

**TRAVELLING IN THE PRESENT HISTORIC:
A CASE STUDY OF SOCIALISATION IN
AN ACADEMIC COMMUNITY
IN NEW ZEALAND**

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This thesis is the original work, and under the sole authorship, of Joanna Kidman

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***Ka hikoi whakamua ahau i roto i te
taumarumarutanga o toku tipuna whaea a Ata Ihaia,
nana nei I whakato te kakano o toku oranga.***

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CHAPTER 1

Te Ahu Whakamua me Te Tiro Whakamuri

TRAVELLING IN THE PRESENT HISTORIC

"Where we are now and where we went to get it's all connected. We can say, make sense of the present when we see the vicissitudes of the past. We have to remember that. We're travellers in the present historic."

- Interview participant

SECTION ONE

Present Historic: The use of the present tense when describing past events.

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

1.1.1 Purpose of research
Postcolonial academics in the South Pacific have the task of setting a disciplinary lens over the new cultural and political landscapes that emerged in the wake of colonisation. In doing so, they help to map usurious terrain.

The universities of the Pacific, including those in New Zealand, have not only shaped the priorities of emergent nations in the region, they have been shaped by them, as well as by the smaller social currents of their geographical locations. As a result, academics in New Zealand cannot claim exclusive ownership of any intellectual domain. They must share it with other local intellectuals outside the university institutions who are also engaged in the construction of a post-colonial society.

This study analyses the relationship between academics and their society through an exploration of the socialisation processes that take place within the post-independence setting of a New Zealand university. It examines how these academics in Pacific academic's interpretations of their disciplines and their professional roles. The social landscape of urban New Zealand after the Second World War, and the unique integration of a post-war local and indigenous populations into the University, is identified here as a pervasive influence over the construction of a national identity that took place in later years. To this end, the research draws upon historical and

CHAPTER 1

Te Ahu Whamua ma Te Titiro Whakamuri

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documentary sources of data that identify a set of distinctive social and cultural factors which have influenced the organisation of higher education in a territory that has been previously colonised, and which differentiate it from those of metropolitan centres.

The study also draws upon the contemporary accounts of academics to analyse the roles and expectations related to their disciplines and profession. The argument is organised around three central themes that emerged from the data and relate to the influences that come to bear on the construction of intellectual identities and labour in a post-Independence academic environment. The themes surround the notions of academic and intellectual identity *loss*, *positionality* and *retrieval*. This is discussed further later in this chapter.

1.2. The ‘problem’ of knowledge and identity construction in a post-Independence university

The modern university has come under fire from postmodern and postcolonial theorists who view the university as a modernist institution with an underlying preoccupation with Eurocentric models of knowledge and behaviour. The construction of disciplinary knowledge in New Zealand itself becomes problematic when intellectual workers seek local definitions for epistemic and organisational priorities which at times, operate outside of Western European or Northern Hemisphere norms.

In New Zealand, the passage between ‘western’ ways of knowing and practising a discipline, and establishing local or indigenous interpretations to explain or re-explain the world, has not been a smooth one. Nor is it a project that has reached completion. New Zealand formally proclaimed Independence in 1947, but metropolitan and local academic identities continue to exist alongside each other in uneasy symbiosis. In this respect, academic identity formation in New Zealand universities can be seen primarily as a work-in-progress. This is not unusual in nations that have gained political Independence. The legacy of the past is not only embedded in current practice, it also forms a constant knot of tension between indigenous and local non-indigenous scholars within, and between, disciplines.

This is not necessarily a 'resolvable' problem but it is one that poses a particular set of demands on these kinds of academic communities. There has been little research in the South Pacific that addresses the nature of these demands. Nor has there been any systematic attempt to investigate academic practice and knowledge in the light of the historical, social and cultural contexts of the South Pacific. While this research does *not* suggest that socialisation takes place within a diametrically opposed binary system of metropolitan and indigenous/local non-indigenous meanings, it does suggest that academics in post-Independence nations are required to engage in their disciplines in ways that are different to those experienced by academics in the metropolitan 'West'.

Most accounts of academic socialisation have emerged from metropolitan centres outside the Pacific. While these analyses have much to offer, they do not provide an analysis that is appropriate for academics in non-Western nations who, in addition to their loyalties to the international aspects of their disciplines, are also developing local priorities and indigenous knowledge outside the parameters of the metropolitan 'West'.

In summary, this research focuses on the methods by which academics seek explanations for the practice of their disciplines within a New Zealand university institution; the ways in which they formulate local 'academic identities'; the manner in which they establish a sense of belonging, to their disciplines and to the university institution, and within the wider cultural context within which the university is located.

1.3. Questions guiding the research

The research has been guided by a series of questions. They are based on a three-faceted approach to aspects of academic socialisation, namely *intellectual* socialisation which involves an orientation to a specific discipline; *institutional* socialisation which includes a professional orientation to a New Zealand University, and *cultural* socialisation which involves locating the profession and the discipline within the context of the wider society and culture. This can be illustrated as follows:

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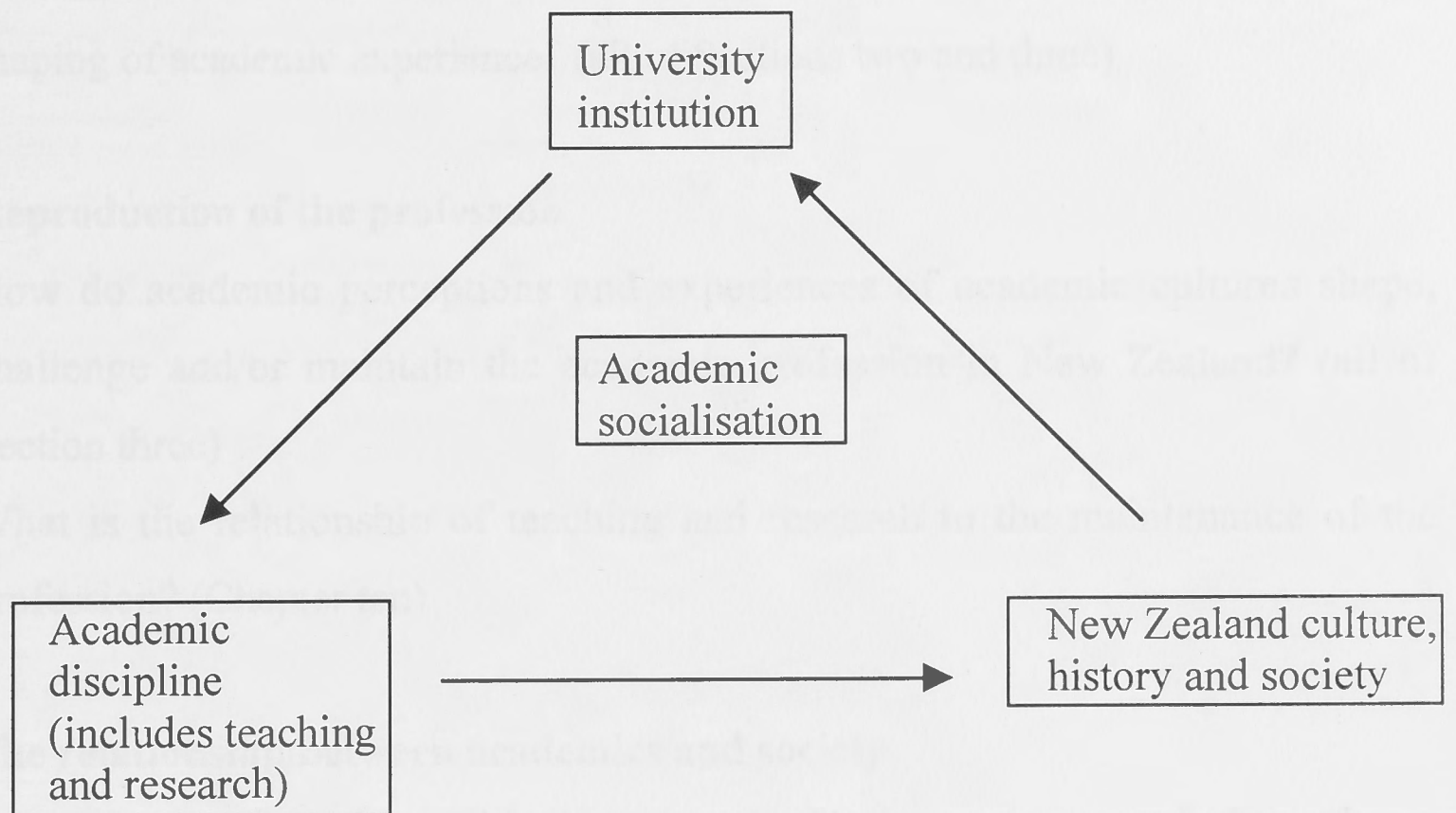
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Figure 1.1. Contextual factors influencing academic socialisation



The questions, along with the sections of this research in which they are discussed, are as follows:

a) The construction of disciplinary allegiances

- (i) How do academics construct and maintain disciplinary allegiances within the cultural context of a post-Independence nation? (all of Section three)
- (ii) How are disciplinary allegiances influenced by institution-specific factors? (all of Section three)
- (iii) How does a legacy of colonisation affect attitudes towards disciplinary knowledge priorities and the search for local meanings? (Chapters three, four, seven, and Section three)

b) The impact of national boundaries on socialisation

- (i) What impact do national boundaries and allegiances have upon the professional socialisation of academics in New Zealand? (Chapters four and seven, and Section three)

- (ii) What are the significant influences in academic socialisation in New Zealand and are they unique to the country? (Sections two and three)
- (iii) To what extent is the cultural context of a New Zealand university a factor in the shaping of academic experience? (all of Sections two and three)

c) Reproduction of the profession

- (i) How do academic perceptions and experiences of academic cultures shape, challenge and/or maintain the academic profession in New Zealand? (all of Section three)
- (ii) What is the relationship of teaching and research to the maintenance of the profession? (Chapter ten)

d) The relationship between academics and society

- (i) What shapes the relationship between academics and a post-Independence society and how has this developed historically? (Chapters five, six and seven)
- (ii) What are the academic responsibilities of the legislative role of ‘critic and conscience of society’? (Chapter six)

1.4. Origins of the problem: personal considerations and transitions

I began the transition from being a postgraduate student to becoming a member of the academic staff of my alma mater in New Zealand ten years ago. For the first five years of my employment I was based in an academic development unit, teaching aspects of professional practice to other academic staff at the university, and conducting research in the field of higher education. Ironically in the first week of beginning my job, I was required to assist my Head of Department to run an ‘induction’ programme for newly appointed academic staff. The programme developed over a period of years but it was originally intended to be a basic introduction to the process of lecturing and small group teaching (known as tutoring) for new university teachers, some of whom had no prior experience. We also provided ‘hints’ on planning courses and ‘effective’ research supervision, as well as some advice about the way that teaching was structured and

administered at the University. The University Management required all newly appointed academic staff to attend this programme which was generally held a month or so prior to the beginning of the academic year and which lasted five days. Understandably, there were a number of participants who gave their time only very grudgingly in the busy lead-up to teaching.

We later re-named the course, calling it instead an “orientation to teaching programme”, but by whatever name it went, this was the extent of required formal ‘orientation’ for new academic staff at that time. In later years there was a proliferation of ‘orientation’ programmes across campus. The Library ran one, so did the personnel unit. The equal rights officer, in conjunction with what was then the forerunner to the conflict resolution office, ran one, and the committee of the staff social club held welcoming nights. Even departments ran their own programmes for new staff. With so many orientation programmes running it was frequently difficult to timetable them all in before the academic year began. Negotiations between providers often broke down into squabbles over territory. However, in the first year of my employment I attended an orientation programme as required by the University. I also taught at least half of it.

Over the next few years I worked closely with research supervisors and their postgraduate students across the University and observed the process of interaction between people committed to a common discipline. I also worked with large numbers of tutors. Tutors are predominantly part-time teachers based in academic departments who have the task of running small group study sessions for students. Many of the tutors were also engaged in postgraduate study and were supplementing their small incomes with extra work. In the beginning I preferred to work with the postgraduate students and the tutors, partly because as a young lecturer, they were closer to me in age and in their experience of the University, than were the senior academic staff. I was made aware during those years by the longer serving members of staff, often in less than subtle ways, that not only did I dress differently, behave with greater (more youthful) exuberance, identify closely with another culture (Maori), was out of tune with the predominantly heterosexual lifestyles of most of the staff, was of another gender (female), and sported

fewer wrinkles. I was also less experienced in the tacit workings of the institution. And indeed it seemed to me then, that the institution operated in ways that could only be understood by an initiated few. As a staff member responsible for advising new staff, I was unable to explain the less tangible aspects of the institution, because I simply didn't understand them myself. For a long time, I was not even aware that they existed and were extremely important to the daily workings of the place.

I also became aware that there were tacit processes being exercised in the selection of staff from within the student body. Academic jobs are scarce in New Zealand and ten years ago, as it is today, they were a hard won prize. I saw many able, highly intelligent postgraduate students and tutors pass through the University, but only a tiny minority of these people were selected for academic employment. Most of the coveted academic posts went to academics who had been born overseas, or who had studied abroad. I began to wonder about the influences that lay behind the selection of people considered fit for academic life and more pertinently, what tests I had passed in order to secure employment at my alma mater.

In 1994, I attended my first international academic conference on higher education. Several of the participants were part of an elite group of higher education researchers from Europe and the United States. These people maintained high international research profiles and many of them had collaborated on cross-national research projects. The conference was exciting and charged with the expertise of specialists in the field, but I was aware that the papers, although insightful and of great interest to me, failed to resonate with my own experience and interpretations of higher education. Research in higher education at that time tended not to accord a particularly high priority to social or cultural influences. Differences between national systems of higher education *were* identified, duly noted, and carefully footnoted, but then passed over as if they were of little importance. There was much discussion about disciplinary cultures and territories, but little reference to the wider cultural contexts of the societies in which they were practised. Indeed the host societies and cultures surrounding national systems of higher education may as well not have existed. In the rush to form international projects and

identify similarities, taxonomies, and categories for different systems of higher education, the results were curiously uni-dimensional. The conference was a turning point because I subsequently abandoned my search for comparability of the higher education system in my own country with other national systems, and turned my attention to what constituted the differences. I also began to think about these issues in terms of a doctoral research programme.

There had been little work done in New Zealand about the aspects of higher education that I wished to address, and at that time postcolonial theoretical frameworks were rarely used. I chose the Australian National University for my PhD candidature for a number of strategic reasons. There were people working in higher education whose work I admired. A number of influential books using postcolonial theoretical frameworks had emerged from the University that were relevant to my own teaching. By that time I had shifted to a Senior Lectureship in the School of Education at my own University and was teaching Sociology of Education, and aspects of postcolonial theory had begun to inform my work with postgraduate students. I wanted to explore the culture and history of New Zealand society and its relation to higher education, at a distance, although not too great a distance, from home, and the ANU is an institution to which New Zealand students, scholars and academics have travelled for many decades. Beyond that I was aware of the strong international reputation of the University and that attracted me too.

I began work on my thesis while living and working in New Zealand and making regular trips to Australia. Early on I found that at the same time as conducting research in the area of academic socialisation, I was once again experiencing a transition in academic position, role and status. My earlier qualifications had been in Education (although I have a first degree in English Literature) but at the ANU, I was located in the Sociology Department. The disciplinary transition happened very smoothly. The research interests of the staff in the Department made sense to me, and they discoursed in a manner that was entirely familiar.

The major transition was from that of a Senior Lecturer in my home University to that of becoming a postgraduate student again in a new university in another country. While I was comfortable and familiar with the sociologists, the workings of the Australian institution were completely foreign to me. I was not resident in Australia for more than a month at a time so while each visit familiarised me a little more with the tacit rules of the place, I was not 'imbued' with the environment for long enough to become completely socialised into it. There are several New Zealanders in Canberra, but there are few Maori. As a Maori woman, the city and the campus, although welcoming, is a little lonely for a newcomer with a different accent and cultural identification. But the most noticeable aspect of my first few visits to the ANU, was my confusion over my role within the University. I had forgotten, or was never aware, that within the academic community, postgraduate students are treated differently from academic colleagues. One afternoon I was disagreeably surprised when a junior member of the academic staff addressed me, not as a colleague, *but as if I were a student*. A little later an administrative manager spoke to me *as one would speak to a student*. Both of these people were perfectly respectful, there was nothing inappropriate in the conversations that took place, but something in the manner of the speakers seemed to assign me a role and a category that left me feeling uncomfortable. However thinking back to my own conversations with postgraduate students, I recognised something of their tone, and realised that in order to 'fit' into this environment I had to learn ways of leaving one academic identity behind me at home and assuming another identity, that of a student. These experiences led me to reflect on my relationship and role with my own postgraduate students in New Zealand. I also became aware of the extent to which my own interpretation of my academic identity in New Zealand had changed over the years. It was certainly a profoundly relevant exercise in academic socialisation. It was also an experience of being an 'outsider' and a 'stranger'. The latter concerns of 'strangeness' and 'difference' are relevant to an exploration of academic lives in New Zealand as they form the basis of academic narratives in New Zealand.

I offer this background information to partially explain the origins of my dissatisfaction with current thinking and major trends and priorities in higher education research. I *do*

not argue that previous research is flawed, simply that there are other ways of looking at the field which can provide a different dimension to the analysis. The following overview examines some of the key ideas in the literature on academic socialisation and identifies recent writers who are providing critiques of earlier work and its modernist assumptions.

1.5. Overview of related literature in the field

This study follows on from existing literature and research in the field of academic, intellectual and institutional socialisation in higher education. Most of the seminal work in the field has been done in Europe and the United States, and in this respect it tends to focus on issues arising from the academic, social and cultural priorities of western metropolitan locations. This is not in itself problematic. Indeed these priorities are enormously revealing, even when they are not explicitly expressed. The following sections outline major trends and priorities in the academic socialisation literature and concludes with a comment on the boundaries of current thinking and where this research is located in relation to earlier research.

1.5.1. The fragmentation, disintegration and reconstitution of academic labour

There is a body of literature that focuses on the problem of knowledge production as a critical factor in the socialisation of academics, which is of relevance here. It is an area of writing that is much concerned with the fragmentation of the disciplines and consequently, the academic profession. It is argued that academic disciplines have undergone substantial redefinition since the late nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries which has led to a reconfiguration of the professional role of the academic. Walter Metzger (1987) for example, identifies four factors contributing to the proliferation of new disciplines in American universities since the nineteenth century. The first factor is 'subject parturition'. This term relates to the manner in which autonomous new subjects were formed from a parent discipline, such as chemistry, geology and biology, which emerged from the domains of natural philosophy and natural history. Other factors

include 'programme affiliation' and 'subject dignification' whereby previously marginalised subjects such as modern languages and technology, acquired status as legitimate fields of academic study. A further factor is 'subject dispersion' in which the traditional parameters of disciplinary fields are extended to incorporate a greater range of content, sometimes overlapping with other disciplines in the process.

Burton Clark (1996) suggests that if "academic territories are first of all subject territories" (p.19), then the fragmentation of the disciplines is "arguably *the* source of ever-growing system complexity" (*ibid.*). As the systems of higher education become more complex, Burton argues that the academic profession becomes increasingly differentiated and fragmented. Professional attachments form initially around the discipline, thus behavioural cues are taken from peers within a discipline on a number of levels, individual, departmental, national and international. There is therefore no universal criteria or authority for behaviour within a discipline, consequently the academic profession as a whole is fragmented rather than integrated by its own professionalism (Clark, 1987). This American concern with the increasing complexity of the systems of higher education is echoed internationally. Tony Becher (1989) also addresses the impact of increasingly complex knowledge and organisational systems in Britain in his book *Academic Tribes and Territories*. He argues that academic communities are both epistemological and social communities. Disciplinary differentiation emerges as part of an historical process and is responsible for shaping the social aspects of the academic community. Using epistemic difference as a central sorting device, he clusters disciplinary knowledge into four categories; hard pure, hard applied, soft pure, soft applied (see also Becher in Clark, 1987, p.278). He then classifies the social communities of the academic profession around these epistemic categories. Thus academic socialisation is grounded firmly within the boundaries of a specific discipline and can be categorised according to the nature of knowledge in disciplinary groupings.

This approach towards disciplinary knowledge and its impact on academic socialisation has been partially reinforced by postmodern writers who argue that the modern

university has a central role in the production of knowledge. Connor (1989) for example suggests that the traditional knowledge boundaries around the separate disciplines have begun to break down and reformulate in new and different ways. He contends that this has allowed an increased visibility of forms of knowledge which were previously ignored by the universities (in areas such as women's studies, communications studies, environmental studies, media and cultural studies and so on). As the knowledge basis of the disciplines changes, the nature of academic investigation undergoes a corresponding change.

