see based on where I am ... are in Te Reo Māori. And that's going to block a lot of Māori out because they don't have the language. They don't have the keys to the language. (Māori social scientist)

Other participants talked about how Māori scholarship is a form of intellectual labour that offers a way of understanding problems in the social world that can generate new solutions, strategies, interventions and approaches. For example, one participant commented,

We are part of a bigger movement that takes place outside of universities within our various communities however you define them. And make no mistake some of our communities are really dysfunctional. Some of our communities are really fractured and disjointed and there's lots of conflict. What I think Māori scholarship does is that it allows us to understand those conflicts and contradictions. And ok, there's no one way of being Māori and there's no one Māori perspective but what it does is to place a different set of understandings at the centre of the analysis and that gives us access to different ways of interpreting the social world which in turn gives us different knowledge about the world. So I think that Māori scholarship is more than just knowledge generated within Māori contexts or in line with Māori traditions, I think it's the very work of knowledge production... how we produce that which is knowable... but also how we set that knowledge free... how we create new knowledge [...] that doesn't spin around the same axes that [other] knowledge workers use. (Māori social scientist)

The participants considered that Māori scholarship takes different forms depending on the academic and disciplinary context but they noted that the introduction of research auditing into tertiary education funding protocols has significantly changed the nature of academic labour, as is discussed below.

5.3.3 PBRF and Māori scholarship

There was a considerable amount of discussion and debate in the course of this project about the impact of the PBRF⁹ on the way that academic research is planned, carried out and reported. Recent reviews of the PBRF scores of individual researchers show that Māori researchers, Pacific researchers and women rank less highly than their Pākehā male counterparts (Curtis, 2015; White & Grice, 2008) and this highlights the issue that the careers of Māori, Pacific and women academics are structured in different ways from Pākehā male colleagues. This was discussed in some depth by the participants. In many respects, they saw the PBRF as the proverbial “curate’s egg”— good, in parts. In general, for example, they appreciated the fact that research now plays a much more prominent role in academics’ lives and they no longer need to justify the amount of time they spend on it. But they also had major reservations about the way that tertiary education funding mechanisms and the “audit culture” have shifted the mode of academic knowledge production. For instance, some of the participants expressed intense frustration that their research is increasingly framed in terms of strengthening the academic “asset-base” of their institutions rather than in terms of its transformative potential or outcomes for social justice. As Roberts (2014) argues, “[m]uch depends, [...] on how individual academic capital is utilized in compiling an evidence portfolio. The PBRF systematises the process of research evaluation, with reductionist consequences for the way we view researchers and their work.” (Roberts, 2014, p.43).

When I look at what Māori scholarship is in the institutions, I think that’s just PBRF. And I think what a monumental fucking waste of time. So having something accepted into a journal with a 5% acceptance rate and a readership of less than that, for me, I can’t see the point. (Māori social scientist)

The participants also reported that PBRF priorities have also affected hiring practices within institutions and this has led to certain amount of disillusionment. As one participant commented,

And a lot of people stuck in their discipline mind-set; the PBRF- thinking that they have to hire someone who is going to ensure that we contribute to our PBRF ranking. (Māori senior scholar, humanities)

⁹ PBRF, the “Performance-Based Research Fund,” is a government-run tertiary education funding regime that involves auditing the research performance of New Zealand tertiary institutions and funding them accordingly. The PBRF research audit exercise was the subject of considerable discussion during this project and will be a focus in future publications.

Barbara Grant and Vivienne Elizabeth (2015) have written about the ways in which audit regimes negatively reinforce gendered practices that can damage women's careers. They argue that the PBRF triggers harmful stereotypes and emotional responses:

For example, the pleasure in being a 'good girl' with a conscientious portfolio, who receives approval from others in the form of a good grade, and the sometimes accompanying disapproval of others who are not like-wise good or, perhaps, resentment at being judged and graded. Another emotion is the fear of being exposed as not productive enough. (Grant & Elizabeth, 2015, p.297).