However it can also be argued that the nature of university scholarship and community has always been subject to change as societal and epistemological pressures shift over time (Kimball, 1996). If that is the case, then academic socialisation takes place in a constantly changing context and must also be seen as responsive to local environmental factors. Ruscio (1987) argues that over a period of time universities adapt to local circumstances and accumulate different missions. The policies and practices of individual universities eventually lead to idiosyncratic combinations of academics, students and knowledge priorities (p.333). Furthermore Ruscio contends that "while scholarly socialization is an ordeal willingly entered into, organizational socialisation is reluctantly tolerated" (p.359). Clark and Ruscio highlight factors that are useful in analysing the organisational and epistemological contexts into which academics enter. It can be surmised that the complexities of the profession, the changing priorities and foci of academic specialties, and the idiosyncratic organisation of universities are likely to complicate the process of socialisation, indicating that it is far from being a uniformly consensual or harmonious experience.

1.5.2. Other factors influencing academic socialisation and behaviour

In recent years a number of people have attempted to define academic behaviour. Ralph Blunden (1996) has argued that academic behaviour is constituted of diverse and often conflicting loyalties. He writes that "[t]here are diverse loyalties which bind academics. These loyalties can be said to comprise a set of overlapping spheres which often

generate conflicting normative demands” (p.14ff). He identifies five spheres of obligation, duty and/or loyalty that academics commonly perceive. These are:

- to their discipline
- to their students
- to their colleagues (local and international)
- to the employing institution
- to society.

This is also a useful way of thinking about the literature in the field. There has been much written about the primary attachment of academics to their disciplines. It has been generally accepted that disciplinary allegiances are inculcated in the earliest years of study. The building of these loyalties towards a subject has been widely considered to be the means by which the disciplines and hence, the profession, is maintained across time (Klüver and Schmidt, 1990, p.311). The construction of allegiance in later generations of students is a subtle process of which both students and academic teaching staff are barely conscious (Gerholm, 1990, p.264). Yet this has been seen as a vital component in the reproduction of academic behaviour. Not only have novices and initiates within a field been expected to experience loyalty to their subject, they are also required to demonstrate their claim to ‘citizenship’ within it. In this respect, students become members of the academic “tribe” (Ylijoki, 2000, p.340) when they are seen to comply with the fundamental “cultural” rules of the discipline (Gerholm, p.263). This compliance forms the basis of a social identity within the group (Ylijoki, *op cit*). With this in mind, potential initiates must recognise in the first instance *what* social attributes he or she must acquire, and secondly, convince others that “*one has them as of right*” (Harré, 1983, p.45). Harré argues that most ‘rights’ in the social world are established by the existence of appropriate biographies or in other words the novice must construct an identity within the group which is based on an “appropriate biography or autobiography” (*ibid.* p.46).

However Gerholm (*op. cit*) argues that most ‘tribal’ behaviour will be acquired slowly over a period of time without anyone ever making a deliberate effort to teach newcomers the rules of the game. Thus most behaviour is subject to ‘implicit rules’ and ‘tacit

knowledge'. Failure to correctly interpret and comply with the rules will affect an individual's standing within the group. Gerholm contends that academic life is structured around 'tacit knowledge' that is "stored in the daily life of a department and that is being used to order its routines" (*ibid.*). Here we see a link emerging between disciplinary behaviour and organisational behaviour. Gerholm reinforces this point adding that, "[c]ompetence in the cultural life of the discipline and the department functions as an informal sorting device, often without the sorters and the sorted being aware of the fact." (p.263). He summarises:

"[A] graduate student, as part of his or her socialisation into an academic discipline, will come into contact with two main categories of tacit knowledge. One of them is knowledge that has grown out of long experience in the discipline. It is a practical, almost subconscious knowledge or competence that the department elite fully masters. The most important ingredient is the knowledge and command of the repertoire of [scientific] discourses." (p.270ff)

This tacit knowledge forms the basis of a 'moral order' within the discipline to which the student must commit so as to construct a social identity as a representative of her or his field and find a point of reference to orient in the diversified academic world (Ylijoki, *op.cit*, p.341).

Trevor Pinch (1990) has extended this argument considerably. He explores the ways in which disciplinary allegiances are constructed within science communities, and the ways in which social identities emerge. However while other writers view socialisation as a somewhat passive process of orientation to a discipline and organisation, Pinch takes a rather more robust interpretation of the ways in which disciplinary boundaries occur. He suggests that boundary construction can be observed in the rhetoric of disciplinary talk amongst scientists. This rhetoric has a degree of flexibility around it and scientists adapt it to fit various social circumstances. In addition there are degrees of certainty and uncertainty attached to the knowledge produced by a discipline. The rhetoric of disciplinary talk, and fluctuating degrees of certainty, allow the framing of symbolic

boundaries around subject areas. These boundaries are further reinforced when scientific controversies and debates emerge between members of the community or with 'outsiders'. These ideas will be elaborated further in a later chapter but of note here is the notion that socialisation need not be viewed as a one-way process applied by an elite over newcomers (although this is certainly a factor). Rather it is viewed by Pinch as a process emerging as a result of negotiation, conflict and uncertainty between members of the group. This stance is of interest because it signposts a different approach to socialisation which will be incorporated into this research.

1.5.3. Critiques of modernist approaches to socialisation in higher education

William Tierney (1997) has argued that many of those who write about academic socialisation have adopted modernist perspectives. They speak of socialisation as if it were "a unitary and rational process embedded in an understandable culture. Culture gets defined as the sum of activities – symbolic and instrumental – that exist in the organization and create shared meaning" (p.3). Culture is therefore 'acquired' and the process of identity formation becomes little more than "a series of planned learning events" in which the individual holds an identity that merely awaits "organizational printing" (p.5). Tierney contends that this insistence automatically creates a division between elites and outcasts. If culture is coherent, rational and understandable, then those recruits who do not acquire the behaviour or beliefs of the 'inner circle' are seen to have nothing to offer to the maintenance of the group. In this respect socialisation is little more than an act of assimilation. Furthermore, a modernist framework is limited by its own assumptions about the life of organisations. Modernist theorists may take a relativist stance in looking for differences between disciplines and/or institutions and aim to develop a taxonomy of cultures that demonstrates that diversity exists (p.4). Alternatively they may take a similar approach to cultural deficit models whereby an organisation is identified as aberrant and in need of repair. In the latter case, the aim is to explain deficiencies within the group, so that they can be changed (*ibid*). Tierney locates the work of Burton Clark (and by implication, his European co-authors) firmly within this body of thought. He suggests that organisational cultures are not all alike and nor

are the people within them. When people join together in an organisation, he contends that they are not discovering a culture, nor are they duplicating or mimicking it, rather, they are actively creating it (p.14).

This analysis has been taken further in Jussi Välimaa's (1998) critique of Becher's work on academic tribes and territories (discussed earlier in section 1.5.1). Välimaa argues that by collapsing subject and social boundaries, Becher has created epistemic and social 'boxes', which he subsequently identifies as discipline clusters (Välimaa, 1998, p.124-126). Välimaa suggests that this approach is based on the desire to unite disciplines according to epistemic and social dimensions. In trying to create general rules for particular behaviour, Välimaa contends that Becher has ignored the wider contexts that these behaviours take place within. Of relevance here is Välimaa's contention that too many early writers have treated academic communities as if they were separated from the rest of society. For that reason there is little understanding about how academics interact with their environments (p.126). Ludwig Huber (1990) has also argued that there is a gap in the research in this field. He writes that, "the cultures of the disciplines, although (or just because) they enjoy a relative autonomy, cannot be understood without taking into account their relative positions in social space" (Huber, 1990, p.244).

Others in the field have problematised much of the prior research which they argue, relies too heavily on internal processes within organisations and disciplines. Academics themselves have not been sufficiently furnished with an identity that takes into account factors beyond the micro-level concerns of internal organisational patterns. Välimaa maintains that most of the research to date has ignored the wider circle of 'significant others' that contribute to the making of academic identities (p.131). He also maintains that the search for similarities (or universals) between disciplines or institutions has eliminated profitable lines of further inquiry.

Välimaa and Tierney's arguments support an approach that seeks to investigate academic identities *as they relate to and are shaped by* interaction with their society and this approach is adopted here. The academic staff are viewed here as key actors in the

formulation of identity and the processes of socialisation within a South Pacific context. The university institution in question is located in New Zealand's capital city of Wellington. The historical, social and cultural influences identified as relevant to the academic socialisation process are analysed in the light of both postcolonial and symbolic interaction theories. The local and indigenous society and culture has been emphasised in constructing tales of academic identities.

1.6. A note on geography and Empire: New Zealand as the site for data collection

In 1960, the New Zealand writer and academic, Allen Curnow, wrote, “[I]slands breed illusions, whichever end of the telescope one takes,” (Curnow, 1960, p.59). The landscape and geography of New Zealand has markedly influenced local narratives of culture and society. It also forms the socio-geographic frame inhabited by the research participants. Certainly the island nation of New Zealand, standing at the edges of the Tasman and South Pacific Oceans in one of the southern-most reaches of the world, has bred its own narratives of isolation and distance. In turn, Britain has eyed this remote territory through a colonial lens and constructed a singularly imperial fiction around the interplay of Empire and Other. But there is little resonance between these stories, which in the main, are tales of identity and belonging, loss and social dislocation, memory and misrecollection. Academics in New Zealand are travellers in the usual sense of the word, and their journeys are pertinent both to their understanding of their disciplines and their tasks in a university in the Pacific, as well as their legislative role as ‘critic and conscience’ of a post-Independence society that is seeking a new tale of identity (see Chapter six). The story told here is about this particular breed of travellers who have arrived, or who have been initiated, into the intellectual climate of a New Zealand university. How these people come to understand the society for which they are asked to speak and locate themselves within, how they are ‘socialised’ into their disciplines, their profession and their institution is the focus of this study.

New Zealand became a British colony in 1840 after the Crown signed an agreement with the Maori people of New Zealand. This agreement is known as the Treaty of Waitangi

and it is the founding document of modern New Zealand. The size of the country is small, 270,534 square kilometres, and comprises several islands. The two largest islands are somewhat unimaginatively known as the North Island and the South Island and are inhabited by the majority of the population. Stewart Island is beyond the South coast and there are also a number of smaller, more remote, uninhabited islands to the south of the South Island; these are the Auckland Islands, Campbell Island, and Snares Island. The Antipodes Islands lie 820 kilometres south-east of New Zealand near the Antarctic coast. The Chatham Islands lie to the east, the Bounty Islands are situated to the east-south-east and the Kermadec Islands are in the north-east.

The major islands are generally mountainous, two thirds of New Zealand's area being between 200 and 1070 metres above sea level. There are also three active volcanoes in the large volcanic range in the central North Island. From the earliest days of settlement, the geysers and mineral hot springs on the volcanic plateau were a major tourist attraction for British travellers, as were the deep fjords along the coasts of the South Island. Positioned across the boundary of two tectonic plates, the Australia Plate and the Pacific Plate, New Zealand has significant earthquake activity. The Pacific Plate, surrounded by subduction zones, is known as the Ring of Fire and this affects the degree of volcanic activity in the country as well as the amount of fertile land available for agriculture. The difficult terrain of the land affected European settlement patterns to a considerable degree. The bulk of the population (80%) are located in cities in the North Island. Perhaps more importantly for the British Crown, New Zealand was rich in the natural resources most needed by the metropolitan centre. There was an abundance of natural gas, iron ore, sand, coal, timber, limestone and gold. When alluvial gold was discovered in 1865, a new influx of immigrants arrived in New Zealand, many of whom stayed on and farmed after the gold deposits were exhausted. The country continues to rely heavily on agricultural and forestry exports, such as wool, lamb, mutton, beef, fish, dairy products and timber.

1.7 Structure of the argument

The thesis is structured around three themes that stem from the data and which relate to the construction of intellectual identities and labour in a post-Independence nation. They surround pivotal experiences of *loss* (e.g. loss of motherland, mother tongue, cultural identity, territories and/or Empire); *positionality* (i.e. the process of positioning an intellectual identity within cultural, social, geographical and political contexts that have been disrupted or created by a colonial history and migration), and *retrieval* (i.e. establishing intellectual labour, identity and culture after Independence).

The research is presented in three main sections. The first section includes four introductory chapters to the research problem and the methods used to collect and analyse both historical documents and interview data. Chapter three and four provide a theoretical framework around which the study is organised. In Chapter three, two theoretical traditions have been applied to the research problem, these are postcolonial and symbolic interaction theories. The former provides the basis for structuring ideas about the relationship of the British Empire to disciplinary knowledge, while the latter has been used to frame concepts about what constitutes an academic ‘community’.

The themes of loss, positionality and retrieval are discussed in Chapter three through a discussion of intellectual identity construction and intellectual labour in nineteenth century New Zealand. Of note here, are the ways in which local intellectual identities and labour conflicted with the rational-empirical traditions of intellectual identity in the West. The rational-empirical tradition is discussed in relation to the nineteenth century Romantic Movement and the impact of these ideas in the construction of cultural images of the colonies and their inhabitants.

A further element of this analysis is an examination of the way in which imperial knowledge was created and framed. During the nineteenth century new academic disciplines emerged from the exploration and colonisation of distant territories. The impact of these voyages on the organisation of intellectual labour within the British

Empire is investigated here. The chapter concludes with a discussion about the hermeneutic and interpretive view of the symbolic construction of academic communities. The symbolic interactions and ritualised behaviours of people within an academic community situated within a post-Independence nation are emphasised.

Chapter four explores various definitions of intellectual labour which are adapted and applied to the New Zealand context. Antonio Gramsci's interpretations of 'traditional' and 'organic' intellectual labour in light of international trends in intellectual labour since the 1930s are examined. This chapter profiles intellectual workers in the West and forms the basis of a profile of intellectual workers in New Zealand, which is discussed in Chapter six.

The second section forms the historical basis of this study and tracks the development of intellectual labour in New Zealand society and its relationship to the University. Chapter five explores the institutional history of intellectual identity in the country. The changing face of the institutional history of the university in Wellington is traced from its nineteenth century colonial origins to the present, where local identities are being created. The competing narratives of settler (i.e. local non-indigenous) and Maori (indigenous) identities are also explored in relation to the establishment of the University in New Zealand.

Chapters six and seven track the social history of intellectual labour in New Zealand. It focuses on changes in intellectual labour during the Depression, and after the Second World War, and explores the impact of the changing relationship with Britain on the New Zealand intelligentsia. It concludes with an analysis of the demographic profiles of the New Zealand intelligentsia during this period. Chapter seven spans the decades between the 1970s and the present, linking social factors, including the rise of Maori intellectual and political movements, and the Women's Movement, to the site University.

The third section is structured around the three underlying themes of this thesis, namely *loss*, *positionality* and *retrieval* and is based on interviews conducted with members of the academic staff at the site University. Chapter eight includes an overview of the narratives that emerged from the interview data. Chapter nine discusses the narratives in relation to aspects of identity construction and community and are organised around the motifs of loss and positionality. Chapter ten explores the facets of intellectual identity retrieval within the symbolic and disciplinary communities of the University institution. Chapter eleven summarises the key arguments and concludes the thesis.

1.8. A note on the terms used in this study

In this study European New Zealanders are referred to as ‘Pakeha’. This is a commonly recognised generic term in New Zealand which describes a person or group of people of predominantly European descent. The term is used here with particular reference to European settlers, distinguishing them as a specific group who settled in New Zealand (as opposed to Australia, India, Africa, etc.,) and underwent a process of cultural and social change through their contact with Maori. As an adjective, ‘pakeha’ literally means ‘foreign’ and is generally used to describe the customs, values, beliefs and social and political systems of New Zealanders of predominantly European descent. The term ‘European’ describes more specifically the cultural and intellectual traditions, history, people, attitudes, beliefs and customs that have not undergone a similar process and remain fixed to Western Europe. Maori terms are italicised eg *tangata whenua* or used in brackets e.g. tribe (*iwi*), and English equivalents are provided.

CHAPTER 2

APPROACHES TO METHODOLOGY

The multimethod approach employed in this study emerges from the conviction that the past is firmly embedded in contemporary practices. It became clear as the investigation proceeded that interactions in both the past and the present, are situated in multiple locations (from symbolic to geographical) and that a variety of methods would need to be employed to locate and analyse data. Social phenomena have therefore been examined within their historical and cultural contexts so that causes and effects can be identified. The *effect* that is explained here is that changing patterns of intellectual labour attended changing patterns of intellectual identity in New Zealand over a period of time, and these shifts have affected academic socialisation. The *causes* or *initial conditions* that instigated those changes have been identified, so that the broad patterns of socialisation for academics in New Zealand can be analysed.

2.1. Researcher as *bricoleur*

A range of methods has been employed to collect data. A variety of primary source materials have been used and each has demanded its own process of collection and analysis. This wide-ranging approach has been adopted because the investigation required locating diverse segments of data, none of which provided answers *in toto*. The research question has therefore been viewed as a ‘puzzle’ and the research itself has become “an emergent construction that changes and takes new forms as different tools, methods and techniques are added to the puzzle” (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, p.2). In this respect I have taken the role of *bricoleur*, that is, I have pieced together interpretations and solutions to the problem using a diverse range of practices (*ibid.*).

The next section of this study (Section two) provides an historical overview of intellectual and institutional development in New Zealand. A variety of documents, artefacts, newspapers, census records and other sources have been used to organise this

part of the research. The third section relies on interview data from academic participants currently working in the site institution. In general I have not attempted to collect validated sources exclusively (although these do constitute the bulk of data), rather I have triangulated the sources in order to frame an interpreted (as opposed to objective) reality.

In this respect I have followed Denzin and Lincoln's perspective that research is an interactive process shaped by the personal history, biography, gender, social class, race and ethnicity of the researcher and those of the people within the research landscape (p.4). The result then is a collage-like creation that reflects my own images and understandings of the phenomenon under analysis (*ibid*).

2.2. The case study approach

The case study approach has been chosen in order to investigate the complexity of socialisation within a particular environment. The environment in question is a university. It is a *bounded* environment in that it is an integrated system with institutional and intellectual boundaries that contains a variety of 'working parts' (Stake, 1995, p.2). The university is located in a post-Independence nation. The nation is situated in the South Pacific. In this respect the environment can be likened to a set of Russian dolls with the university at its core. This study acts on the hypothesis that these environmental factors are inextricably linked to academic socialisation. This hypothesis emerged from a study of the literature in the previous chapter. The aim is to explore the embeddedness of the surrounding culture and society within the socialising processes of the university. A further intention is to examine the historical and cultural contexts of the construction of intellectual labour within a specific location, *not* to generalise from the findings across national or institutional contexts. Since current practice is contextualised within the development of intellectual labour in the nation's past and is not extrapolated beyond the bounded environment, the historical/ critical instance case study was selected as the most suitable approach (Merriam, 1988, p.24).

2.3. Selection of the case university

The *case* or *site* University under investigation is Victoria University of Wellington. This University is based in Wellington, the capital city of New Zealand. It was selected because it is located in a nation that has proclaimed Independence. It is also a long-established university that is neither the largest higher education institution in the country (in terms of student numbers), nor is it the smallest. In this respect it is not as vulnerable to the social demands of very large or very small institutions. It is also my place of employment. While this constitutes potential problems in terms of the emic and idiographic nature of the inquiry, which will be discussed in the next section, it certainly solved some problems of access.

2.4. Location of researcher

I am a Senior Lecturer in the School of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. I have been teaching in the area of higher education since 1995. Prior to this appointment, I was a lecturer in the academic development unit of the same University. I am therefore an 'insider' within the site University. As a New Zealand Maori, I can also be considered as an 'insider' within the cultural context of the society in which the University is located.

In relation to this study, both of these 'insider' locations are constructed alongside conflicting priorities. For example, as a senior member of the academic staff I am now more often in social contact with other senior staff than I am with newly appointed staff. I am more familiar with the decision-making processes of disciplines associated with the Arts and Social Sciences than I am with the Law School, the School of Architecture and the Science and Commerce disciplines. While I am aware of the ways in which these other discipline groupings operate, make decisions and appoint staff, and while I maintain reasonably extensive social networks across these groups, I am not involved with the day to day activities or 'life' of these disciplines. My location within the University institution is therefore framed by specific disciplinary boundaries.

The view of the society and culture of New Zealand elaborated in later chapters is also framed by my cultural identification with the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Aotearoa is the Maori name for New Zealand and is in common usage). As a Maori woman, with lines of descent from both Maori and from European settlers, I view the often hidden cultural conflicts that take place in the country from a very fluid standpoint. Like other Maori of mixed descent, my cultural loyalties and boundaries shift from situation to situation. In the space of a day I present a variety of different social faces and cultural behaviours depending on the context. This is not unusual amongst Maori; in fact it is a common method of dealing with a life within, and between, different cultures. It does however inform my view of New Zealand society, it influences the way I articulate the less tangible aspects of it and it shapes my understanding of my location within that society. The relationship between the University institution and New Zealand society is under investigation here and that investigation has been conducted within these constraints.

The decision to take my doctoral candidature to an Australian university has allowed me the opportunity to take a step away from a complete immersion in the cultural and institutional contexts of the site University. It has also provided me with academic advice originating from outside the site, that has helped me to understand and interpret my own insider status with a fresh eye and to challenge many of the assumptions that lie beneath it.

e) **Historical sources of data**

The next section of this study provides an historical overview of intellectual labour and higher education in New Zealand. Several items have been used in piecing together this part of the puzzle. The purpose of Section two of this study is to provide an historical background for the construction of intellectual labour. The categories, sources, location, and status of data are outlined below in Table 1. The sources are recorded in detail in the bibliography at the end of this thesis. Ethical considerations are discussed later in this chapter.

TABLE 2.1: Data by category, source, location and status

Category	Source	Location	Status
Academic's accounts of academic life and culture in New Zealand	F.A. de la Mare – 1935 J.C. Beaglehole – 1937 J.C. Beaglehole – 1949 J.C. Beaglehole – 1961 T.H. Beaglehole – 1989	VUW* archival collection	Public domain
Other archival documents	Sir Thomas Hunter – 1940 J.C. Beaglehole 1954 A.L. Titchener – 1969	VUW archival collection	Public domain
	Letters to the Vice-Chancellor – 1969-1984	Vice-Chancellor's archive – VUW	Restricted access
	Reports of the PhD Co-ordinator to the Academic Board 1984-1994	Academic Board archives	Restricted access
Journals	<u>Hilltop</u> – 1949	Estate of J.M. Thomson (deceased)	Restricted access
	<u>Landfall</u> 1950-1969	VUW Library	Public domain
Newspapers	<u>Truth</u> – 1954 <u>The New Zealand Herald</u> – 1954	National Library	Public domain
	<u>Salient</u> – 1970-1979	VUW Library	Public domain
Official publications	Mazengarb Report – 1954 NZ Census – 1956 Education Act – 1989	National Library	Public domain
	<u>University Staff Statistical Collection</u> 1994, 1995		Public domain
Personal communications	W. Penetito W. Renwick	–	–

* VUW– Victoria University of Wellington

The sources outlined in Table 1 were selected for a number of reasons. Some of them retrace the steps of earlier historians who have commented on Victoria University. The last historian to do this in detail was J.C Beaglehole whose most recent work was in 1949, and a new study of the history of Victoria University was being researched at the time of writing this study. Other sources (such as material from the Vice-Chancellor's archives, Salient and Landfall) have been selected because they have not been used previously and contain relevant data.

2.6. Access to historical data

Records of academic's accounts of academic life at Victoria University between the 1920s and the 1980s are kept in the University Library's rare book and document archive and there are no restrictions on access. There were however, access restrictions to three other sources of material. One was of a minor nature and involved obtaining two editions of Victoria University's Hilltop journal that were published in 1949. The journal is now extremely rare and there are few copies in existence (possibly no more than one or two copies of each edition). The editions I obtained were borrowed from the Editor of the journal, who has since died. The papers are now part of his estate, which is managed by his family members, and are not yet included in a public collection.

Another access restriction involved material from the archives of the Academic Board at Victoria University. As a staff member I have some access to these documents although not to the minutes of meetings that have taken place *in camera*. For the purposes of this study I have selected material that is available to members of the public.

The other access restriction was of a more problematic nature. Chapter seven explores the changing nature of the relationship between the University and society between the 1960s and the 1980s. During this period there were considerable shifts in the organisation of intellectual labour. Academics with new viewpoints and priorities were beginning to appear in the institution. These shifts were also reflected in the changing

political climate of the times as Maori nationalist groups and the Women's Movement gathered strength and captured public attention. This had an impact on the organisation of intellectual labour at Victoria University but these changes did not take place without considerable debate. Some of those debates are reported in issues of Salient, Victoria University's student newspaper and are discussed here. There is also relevant material located in the Vice-Chancellor's archives at the University. I requested, and was granted, access to these archives for the purposes of this research by the appropriate person, the University's archivist and curator of the papers.

The archive is a large one and contains more than one hundred years of important correspondence from, and to, various Vice-Chancellors. Neither the staff nor the public have automatic access to the archive, but on the extremely rare occasions that permission is asked to access specific material, it is usually granted. I requested a number of files and they were passed over to me. It was not until I had sifted through several boxes of largely unsorted letters, that I realised they contained a considerable amount of sensitive material. It was unlikely that I would have been granted access to the material had it been sorted and classified in greater detail. It was also clear that due to the nature of the material, there were ethical and legal issues involved in making use of it. I subsequently wrote to the Vice-Chancellor advising him that I had received material from his archive that was confidential in nature and almost certainly not available to a doctoral student conducting research. On the advice of the Vice-Chancellor and the convenor of the ethics committee of Victoria University, and with the support of my supervisors, the material was returned, and an agreement was made to refrain from using the more sensitive data. The material presented in this study has therefore been negotiated and agreed upon by all parties, and is in keeping with the privacy laws of New Zealand.

2.7. Selection and analysis of historical sources

The second section of this study draws primarily on data collected and analysed from three main sources, these are: Landfall, a New Zealand literary journal; Salient, the

Victoria University student newspaper; and the Victoria University Vice-Chancellor's archives. Each of these sources has been selected because they provide information about intellectual labour and academic life in New Zealand between 1950 and 1979, much of which is new.

2.7.1. Landfall

In Chapter six, the changing social and cultural climate of New Zealand society after the Second World War, is discussed in relation to the emergence of new forms of intellectual labour. The shifts in academic and intellectual priorities are traced through these decades with the formulation of a profile of people living within academic and intellectual communities at that time. The profile is drawn from information collected from Landfall, a key literary journal that was founded in Christchurch, New Zealand in 1947. The purpose of this journal was to provide an outlet for critique and comment on New Zealand society and culture. From the outset, it published the work of both emerging and established writers, academics and intellectuals. It is the longest running journal of this nature in New Zealand and continues to be one of the major periodicals for the expression of intellectual and literary thought. It has published a representative sample of the work of the key intellectual and academic figures in New Zealand. When the journals from the 1950-1969 period are analysed together, they provide a fascinating picture of the changing intellectual priorities of a small nation after the proclamation of Independence. Some of this material has been cited in Chapter six but an in-depth analysis has been made of the biographical information contained in the lists of contributors during this period. This biographical information provides strong evidence of the professional integration of 'public' intellectuals into the academic environment in New Zealand.

The analysis covers data for 331 contributors who were New Zealand citizens, residents or expatriates. The journal also published contributions from people overseas who were not New Zealand citizens and had never resided in New Zealand. These contributors have been excluded from the analysis as their biographical information does not relate to

local conditions. The data collection focused on the contributor's gender, age, residential location and proximity to a university town, occupational categories, alma mater, and place of study abroad. These particular variables were selected because they relate to variables identified in the international literature on intellectual labour that is discussed in Chapter four and enable a comparison to be made between conditions in New Zealand and abroad. The analysis involved the collation and tabling of data from 76 editions of Landfall (i.e. four issues each year over a nineteen year period). Data were tabled by issue, year, and by contributor, and included the variables mentioned above, scores were totalled and the findings are provided in graphs in Chapter six.

2.7.2. Salient

Items from the Victoria University student newspaper Salient have been collated and analysed to provide data about shifting national and intellectual priorities as they were being articulated by students and staff of Victoria University between 1970 and 1979. During this period a new wave of Maori nationalism was making an impact on New Zealand society. Both Maori and non-Maori members of academic communities were voicing new priorities for intellectual labour, namely the need to create a racially inclusive nation. At Victoria University these shifting concerns led to the establishment of new academic and intellectual narratives. Some of these voices have been represented in Salient.

Salient publishes between 24 and 25 issues each year (depending on when the Easter break falls). Data collection involved the collation of 221 issues of Salient published in the 1970-1979 period. In that time, 64 items relating to Maori concerns appeared. These items have been categorised by content and are presented in Chapter seven. Additional sources from Salient have been used to provide background information about the cultural and political activities students and academic life at Victoria University. These references can be found in Appendix 1.

1.4.1. Archives of the Vice-Chancellor

Documents from the archives of the Vice-Chancellor have been located that give background information about the emerging academic field of Maori Studies and the entry of small numbers of Maori academics into the University. This involved a degree of identity reconstruction within the academic environment, which caused tremendous debate. The documents in the archives include letters, broadsheets, drafts of press statements, and memoranda. These papers are stored in large cardboard cartons and are only minimally sorted by year. The items of relevance to this study were extracted from seventeen large cardboard cartons and are discussed in Chapter seven.

1.5. Interviews

The third section of this study presents the findings from a set of interviews conducted with current members of the academic staff of the University. The purpose of these interviews was to test the accuracy of the themes that had emerged in the first and second sections of the thesis and to extend further the theoretical analysis of academic intellectual labour in relation to social factors.

Five pilot interviews were conducted with academic staff at the University. The final sample size was fifteen participants. The first interview participant was selected from the pilot interviews via *snowball* sampling (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p.89). The snowballing effect was initiated in the pilot stage and interviewees were asked to identify two other members of the academic staff who they thought might be prepared to be interviewed. If one or two of the recommended candidates were available and had not previously participated in an interview, I approached them and asked if they would be willing to be interviewed for an hour. Selection continued in that manner and the end of the interview process occurred when data began to repeat itself. This repetition occurred after the first ten interviews were conducted, but interviews were continued, partly to ensure that this was an accurate assessment, and partly because members of the Science Faculty were under-represented.

The under-representation of scientists in this study was not fully rectified. Each time a member from the Science Faculty was interviewed, they preferred to suggest candidates from the areas of the humanities and social sciences. This was despite frequent prompting. Staff working in the humanities and social sciences, with one exception, suggested others working in these fields, although no one suggested a candidate from their own school or department. In the final analysis, data were drawn from ten staff working in the humanities and social sciences, and five staff located in science disciplines. Despite this under-representation of sciences, the interviews yielded similar results to those of colleagues in the humanities and social sciences. Nine of the participants were male, six were women. Eight participants were expatriate members of nations other than New Zealand, and seven were New Zealand-born citizens. Each of the New Zealand-born participants had completed a minimum of a first degree in a New Zealand university. The average overall length of time that the interviewees had been employed at the University (some had left the University and taken other work, but returned after a period away) was 12.2 years. However the median length of employment was eight years. The participant's gender and length of employment at Victoria University is summarised in the following table.

TABLE 2.2: Participant's gender and length of employment at University

Gender	Length of employment at University (in years)
Male	1
Female	2
Female	2
Male	3
Female	4
Male	6
Female	7
Male	8
Female	10
Male	12
Male	12
Female	20
Male	23
Male	28
Male	36

Interviews were an hour in duration and took place in the offices of the interviewees. All interviews were recorded on tape and transcribed immediately afterwards. Participants were provided with an information sheet about the study prior to the interview taking place and were asked to sign a consent form on completion of the interview (see Appendix 2).

The interviews were structured around responses to five related areas. These were interpretations of interviewee's academic discipline; interpretations of the roles of academics; attitudes towards their departments; understandings of their relationship to the University, and their view of their role with postgraduate students (see Appendix 3). The last question was asked in order to ascertain how academic staff perceived their role in the socialising of students into the discipline and thus maintaining the profession across time.

Each participant was sent a copy of the transcribed interview in which they had participated and asked to check for accuracy. Follow-up phone calls were made to check that they had received transcripts of their interviews and were happy for them to be included in the study. A number of sensitive issues emerged during the interview process, for example, the interviews took place during a period of academic industrial action and a number of staff expressed serious reservations about the University management at that time). Participants were therefore given the opportunity to delete sections they did not wish to be included in the data analysis, although none took advantage of this.

The transcribed interviews were analysed according to themes that had emerged and coded accordingly. Chapters eight, nine and ten are structured around the themes that emerged.

2.9. Ethical considerations

The study has been conducted in accordance with the research ethics policies and procedures of the Australian National University and Victoria University of Wellington. The ethics application for this study received approval from two ethics committees because the site University is also my place of work and I wished to ensure that my employers were fully informed and supportive of my research activities. The Vice-Chancellor and Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Research) of the site University also gave their permission for research to be conducted on site. One of the supervisors of this research, is a Professor of Education at Victoria University and he has been instrumental in mediating the ethics process between both universities.

All interviewees were aware of the nature of the research, gave their consent to be interviewed, and participated voluntarily. They were also advised that they could withdraw from the study at any time prior to submission of the thesis. It was not possible to disguise the identities of all the participants because they spoke at length about their disciplines and their own academic biographies. The degree of identification held by interviewees to their subjects made anonymity impossible in six instances. These participants have subsequently given written consent to have extracts from the interviews conducted with them to be used here. They have read the extracts that have been used in Chapter eight and although they are not identified by name, they are aware that the use of these extracts may lead to their identification.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL CONTEXTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION COMMUNITIES

Home?

The edge of the alphabet where words crumble and all forms of communication between the living are useless. One day we who live at the edge of the alphabet will find our speech.

– Janet Frame, New Zealand writer (1962, p.302)

3.1. Postcolonial theory

At the heart of most postcolonial theories lies the problem of ‘empire’. Far from being a merely historical fact, the empire can be seen as the purview of a cultural process of domination and identity. In postcolonial terms, the empire has become synonymous with persistent underlying social themes of ‘exile’, ‘cultural dislocation’ and ‘dispossession’. There is broad agreement that postcolonial writing emerges from the historical moments of encounter between Europe and the indigenous inhabitants of the ‘New World’. These encounters can be read in terms of hegemonic relationships between metropolitan centres and their distant territories. The aim of much postcolonial theory is therefore to read the history of colonialism as an imperial text. Thus beneath a surface reading of colonial/indigenous interactions, these texts provide a means of decoding epistemological and cultural imperatives, which are lodged deep within metropolitan narratives about the colonial project. Those engaged in writing postcolonial critiques usually attempt to identify strategies for decentring European determinations of power and domination within the social, cultural and epistemological realms of imperial

encounters and suggest new frameworks for 'thinking differently' about race, ethnicity, culture, knowledge and power (Schwarz, 1996, p.9-12).

The primary theoretical focus of this work is the means by which the British Empire came to occupy the intellectual and cultural territories of New Zealand from the mid-nineteenth century. The development of university education and knowledge is problematised by this historical approach. It is argued here that the university environment into which academics are currently socialised has developed, in part, from a colonial history. However following Sinha's critique of British/Bengali racial imaging (Sinha, 1995), university knowledge is not viewed as a cultural product emerging from a generalised or universal colonial condition, or in other words, a 'one size fits all' attitude to British imperial rule in colonial territories, but rather as a process which grew alongside specific practices of ruling which were unique to the New Zealand situation. Moreover, it is argued here that New Zealand university education can not be understood simply from the framework of dualistic cultural encounters between Colonial and Maori, or settlers and the 'motherland'. These are important facets of the university environment but the aim is not to stage oppositional encounters between binary pairs or cultural adversaries. Rather it is suggested that the university environment in New Zealand took its particular hue and shape from the settler population *in relation to* and *constitutive of* the local social, cultural and intellectual landscape and conditions, of which Maori and the settlers were a part. Out of these colonial interactions new narratives and epistemological categories developed. New structures of meaning displaced earlier ones and ultimately a new cultural 'truth' was created. The following sections outline the origins of these colonial encounters and their relation to knowledge and intellectual labour.

3.1.1. Rational-empiricism, romanticism and the British Empire in the mid-nineteenth century

The spread of the western empires during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made the relocation of large portions of the European population to distant parts of the globe possible. The settlers made their homes in new lands amongst indigenous peoples. The relationships between colonial and indigene were frequently uneasy, often violent and always complex. Yet many settlers who followed the imperial diaspora, remained in these new territories, establishing systems of governance and belief based upon the laws and world-views of their motherlands. British colonials underwent a process of cultural re-orientation in the colonial territories. Many did not renounce their allegiance to England, but after a life-time in the colonies they were increasingly unable to claim England as their own country. It was 'home' and 'motherland', but it was also an imagined territory which provided a link and a context for their shifting cultural identity. In time they ceased to be entirely 'British'; rather, they were 'anglicised'. The problem that confronted these people was not so much retrieving or reconstructing their culture as the empire dissolved, which was the case for Maori, Indians and Africans (Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin, 1989, p.135). Rather they faced the task of creating the indigenous for themselves. As Ashcroft *et. al.* argue, "[w]hite European settlers in the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand faced the problem of establishing their 'indigeneity' and distinguishing it from their continuing sense of their European inheritance." (*ibid.*).

The descendants of the settlers in New Zealand were both physically and generationally removed from the western metropolis. The nation existed in a difficult symbiosis with England. Settlers in New Zealand developed an agricultural economy which, with the introduction of refrigeration techniques, was able to provide England with much needed agricultural produce, food and timber. Britain, on the other hand, provided the colony

with a sense of culture and identity. If England was 'home', then in the far-flung dominions, which were frequently torn with civil strife, the British Empire represented the stability of an apparently regulated and orderly system of government and society. This could be seen in 1901, when the Empire was still officially in mourning following the death of Queen Victoria, the Duke and Duchess of Wales toured the Antipodes. Their presence in New Zealand, coming soon after the death of the Queen, had the effect of strengthening public loyalty to the throne. George the Fifth's biographer said of the visit to New Zealand that the Duke was impressed:

"... first of all [by] the loyalty to the crown shown by all classes and creeds and races in every colony he visited. It surprised him to hear from the lips of those who had never seen England even in childhood, constant and loving references to Home ... it was forced on him that nothing had contributed so much to produce those unmistakable manifestations of loyalty and love of England as the life and example of Queen Victoria. Everywhere she was a legend; among the more primitive races she had become invested with almost divine qualities." (Davies, 1989, p.31ff).

During this period the travelling road show of royal visits to the Antipodes culminated in elaborate public displays and spectacles. The empire was continually represented to the populace as an enduring and unifying world force which had the power to harmoniously bind diverse races and peoples across the globe.

New Zealand hosted its own reverential celebration of empire in 1906-07 with the New Zealand International Exhibition, which took place in Christchurch. Following the European tradition of 'market fairs', these international exhibitions that took place across the Empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries served to promote the business of empire abroad. For distant countries such as New Zealand and Australia, they also gave the public a sense of belonging, context, identity and location within the Empire. The nation was reflected back to the audience as "the Britain of the

South” (Phillips, 1998, p.21). Maori motifs, souvenirs and exhibits, such as that of a Maori *Pa* (fortified village), were placed alongside the fun fair and amusements and at sixpence a time, served to make the Maori presence “and symbolism at the Exhibition [...] both a picturesque exoticism designed to appeal to tourists and also an instant mythology of a romantic past which gave Pakeha a sense of history in a ‘new’ land.” (Phillips, 1998, p.24). Yet these exhibitions, which enjoyed enormous popularity and public appeal during the halcyon days of the empires, contained their own hidden logic. The historian Paul Greenhalgh has written that “the gaiety of the pavilions was purposely meant to hide the darker side of the gloried conquest, the near genocide ... the destruction of cultures, the appropriation of wealth on an unprecedented and greed-ridden scale. The Exhibition was in every way a harlequin’s mask hiding brutish, heavy features underneath.” (McLean, 1998, p.27).

In this respect the supposed structural unity of the British Empire was based more on a national imagining of the empire as ‘utopia’ than upon a solid foundation of fact. The internal workings of the British government in its territories abroad were cumbersome and characterised by enormous social divisions. The apparent stability of the empire rested on a series of often haphazard cultural practices. After the Second World War the British abandoned part of the imperial project in its outer territories, settling instead for an alternative organisation of previously mandated nations, which came to be known as the Commonwealth. Postcolonial theorists tend to posit this shift in international relations as a movement into a new form of colonisation, or neo-colonialism, rather than as a complete abandonment of the cabal of empire. Indeed the site of struggle which is of relevance to this study, can be found in the construction of knowledge in New Zealand universities. Britain may well be ‘long gone’ from the national imagining, but the retrieval of advanced knowledge in local contexts is not easily extricated from that knowledge which has been constructed and viewed through ‘western eyes’.

Part of the problem lies with the very notion of a 'stable', albeit 'lost', empire. Much postcolonial theory is concerned with what I have identified as motifs of *loss* (loss of cultural identity, loss of 'motherland', loss of 'mother tongue', loss of territories, loss of empire). Frankenberg and Mani also suggest that the term 'postcolonial' has a particular meaning in the British psyche. It signals loss of colonies; decline of empire; and the appearance on British landscapes of a significant number of people from the former colonies" (Frankenberg and Mani, 1996, p.274). There is a "we are here because you are here" attitude (*ibid.*), and for this reason "[t]he 'Other' [is] no longer geographically distanced – out there – but within, and over time shaping inner city landscape and culture in significant ways." (*ibid.*). However, I have added two further elements corresponding to the notion of loss. Namely, *positionality* (this relates to how identity is located within shifting cultural, social, geographical and political contexts which have been either disrupted, or created, by a colonial history and migration), and *retrieval* (regaining a sense of identity, culture and government in the absence of an empire).