These are powerful emotions and several of the women in this project expressed similar responses, fears and anxieties, and like the participants in the Grant and Elizabeth study, some felt driven to "over-comply" with PBRF as a way of avoiding potential criticism or humiliation. Some academics have found ways of meeting the PBRF demands of their institutions at the same time as maintaining their own research interests and commitments. As one participant noted,

I think there's the challenge of balancing the work for our communities and work that is going to score PBRF points. Those won't always be mutually exclusive goals but often it does require careful thinking. (Māori senior academic, professional/applied discipline)

In a similar vein, another participant said,

I have to play the PBRF game so I do write for them but I don't think my journal articles will be my living legacy. (Māori senior academic, professional/applied discipline)

There was a general sense of impatience with elements of the PBRF that placed demands on Māori scholars to prioritize publishing their work in high impact academic journals that do not speak directly to the needs of the communities and other sites in which they conduct their research. In this respect, they were concerned about the conflicts that the PBRF creates for Māori researchers who prioritize their communities as a primary vehicle for the dissemination of their research. As Davies and Bansel (2010) have argued, university researchers are increasingly called upon to redefine themselves and their work in alignment with the technologies of management and audit and this was very challenging for many participants.

These researchers balk at the requirement to behave as obliging, neoliberal academic “citizens” who accumulate academic capital in the form of publications in high-ranking journals but this has a corresponding effect on their long-term career prospects. Alongside this, Māori senior researchers tend to take a long-view of their research and their research relationships with Māori communities and groups. It is not unusual to maintain an association with participants long after research projects are concluded. In addition, many of the social, political, environmental and economic issues that trigger research projects require years of painstaking attention and analysis and in this regard, difficult, intractable, ongoing or wide-ranging problems cannot always be solved according to institutional research funding schedules, academic timetables or PBRF cycles. Several participants expressed frustration that PBRF favours short-term research and “snappy” outputs rather than long-term inquiry and this is an issue that has been raised previously by others (see, for example, Roa, Beggs, Williams & Moller, 2009).

In light of this, a substantial number of participants (17 of the 29 participants) had made strategic decisions to prioritize and maintain their community research engagement and focus despite the potential impact on their careers (in terms of fewer publications in high impact journals) and their relationships with academic managers.

I guess it has some meaning but it's not my primary focus. This work that we do doesn't fit with PBRF at all. (Māori social scientist)

PBRF hasn't made things better for Māori scholars or for Māori. And I don't see any game-changing behaviour going on out there. (Māori social scientist)

So I could publish in a journal that a handful of white scholars will read and forget about by the end of the day or I could go to [name of tribal area removed] and talk to the whānau there who are at their absolute wit's end and look at ways of sorting out the problems they're dealing with. Or, I could choose between getting into a polite debate with some earnest, tweedy, corduroy-ed don over a glass of sherry and a vol-au-vent or I could duke it out with the bloody stroppy kuias in the back blocks of [name of region removed] and maybe.... possibly... hopefully make some sort of constructive change to the lives of real people... Who am I going to choose? Well, what do you reckon? Seriously? I hate sherry! (Māori scientist)

I have no ambition to be a PBRF researcher per se. I just write and research out of interest. (Māori senior academic, humanities)

I won't make Professor anytime soon... but I might make a difference where it counts. (Māori senior academic, professional/applied discipline)

We argue that despite their low numbers in universities, Māori academics make a significant contribution to national development whether they do so through the formal channels of PBRF-recognized research projects or through tribal political economies where the dissemination of research findings and results can have an immediate impact on a range of environmental, political, cultural and social problems and issues. This argument segues neatly into a discussion about the ways in which Māori academics learn to be academics and enact those roles and responsibilities, as is discussed below.

5.4 Academic socialization

The first objective of this project is: *To establish whether Māori academics experience the academic socialization process in ways that are either similar or distinct from those of other scholars.* In this part of the report, we look at how Māori academics create professional and disciplinary identities and ask whether Māori scholars do this in distinctive ways. This is an important question for academic development specialists in New Zealand; it affects the kind of career planning advice and support that is given to Māori scholars early in their careers and it has a bearing on postgraduate programmes. Moreover, the way that Māori scholars engage with their disciplines and how they think about their scholarship has implications for the PBRF.