This sense of loss and a corresponding confusion over *positionality* has had an enduring impact, not only on the descendants of Pakeha settlers, but also on the structuring of Maori identities in New Zealand where there has been a relatively high degree of miscegenation. A student at Victoria University who identifies strongly as being Maori but also acknowledges her Pakeha lineage says:

"The reality is, I'm Maori *and* I'm Pakeha. And sometimes that's hard. It's like that guy, Ibsen I think it was, he said something about life, that you peel it back layer by layer and sometimes you weep. Well, that's just how it is because so much of my Maori memory has been lost over time. If you peel back the *whakapaparanga* [layers], you keep finding new layers like scar tissue over old wounds. You see all different people, and all of them are me. Some brown, some white, and all the colours in between. It's a *porangi* [crazy] old world, ay!" (Kidman, 1995, p.7).

The matter of *retrieval*, that is, the drive to establish a sense of identity, culture and government after Independence, is also central to postcolonial critiques. The post-Independence desire to foster a separate identity from the empire is closely linked to nationalist movements. The task of the people is to build a national psyche which looks towards its own cultural and social reference points for meaning rather than those of a foreign ruler. Since the late nineteenth century this has involved the interpretation and definition of citizenship and membership of a nation-state. Much of this task involves the labour of local intellectuals. In framing the dimensions of a new nation, intellectuals employ narrative genres specific to their own disciplines to 'give voice', or, to 'narrate' the nation or as Linke argues "narrative genres became pedagogical tools in a process of 'national' socialization." (Linke, 1997, p.102). Thus the role of intellectuals in postcolonial theory is central to the debate on knowledge, nation and identity.

The 'imagining' of the intellectuals of a particular region is therefore critical to the building of national identity because the construction of narrative strategies and approaches lies at the heart of most twentieth century academic disciplines. If, as Connor (1989) argues, universities have "implicitly laid claim to a custodial or management function with regard to cultural experience" (Connor, 1989, p.16), then postcolonial academics located within universities have a significant impact on the framing of a post-Independence national culture and narrative.

The role of university academics as narrators of the nation is problematic in postcolonial terms. In New Zealand, university academics are assigned a legislative role as 'critic and conscience of society' and this will be discussed further in Chapter six. However intellectual labour within Victoria University, which is located in the nation's capital city, has developed over a period of decades and is characterised by the unique

positioning of the University in the political centre of New Zealand. But the nature of academic intellectual labour has also been strongly influenced by other intellectual communities (literary, artistic and musical), which have emerged in the Wellington region since the Second World War.

On the other hand, there are certain affinities amongst the academic staff. Academics at Victoria, like those in other universities in New Zealand, are drawn primarily from the middle class ranks of Pakeha men. Many have attended the same secondary schools and the same universities. There is a healthy transdisciplinary social network amongst many of the senior staff, whereby they are likely to live in the same, or adjoining, suburbs and attend the same literary functions, gallery openings, concerts, plays, dinner parties and school fairs. They tend to congregate in the same downtown cafés, shop in the same supermarkets and on Saturday mornings, they are likely to bump into each other at the Wellington Public Library. On Friday evenings, many staff and postgraduate students gather in the University staff club for a glass of wine or a meal, and during these times, strong inter-family networks are established with the presence of spouses, partners and children. While the staff are not united in a similar aim, nor do they share a common perspective on the world, or indeed upon New Zealand society— there is evidence of a central value system which is tacitly adhered to by members of the university community, even if it is not always uniformly interpreted or accepted.

These informal social frameworks indirectly help to strengthen a particular set of attitudes and behaviours towards knowledge, national identity and intellectual labour, which are common within post-Independence universities. Edward Shils (1972) suggests that these convictions have emerged from a crumbling “rational-empirical tradition” (Shils, 1972, p.71). The rational-empirical outlook, he argues, is based on a belief in “independent curiosity, openness to experience, disciplined inquiry and analysis,

reasoned judgement, and the appreciation of originality” (*ibid.*). This, he contends, has been a predominant feature of intellectual activity in most countries throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It upholds the belief in scholarship and systematic thought and offers a way of thinking about knowledge which has been adopted and practised in university settings and which has in fact come to characterise these settings.

However the rational-empirical outlook is also a uniquely Western European invention based on the scholarly traditions of an earlier classical humanism. This world-view posits “a unitary cultural tradition formed around a classical humanism in a Christian reinterpretation.” (*ibid.*). In this respect the world is typically seen as that of an essentially orderly ‘totality’ (Bauman, 1987, p.3). Knowledge then, is linked to procedural rules which “assure the attainment of truth, the arrival at a valid moral judgement [...] The procedural rules have a universal validity.” (*ibid.*p.4ff). Much intellectual effort is directed towards an accurate construction of methods by which universally valid truths may be ascertained. While other scholarly traditions across time and cultures have also constructed parallel approaches, the rational-empirical model is an argument for ‘modernity’ based upon a loosening *Western* Christian perception of the world. It is this tradition which has been extensively critiqued in postmodern and postcolonial writings largely because this approach has spread, under colonial jurisdiction, to other cultures, in other parts of the globe and adopted by the intellectual corps of non-western nations which are largely located within universities.

The preoccupation with western traditions in colonised territories is problematic for local and indigenous inhabitants who wish to maintain reference points within their own culture. The presumption of ‘modernity’ with its western trappings of universality was entirely foreign to indigenous intellectual traditions in the nineteenth century. Shils contends that the ‘foreignness’ of western traditions, “was underscored by their

association with foreign conquerors who imposed their hegemony on the indigenous society, supplanting or dominating the traditional political elites.” (Shils, p.87ff). Thus approaches to knowledge and the march of imperialism and foreign control in distant territories can be seen to be inextricably entwined. The creation of an intellectual dependence upon the metropolitan culture for meaning is a hallmark of colonialism. The incorporation of an intellectual elite into the universities is therefore predicated on an assumption that those intellectuals will, at some point, exercise their intellectual authority in ways that demonstrate allegiance to a central value system which in turn, is linked to the metropolitan centre. This has certainly been the case in New Zealand, although the intellectual authority of the West is in a period of decline, as local and indigenous intellectuals from within New Zealand and around the Pacific, begin to reconstruct intellectual boundaries around the subject disciplines.

In addition to the proliferation of rational-empirical or modernist approaches across intellectual communities around the world, there is a further intellectual school which has been absorbed into the metropolitan psyche. This movement is romantic nationalism and from its beginnings in Europe as a literary movement of cultural protest it has been adopted by scholars and folklorists in the tasks of nation-building, empire-building and government. Scholars of the romantic period were concerned with a growing sense of ‘otherness’ and discontent within their own rapidly industrialising societies. European civilisation, they believed, was in a state of hubris. Their disaffection was expressed by the desire to return to a state of innocence within the natural world without the accoutrements of civilisation. The ‘simple’ existence of life amongst ‘primitive’ peoples and country folk was romanticised accordingly. Linke (1997) argues that images of absence “came to dominate the European concept of otherness: the perceived lack of such social institutions as law, government, or religion was seen as the essence of “primitive” or “uncivilised” existence.” (Linke, 1997, p.99). Linke further argues that

these perceptions were “reinforced by the selective focus of early ethnographic reports on nudity, cannibalism, witchcraft, and violence among aborigines and peasants [...] The symbolic construction of such an antithetical world, the formulation of a counterreality through metaphors of otherness, conveyed an implicit critique of European society.” (*ibid.*).

The romantic movement tied in nicely with the imperial project as Europeans made their way across the globe to settle in distant countries where the presence of indigenous peoples provided a counterpoint to their own societies. However in the process, their own sense of ‘otherness’ was greatly exacerbated. This fed the romantic desire to knit together a common heritage from diverse populations, not only of British and Maori descent, but also Scottish, Irish, Dutch, French, Dalmatian and many other peoples. To this end, the quest for a national lore was an essential element in the move towards national unification. Part of romantic scholarship was the fascination with narrative genres. The oral traditions of the Maori and the rapidly crystallising class system of the Pakeha ‘pioneers’ provided good material for the collection of ‘folk’ wisdom. These collected narratives on Maori and settler lives provided much of the fodder for the construction of a national imagining as well as fuelling the cause for nationalist movements in New Zealand in the latter part of the twentieth century. The myths of pioneering in the rugged New Zealand bush and the romantic visions of Maori primitivism became part of the intellectual’s stock-in-trade when discussing the state of the nation. Later, when universities absorbed local and non-affiliated public intellectuals into their midst, they incorporated and institutionalised many of the images of the nation which were generated in the early colonial period, as part of the scholarship on New Zealand. In this respect narrative genres, which according to Linke are the methodological basis of romantic folklore, can be seen as intellectual tools in the political construction of nationhood. For the romantics, the production of a common

folklore and folk culture provided a foundational basis for the political centralisation of government, as Linke explains in relation to German folklore “[d]uring this era of nation-building, the romanticized life-world of peasants served as a template for the political identity of an emerging modern state.” (*ibid.* p.128).

The appropriation of culture as a meaningful construct by scholars, grammarians, lexicographers and folklorists, enabled local identities and languages to be subsumed into a unitary form (*ibid.*). The rationalisation of local meanings into an all-embracing rational system made the management of the cultural sphere, by governments and their intellectual elites, more possible. It also instilled a sense of historical situatedness into the citizenry.

The creation of a post-Independence nation in this manner gave an outlet and a means of expression for a sense of community in the absence of a concept of empire. If the empire had fallen, the ‘nation-state’ was waiting in the wings to take its place, and like the notion of empire, the imagining of the nation-state also contained elements of ‘utopia’. Benedict Anderson’s definition of the nation is that “it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.” (Anderson, 1983, p.6). He contends that a nation is *imagined* because there exists a fundamental belief in the communion of the members, even though “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them.” (*ibid.*). He adds that these communities are distinguished, not by the fact that they are *invented* (or imagined), but by the style in which they are imagined (*ibid.*). He further argues that nations are imagined as *limited* because all of them have “finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations” (*ibid.* p.7). The nation is imagined as *sovereign* with the central concept of freedom within and of, the notion of the sovereign state. Finally he suggests that the nation is imagined as a *community* because “the nation

is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.” (*ibid.*). The role of intellectuals in imagining the nation is therefore both a political and social cultural act, because to ‘imagine’ the nation is not only a way of communicating social myths to the populace, it is to actively engage in creating it and engineering certain of its cultural dimensions.

3.1.2. Empire, masculinity and the construction of knowledge

The construction of the nation and the part played in this by intellectuals in New Zealand can be closely linked to British ideals of masculinity and imperialism. During the late nineteenth century, at the peak of British foreign control, a new Englishman was emerging in the British imagination. The earlier exploration, ‘discovery’ and settlement of new worlds by British explorers instituted new dreams of heroic endeavour and ‘manliness’ in the nineteenth century British population. As new dominions were ‘conquered’ and brought under the control of Britain, the new national ‘hero’ came to be associated with the imperial empire-builder who sought adventures in exotic and unfamiliar lands.

During the Victoria era, ‘manly pursuits’ in the territories included activities such as big-game hunting, mountaineering, safaris and military campaigning. These pursuits were faithfully recorded by new photographic technology and circulated amongst an enthusiastic British public (Ryan, 1997). In addition adventure stories in boys papers, penny-dreadfuls and shilling-shockers enjoyed enormous popularity (Bristow, 1991). Changing approaches to the teaching of reading and writing in British schools also led to the increased use of adventure stories in boys classrooms during the late 1800s. British boys could fantasise themselves as heroes in daydreams of adventures in exotic, ‘untamed’ and ‘savage’ parts of the globe (Rutherford, 1997, p.12). In time these ideals came to represent an aspect of British masculinity that was to form the basis of the

national culture and empire. Rutherford argues that the public schools were to become the 'nurseries of empire'. These ideals, circulated in the public schools, were also to provide a focus for the aspirations of the upper class and the upper-middle-class (*ibid.* p.15). In this respect, the foreign adventure story used widely in popular boy's magazines and in schools, tied the imperial project to the British national imagining. Masculinity was geared towards a patriotic vision of a unified imperial nation and was implicated in the creation of an elite of British soldiers, explorers and administrators (*ibid.* p.19). Oxford University took up the patriotic challenge and by the beginning of the twentieth century could boast that it had educated a score of Governors-General, that it had examined and educated many Indian scholars for careers in the Indian Civil Service, established an Indian Institute, and had by 1905, with the appointment of the first professor of Colonial History, Hugh Egerton, become a Mecca for colonial scholars (Madden & Fieldhouse, 1982). Increasingly, the British Universities, led by Oxford and Cambridge, came to be involved in the education of 'manly men' and 'eager natives' to serve in the colonies. It is suggested in a later chapter that these visions of masculinity and imperialism were shared by many of the early founding professors of the University of New Zealand and that these notions had an impact on the development of educational priorities in the colony.

In addition the rise in popularity of the literary genre of travel writing, particularly when texts were illustrated with photographic images, became important to the imperial project. The excitement of travel in distant and 'uncivilised' lands was projected to the British public as a self-improving and patriotic activity (Willinsky, 1998). However fuelling the British thirst for adventure and travel had an impact on the construction of knowledge which was to shape the intellectual boundaries around the academic disciplines within the universities of the Empire.

Geography was one of the first disciplines to emerge triumphantly from imperial rule. In order to manage the Empire, it was necessary to navigate and map its outlying territories. In the muscular age of colonialism British explorers provided the Crown with a physical outline of the Empire in the form of maps. The shorelines, coasts, rivers and mountains of distant countries were rendered visible and manageable by increasingly sophisticated and precise methods of cartography. In this way, the science of mapping with exactitude, the contours of a territory, combined perfectly with the imperial project. The world was 'discovered', explored, reconnoitred, defined, and contained by British subjects in the interests of science, discovery, and the Empire. Schwarz (1996) contends that this process of "mapping the colonial terrains and peoples created new structures of meaning – displacing or destroying previous meaning-systems – and indeed, created a new truth." (p.9).

Certainly geography came to lie at the heart of imperial science. Supported amongst others, by the Victoria League, the Royal Colonial Institute, the Royal Geographical Society and the British military forces, geography came to be recognised as a discrete university discipline. In 1887 the Royal Geographical Society and the British military funded Oxford University's first readership in geography (Willinsky, 1998, p.143). The study of geography was viewed by educationists, government officials and members of imperial societies as crucial to a well-rounded education. In 1902 the Colonial Office Visual Instruction Committee (COVIC), insisted that visual aids were an important teaching tool. It devised an empire-wide scheme of lantern-slide lectures and illustrated textbooks which were aimed to both instruct British people about the empire and colonial audiences about Britain. In essence it was an exercise in colonial imperial propaganda, emphasising imperial unity and citizenship. These slide-shows, depicting the diverse geographies of the empire, were widely shown in schools, universities, church and mission halls, popular theatres and scientific societies. The Victoria League

boasted that in 1906 alone it had shown these lantern-slides to over 18,000 people (Ryan, 1997, p.186-191).

In 1897 The Queen's Empire, an illustrated journal issued in twenty-four fortnightly instalments was circulated. Using photographs, each issue covered an aspect of the empire. The journal was instructional in tone and stressed both the geographical variety and immensity of the empire, as well as its unity. This journal was used in classrooms, universities and imperial institutions in New Zealand and around the globe, particularly for teaching geography (*ibid.* p.183-186). In this regard it can be seen that the development of academic disciplines in colonial environments had both a pedagogical as well as a cultural bias.

The natural sciences also underwent a substantial reconfiguration during imperial rule. John Willinsky has argued that the explorer James Cook launched a new age of scientific travel and endeavour. His expeditions of the South Pacific, commissioned by the Royal Society between 1768 and 1780, were conducted under the rubric of interdisciplinary scientific curiosity, although he was also under secret orders from the British Crown to direct this curiosity towards claiming new lands in the South Pacific. His ships were well equipped with sophisticated laboratory devices to measure, chart, categorise, collect and observe the new physical environments. During his expeditions the transit of Venus was accurately observed, kangaroos were 'discovered', ethnographic surveys were conducted, the New Zealand coastline was charted and thousands of plants, five hundred fish preserved in alcohol, five hundred bird skins and hundreds of mineral specimens were collected and transported back to the Royal Society (Willinsky, p.37).

The scientist-explorers on Cook's voyages brought home a new landscape which evoked another dimension of the world to the British public but also provided new approaches and structures for the natural sciences. Bernard Smith wrote that the "opening of the Pacific is numbered among those factors contributing to the triumph of romanticism and science in the 19th-century world of values" (*ibid.* p.39). Indeed the collected and preserved specimens of the South Pacific fed the romantic European fascination for a return to that state of innocence in a non-urban environment discussed earlier. The strange and exotic exhibits of the South Pacific's natural environment, set alongside the anthropological records of the indigenous inhabitants, seemed to provide an answer for the discontent experienced in the industrial age. If the British countryside was fast disappearing with the growth of factories and industries, the South Pacific offered 'simplicity', 'innocence' and 'exoticism'.

During this period the growing numbers of zoological and botanical gardens and museums across Britain heralded a new age of imperial pedagogy. Collections of plants were studied for their agricultural and pharmacological qualities. Animals were displayed and studied for their commercial properties (e.g food, ivory). Museums held collections of cultural artefacts from other races. These gardens and museums aimed to excite the imagination, but also to educate. Thus they combined scientific inquiry with public curiosity and pleasure. The passion for the collection and display of such specimens has been linked to an imperialist attitude that the world can be appropriated for Crown use. Willinsky suggests that in harnessing the spectacles of the Empire, an 'exhibitionary pedagogy' emerged whereby the West came to see the world in terms of a lesson in its own achievement. An educated public was formed around this natural history of the world. Willinsky further suggests that this pedagogical thrust was also, at its core, a nation-building and race-defining exercise (p.85). The exotic 'Other', whether it be bird, plant, mineral, or human, was taken from its context and re-defined within the

zoos, gardens, museums, classrooms, laboratories and learned societies of the British Empire. These collections created new structures and priorities for academic disciplines, but they also provided a nostalgic reminder to a romantic audience, of 'how the world was meant to be'.

Imperialism, Willinsky contends, was literally a quest for global forms of knowledge (p.111). Ryan adds that the technology of photography was also used to transmit images of wild-life in distant territories, although he suggests that many of the photographs that were displayed in public places and in journals often showed game-hunters standing beside dead animals. These, he says, were less specimens of natural history than trophies of the imperial hunter-explorer (p.126). Nonetheless these images transmitted a new ideal of education, the gentleman scholar of the Enlightenment was now transformed into a 'fearless empire-builder'. These more robust ideals of education wedded well with an emerging British masculinity in the colonies.

A greater emphasis on literature, and particularly English literature, as an academic discipline also supported some of these educational ideals. By 1880 attendance at British elementary schools was compulsory and this facilitated an increased national literacy. The emerging academic study of English literature in schools and universities provided a focus for middle class men and women who wished to join the educated elite (Bristow, 1991, p.29). But within the discipline's hidden curriculum, concepts of Englishness vital to imperialism were also transmitted (see Kipling's work for example). Bristow argues that poetry, as a vehicle for patriotism, was never far from the minds of key literary educators (*ibid.* p.28). Thus English literature with its corresponding values of Englishness became a central part of school and university curricula throughout the empire.

But nowhere was the stamp of imperialism more visible than in the social sciences. Rich (1990) contends that prior to World War Two the social sciences were largely marginalised in English intellectual culture. Structural functionalist theory lay at the heart of British sociology and anthropology and the field of inquiry rested on a narrow empiricism that eschewed grand theory (Rich, 1990, p.92). Rich suggests that sociology and anthropology adopted the basic principles of Victorian evolutionary theory and projected them, more or less wholesale, into the twentieth century (*ibid.* p.93). Unlike subjects such as geography, English literature, botany, biology and zoology – sociology and anthropology had not attracted a high degree of institutional patronage. These fields subsequently tended to languish in piecemeal local case studies and were divided by rival schools of thought.

However at the peripheries of the empire, there emerged a desire to generate a more coherent social theory (*ibid.* p.92). The social anthropology of Bronislaw Malinowski and the London School of Economics during the inter-war years spearheaded a new movement into social theory, which had earlier been largely dismissed by social theorists in the British metropolis. An emerging interest in the sociology of race led to moral critiques of ‘racism’ or ‘racialism’ in the field of sociology. In the field of anthropology, an academic revolution took place, whereby the colonial periphery rebelled against the intellectual mores of the metropolitan centre and instituted a brand of social theory which navigated the inner mechanisms of culture (*ibid.* p.93). Interest in anthropological fieldwork amongst ‘tribal’ societies grew during the 1890s and early 1900s and during this time important disciplinary links were forged between sociology and anthropology.

British sociological discussion on race in the early twentieth century tended to focus on the mainstream liberal perspective of promoting harmonious relations between

‘advanced’ and ‘backward’ peoples (*ibid.* p.95). Moreover many Victorian ideas on race were derived from anthropological methods on the physical measurement of the races (*ibid.* p.100). Throughout the 1930s, sociological discussion of race tended to echo ideas of both the anthropometric classification into racial types and the classification of different blood groups as a means of discovering the patterns of settlement of different ‘races’ (*ibid.*). Social scientists in the colonies expended a great deal of energy measuring the skull sizes and mapping differences in the body shapes of different peoples in an attempt to establish a biological basis of difference between ‘primitives’ and Europeans. Again, photography was an important tool in these investigations. Photographs of naked and semi-naked black women were used for both scientific and ‘artistic’ purposes. Ryan suggests that these images of the ‘colonial Venus’ became an important element within the iconography of the South Pacific as an exotic paradise (Ryan, *op. cit.* p.145). They also provided a visual record of races facing extinction.

In 1866 for example, the commercial photographer, Charles Woolley was commissioned to photograph the last remaining indigenous Tasmanians for display at the Intercolonial Exhibition in Melbourne. One photograph in particular captured the colonial and academic imagination. This was an image of a woman called Trucanini. The photograph was reproduced extensively in journals and exhibitions throughout the empire and came to stand as an icon of a vanished race. Woolley was concerned with using photography to capture racial ‘types’. Trucanini’s photograph served this purpose particularly when she became the sole remaining survivor of her people in 1869. Anthropological interest in her remained high and some two years after her death, her remains were exhumed (against express agreement that her bones would not be shown in public) and her skeleton was set up as an exhibit in the Tasmanian Museum in 1905 (*ibid.* p.140-142.)

Certainly academic and scientific interest in 'race' classification had a commercial aspect. Commercial photographers travelled the colonies picturing exotic and little-known peoples for consumption by a British market hungry for portraits of romantic 'savagery'. Much of this commercial activity, although focused on the 'picturesque', came to be associated with discourses on ethnology and anthropology (*ibid.*).

Oxford University established a Diploma Course in Anthropology in 1908. It was the first of its kind to be instituted in a British University and was the brain child of classicists such as Gilbert Murray, Arthur Evans and R.R. Marrett. In addition to taking anthropometric approaches, these academics with their background in classical studies, took a particular interest in Indian tribal society. However they tended to relate what they saw to their own disciplinary origins. Richard Symonds, himself an Oxford scholar, writes that these anthropologists "tended to see Indian tribal society through Homer's eye, recognising how ancestor worship determined laws of inheritance, and how minor gods presided over boundaries, rock, and trees: even the shape of a village courtyard would remind them how Penelope's suitors were trapped by Odysseus." (Madden & Fieldhouse, 1982, p.65ff). Again it can be seen that societies, unfamiliar to a British academic audience, could be taken from their contexts and appropriated by the colonial gaze and translated into cultural contexts which had more meaning for British scholars. At the same time this cultural transferral also threatened to render the original contexts of those 'tribal' societies meaningless. In removing rock specimens, plants, animal carcasses and human beings from their contexts and placing them in an entirely different one, new frames of meaning must necessarily emerge.

By the time the British Empire had ended, all branches of learning and scholarship had been affected. New academic disciplines were established and the old ones were recast in the ordering of the new world. Colonial rule, as Willinsky points out, "gave rise to a

new class of knowledge workers in the universities, government offices, industry and professional devoted to colonial conquest by classification and categorization.” (Willinsky, p.25ff). This is the legacy of higher education in New Zealand and it was the scholars of this era who established the university system. It remains to be asked then, what is the role of the university in the future for New Zealand?

1.4.1. The role of intellectual labour in the New Zealand university

It is argued here that intellectual labour in New Zealand is the product of both academic and non-university activities. However, following Connor’s ideas, I have argued that the university in New Zealand has undertaken a role in the mediation of culture (Connor, 1989). Connor argues that the university is one of the institutions in society that has the task of defining the social sphere. As such, it has the authority to legitimate the products and activities that emerge from the cultural domain. He further argues that the university has a tacit role in defining what the cultural domain is, and where it is heading in the future. The university is not the only institution that has this authority, nor is it necessarily the primary one within any society, but its functions rest on an assumption of expertise in the social and cultural domain.

The definition of society and culture that is imagined and communicated from within the university walls is therefore vulnerable to the particular social milieu from which academics themselves are drawn. As mentioned earlier, the staff at Victoria University, like the staff of most universities, often have fundamentally different intellectual world-views, but they tend to share similar social and cultural priorities. The imaginings of academics with strong Maori and Pacific Nations or working class backgrounds for example, may well add seasoning and spice to the institutional cauldron, but do not often comprise the full menu. The cross-fertilisation of ideas between the academic and non-university intelligentsia after the Second World War provides a focus for the analysis of academic socialisation.

Both postmodern and postcolonial critiques posit a waning of the cultural authority of the West, and certainly indigenous local academics are finding new voices for old knowledge. Keck (1998) suggests that with the passage of peoples along the ancient trade routes of the Pacific and shifts in migration patterns, geographical territories can no longer contain discrete cultures (Keck, 1998, p.3). Interaction between cultures in the Pacific since the nineteenth century has led to significant changes in traditional values and the development of culturally 'hybridised' knowledge, identities and practices. Despite this epistemic hybridity, institutional practice still tends to favour Pakeha perceptions and understandings, and this has implications for Maori students and staff at university. A Maori undergraduate student had this to say of the Socratic method, which is still used in some university courses, although in a highly modified form:

"Take the Socratic method, for example. Even the Pakeha students have a problem with that. You get asked to stand up in front of 100 or more other students and answer questions that are designed to make you feel stupid. I think that for Maori students, there is a basic thing about *whakama* [being shamed or losing face, especially in a public forum]. There's real embarrassment when you go numb and you can't answer the question. That's true for Pakeha students too, but it goes deeper with Maori students. The worst thing you can do to any person, is to bring them low with *whakama*. It's an attack on the mana. It's not just about self-esteem, it's the esteem which you are held in by the wider community, by your family, by everyone [who] is dear to you. To do that to a Maori person in this public way is a very, very bad thing." (Kidman, 1995, p.15).

Comments of this nature reflect an underlying shift in the academic psyche. Scholarly meanings and reference points have begun to move towards New Zealand and the South Pacific, and the universities have attempted to keep pace, at the same time as maintaining their own cultural authority within the social sphere. However Maori and Pacific Nations scholars continue to be a rare presence within the university, particularly at senior levels, and in this respect the institutional hierarchy reflects its own cultural biases. But the increasing visibility accorded to local meanings, combined with new priorities in staffing appointments, indicates that a change is taking place within the structures of disciplinary knowledge. Clashes of cultural traditions within the wider local society suggest that there is a corresponding tension between old and new ways of

defining academia. Within the changing climates of the universities, academics are everywhere caught in the shifting sands of knowledge. But in New Zealand, the permutation of institutional and academic meanings also reflects something of the local conditions.

3.1.4. The limitations of postcolonial theory

Postcolonial theory challenges the eurocentric bias of knowledge and places emphasis on previously marginalised intellectual groups within indigenous settings. However there are limits to postcolonial theory and these also need to be taken into account when applying it to lived situations. One criticism of postcolonial theory has been the problem of representation and privilege. In retrieving local knowledge from the margins and placing it at the centre of postcolonial analysis, scholars run the risk of repeating (in reverse) the mistakes of eurocentric discourse. Soderlind (1994) suggests: "It is in the margin that we academics go looking for authentication, and the privileging of marginality is assuming the proportion of a new epistemological paradigm. Marginality has become the badge of authenticity and at the centre/margin of attention lies the phenomenon of colonization. [...] Within the discipline of literary studies, areas like postcolonialism and feminism have become the battlegrounds of the marginalities. 'I am more marginal than you,' goes the argument, 'therefore I know whereof I speak. Since I am the one who speaks in the margin, I am the one to whom the centre itself should defer.'" (Soderlind, 1994, p.38). Or, as the writer Tejaswini Niranjana (1992) asks, "[h]ow does one represent difference without privileging the role of the Western intellectual or the postcolonial intellectual? How can we extend the meaning of representation while calling it into question?" (Niranjana, 1992, p.169).

This has certainly been a problematic issue for many Maori researchers entering the academic environment of the university. Conflicting allegiances emerge as Maori struggle to find a voice for their experience and knowledge within the structures of academic disciplines and discourses. The Maori academic Marie McCarthy, when

writing her Masters thesis, questioned her own intellectual role and cultural allegiances: “A thesis that is written as a partial requirement for a degree that is conferred by an institution of the state, is in its own way upholding and supporting a state agency, which in turn contributes to its dominance. Am I not contributing to my own people’s oppression whilst upholding the dominance of the state? Contradictions fly in all directions.” (McCarthy, 1992, p.66).

McCarthy argues that “the need for more Maori researchers is fundamentally tied to the notion of self-determination” (p.65). She suggests that:

“[K]nowledge is the source of power. Maori need not only to be in control of that source, but they also need to utilise it as a means of reconstructing a Maori intelligentsia – that is, an intelligentsia built from a Maori philosophical base; an intelligentsia that questions, is creative, and validates Maori culture and language; an intelligentsia committed to Maori and the development of a more self-determining state.” (*ibid.*).

McCarthy argues for the re-establishment of a Maori intelligentsia on political grounds, but while she favours greater centrality of Maori voices in scholarly analysis, she is aware of the problems surrounding cultural representation within the academy.

On the other hand, other local researchers view ‘life in the margins’ as simply, ‘better’. Pania Te Whaiti in her work Rangatiratanga (1992), writes that she has placed Maori thoughts and analyses “first above those of non-Maori academics [...] simply because I believe that Maori voices are more appropriate to comment on the complexities of their existence” (*ibid.* p.9). On one hand this is a laudable aim. However there is also a danger that the margin/centre of analysis becomes the whole point of conducting research to the exclusion of other viewpoints. Dualistic cultural conflicts are reinforced and these dichotomies risk becoming oversimplified. For example:

“[t]his work is an acknowledgement of the reality in which Maori live today i.e. while the content is Maori, the structure and institutional acceptance by which it has been limited was Pakeha.” (Te Whaiti, 1992, p.5).

Where cultural, political and social marginalisation are expressed in terms of simple polarisation, academic research risks going into a cultural free-fall where the only valid points of reference are those of cultural difference within a determinist framework. This is ultimately a similar positioning to romantic scholarship whereby life amongst the ‘Other’ is valorised over having to operate within dominant social norms. In this case the imagined face of ‘utopia’ is Maori, not Pakeha, and mimicry of these epistemological structures serves to reinforce eurocentric models of reasoning, albeit in reverse.

3.2. Hermeneutic interpretation and ethnography

Postcolonial theory offers much to the analysis and critique of the intellectual climate of non-Western universities. However Western theorists have themselves also been long aware of the need for new theoretical paradigms which offer alternatives to rational-empirical outlooks. This is evidenced in debates which have taken place within the Sociology of Knowledge since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, particularly in Germany. Known as the *Methodenstreit*, the battle for meaning was staged within the arena of the Arts and Humanities (*Geisteswissenschaften*) between positivists and interpretivists. Social science positivists favoured the adoption of natural science (and hence, Enlightenment) methodologies, while their opponents attacked this foundational basis of knowledge arguing for a greater degree of interpretive world-view.

Alongside the latter, Karl Mannheim was to critique the crumbling concept of knowledge and ‘timeless reason’ offered by the Enlightenment. Intellectuals, he argued, have a critical role in society. The intelligentsia exist to articulate and systematise the ideas that correspond to different social strata (Longhurst, 1989, p.12). In doing this,

they reveal the underlying world-view (*Weltanschauung*) that structures any given society. The intelligentsia have the task of gauging the spirit of the age through an analysis and interpretation of its documentary cultural products. The *Weltanschauung* of an age, he argues in his essay 'On the Interpretation of *Weltanschauung*', can only be obtained through the indirect route of interpretation. Narrowly empirical methodologies aimed at revealing universal truths are not sufficiently flexible in describing the intangible qualities of an age. The zeitgeist can not be measured with callipers or weighed on a set of scales, it can only be captured by intellectuals trained in the task of decoding its metaphors.

This is an important shift in the attitude towards knowledge in the West and indicates a struggle within intellectual circles both about the nature of knowledge and the role of intellectuals in articulating it. Both these influences were at work during the height of the British Empire and while some scholars spent time in the field measuring data with a variety of elaborate instruments, others in the field attempted to look for meanings and relativities. Nonetheless both positivists and interpretivists undertook what Bauman (1987) describes as a 'legislator' role (p.4). The legislator role is one that consists of making authoritative statements which arbitrate in controversies of opinions "and which select those opinions which, having been selected, become correct and binding" (*ibid.*).

Bauman argues that a typically postmodern strategy of intellectual work currently being promoted by the universities is characterised by the desire to 'translate' statements made within one tradition so that they can be understood within the system of knowledge based on another tradition. This strategy is intended to facilitate communication between autonomous (sovereign) participants and is realised in techniques such as Geertz's 'thick description'. Here the scholar must maintain the delicate balance between two conversing traditions without distorting the conventions and meanings of either (p.5).

However the problem remains that intellectuals retain their meta-professional authority by legislating the procedural rules which allow them to maintain a conversation between traditions, mediate between them, arbitrate where necessary, and make statements which are regarded as authoritative and final. The defining power of intellectuals and scholars in society, despite being battered by funding cuts and lack of resources in education systems around the world, therefore remains as absolute today as in the hey-day of the British Empire. It is with trepidation then that aspects of interpretive and hermeneutic theory are adopted here.

Of relevance is the interpretive theory of culture of Clifford Geertz. Geertz views culture as an 'acted document', that is, that culture is constituted within complex, interlocking systems of established codes. The task of the ethnographer is to record, or 'thickly describe', the symbolic dimensions and codes of social behaviour in order to render them intelligible to others outside the studied social context (Geertz, 1993, p.5-28). "Man is an animal", Geertz explains, "suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning." (*ibid.* p.5).

In this respect the notion of the symbolic construction of the university as a cultural community is relevant. Following Anthony Cohen (1985), symbolic interaction interpretations of the social, institutional and intellectual codes of the academic environment into which people are socialised are used here. Cohen suggests that the concept of community implies both similarity and difference. The members of the group, in this case the academics, believe they share characteristics in common which distinguish them from other groups. While members recognise certain important differences between themselves, they also suppose themselves to be more like each other

than like members of other communities. Citing Geertz, Cohen uses the analogy of social webs of significance to describe human social interaction. The community consists of various, complex webs of significance which are continually created and recreated by people in interaction with each other. The community is therefore a fluid entity in continuous process which responds to the exigencies of interaction. It is not a pre-ordained structure. In addition the concept of community allows the people within to perceive and attach meaning to social behaviour. In this respect the community is where one learns and practices how to be 'social'. It is the context within which members acquire their culture. This learning of a group culture is not like learning long division, it is not reducible to a body of rules. When people learn to be social it means they are acquiring the symbols which will equip them to operate within the group.

However, the sense of commonalty which is perceived by the members of a community, does not imply a uniformity of aims, ideals or interpretations. Here the community is perceived as an 'aggregating' device which brings diverse individuals together within a common social context, rather than 'integrating' one which brings individuals together with a view to establishing solidarity of purpose. The 'forms' adopted by a community are what defines it, not the content. Thus discord and debate between members about what the community is decide the 'forms' that the community will take at a given time.

Important to the notion of community is the concept of 'boundaries'. Communities are contained within boundaries which are largely symbolic. The symbolic 'boundary' marks the beginning and end of the community and encapsulates the identity of the community within it. Boundaries are marked because communities interact with other entities from which they are, or wish to be distinguished. The manner of marking depends on the community in question. Cohen suggests that "[t]he consciousness of community is then, encapsulated in the perception of its boundaries, boundaries which

are themselves largely constituted by people in interaction” (*ibid.* p.13). This is the symbolic aspect of a community boundary. For this reason people tend to become more highly aware of their community when they are standing at its symbolic boundaries. At the boundaries, members are likely to encounter other cultures and ways of behaving which amplify their sense of difference from other cultures and their loyalty or allegiance towards their own.

Cohen argues that symbols do not so much express meaning as give the community members the capacity to ‘make’ meaning. It is therefore possible for people to share the symbol but they may not necessarily share its meanings (*ibid.* p.15). Symbols become effective devices in the community because they are imprecise. Their meaning is subjective. Members can therefore use symbols to speak a ‘common language’ and to behave in apparently similar ways. Symbols allow people to participate in the same community rituals without imposing a conceptual orthodoxy upon them.

3.3. Postcolonial and interpretive theory within the context of the university

The construction of knowledge within the disciplines is deeply affected by the colonial history of the British Empire. A postcolonial framework is adapted and used in this work to explore socialisation into the disciplinary and intellectual allegiances in a New Zealand university. As argued earlier, the priorities that were formulated during British imperial rule impacted on the rise of certain disciplines. When the knowledge base is founded on imperial principles, it is far from neutral despite its apparent objectivity.

Of particular note is the relation of New Zealand academics and intellectuals towards the Western metropolis and how this has influenced the development of local knowledges. The West/non-West relationship in New Zealand is one of both imitation and difference. The local knowledge base appears more ‘different’ precisely at those moments when it

most attempts to imitate British priorities. The next section explores the ways in which the institutional history of the university in New Zealand has mimicked British systems of higher education and the means by which it has differentiated itself. This process has led to the development of a uniquely postcolonial environment for academic staff, and how they come to perceive the knowledge base of their disciplines is influenced by a postcolonial institutional history

The role of intellectuals within this context is also of primary concern here. Where the disciplinary structure has responded to, and been shaped by, specific cultural and historical practices, the voices of intellectuals representing their society are also value-laden. While intellectuals operate at large throughout New Zealand society, the integration of many into the university environment and the means by which they express their professional identities is significant. In New Zealand, academic voices have combined in a unique manner, which has impacted upon the socialisation of academics, and the way they prioritise knowledge.

The structuring of knowledge priorities within the academic disciplines is also influenced by the communal form taken by the university institution. Interpretive or hermeneutic approaches are useful in identifying aspects of the underlying structures of the academic community into which people are socialised. The community's method of distinguishing its boundaries, the forms of ritual, the dimensions of symbolic interaction, all contribute to its self-awareness and means of defining itself. People enter into the academic community and learn its accepted behaviours, but their presence as members, and their interactions with other students and staff, as well as with knowledge, also helps to construct and re-construct meaning within.

CHAPTER 4

DEFINING INTELLECTUAL LABOUR

There is no royal road to the zeitgeist. Intellectual life resists neat charts; to demand precision when culture itself is so imprecise damns an inquiry to trivia.

– Russell Jacoby, (1987), p.xi.

4.1. What is an intellectual?

The social functions and roles of the intellectual have long been contested by intellectuals themselves. The literature in this field throws forward some curious images. From a wistful backward glance to the intellectual as a voice of dissent within the public sphere, to the more faceless, death-in-life positioning of the knowledge professional within the increasingly corporate world of the university, the debate over what an intellectual is, or should be, lingers in the academic community. The debate itself became a symbolic gesture towards the definition of academic identity in the late twentieth century. For what is the argument about academic freedom, if not a desire to define symbolic boundaries? And what is an academic, if he or she is not, at least in some respects, an intellectual? It is worth exploring earlier interpretations of intellectual labour when analysing the work of academics in New Zealand.

4.1.1. Antonio Gramsci's organic and traditional intellectuals

Antonio Gramsci's vision of the roles and functions of the intellectual was shaped during the years of his political imprisonment at Turin, in the south of Italy during the late 1920s and 1930s (Joll, 1983, p.72). His work on the political and social functions of intellectuals, formed during Mussolini's Fascist regime, has had a lasting impact on how intellectual communities are defined. He continues to be cited in the literature in this field, particularly by notable postcolonial writers such as Edward Said (Said, 1994, p.7).

Gramsci's enduring contribution to the debate on intellectual roles, functions, and identities arises from his discussion of 'organic' and 'traditional' intellectual polarities. He considerably extended the Marxist notion of the socio-political functions of the intellectual with his argument that the revolutionary 'organic intellectual' was one who emerged from the class struggle to form an intellectual vanguard alongside the masses (Cave, 1983, p.158).

Gramsci argued that intellectual activities exist within every social class (Gramsci, 1980, p.118). Such activities are a permanent feature of superstructural relations. He therefore questioned the value of seeking a unitary criterion within the intellectual sphere alone which would both characterise intellectual activities and distinguish them from the activities of other social groupings (*ibid.* p.120). Rather he argued that intellectual activities must be examined within the wider context of social relations within which these activities take place. In other words, he contends that intellectual activities are common across the range of social groupings, and cannot be separated easily from other kinds of work. This argument is encapsulated in his much-quoted statement: "All men are intellectuals ... but all men do not have the function of intellectuals in society." (*ibid.* p.121). Thus if social and revolutionary change is to be effected, it is necessary to create a self-consciously new class of intellectuals from within the ranks of the proletariat.

The Gramscian intellectual-of-the-people was one who directly combined a philosophical mission with a political programme in order to forge a confidently proletarian culture (Diggins, 1989, p.141). The 'organic' intellectual was aware of oppressive historical and political forces at work in society, and through politically aligning with the workers, earned a role as their teacher (Cave, *op. cit.* p.157).