Māori academic careers have a different shape and trajectory to other kinds of academic careers (Middleton & McKinley, 2010). In addition, Māori also begin academic careers later than other academics; for example, the average age for a Māori doctoral student is 49 years (Nana, Stokes & Lynn, 2010) which means that many are engaged in early career work at a later age than some of their Pākehā colleagues. Consequently, Māori academic careers are often of much shorter duration than those of Pākehā academics and this is problematic because academic careers take many years to build. Moreover, only 5.8% of all postgraduate

graduates (including Masters degrees) are Māori so the numbers coming through remain very low (Theodore, Tustin, Kiro, Gollop, Taumoepeau, Taylor, Hunter & Poulton, 2015). As a result, this “swinging door” situation makes it difficult to establish a stable, sustainable Māori research workforce within the higher education domain.

In addition, the research audit culture of universities through the PBRF creates challenges for all researchers who wish to generate long-term solutions to the “big” social, environmental and economic problems that face New Zealand as a nation. Since Māori research careers are often foreshortened there are fewer senior and experienced Māori researchers available who can conduct the long-term research that is needed to address difficult, intractable or highly complex social, environmental, economic or political problems that confront Māori communities.

Over 20 years ago, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1993) noted that Māori scholarship in the academy not only begins in different places to those of many other scholars but that Māori academic careers are interrupted by different kinds of events, needs and priorities. At the same time, many Māori academics have similar or identical responsibilities, commitments, values and concerns to their Pākehā colleagues but they also have a parallel set of priorities that are located in the web of significant relationships that exist outside the academy.

These relationships are frequently disregarded or unseen within the academy but they are a critical element of the “invisible” intellectual labour of Māori researchers who require these networks and alliances in order to do their work. Moreover, Māori faculty who carry out research in their own communities or tribal areas or in other regions where they have kin connections, long-standing emotional ties, or deep and abiding “insider” knowledge are often misunderstood by colleagues in the academy who favour research projects that do not require them to become embedded in a community, organization or group for any lengthy period of time. These misunderstandings manifest themselves, as Smith (1993) suggests, as follows:

We write submissions to government rather than theoretical discussions in international journals, we become ordinary participants in Māori organic educational movements and are seen as ideologically bound apologists of folklore, we carry out research to get our land back and it is classified as a ‘report’ rather than a refereed article, we speak to our own people at hui and gatherings all over the country but we do not connect with our discipline at an international level. We build supports around our students and try to incorporate our own pedagogical practices and then discover

that teaching skills are not as important as publications. But all of this counts as the work of Māori academics. (Smith, 1993, p.9)

Nearly twenty years on from Smith's paper and Māori academics are still negotiating the same kinds of misunderstandings, as Melinda Webber (2009) notes,

A dilemma I face in my current role as a lecturer, PhD student and emerging researcher is determining what role my being Māori will play in that journey. For me, and those family, friends and colleagues who know me, being Māori is without question an inseparable part of who I am, how I operate and why I persist. They know and trust the intentions of my research and work. For some of my other colleagues and academic contemporaries, my being Māori is seen as a privilege, a bonus, a step up that makes my journey easier than theirs. For some others still, my claim to being Māori is a right that has to be earned, proven and authenticated via my adherence to prescriptive ideologies and demonstration of the right 'discourse'. (Webber, 2009)

These tensions and complexities are navigated by Māori scholars in different ways and they do so in an environment that is increasingly contingent, uncertain and unpredictable.