In opposition to the organic intellectual, Gramsci posited the more static identity of the 'traditional' intellectual. The traditional intellectual operated within the hegemonic web of knowledge constructed by the ruling class. As an agent of the dominant order, this intellectual, while claiming independence from the contemporary dominant group, in fact decisively helped to maintain and reproduce existing social patterns through the

artifice of autonomy and neutrality (Ransome, 1992, p.193). In Gramsci's view the traditional intellectuals, solidly located within the ranks of the professions such as law, the Church and academia, lacked credibility as revolutionary leaders within the class struggle.

While Gramsci differentiated between organic and traditional intellectuals, he recognised that in the struggle to power, those organic intellectuals of the revolution ultimately assume the functions of traditional intellectuals. In serving the victors of a new social order they must in turn be displaced by the next wave of organic intellectuals.

Key elements of Gramsci's argument have influenced later definitions of intellectual identity. Gramsci's notion that intellectuals, with their knowledge of changing historical factors in social relations, have a vital role in explaining society back to itself. The role of the intellectual is one of leadership, but it is also a negotiated role. The Gramscian intellectual has the capability of holding a mirror to social relations so that manifestations of power and injustice can be reflected back to the people. Thus a central tenet of intellectual activity is the representation and critique of the social sphere. In conducting this kind of activity intellectuals both align themselves with social groupings outside of their own, as well as differentiate themselves, by virtue of their ability to name socio-political forces, within the social domain.

Furthermore the juxtaposition of organic and traditional intellectuals remains central to more contemporary versions of intellectual roles and identities. This dichotomy emerges in sharp debates about the political affiliations of intellectual communities and their role in public affairs. The notion of intellectuals as voices of political and social dissent is one that haunts most discussions about the functions of such communities. Many commentators argue that the ideological stance of late twentieth century intellectual communities is left-wing in nature, or at least critical of predominant social and superstructural arrangements and patterns. This assumption, to be examined in the next section, forms part of the symbolic boundaries of intellectual communities. Whether

such communities are indeed politically motivated or otherwise, is beyond the scope of this argument. What appears in varying definitions of intellectual identity is the recurring assumption of humanist political sympathies. It is argued that this assumption forms an underlying thread to how intellectuals seek to define themselves, to negotiate meaning within their communities, and to differentiate their roles and functions from those of other social groupings.

4.1.2. Factors influencing the professional socialisation and integration of intellectuals

Gramsci's work on the responsibilities of intellectuals continues to be influential, however his death in 1937 came at a time when the role of intellectuals was in rapid transition. The Great Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War led to unprecedented changes in global economies. In turn the role of intellectuals internationally changed to reflect shifting patterns of cultural consumption. By the close of the Second World War, in less than a generation, intellectuals had already begun to be absorbed into the fabric of a new post-war society. From persistent social images of intellectuals as alienated individuals, there began to emerge a new class of knowledge professional, which took its legacy from an organic or 'public' intellectual heritage but which merged elements of traditional intellectual behaviours. The following sections identify key characteristics of intellectual behaviour and examine how these have led to a re-definition of intellectual labour production.

4.1.3. Alienation and integration

An enduring pre-Depression image of the intellectual, is that of an alienated individual. In England, Europe and the United States, intellectuals were often classed by themselves, and by their own societies, as fringe-dwelling bohemians distanced from mainstream society. In English society in the 1920s, leading literary intellectuals "made something of a fashion of alienation." (Fyvel, 1968, p.33). Fyvel argues that in the first decade after 1914-1918, British intellectuals made it clear that they felt alienated from the English bourgeoisie (*ibid.* p.33). T.S. Eliot was their cultural hero, expressing most

directly their own sense of ennui and pessimism with a disintegrating society (*ibid.* p.36). It is hardly surprising that after a devastating war in Europe and the gradual dismantling of the British Empire, it seemed that society itself could not survive.

Yet more was still to come, the economic effect of the Depression years took a heavy toll on intellectuals. From operating at the so-called fringes of society, those intellectuals with private incomes who were previously able to spend some or most of their days in some form of unpaid intellectual activity, were suddenly forced to look for work. Fyvel maintains that while intellectuals of the 1920s had expressed radical discontent with English society, by the 1930s they had certainly swung more heavily to the Left, but were also increasingly concerned with the need to earn a living (*ibid.* p.39).

In the United States too, intellectuals viewed the disintegrating economy, with the hope that the middle-class might join with the workers and with the poor, if not in revolution, then at least a New Deal (Pells, 1985, p.183). However the reduced personal circumstances and financial insecurity of many intellectuals overshadowed this swing to the Left at that time. Ultimately the Depression years led to a shift in the alienated image of intellectuals because it was difficult for them to maintain an attitude of distance from a society upon which they were dependent for employment. Thus public intellectuals gradually began a process of professional integration with their society.

The Second World War provided ample opportunities for the employment of erstwhile free-lancing, public intellectuals. In the United States many artists and academics, being highly educated and often fluent in more than one language, found that they were readily able to find employment in the intelligence or propaganda fields of war work (*ibid.* p.9). This work could also be justified from the leftist perspective of fighting Hitler and fascism.

British intellectuals generally maintained a leftist, if somewhat elitist demeanour throughout the war years. As George Orwell remarked in 1940, "They – the English intelligentsia – take their cookery from Paris and their opinions from Moscow. In the

general patriotism of the country they form a sort of island of dissident thought.” (*ibid.* p.52).

However the British intellectuals, like their American counterparts, also became heavily involved with the war effort and could be found in areas such as broadcasting, defence, economics as well as in military campaigns. This work has been seen as a type of ‘socialisation’ period for intellectuals, as Fyvel maintains, it was “a sort of rehearsal for their integrated role in the affluent society of today, whether in team work in research, or team work in mass entertainment and communications, or team work in the various forms of planning of the public services.” (Fyvel, *op.cit.* p.51).

Thus the image of intellectuals as being sharply differentiated from other social groupings prior to the 1930s had shifted considerably by the end of the Second World War. This change in lifestyle, brought about by economic instability and a lengthy period of war, led to a transformation of intellectual labour. Where previously the intellectual was perceived as a solitary figure voicing unpopular or controversial opinions at the outskirts of a disintegrating world, by the end of the 1940s intellectual labour was beginning to solidify into a more organised professional activity condoned, even sought after, by governments and private enterprise. The free-lance writer, for example could find secure employment as a literary technician in film, or television, or advertising. The highly educated gentleman-scholar could always join the civil service, and the independent intellectual could seek work within a university.

Shils (1990) contends that since 1940 the appointment of academic intellectuals as advisers or counsellors or experts has become almost universal (Shils 1990, p.266). He adds that while governments are more distrusted and denounced by intellectuals today than they were perhaps a century ago, there are nonetheless more intellectuals entering the service of governments in the “performance of ‘mission-oriented’ research and of ‘contract research’ as well as by service in governmental research institutions and private laboratories.” (*ibid.* p.298). Thus there is an uncomfortable split for intellectuals between the independent voice of the social critic and that of a paid employee.

Wilford (1995) however, takes a longer view of this transformation of intellectual labour. He argues that the production of intellectual labour has in fact been in transformation since the mid to late nineteenth century with the “emergence of industrial capitalism and the accompanying growth of the centralised, bureaucratic state.” (p.10). This, he says, “created an increased demand on the part of industry and government for managers, scientists, educators and propagandists.” (*ibid.*). “Consequently,” he adds, “patronage of intellectual activity passed out of the hands of the aristocracy into those of industrialists and bureaucrats.” (*ibid.*). Thus the professionalisation of intellectuals was signalled well before the Depression of the 1930s.

This is a powerful argument. Most societies with administrative institutions have turned to intellectuals to serve them at one time or another. While the Depression and the war years crystallised the pattern of intellectual professionalisation in Europe and the United States, it is unlikely that these events on their own created the circumstances whereby integration would occur. It is therefore worth recognising that intellectual activity, despite pervasive images of isolation and alienation, is linked to the wider issues of labour production in industrialised societies.

Furthermore it is likely that the perception of the early social alienation of intellectuals, which is widespread in the literature in this field, is just that – a perception – and one that appears to be linked to a type of lost world or ‘golden age’ nostalgia for a time when intellectuals were free to speak their own minds. In reality the freedom to speak or to critique one’s own society has always been a relative one, tempered by the laws and prejudices of the time and by the conflicting demands of one’s economic survival. Yet the very persistence of this image is a symbolic reminder to intellectuals of their responsibilities and their membership to the social group. Even as a fictive memory, it seems to serve the underlying purpose of providing intellectuals with a means of viewing their identity as a group. The sense of loss, even if it is the loss of a freedom never really enjoyed, differentiates intellectuals from other communities. In creating this kind of group mythology, intellectuals can form allegiances to their communities. It can

also help them to understand a little of the increasing professionalisation of their labour. Thus the notion of alienation is central to this argument.

4.1.4. The post-war economy and the rising middle class

Civilian populations in Europe experienced an unprecedented scale of destruction during the war and it took time to rekindle an equilibrium. While a war-torn Europe had the task of rebuilding what had been lost, America's experience of the post-war period was that of burgeoning affluence. It emerged victorious from the 1940s as the strongest economic and military power in the world. The economy of post-war America ushered in an ebullient time of new growth. While Britain watched the dismantling of its eroded empire, Americans built extravagant new territories in the suburbs.

Between 1946 and 1958, eighty-five percent of all non-farming housing in America was built outside central city areas (Pells, p.196). Most construction after the war was in new residential areas, while downtown and commercial areas were left largely undeveloped. A corresponding urban decline matched the surge towards suburbia. By 1960, more than forty million American urbanites had migrated to the suburbs (Wilford, p.4).

The post-war baby boom had also set in. The need for new residential areas was matched by the need for new schools. Employment patterns altered to meet the new affluence and the demand for a trained and educated workforce caused an expansion in the schooling sector as well as a significant shift in the patterns of cultural consumption. A new middle class was emerging in American society. It was a relatively leisured class with improved recreational facilities located outside urban centres, yet rather than equalising social divisions, the new middle class tended to amplify rather than smooth over existing class and racial barriers in housing and education (Pells, p.198).

These divisions, always evident in British society, took a parallel form. As the development of housing estates accelerated during the 1950s, a sense of dreariness soon became apparent. The new housing estates had a stultifying sameness. Rather than

expressing the individuality of the occupants, the estates had a mass-produced quality that deadened rather than excited the imagination. It was indeed a period of mass production, from houses to household products, evidence of factory manufactured and cheaply produced consumer items were everywhere (Carey, 1992, p.216). Carey argues that “the massive expansion of suburbia and the antagonisms, divisions and sense of irrecoverable loss it generated were major shaping factors in twentieth century English culture.” (*ibid.* p.50). It is here that another important image of the intellectual emerges.

4.1.5. Urban territories

In contrast to the growing suburbanisation of America and later Britain, intellectuals are believed to have initially shunned the new housing communities on the outskirts of the cities. Writers in this field argue that intellectuals are an essentially urban phenomenon. They are people who need physical spaces to gather. Evidence is cited of Greenwich Village in New York in the early and mid-twentieth century, North Beach in San Francisco, Venice in Los Angeles, particular cafés and bookstores across America, in Europe – the Café Central in Vienna. All of these are urban territories. Jacoby (1987) argues that the quintessential intellectual geography is the city. He suggests that cheap rents, busy streets, cheap eateries tend to attract groups of intellectuals who are then able to form visible communities (*ibid.* p.28). Both Jacoby and Pells contend that when the environment is damaged by urban renewal or economic depression or prosperity, ‘surplus’ intellectuals don’t simply disappear, they disperse. Jacoby comments that “a hundred artists, poets and writers with families and friends in ten city blocks means one thing; scattered across ten states or ten university towns, they mean something else.” (*ibid.*). Yet this exodus, Jacoby believes, has already happened and as a result he argues, intellectual enclaves have more or less ceased to exist as they once did.

Jacoby also cites the need to earn a living as a major contributing factor to the disappearance of an intellectual class in America. The need for a salary, he contends, means that intellectuals are no longer independent. They are aligned with institutions such as universities. “For intellectuals coming of age in the sixties and after,” Jacoby

notes, “life outside the university was not even a memory.” (*ibid.* p.74). Here the alienated intellectual is transformed into an isolated member of the knowledge class. They are no longer alienated, but lacking a community. Jacoby’s influential writing on intellectuals positions them in a similar place to earlier writers on alienation. They are either intellectual anti-heroes standing outside the institutional world of the university (and by his logic, already defeated), or clock-watching professionals angling for promotions and research contracts but with little allegiance to the intellectual community. Following this argument, all (or most) intellectuals are academics located within universities. They have not simply been integrated into society, Jacoby argues, they have been assimilated. Their professional socialisation is no longer that of the independent thinker, but one which relies entirely on university institutions.

4.1.6. Characteristics of an intellectual

At this point, it is possible to summarise some of the key factors in varying definitions of the intellectual. The pre-Depression years intellectual emerges from the literature as someone who:

- was male (with notable exceptions);
- was likely to be supporting a family (therefore usually heterosexual, although with notable exceptions);
- lived in an urban centre;
- harboured leftist sympathies;
- was likely to have independent means; and,
- felt alienated from the mainstream of society.

The post-war intellectual emerges from the literature as someone who:

- is male (with notable exceptions);
- is likely to be supporting a family (therefore usually heterosexual, although with notable exceptions);
- lives in an urban centre;

- perceives a role as critic and conscience of society (see next section);
- requires a salary in order to survive; and,
- is institutionally affiliated, usually to a university.

The latter point regarding university affiliation is interesting. The poststructuralist writer John Frow (1995) argues that in the late twentieth century, cultural consumption has changed to such an extent that the role of education in transmitting the ideology of the ruling class has been lost. Instead he posits the creation of a new ruling class, which he calls the 'knowledge class' (Frow 1995, p.14). In analysing the systems of the production and consumption of knowledge, he situates the intelligentsia within an education system which has become the locus of social power. The intelligentsia, he argues, is a group which bases its unity on its notion of labour, in this case, intellectual labour. It bases its claim on being privy to specialised knowledge. He suggests that knowledge, particularly economically productive knowledge, is not 'owned' by this class although it can be privately appropriated. Rather, "knowledge which is in the public domain circulates within the institutions of science, the professions and education, rather than being the property of its individual users." (*ibid.* p.120). He adds, "[t]he power of the knowledge class is the power of legitimate access to and use of this domain of knowledge, and the power to define what that domain is; but it should not be forgotten that there are other and more decisive powers." (*ibid.*).

Here it can be seen that the new wave of intellectuals retains certain salient features of the Gramscian 'traditional' intellectual. They are institutionally affiliated and dependent on a salary. They are seen to be somehow implicated with the hegemonic discourse of the dominant social group and have access to its instruments of power, which in present times, is posited as power based on access to knowledge. However, traces of the 'organic' intellectual remain. The juxtaposition offered by Gramsci, of traditional and organic intellectuals no longer fits, since those erstwhile organic revolutionary idealists have been largely (although not entirely) absorbed into the institutions of power. A dialectic operates here. The post-war universities adapted to a more liberal approach in

response to the new wave of radicals seeking employment, but perhaps something of the idealism of those professors was worn away through being located within an institution.

Edward Said (1994) on the other hand, suggests that Gramsci's organic intellectual can, with some modifications, still operate within the university, and indeed has a responsibility to do so. "[T]he intellectual," Said says, "is an individual with a specific public role in society... I think the intellectual is an individual endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for, a public." (Said, 1994, p.9). Within the university environment, the professional role is a complex mix of organic and traditional behaviours. As cultural consumption has changed and the nexus of social power has shifted, the role of representing the social sphere, or of explaining society back to itself, is fraught with difficulty. Certainly it is necessary to examine the intellectual activities of academics within the wider context of social relations within which these activities take place.

SECTION TWO

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

‘We are academics. We live in the shadow of our country.’

– Interview participant

‘Despite oneself, one is one’s century.’

– Auguste Comte (Andreski, 1974)

'Dislocation', 'isolation' and 'exile' are underlying themes in a society that has undergone a process of colonisation. The words don't mend, nor can they bind together disparate groups of people who find themselves occupying the same landscape. Yet they are significant concepts in mapping the values of a new society and its ways of perceiving itself. Against this backdrop, the social institutions of education assume a particular flavour and identity.

Academic communities rely on the intellectual labour of their workers. Intellectual workers in a nation such as New Zealand, which has emerged from a period of colonial rule, must construct identities around a society engaged in the construction of a national identity as well as in response to the exigencies of their disciplines. Consequently, intellectual labour acquires distinctive characteristics that reflect a combination of historical circumstances, which in turn influence and distinguish particular academic communities. Intellectual labour is therefore infused with meanings drawn from local surroundings. However, in New Zealand, the institutional structure also developed from a colonial past, and the idiosyncratic character of the academic community that came to inhabit it. As a result, meanings and intellectual identity are drawn from *both* international and local reference points. Many of the international reference points have originated in the metropolitan West, and sometimes sit uncomfortably alongside local and indigenous awarenenses. A complicated institutional and academic structure emerges from this combination of forces, which is both like, and unlike, universities in the West.

The colonial history of New Zealand has had a direct influence on development of higher education. The site University was established during a period when both Maori and Pakeha identities were in transition. This informed the disciplinary priorities that were formulated during this time, as well as the way in which the institution developed in response to the nation-building exercise that was taking place around it. The legacy of British colonisation is evident in the disciplinary and institutional practices that developed after the Second World War, and continue to be embedded in current practice.

CHAPTER 5

In post-war New Zealand, the academic community in New Zealand was characterised by a period of professional integration between intellectuals in the public sphere and university-educated scholars. This was also the case in other parts of the world, but in New Zealand it happened at a much slower rate and this affected the composition of the staff at the University. Unique aspects of intellectual labour in New Zealand begin to appear when post-war intellectual workers in New Zealand are profiled (in a similar manner to the profile developed in Chapter four). This succession of fusions, and the intellectual hybridisation that has resulted, has lent a particularly piquant seasoning to the present University institution.

hopelessly blind, to look back and see how themselves are gone? ... We
are old and can walk, and the returned soul, ... enough to show that anything
else, was made and made to be used to be a thing ... the integration of a
country from the beginning of 1945 ...
— Robin Hyde, *New Zealand notes*

This chapter provides an historical analysis of higher education in New Zealand with particular reference to the old University. The early history and institutional memory of the University is framed by its colonial context, and this has had an impact on the processes of academic socialisation that developed later. Much of the material in this chapter has been revised for publication prior to completion of this study (Richardson, 1999).

5.1: The historical context: identity and location

Settler colonies have never been sites of congruous racial contacts or assimilation which are based on linguistic, racial or religious homogeneity. They experience instead a kind of 'mosaic' reality, in which a series of groups and processes interact to produce and construct identity (A. J. H. G. Smith & Tiffin, 1993, p. 141). The spread of the British Empire during the nineteenth century led to a period of breakdown of distinct cultures and sense of location as different peoples adopted this 'mosaic' range of new

CHAPTER 5

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND: COLONIAL AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS

“North was mostly England or a detour to England ... Our youth, our best, our intelligent, brave and beautiful must make the long migration, under a compulsion they hardly understand; or else be dissatisfied all their lives long ... Where are our nameless, the beautiful and intelligent who went away and died, in wars and otherwise, the beautiful and intelligent who went away and hopelessly failed, or came back and were never themselves any more? ... We are old and can wait, said the untamed soil ... although it, more than anything else, was awake and aware of its need to be a country ... the integration of a country from the looseness of a soil”

– Robin Hyde, New Zealand writer.

This chapter provides an historical analysis of higher education in New Zealand with particular reference to the site University. The early historical and institutional memory of the University is framed by its colonial context, and this has had an impact on the processes of academic socialisation that developed later. Much of the material in this chapter has been revised for publication prior to submission of this study (Kidman, 1999).

5.1. The historical context: identity and location

Settler colonies have never been able to construct simple concepts of nationhood which are based on linguistic, racial or religious homogeneity. They experience instead, a kind of ‘mosaic’ reality, in which a sense of place and placelessness become crucial in constructing identity (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995, p.151ff). The spread of the British Empire during the nineteenth century led to a partial breakdown of distinct cultures and sense of location as different peoples adopted this ‘mosaic’ pattern of new

reference points, symbols and cultural meanings. In New Zealand, the British colonial presence became relevant to changing indigenous concepts of cultural identity. Similarly with the passage of time, the British colonies in distant territories such as New Zealand, also ceased to be purely 'British'. Thus the process of colonial interaction led to a mutual reconstruction of identity and culture, whereby Maori and Pakeha social and cultural symbols shifted, multiplied and occasionally merged in response to the changing environment.

Pakeha New Zealanders have long written about their sense of exile from Europe. This sense of placelessness is a recurring theme in early New Zealand writing. It also appears as a leitmotif of post-war academic discussion as will be discussed later. Questions of identity and national allegiance informed much of the intellectual and literary debate of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Britain was for a long time seen by the settlers as the 'mother country', the 'old land' or 'home', and although the formulation of a local Pakeha identity was underway, the settlers still held themselves in most respects, to be British.