Indeed, some of the older Māori academics in this study built their early careers in a very different kind of university to the one that exists today. The economic reforms of the 1990s and the subsequent restructuring of the tertiary education system have had two significant consequences for Māori scholars and their scholarship. The first is that there is a growing and profoundly damaging income inequality in New Zealand (Skilling & McLay, 2015) that has created new poverty-related risks for Māori families and communities (Connolly, 2015; Chandra 2015). Consequently, the kinds of problems that face Māori in the twenty-first century require new kinds of research-driven responses, solutions, strategies, interventions and approaches and these will take time to develop. One of the difficulties here is that the PBRF demand to engage in short-term publication-driven outcomes distracts researchers from establishing longitudinal research projects aimed at long-term change.

The second consequence of the restructuring of the tertiary education system is that the introduction of the PBRF and associated audit mechanisms have changed the nature of the academic profession in New Zealand and new kinds of scholarly identities are emerging that are increasingly aligned with neoliberal market-driven forces. There was never a "golden era" for universities anywhere in the world but today's universities require different kinds of academic "citizens" who are oriented towards market economies and audit cultures.

Whether universities will be successful in creating these kinds of "citizens" remains to be

seen but in the interim it is a situation that places additional burdens on academic staff who are committed to a social justice agenda.

5.5 Indigeneity and ethnicity

The fifth objective for this study is: *To ascertain, through a comparative analysis of the experiences of Māori and Pacific senior academics how indigeneity and ethnicity is positioned within the “hidden curriculum” of the academy and how this shapes their everyday working lives.* This is a complex issue and it is one that generated a considerable amount of debate between Māori and Pacific participants. We shall present these findings in future publications.

5.6 He aha ngā mahi?

In this part of the report we have looked at the nature of the work that Māori scholars do and we have asked how it contributes to national development. We argue that Māori faculty contribute to national development in the same ways as other scholars but one of the characteristics of Māori scholarship is the strong commitment to social justice goals which is as much political in nature as it is intellectual. This is true of many other academics and not just in New Zealand. There is a substantial literature about the left-wing or left-leaning convictions held by many scholars who work in universities around the world (Solon, 2015; Gross, 2013) but Māori scholars in New Zealand often include insights into unique local conditions and circumstances that affect New Zealand society, culture and the environment. In the next section, we explore how these insights provide a framework for thinking about the social, environmental, political and economic challenges that lie ahead.

6.0 HE AHA NGĀ MAHI MŌ ĀPŌPŌ?

In this final section of this report we ask: He aha ngā mahi mō āpōpō? We focus here on aspects of academic work that will change over time. During our interviews and conversations with the participants we asked them what challenges they think that the next generation of Māori and Pacific scholars will face in the next 10 to 20 years. There was much discussion about how universities will change as they become increasingly attenuated to neoliberal market economies; there were also discussions about post-Treaty settlement futures and the challenges associated with that; and, concerns were raised about the gap in Māori leadership as we lose a generation of experienced Māori academic leaders to illness or retirement. There were also expressions of hope, for example,

Look at the people who are coming out of the Kura system, those beautiful, shining, courageous, wonderful young people and you think ok so the future's in fantastic hands. That's of course if any of them actually want to be academics! (Māori senior academic)

But the over-riding challenges that the academic “old guard” who were involved with this study are most anxious about are urgent and serious global problems and hazards. Here is a selection of comments;

*I can be as flippant as I want about this but the planet is in real trouble. I mean **real**, actual trouble. Bees are dying in their millions; bats in their billions. Ninety percent of the large fish in the ocean are gone. Oxygenation process in the Pacific, our biggest body of water is being impeded by a continent of rubbish. (Māori senior academic)*

*I suspect that pressures on both sides will intensify with PBRF and with Māori communities. But I think **the** single biggest issue that the world will be dealing with is climate change. We know that poorer communities suffer the effects of climate change more quickly and more acutely than other communities and that's where a lot of our people are. It's an urgent issue. It's particularly urgent for Māori but it's urgent for all of us. (Māori senior academic)*

I'm really genuinely scared for the future. I feel like a doomsayer but this shit is real. We are part of the last generation that came into a world that was better than the one that came before. What we have bequeathed to future generations is complete environmental catastrophe exacerbated by some of the most violent and appalling human aggression. We don't have world wars anymore because the world is continually at war. Meanwhile corporate greed is reaching unparalleled levels. So you have these three monolithic dangers; environmental, economic and social. We are plummeting towards an uncertain future and I am deeply, deeply scared for future generations. [...] To look around and see this planet being so broken. Every day we get more information; the icecaps are melting. Water temperature is rising. Droughts are deepening... (Māori senior academic)

Globally, there are some really vicious and nasty things going on. Look at how Islam is interpreted now. Look at how refugees and migrants are treated. They're treated in an inhumane manner. The forces behind that have always been there. They're building an intellectual base to support these actions [...] if you look at climate change there's massive amounts of money that goes into denying that. If you're a scholar coming through— or if you're a scholar who sits on the fence or who's neutral about it—someone comes along and dangles money in front of you... \$5000 for a summer scholarship so you can go and work for [corporations who contribute to and deny anthropogenic climate change] and end up in a \$90,000 job. That money draws in talent. All scholars need to be aware of that. (Māori senior academic)

With these risks and challenges ahead there is considerable urgency for universities to put their resources into scholarship aimed at securing healthy futures and certainly, many institutions have already put in place a range of initiatives that are geared towards these goals. But most of the answers to these problems do not lie in the short-term, quick-fix research policies that are promoted by the current research funding regime. Nor can they be addressed within institutional structures that marginalize or diminish some of the finest knowledge producers; namely, Māori and Pacific faculty and students, women, grassroots intellectuals and working class scholars.

The low numbers of these faculty have a flow-on effect on the diversity of the student body in universities in Aotearoa New Zealand (Pio, Tipuna, Rasheed & Parker, 2014). As Nana *et al.* (2010) argue,

For [Māori and Pacific student] numbers to grow, the value of university education needs to be illustrated, partly through appropriate role models. These people illustrate the value of university education and being an academic through their own success in teaching and research, and the mana they have within the academic community. These role models espouse the benefits and opportunities that tertiary education and in turn an academic career offer. (Nana, Stokes & Lynn, 2010, p. 21).

So what is to be done? Māori academic managers talked to us about how they work hard to establish calm, collegial work places that encourage researchers to be intellectually creative. For example, this is how one Māori-run academic unit was described,

I mean [we create] our own work culture, our own life culture. So whānau come first. If you have to go to whānau or if you have to look after whānau, that comes first. Everybody will rally around. Family are welcome. We have sofas and chairs and we have a coffee machine and we try and make it an environment where people are happy to come.

It's a place where people aren't just stuck in their office. We move around and talk to each other in that space. Physically, wairua is in that space. I'm not interested in whether people are there nine to five. It's about the work that people are doing, the projects that they've got, making sure that whatever work they've got, it's reasonable in terms of time, energy, support, expectation, et cetera et cetera.

I just want to know that people are ok; if they've got too much work, too little work, their passions or whether support is needed. I think the institution is more often about how many hours you work [...]

Health starts with the person standing next to you. It's not something that's abstract. I see too many people who supposedly work towards the uplifting of our people and the transformation of our people but that often doesn't extend to the person sitting in the office next to them. There's enough raruraru and there are enough fights and enough challenges. But that shouldn't be in our rōpū. We have to start with ourselves. So if we're happy and enjoying coming into work and getting something out of it or when we feel we're doing valuable things, that's what matters. Everybody should be there because they want to make a difference and it's not just a nine to five job. (Māori senior academic/ academic manager)

In this study, the participants who were most productive and satisfied with their work were located in academic departments where day-to-day collegial relationships were fostered by departmental heads in association with faculty deans. In these environments, departmental heads worked hard to secure family-friendly practices, such as those mentioned above, but they also monitored workloads so that academic staff were able to take time off in the evenings and weekends.