Yet, they were not quite British. In 1954, the New Zealand historian and academic, John Cauter Beaglehole noted:

"For the New Zealander, to go home was to go into exile ... consider the plight of sensitive and articulate New Zealanders who have lived much abroad. They are people torn in twain." (Beaglehole. 1954, p.8)

The question of identity and location for settler nations is a complex one. In 1940, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of New Zealand and Principal of Victoria University College, Professor Sir Thomas Hunter, wrote of the sense of having 'no past and no history' (Hunter, 1940, p16), and this is a telling comment. From the late nineteenth century through to the middle of the twentieth century, Pakeha New Zealanders could be seen to exist in a state of cultural hybridisation, being not quite British but not yet fully New Zealanders. It is argued here that these factors were crucial in the construction of a

Pakeha New Zealand identity and had implications for the foundation of university education in the colony.

There can be many roles for education in colonised societies that may not have the same relevance or urgency in the 'mother' country. Basic literacy and numeracy are two pressing functions, but the professionalisation of people living in the colonies; the immediate needs of establishing a colony; the transmission of values and priorities of the 'old land', and the formulation of new values, also becomes important. The history of higher education in New Zealand reflects many of these issues but it is also possible to trace changes in New Zealand society through an examination of the changing role of the university. In investigating the history of a New Zealand university and its dominant discourses, assumptions about the current contexts of intellectual labour and academic socialisation can be made.

5.1.1. The settlement of New Zealand

The early settlers to New Zealand were Polynesian migrants who established tribal bases throughout the country. It is difficult to describe Maori life before Pakeha colonisation because the 'formal' sources of evidence are largely based on the written observations of European visitors and Pakeha settlers of the Maori oral traditions they have recorded. Ward (1995) suggests that the most detailed sources date from the mid - to late nineteenth century when the pre-contact pattern of life had already undergone a subtle change (Ward, 1995, p.3). The act of making written record of oral tradition itself suggests a shift in the mapping of Maori identity and customs through the cultural filters of the Pakeha.

Early Maori owed their primary allegiances to tribe (*iwi*), kinship groups (*hapu*) and family (*whanau*) rather than to a nation-state. The economy was based on group ownership and use of tribal and fishing grounds. An important aspect of tribal identity and sense of belonging to a specific area (*turangawaewae*) is the custodial relationship with the ancestral land, which is held sacred. The tribal area is seen as the place where

the living generations have the right to live according to the customs and traditions of the particular tribe as *tangata whenua* (people of, or belonging to, the land).

Benton, Benton, Swindells and Chrisp (1995, p.1-10), citing nineteenth century sources, suggest that higher education and learning (*wananga*) in pre-contact times was transmitted extensively through a series of institutions, alternatively named *whare wananga*, *whare kura*, *whare maire*, *whare takiura*, *whare kaupō*, according to the tribe and level of education provided. In some districts, higher education institutions were housed in a permanent building, in others the physical setting varied, not unlike the early universities in Europe. Esoteric and advanced theoretical knowledge in these institutions was available to males of *rangatira* (chief or noble) descent.

New students (*pia*) passed through graduated stages of initiation by examination until they reached full graduation (*tauirā*). Teaching and learning within the curriculum varied according to content, although lecturing, recitation, examination and experiential learning appeared to predominate. Importantly, there was a series of procedures (*tikanga*) that had to be followed, which prepared the student “mentally, physically, and spiritually, and [ensured] that the parts (of learning) constituted the whole” (p.6). In other words, students underwent a ceremonial process as part of their learning, and furthermore, knowledge was approached in a holistic way. While the curriculum was ‘modularised’ making it possible for individuals to specialise in specific areas, each aspect of higher learning was considered to link directly into a larger picture that must also be recognised. Thus, there was little or no fragmentation of the curriculum.

During the 1840s, the early European settlers began to arrive in New Zealand. They brought with them a neo-industrial outlook based on concepts of the investment of surplus capital and the production of marketable commodities of national and international trade. To this end, they prioritised the intensive development of land resources and the acquisition of new lands and raw materials to maintain and expand the whole system (Bailey, 1989).

Their systems and traditions of higher education had emerged slowly from the troughs of liberal education philosophies practised during the Enlightenment (Kimball, 1996, p.119) and the 'gentlemanly' pursuit of learning. Importantly, the settlers came from a written culture, as opposed to the Maori oral tradition. Increasingly, the metropolitan knowledge base was fractured as specialisation within disciplines replaced the earlier emphasis on the *septum liberales artes*. Originating from within a different society, the colonial education system served different ends to those of the Maori. Certainly there was a similar degree of ceremony surrounding graduation and other learning events in British universities, even the form of ceremony was not entirely dissimilar. However whatever the university traditions of the 'old country' may have been, the settlers were themselves, often poorly educated, and in the social terms of the new colony, not usually of *rangatira* (or aristocratic) class. It can therefore be argued that the Maori tended to have more formal education than the majority of the new settlers.

It is perhaps ironic that in highlighting the polarised nature of the early Maori and Pakeha settlements, this text itself becomes an extension of earlier narratives which have focussed extensively on cultural duality. Yet the seeming incompatibility of Maori and Pakeha cultures and values forms a significant subtext to many New Zealand narratives, both Maori and Pakeha. This apparent incompatibility problematises, and to a certain extent disguises, the construction of local identities that has since taken place. Research priorities within universities are partly defined with reference to geographical location. It is argued here that where a consistent local identity or set of behaviours exists, or is accorded academic value, research topics are more readily generated within the local environment. Where there is a sense of dislocation or confusion, it is more likely that educational practices will adopt other referents (such as Britain or Europe), and this was the case in New Zealand. Here these narratives have influenced the adoption of eurocentric research priorities until very recently. A sense of polarity and resistance frames the symbolic frontiers of cultures and impacts upon the 'accepted' social narratives. On one side of the cultural border lies a somewhat wistful and idealised notion of the days before colonisation. Klein (1992) has described this as the notion of a decline from health, wholeness and harmony with the 'encroaching frenzy of modernity'

(Klein, 1992, p.477). On the other side there is an equally romantic notion of the 'successful march of Western civilisation'. There is therefore a clear disjunction evident in the definition of local identity and behaviours.

Such narratives also serve to reinforce the cultural dichotomies of a society. By establishing the differences between cultural groups in an essentially dualistic manner, the differences *within* a social or cultural group are masked to some extent, while at the same time, making it possible to construct symbolic boundaries around diverse communities of people. Within the New Zealand context, there has been a degree of inter-racial marriage, and a weakening of tribal links where there has been rapid urbanisation of Maori. It should therefore be noted that the number of people who fall beyond the traditional Maori/traditional settler categories described above, now exceeds in number, those who lie within them. Thus the question of cultural allegiance and identity operates at multiple levels. New Zealanders, both Maori and Pakeha, are often in a curious situation of identifying with aspects of one or both cultural groups (and the immense diversity within each), even though the cultural categories are frequently posited as incompatible. Interestingly, where this is the case, allegiances can be flexible. They may change according to the situation or the audience or in some cases, through the process of tracing Maori lineage (*whakapapa*).

When mapping a history of a New Zealand university, these subtexts are important in analysing the contexts of academic socialisation in the present. As will be shown later, the confusions and bastions of cultural identity are played out in modern university life and in the kinds of research people choose to prioritise.

5.1.2. The Pakeha settlers

The early Pakeha settlement had an uneasy relationship with Britain. The colony was composed mainly of the British working and lower middle classes. The average age of the immigrants was 25 years, with few adults over the age of 40 years (Bailey, 1989). One quarter of the population was illiterate while another 14% could read but not write

(Sinclair, 1969, p.103). Clergy were given free passage for services rendered, but schoolteachers were not.

Many settlers came to New Zealand to escape post-war unemployment in British towns; the price of food under a heavy taxation system; the land clearances of the crofters in Scotland; and, the potato famine of the 1840s. They believed that the new country would offer a better life. Many were given free or assisted passages to New Zealand and the promise of free or cheap farming land. But the establishment of a new colony was an expensive business, requiring roads and railways to be built across difficult and mountainous terrain. Settlers arrived in New Zealand only to find that land was often not freely available, or was administered tribally by Maori, or was difficult to farm. In addition, the standard of living was poor. The new settlers therefore had to re-evaluate their expectations as the colony struggled to organise a viable economy during a time of severe financial hardship.

Furthermore, in the early days of settlement, the Pakeha relationship with Maori was never a straightforward matter of dominant colonials wielding power over a vanquished race. Many Pakeha traders, shore whalers and missionaries were on friendly terms with local tribes through the trade and employment they offered, and through their associations with Maori women. In such cases, some Pakeha were virtually absorbed into the local community. In other cases, people were sometimes established as the *mokai* ('pets' or slaves) of particular chiefs (Ward, 1995, p.22). Later, after the treaty was signed at Waitangi, many settlers became tenants on Maori land and dependent on the good will of the chiefs (*ariki*) for their economic survival.

While the colonial government may initially have wished to implement a 'benevolent' process of colonisation, many of the Pakeha settlers considered the Maori to be an inferior race and put considerable pressure on the government to provide them (the Pakeha) with land, regardless of the cost to race relations. Relationships between the colonial government, the settlers and Maori rapidly deteriorated when the Crown, reneging on promises made in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, seized or confiscated large

areas of land to accommodate the influx of new settlers. This led to costly wars over land rights. The colony was subsequently left further in debt (Sinclair, *op. cit.* p.151-171).

New Zealand received a self governing constitution in 1852 and set up Responsible Government in 1856 with little opposition from Britain. The formulation of local narratives of both Maori and Pakeha during this time centred around immediate issues of location (e.g. land issues), identity ('British'/'Maori' or of the emerging composite category 'New Zealander') and power (which fluctuated between the Crown, the settlers and the Maori). The political events of the time served to reinforce an increasing duality of narrative and it was within this social climate that a national university was established.

5.2. The University of New Zealand: The colonial university

It is noteworthy that the university system that developed in the colony initially had little national flavour and no central location from which a stable identity could be formed. It was an eclectic institution with multiple functions, depending on the province and the teaching staff involved. It did not directly reflect the concerns of the society it supposedly served (by researching the immediate and pressing concerns of the new colony) but neither did it stand stiffly aloof, through practising the centuries-old academic rituals of a small intellectual elite in quite the same way as the older British universities, such as Oxford or Cambridge, were perceived to have done. It was a national institution before a clear sense of nationhood had been formed. Perhaps it was a forerunner to postmodern constructs in a modernist era, but it did not please the New Zealand public who generally saw it as an unnecessary expense at a time when money was needed for many other things (Beaglehole, 1949; Titchener, 1969), and neither was it easily recognisable as a British model. It was in practice, a colonial hybrid.

The University of New Zealand was founded in 1870 in an act of Parliament. However before this, the 1868 New Zealand Endowment Act provided eight scholarships on an

annual basis, tenable in British universities or in other universities overseas. The principle of travelling overseas to study, which later became an important part of the university system, was therefore set in place *before* the university itself was established (Parton, 1979, p.15).

The University of New Zealand was composed of constituent colleges in several locations across the country. The site University was originally one of these constituent colleges and was named Victoria University College. It remained a constituent college until 1961, when it became an autonomous university. Victoria University College was created in an act of Parliament in 1894, but little was done to establish it until 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, when the college also received its name. Victoria University College affiliated to the University of New Zealand in 1899.

The college was situated in New Zealand's capital city, and as such it was originally intended to create a law school to serve the needs of Parliament and the Court of Appeal. Robert Stout, the Premier and Minister of Education, argued in favour of a school that would meet the needs of the poor (of which there were many), and which would allow the country to train professionals without having to advertise overseas. Studies in the sciences and the arts were also planned. At this time there was no recognition of Maori lore or knowledge in the curriculum. The courses were to reflect the cultural content and priorities of British education.

Victoria University College began its existence catering mainly for part-time students. The location itself was dependent on proximity to the city, so that students could get to their offices or homes after classes without having to travel too far. Lectures were given in the mornings and evenings to fit in with the working day. Many of the teachers were unqualified, for example some of the part-time law teachers were law clerks, who were themselves studying for their professional exams and law degrees. This compares unfavourably with the Otago University College which was the first University College to be established in New Zealand. The Otago area had a large Scottish population with a major commitment to the education of its people. The Presbyterian Church set aside

substantial endowments for the College. When gold was discovered in the area in 1861, the province became wealthy and the population grew. Thus Otago had a reputation for being a somewhat more genteel and well-bred university, while Victoria University College then came to be seen as more of a night school for the less fortunate (Beaglehole, 1949, p.156).

In 1898, four professorial chairs for Victoria University College were advertised in New Zealand, Sydney, Melbourne, England, Ireland and Scotland. The founding professors were, with only one exception, not considered to be amongst the first class ranks of scholarship (Beaglehole, 1949, p.30). One of the professors, a Scottish Highlander, was rumoured to have obtained his position with the help of the New Zealand Minister of Lands, who was also his half-brother. Professor Maclaurin was however considered to be a first rate scholar. He grew up in New Zealand and had a distinguished career at Cambridge and in Strasbourg before returning to New Zealand. The four professors founded the University College much to their surprise, as they had been given the impression before leaving Britain that the College was already operational and adequately endowed. On their arrival they discovered that this was far from the case.

The British referent could be clearly seen in the practices of the university. For example exam scripts were sent to Britain for marking. This led to lengthy delays in posting results, as papers had to be sent by steamship. This practice continued until 1922 although the student population of New Zealand had grown, making it an expensive and time-consuming business to send papers to the Northern Hemisphere. Further problems arose on the occasions when ships carrying exam papers sank. The curriculum, mode of instruction, and nature of the institution were British in character.

The PhD was a late entrant to higher education in New Zealand and had a difficult passage into the University. Its introduction was debated as early as 1906 but it was not put on the books until 1922. However Robert Stout gave little support to the notion. He didn't understand why staff who had completed a degree in Chemistry for example, so keenly sought a Doctor in Philosophy. The degree rapidly ran into difficulties however,

because the full time work requirement attracted few candidates. The PhD, as the first supervised research degree in the country, was abolished in 1926 and was not reinstated until 1944, when the full-time work requirement was eased and research fellowships were provided.

It should also be noted that in operating an open door policy to university admission, the University of New Zealand offered programmes that were flexible enough to suit the needs of a highly mobile population. The education system that developed was originally based on egalitarian principles. New Zealand was the first Commonwealth country to award a degree to a woman for example. However in Britain during the nineteenth century, there was also a greater liberalisation of university programmes and new groups of students (including some from the working class) were admitted into the academy. The development of the university system in New Zealand during the early twentieth century reflected some of these more liberal British trends, but these were undertaken not only because of changes to the British system, but because the Pakeha population was predominantly from the lower orders of the British social classes and there was simply no aristocracy, at that time, to educate. Certainly a class system had begun to crystallise, but it was one that ultimately mirrored the social climate of the new country and perhaps owed more to the time since arrival, the amount of land acquired, and the growing mythology of pioneerism, than to the values and customs of the increasingly distant British 'mother country'.

However while many New Zealanders saw the university tradition and curriculum as elitist, it was also an inherited tradition and one with which the founding professors at least, were familiar. In the early days of the university, academics made little attempt to establish new models of education, nor did they look beyond the traditional curriculum, nor investigate how research might benefit or address the problems of the new country. Instead they had the more limited objective of perfecting and improving a transplanted model. In this respect the notion of hybridity can be seen again.

5.2.1. The New Zealand university

The University of New Zealand was dissolved on 1 January 1961 as a result of recommendations made by the Hughes Parry Committee in The Report of the Committee on New Zealand Universities – 1959. After this time each of the colleges became autonomous state universities. At this time it was still common practice for postgraduate students to travel overseas to study and the shortage of postgraduates was also seen as a major concern.

This report had a far-reaching impact on the New Zealand university system. It pointed out major inadequacies in the provision and nature of higher education, and examined in considerable detail the effect of the colonial past on the problems that the university was facing at the time.

The report was critical of the funding of the university, commenting that national development was dependent on the presence of adequately trained professionals. It was noted that:

“New Zealand’s attitude towards its universities and colleges is similar to that of most other young and developing countries, not far removed from a pioneer tradition which is prepared to cater to the needs of today and tomorrow but doubts the value of planning too far ahead and which tends to prefer practice without theory.” The Report of the Committee on New Zealand Universities – 1959, p.8).”

The report gave value to the pioneer tradition but suggested that this had contributed to the failure to ensure a primary responsibility to original investigation and research. It contended that the university must foster a community of its own rather than continue with an inferior imitation of the British model.

These concepts took some time to realise. A decade after the Hughes Parry Committee made its recommendations, a report entitled *The Quality and Performance of Students*

was prepared for the New Zealand Universities Conference (May 1969). Here it was noted that New Zealand still funded its students at a far lower level than Britain and Australia. The authors of the report regretted that unlike their British counterparts, New Zealand students tended to go to university to raise their educational level or to advance their professional standing, rather than with the priority of actually completing a degree. They wrote:

“(t)he New Zealand university, as a teaching institution ... has been developed by social demand into a multi-purpose service-station, attended by full-time and part-time students, many of whom do not aim to graduate and some of whom have no well-defined aim at all.” (Phillips & Horsman, 1969, p.13).

However, prior to the Hughes Parry Report there was already a stirring in the academy, an incipient awareness of change, and a renewed sense of location. In 1940, Professor Sir Thomas Hunter, in a Centennial lecture said:

“I have often wondered what our university education would now be like and what its influence on our country would have been if the university fathers, instead of concentrating their efforts on the traditional subjects tested by means of examinations, had made the work of the university centre around the problems of the new land: agriculture, mining, forestry, Polynesian studies and attacked these problems from the side of research. Perhaps it was too much to expect that people trained under the old regime to adopt such a radical change of attitude.” (Hunter, 1940, p.15).

He added that had they approached higher education in this way, it would be likely that by 1940, there would have been a fully developed School of Polynesian Studies. As it was, much of the seminal research in the Pacific had been initiated in other countries.

The question of identity and location persisted in academic circles. In 1954, the historian, J. C. Beaglehole spoke in the prestigious Margaret Condliffe Memorial Lecture of the need to develop a way of thinking and behaving that was not necessarily based on British customs and behaviour. He said, “I think we should think as New

Zealanders, but to be quite candid, I am for a start not certain what that means.” (Beaglehole, 1954, p.2). He added:

“This process of intellectual growth, of mental change in a colonial community, this creeping on of self-awareness, I find as a historian endlessly fascinating – even, when we find it among ourselves, exciting. It has gone on all over the world; it has gone on throughout history. It can be embarrassing, alarming, distressing, if we live too near it, and are elegant and refined people” (*ibid.* p.5).

Edward Said (1993) contends that the narrative is the method that colonised people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history (p.xii). It is argued here that it is also the method that settlers and colonisers have used to recognise themselves and each other since the British Empire removed itself from the day to day workings of its distant territories. It is a method that addresses a lingering imperialism in the general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic and social practices. By imperialism, Said means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a far-flung territory. Hunter and Beaglehole, amongst others, have provided important university narratives which elucidate the complexities of colonial identity and which link imperialism and local identity with education. Imperialism, ingrained into a way of thinking and behaving, often eludes definition. It influences the way people are socialised and how institutions (such as universities) present and perceive themselves. Here the presence of imperialism in the academic sphere appears to act as an intangible reminder of what has been lost in the way of tradition and history, as well as an obstacle to the clear definition of new social codes. Post-war academics frequently appeared to be aware of the ‘mosaic’ society they taught within, and the academic silences around it. Many also harboured the desire for New Zealand to make a final break with Britain, yet they seemed largely unclear about the consequences of such an action, or how New Zealand society might look afterwards. They were not necessarily timid men and women, but they were exceedingly cautious.

However perhaps due to the manner in which New Zealand was settled, the voices of

protest against imperialism were for a long time relatively muted amongst Pakeha. The formulation of local identities and the sense of having generational links to New Zealand, not surprisingly, took time to establish. Traces of the 'old regime' lingered in the university and these more modernist practices and priorities of European education can be seen to have obstructed to a certain extent, the post-war desire of some New Zealand academics to create new perspectives based on their Pacific location. Yet, these are not necessarily competing narratives. The contemporary New Zealand university has largely absorbed its colonial past into a recent shift of referent to the Pacific.

5.3. The contemporary university in New Zealand: the national context

New Zealand now has eight public universities operating in different centres across the country. Since the University of New Zealand has been disbanded, universities have had control of their own affairs and administration, although contact is maintained between institutions at all levels from Vice-Chancellors through to junior staff. Recent changes to the national university environment include issues such as, increasing competition for students between institutions; a national increase in enrolled postgraduate numbers; the introduction of new kinds of degrees in new areas of knowledge; an increasingly vocal student body, and a renewed climate of accountability.

New Zealand students are also increasingly choosing to continue postgraduate study in New Zealand despite high study fees, although overseas scholarships are still greatly sought after. This tendency to remain in the country is perhaps partly due to the large numbers of university students in New Zealand who are in the forty years and over age group (across all degrees, including undergraduate degrees), and the relatively high number of part-time students, of which most are women, clustering in the mature age groups (Ministry of Education, 1994). Both of these groups are more likely to have family and employment commitments that may keep them in New Zealand.