Participants who described themselves as being less productive and more dissatisfied tended to be in academic departments where there was ongoing feuding between staff; unsympathetic or disorganized departmental heads; and faculty Deans who were distant or gave little support to Māori academic staff or Māori research initiatives. These participants reported spending a great deal of time dealing with interpersonal disputes, messy departmental politics and attending meetings that they considered to be time-wasting and which interrupted their research and teaching commitments. The importance of workers' psychosocial wellbeing has been covered extensively in the industrial relations literature (see, for example, Dickson-Swift, Fox, Marshall, Welsh & Willis, 2014; Gorlewski, Gorlewski & Porfillo, 2014; Twale & De Luca, 2008; Frazier, 2011; Keashley & Neuman, 2010; Keam & McDermott, 2010). The findings from numerous studies will not be rehearsed here other than to note that productivity declines when people are based in unhappy workplaces.

Making workplaces more Māori-friendly goes a long way towards creating intellectual environments where Māori academics can flourish but these oases also need to be supported by robust, healthy and transparent institutional structures. Without structural change, Māori are left with difficult choices. They can, of course, comply with the heavy demands of academic life in the institutions as far as possible in order to do the research and teaching they feel passionate about. This entails a certain level of acceptance that the work will involve a degree of institutional surveillance and monitoring and that workloads will be heavy. In return, however, academics can call on important institutional resources to conduct research and work with students within an academic discipline. Alternatively, academics can make active choices to maintain a more balanced work/life balance that allows them to maintain significant relationships outside the university. This is a course of action that holds appeal for many of the participants in this study but to a certain extent it comes at the expense of career advancement. Both options require a degree of compromise and as such it is important to seek other ways of building academic careers that serve Māori scholars, their families and their communities.

6.1 Future inquiry

If Māori academics are to contribute to national development goals through their teaching and research and fully engage in seeking solutions to some of the “big” problems of our times, there are a range of issues that need to be better understood. In particular, the very low number of Māori staff on permanent academic contracts is a significant problem for universities in New Zealand. Māori PhD graduates are available to take up academic jobs but few enter the academic profession at the end of their studies. Te Kupenga o MAI: The National Programme for Māori and Indigenous Postgraduate Advancement exceeded its original target of supporting 500 Māori students to complete their doctoral qualifications and this is an extraordinary feat. However, if those graduates are unable to secure work that allows them to practice their disciplines and if universities are not actively committed to building and retaining a critical mass of indigenous researchers, then the outcome will be a lot of very highly qualified unemployed or under-employed Māori graduates, many of whom have high levels of student debt to repay (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2005). We need to know more about what has become of these graduates and their career destinations and aspirations. Important work is being done on Māori graduates in a ten-year study (the Graduate Longitudinal Study New Zealand) currently being conducted at the University of Otago University through the National Centre for Lifecourse Research and this research will provide important information (Theodore, Tustin, Kiro, Gollop, Taumoepeau, Taylor, Chee, Hunter & Poulton, 2015).

In line with this, we also need to better understand how professional and occupational structures operate in New Zealand, particularly in areas where Māori and Pacific peoples are under-represented. In that regard, the career pathways and careers aspirations of Māori and Pacific peoples who wish to become academics or lawyers or doctors or teachers and so on, needs to be mapped and barriers identified. Alongside that, we also need to find ways of talking about what, in New Zealand, is often considered “unsayable”— namely, how structural and institutional racism affects the careers and aspirations of Māori and Pacific scholars and graduates.

In addition, we also need to know more about the impact of the PBRF on Māori scholarship. Much has been written about the PBRF previously but the research and scholarship of Māori (and Pacific) researchers is usually mentioned only in passing. Fuller attention to these matters would provide insights into how universities could better meet their Treaty obligations to Māori society as well as to their own employees and students.

While further research is certainly needed, universities also have a responsibility to tackle issues related to under-representation and inequality in the sector. Formulating equity and diversity plans is a good start but unless there is a serious and genuine commitment to working in partnership with under-represented groups to create inclusive institutional structures, little will change. This is a challenge that both Māori and Pacific senior academics around the country have expressed a willingness to work with university management to address.

In closing this report, we reflect on a whakatauki, the sentiments of which have informed the careers of many of the fearless, articulate, pioneering scholars involved with this study.

Mauri tu, mauri ora.

Mauri noho, mauri mate.

7.0 About the authors

Joanna Kidman has affiliations with Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Toa. She is a principal investigator for this study and conducted fieldwork with the Māori participants. Joanna is a Māori sociologist working in the field of indigenous education at Te Kura Māori in the Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington. Her research centres on the politics of education, particularly as it affects Māori and other indigenous youth. Over the past twenty years, she has worked with Māori research partners and community-based tribal groups in different parts of New Zealand. She has also partnered with indigenous communities in Taiwan and the USA to establish indigenous knowledge systems in schools with large numbers of native students.

Cherie Chu is a principal investigator for this study and conducted fieldwork with the Pacific participants. Cherie is of Tahitian and Chinese descent and is based in the School of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. Her research in the domain of Pacific education focuses on mentoring and leadership for Pacific students and scholars in the tertiary education sector. She has partnered with Pacific communities in educational contexts in New Zealand and the Pacific and is a founding member of the Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative for and by Pacific Peoples (RPEIPP), an organization committed to establishing educational initiatives that are conceived, developed and run by the Pacific communities that host them.

Sean Fernandez is affiliated with Ngāpuhi. He is based in Te Kura Māori in the Faculty of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. He has recently submitted his PhD in the area of development education and leadership in the Pacific.

Ivy Abella is from the Philippines and is based in the School of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. She is currently completing her PhD on the pedagogical innovations of indigenous teachers in the Philippines and the Pacific.

APPENDIX A: Draft interview schedule

- Describe where you are at now with your career. How did you arrive at this point in your career? What enabling factors have supported through your career?
- When you hear the term “academic community,” what (if anything) does that mean to you?

- Do you choose to socialize with other academics outside of University?

Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Usually	Always
1	2	3	4	5

- If you answered **occasionally**, or **usually**, or **always**: what is the nature of social contact? (Are your contacts predominantly Māori/Pacific/Pākehā? Are they in your discipline/school/department/university or outside it?)
- Are there any sorrows/frustrations in your engagement with the institution that constrain you or motivate you to seek change?
- How does the university/Wānanga as an institution situate/position indigeneity? Ethnicity? Culture?
 - *Do you think there are particular challenges or barriers that are uniquely experienced by Māori members of the academic community?*
 - *Do you think there are particular challenges or barriers that are uniquely experienced by Pacific members of the academic community that are not experienced by other members of the academic community? Or, are these challenges experienced more broadly by people who do not fit the institutional “mould”?*

- Looking back over your career and knowing what you know now, what advice would you give to your younger self? (E.g. what would you do differently? What do you wish you knew when you were starting out?)
- Think forward to yourself as a newly retired academic. When you look back over your career, what do you want to feel most proud about? Where do you want to “be” as a scholar/academic at the point of retirement (in terms of how you feel about your work, or what you want to accomplish before you leave the institution?) If you leave a legacy for younger Māori/Pacific academics coming through, what would it be?

Engagement with disciplinary knowledge base

- Do you see a role for your discipline in effecting some form of material change for Māori/Pacific communities/peoples? If yes, what might that look like? If no, how would you describe the role of your discipline in relation to the world outside the university?
- How do you envisage your role as critic and conscience of society?
- If you were asked to describe Māori/Pacific scholarship, what would you say? Is it different from other forms of scholarship? If yes, how is it different?
- What advice would you give to younger Māori/Pacific academics entering the academy?
- How do you envision the progress of Māori /Pacific academics in the next 10-20 years? What do we need to anticipate as some of the big challenges? What can we learn from the past 20 years?

APPENDIX B: Consent form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Disciplinary Knowledge and the Institution: A Comparative Analysis of Māori and Pacific Academics' Engagement with the Academy

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project within 4 weeks of receiving the transcript without having to give reasons.

I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researchers and the person who transcribes the tape recordings of our interview. I understand the published results will not use my name, and that no opinions will be attributed to me in any way that will identify me. I understand that I will be able to check the transcript of my interview before publication of the results.

I agree to take part in this research.

Signed:

Name of participant:

Date:

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