There are also very few travelling scholarships now available in New Zealand and competition for these is particularly intense. Thus the decision to remain in New Zealand

to study is not necessarily due entirely to the emergence of a local identity. In practice people are more likely to remain for reasons of expediency. However, whatever the reasons for the higher retention of graduate students may be, that more people are choosing to obtain New Zealand qualifications has had an impact on the ways that universities perceive and present themselves. In the last five years for example, universities have begun to advertise their services through print and electronic media in the hope of attracting students. This is a new phenomenon in the country. It can be argued that New Zealanders no longer see New Zealand tertiary qualifications as a second best option to quite the same extent as they have previously.

In terms of academic appointments it is possible to draw some conclusions about university priorities. During 1995 over half of the academic staff taking up full time appointments in New Zealand universities were between the ages of 31 – 40 years, while 69% of all appointments were at lecturer level. New Zealand was the country of source for just under half of the appointments made during the year (i.e. applications made by people currently resident in New Zealand), while slightly more appointees made their applications from locations other than New Zealand. North American (24%), Australian (15%) and UK/Europe (14%) locations figured most highly in the appointments made during 1995 (New Zealand Vice-Chancellor's Committee (NZVCC), 1994, 1995). It is noted in the University Staff Statistical Collection (NZVCC, *op.cit.*) that many overseas appointees are New Zealanders who wish to return to the country. These figures represent a new trend in New Zealand university appointments.

It is clear that universities in New Zealand are tending to appoint younger staff, often in less senior positions. Appointments are drawn primarily from people applying for posts from within New Zealand, or from New Zealanders applying from overseas, or from North American universities (nationality unknown). The large number of New Zealanders on the academic staff is partly due to immigration difficulties for some overseas (i.e. non-New Zealander) applicants.

At Victoria University there is a predominance of academic staff who are New

Zealanders who have travelled overseas for their degrees. This is consistent with the historical trend of New Zealanders travelling and studying abroad at postgraduate level. Interestingly, in the past New Zealanders have tended to remain overseas, returning only for brief periods, as was noted in 1959 by the Hughes Parry Committee. In recent times, possibly due to complex immigration laws in different countries, scholarship regulations requiring a return to the home country (New Zealand) on graduation, greater competition for academic employment overseas, and possibly also due to a stronger sense of identity as New Zealanders and greater links to the country than has been previously the case, academic staff are returning to New Zealand to take up teaching and research.

Again, reasons of expediency may have influenced New Zealanders returning to the country to take up academic employment, rather more than the desire to return to the country of origin for its own sake. Nevertheless, New Zealanders *are* returning, and are applying the skills and knowledges obtained elsewhere to their teaching and research in New Zealand. Interestingly, a large number of appointments are sourced in North America. This may well be a case of exchanging one kind of cultural imperialism for another, but it indicates a definite shift away from British colonial origins.

5.3.1. Victoria University of Wellington: the site university

There are currently more academic staff at Victoria University who hold tertiary qualifications from overseas as their highest degree, than there are staff who have obtained their highest degrees in New Zealand (Victoria University Calendar, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999). However a perusal of the University Calendars over a five year period indicates that most of the academic staff currently working at the University are New Zealanders who have travelled overseas to obtain their qualifications and later returned.

Besides the trend towards appointing New Zealand applicants with overseas degrees, the site University has formalised its commitment to teaching and research within New Zealand and the Pacific. Evidence of this can be found in the 1991 University Charter

statement in a section about partnership with the Maori people where the aim is to “promote research in Maori language, culture and history” (Victoria University of Wellington, 1991, p.13). There is an additional statement that outlines the University’s responsibility to “protect the Maori language and Maori customs in a manner consistent with Maori aspirations” (*ibid*). Here the University is expressing a role as an institution that wishes to act in ‘partnership with Maori’. The term ‘partnership’ is a heavily laden term in New Zealand. It relates to the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, the founding document of New Zealand. Here an agreement was made between representatives of Maori (through some, although not all, the chiefs) and Pakeha (agents of the British Crown) where both agreed upon a *modus operandi* for co-existence and partnership in the country. Unfortunately, several versions of the Treaty exist, and the English translation gives rather more to the Crown than the Maori translations suggest. Thus ‘partnership’ as a term used in the Charter statement, is also a highly political one and one that expresses a considerable shift in race relations over the intervening decades and a different perception of research priorities.

The Strategic Plan for the University outlines a more detailed commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi. In this document, the University aims to extend the participation of Maori at postgraduate level and promote research on issues of concern to Maori over a four year period (1996-2000). Furthermore the University now states a commitment to increasing and imparting knowledge and understanding of all aspects of Maori life through the teaching, research nexus (Victoria University, 1994, 1996). To this end Victoria University has set up studies in areas such as Women’s Studies, Maori Studies, and Environmental Studies, all of which offer critiques of contemporary culture from a Pacific or New Zealand perspective. Many other departments in the university have refocused course content to become more relevant to New Zealand and/or the Pacific.

There has also been a distinct change in the kinds of subject areas that have been selected for investigation in terms of research priorities at postgraduate level. Reports of the PhD Co-ordinator to the Academic Board, show that PhD topics approved over a ten year period indicates that the focus of research shifted significantly towards New

Zealand and the Pacific region in all subject areas except the hard-pure sciences (Victoria University of Wellington, 1984-1994). PhD students are now more likely to base their research in New Zealand, investigating topics of concern to the country and/or the region than they were fifteen years ago, when they were more likely to explore theoretical academic areas or conduct research that could not be tagged to the specific concerns of New Zealand.

While this may be linked to a greater sense of local awareness, there are also other reasons why the research base has become increasingly localised. In recent years Victoria University has extended its postgraduate teaching base and established more postgraduate degrees in the areas of the social sciences and the humanities. In the past, students working in the area of the hard-pure sciences have undertaken most postgraduate study, particularly at PhD level. These areas tend to be more concerned with scientific principles than with national boundaries, although New Zealand is obviously the site for data collection. However as increasing numbers of students study for postgraduate qualifications in the social sciences and the humanities, there is an upward trend in the number of theses that deal with New Zealand, the Pacific and Asia than previously. It is argued here that student demand *has* had an influence on the shifting perspectives of the academic community towards the local region.

A further issue that may have influenced closer attention to the immediate region is the large numbers of mature students who attend New Zealand universities. Many of these students, studying in Wellington, have enrolled at the University to do part time study that is linked to their full time employment in sectors such as the public service.

The shift in research focus is paralleled by a shift in teaching practice. While teaching within the disciplines is heavily based on the lecture and tutorial method at undergraduate level, and one-to-one supervision at postgraduate thesis level, the University has begun to recognise the diverse learning needs and priorities of indigenous people studying at the University (Kidman, 1995). The greater recognition of New Zealand cultural issues has allowed more students, particularly those studying at

postgraduate level, to incorporate a local focus into their research, than previously. Thus students as well as academic staff are increasingly contributing to the construction of an environment that accords value to local contexts.

5.4. Pakeha identities and higher education

The University of New Zealand relied heavily upon imported models of higher education, and these were later trimmed for economic reasons when the national priority was to build roads and hospitals. The result was an eclectic and idiosyncratic institution which built an identity between cultures.

The dominant discourses of colonisation, while still powerfully present, are nonetheless somewhat buried beneath the growth of local awarenesses. It is not a simple business to “map the dominant discourse” or expose its underlying assumptions from the “cross-cultural standpoint of the imperially subjectified ‘local’” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995, p.98), when contact between cultures has resulted in considerable hybridisation of priorities and behaviours.

The histories of the university, its meta-narratives, and questions about local identity have informed current research priorities, the curriculum, and the teaching practices of higher education in New Zealand, sometimes more for reasons of expediency and unrelated university policies than from a deep and underlying philosophical concern about the country. There are nonetheless implicit colonial meta-narratives in the contemporary university, and it can be argued that these are of an essentially modernist and eurocentric nature. There is still, for example, a very real sense in which academics in New Zealand search for ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’ and ‘identity’. But these notions are overlaid with the colonial history of the country, whereby ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’ are increasingly drawn from sources in the Pacific and within Maori culture rather than from exclusively or even predominantly, eurocentric sources. This ‘pastiche’ or ‘hybridisation’ of discourses and multiple sources undermines the foundations of modernist thought, in that reality comes to be seen as a ‘mosaic’ of often competing narratives.

The intellectual labour of academics takes place within this context and the process is highly complex because while Pakeha New Zealanders do not generally now consider themselves to be British, they have not developed a uniform identity or outlook. Given their diversity, it is unlikely that they will ever do so. Until recently when the University expanded its postgraduate base and shifted its focus to the region, academics and students had little sense of community within the institution. Thus much of the research in the social sciences and humanities undertaken now is an attempt to map an identity or give an outline to something that is unique to the character or environment of the local work or social community, the country, or the region. This is not necessarily a way of identifying ideals or of constructing new meta-narratives, but rather a process of uncovering or narrating a 'mosaic' reality. In this way, socialisation of academics within particular disciplines is closely linked to the formulation of local identities.

CHAPTER 6

‘CRITIC AND CONSCIENCE OF SOCIETY’?: THE CONSTRUCTION OF INTELLECTUAL ROLES AND IDENTITIES WITHIN THE SITE COMMUNITY.

“We are, together with the Australians, a nation of suburban peasants.”

– McGee (in Forster).

The University of New Zealand was shaped by a particular academic identity located at the fringes of the Empire. Despite their distance from a metropolitan centre (or possibly because of it), the intellectual orientation of academic staff was, at least in part, linked to a nostalgia for ‘Mother England’ and their loyalties to the Empire. In this respect the early University of New Zealand emerges as an isolated institution, housing many staff who felt themselves to be in intellectual exile from Britain. As seen in the previous chapter, there is evidence to suggest that university research priorities in nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand, in the main, owed more to these factors than to a rigorous assessment of the research needs of a new nation.

After the Second World War the focus of the University began to change as academics began to establish a knowledge base within the academy that drew on regional, national and local understandings. These shifts in institutional direction were strengthened by the recommendations of the Hughes Parry Committee in 1959. However, the construction of a local knowledge base within the institution was not immediately realised. It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that large numbers of academics prioritised the search for local knowledge.

The institutional face of Victoria University has altered many times, sometimes in response to international trends in higher education, national budget cuts, and global

economies, at other times in response to the particular circumstances and culture of the local society and people. Alongside the institutional development of the University, an intellectual environment began to emerge, and this provided a context for academic socialisation. However, the intellectual environment of the University was closely linked to the same social and historical factors that were shaping other intellectual communities in the Wellington region at the time. The emergence of distinctive intellectual and academic communities in Wellington, and the way these communities impacted upon each other, had a significant influence on the way in which the social and intellectual roles of academics was to develop in later years.

Intellectual communities in New Zealand share certain similarities with their Western counterparts but there are also substantial differences. These differences can be traced to the historical and social development of the nation and they may well be unique to New Zealand. The University, as an institution and as an intellectual community, was shaped by a series of socio-political and cultural forces and has responded to these in a singular manner. Evidence that intellectual communities outside the University were operating in a dialectical relationship with those within by the end of the 1960s is provided later. The social environment within which this took place is significant. For that reason, aspects of the urbanisation of New Zealand, patterns of cultural consumption in Wellington, and economic prosperity are identified here as salient factors in the creation of the particular community into which Victoria University academics entered after the Second World War.

Victoria University was not immune to the impact of these combined socio-political factors, and this can be seen in the ways that the University staff responded to changes in the wider community, by making changes to the curriculum (e.g introducing Women's Studies and Maori Studies). They also responded to the emergence of urban Maori activism (e.g in building a Marae complex). In 1989, the Education Act provided a focus for the practice of intellectual freedom in the social and political context of New Zealand.

6.1. Critic and conscience of society

One of the roles that academics in New Zealand may adopt in representing the social sphere is to undertake the role of 'critic and conscience of society'. Shils argues that this is a new configuration of social representation within the universities. He argues that universities as corporate bodies "never declared the criticism of society to be one of their chief obligations; and until recently there were probably not many academic intellectuals who thought that their task was the criticism of society." (Shils, 1990, p.276). Rather academics believed that it was their job to "discover and transmit the truth about the subjects in which they had studied and in which they had reliable beliefs." (*ibid.*). Historically, Shils contends, academics believed they had a primary obligation to tell the truth as far as they were able to determine, but they generally feel a responsibility to enter into public debate with political authorities. However if debates arose in the public domain, Shils suggests that academics believed that they had an obligation to be "steadfast" (*ibid.*).

With the influx of previously independent intellectuals into the universities after the war, Shils suggests that these institutions were increasingly infused with left-wing political beliefs. Certainly the humanist political leanings which are argued as being characteristic of intellectual groups within academia (whether or not this is indeed an accurate assessment of political affiliation) has entered legislation in New Zealand.

The legislation on academic freedom in New Zealand was passed after the Labour government was re-elected in 1984 and a decade of reform was initiated in the Public Service and education sectors. The reforms were intended to enable the government to make fundamental changes to the economic and social structure of the country. The Labour government aimed to establish policies and practices that would facilitate market-driven ideologies. During this period significant cuts were made to areas of health, social welfare and education. By the early 1990s, higher education in New Zealand had undergone an extensive process of re-structuring. The underlying philosophy of successive governments was that the country needed to compete within

the global market-place. Associated with this stance, was the 1984 Labour government's attitude that tertiary education was a public good because it would aid economic development and recovery.

A working group was set up in 1988 to review post-compulsory education and training (PCET) in New Zealand. Its brief was to advise the government on the present and future roles of PCET in the social and economic life of New Zealand. The public was also invited to make submissions. In 1989, a post-school research and scholarship working party strongly supported the research role of universities, not as an end in itself, but as an aid to economic recovery (Post-school Research and Scholarship Working Party, 1989). This stance provided an argument for many academics who later made submissions to a working party on academic freedom, chaired by Sir Kenneth Keith. If tertiary education and research was vital to the needs of the economy and to transmit culture (Report on Submissions to the Tertiary Reviews, p.13), they argued, then it was important that they had the freedom to provide non-partisan criticism of government policy (*ibid.* p.103). The subsequent wording of the 1989 Education Act relating to academic freedom is drawn largely from the Report of the Academic Freedom Working Party (1989). While there is a tradition of debate in New Zealand universities about academic freedom and the role of academics as critics and conscience of society, it is perhaps ironic that the legislation which guarantees that right, was passed during an era of retrenchment, both in tertiary funding and academic freedom.

The 1989 Education Act contains a clause about academic freedom in New Zealand universities. It declares that university staff and students in New Zealand will accept a role as "critic and conscience of society" (Education Act 1989, Part XIV: Section 162 (4) (a) v. p.151.). To this end, it guarantees:

"The freedom of academic staff and students, within the law, to question and test received wisdom, to put forward new ideas and to state controversial or unpopular opinions". (Part XIV: Section 161 (1) (a) p.153.).

The underpinning notion here is that universities have a special role within society. They are institutions, which according to the Act are “primarily concerned with more advanced learning” (*ibid.* p.152), and are principally aimed at developing ‘intellectual independence’ (*ibid.*). Together with their teaching and research functions, and their role as a “repository of knowledge and expertise” (*ibid.* p.153), universities have a social responsibility, enshrined in Education legislation, to provide informed judgements and criticisms of New Zealand society. To this end, the academic community is encouraged to speak freely and openly on matters of social importance, even when such opinions are contrary to popularly held belief. This is the legislative notion of academic freedom in New Zealand. Implicit in the wording of the 1989 Education Act, is an assumption that by virtue of their unique and ‘special’ functions in society, universities are somehow set apart from other kinds of social and educational institutions.

However this conceptual separation of the university from other sectors of society serves little purpose. Indeed, in order to operate at all, the university, and the staff and students within it, must be in constant interaction with other local, national and international entities within the social world. The role of critic and conscience of society is primarily an intellectual one. Within the site community, intellectual roles have developed in the context of the post-Independence institutional and social environment. These roles can therefore only be seen clearly in close connection with the wider social context, and the public perspective of intellectual labour production in these communities. These roles have developed historically and can be directly linked to the literature which was discussed in Chapter four.

6.2. The New Zealand intellectual: images and identities

The early political debates that took place in the site University indicate the kinds of humanist political sympathies that were imported into the University of New Zealand later. In part, they paved the way for the 1989 legislation. Certainly these early political sympathies signalled that approach that academics would take towards academic freedom in later years.

The shift in research emphasis after the Second World War led to a greater focus on local awarenesses. It reflected a change in academic attitudes towards their disciplines, and towards the Empire as a source of knowledge. University Colleges in New Zealand held a residue of staff who maintained strong loyalties to their British homeland, but increasingly a more homegrown intellectual appeared on the academic horizon. Some, but not all, of these people were New Zealand-born, but whether they were nationals, immigrants or refugees – they formed intellectual communities across the country. Their social and professional profile bears similarities to intellectual communities abroad, but there are also striking differences. These differences can be attributed to the social contexts that those workers operated within both prior to the Second World War and afterwards.

6.2.1 The Depression years

During the Depression, Victoria University College gathered into its midst, a student body which reflected some of the tensions of the era. In the early 1930s, student numbers suffered a sharp, although temporary, decrease (Beaglehole, 1949, p.222). Students with left-wing political sympathies were also entering the University at that time. The political activities of these students were widely publicised in the media and caused some alarm amongst some of the more staid Wellington citizens. At first the College took a relatively tolerant attitude to their activities. The Professorial Board had ruled that “in regard to persons, anyone was free to speak at Victoria University College provided he was not known to have advocated the change of society by force and, ... in regard to subject – the students were free to discuss any subject of human interest.” (de la Mare, 1935, p.39).

However public concern about student activity and morality increased when, in 1932, the Minister of Education was reputed to have warned the Chairman of the Victoria University College Council against allowing communists on the college premises (Beaglehole, *op.cit.* p.215). The Professorial Board responded quickly to this warning by

preventing a debate from taking place which, led by the students' Free Discussions Club, was to discuss the proposition that communism would provide a better world order. A Communist Party speaker had been invited to participate, and the Board ruled that if the speaker appeared on campus, the debate would be cancelled. Furthermore, the Board ruled that no Club should invite outside speakers on to the campus unless a list had been submitted to the Board and approved (*ibid.*).

This attitude towards communism had appeared in New Zealand society even before the 1920s when one of the outcomes of First World War propaganda was that, "political or social criticism was in [New Zealand] to be equated with communism, and from the young it was not to be tolerated." (*ibid.* p.191). By the 1930s, sharp divisions had begun to appear between the primarily conservative senior staff of the University and students who expressed left-wing sympathies.

Another incident arose when on 15 July 1933, the Wellington newspaper The Dominion, published a letter from Canon James of the Church of England. James fulminated against the sexual and religious morality of university students in Wellington. He wrote: "[i]t is intolerable that parents, who have anxiety enough concerning the present support and future prospects of their children, should also suffer the haunting dread that their minds will be warped at College." (*ibid.* p.40). This letter led to a public outcry, which was taken up in the newspapers. Again, the professors of Victoria University College responded rapidly. On 19 October 1933, the Chairman of the Victoria University College Professorial Board, W.H. Gould, wrote to the Hon. Secretary of the Victoria University College Students' Association that: "religious matters should in future be omitted from the programmes of debates of the Debating Society" (*ibid.* p.44). Gould wrote that "[r]eligious beliefs are at once so important and so personal that they should not be subjected to the conflict of debate where the desire for verbal victory so naturally and so often overshadows the quest for truth." (*ibid.* p.45). Further, Gould added, "that topics involving sex morality are unsuited for debate or discussion by clubs or societies with mixed assemblies." (*ibid.* p.44ff).

Left-wing political sympathies existed within the site community during the 1930s, but were, in the main, promoted by students. At a time when demands on the public purse were high, the professors were eager to align themselves with the more conservative elements of Wellington society. This led to considerable divisions between teachers and students. Although these social fractures occurred within the University community, they took place against the backdrop of the wider social attitudes of the day. The boundaries around the community of teachers and students were symbolically defined, not only by dissent within, but also in response to social mores without. Although there were members of the academic staff who sympathised with the students, the University management acted as a united body to prevent damage to the University's reputation. This signifies something of the links the professors maintained with the outer communities of Wellington City.

The students tended to have different kinds of links to external social groupings in Wellington. While the staff constructed community boundaries around the students in order to conduct a degree of damage control, the students shifted the site of conflict from discussions about world affairs to that of voicing dissent about University authority. This is not an unusual pattern within university communities. Conflict, dissent and debate are methods which members frequently use to define identities and roles within their communities. Traditional and organic intellectual priorities often clash. The professors, aligned with the more conservative forces of Wellington society, represented something of the traditional intellectual in their behaviour in these instances, while the students saw themselves as acting in a more organic manner. The university became a divided community, but rather than experiencing a weakening of its boundaries, these tensions ultimately helped to strengthen and evoke internal community allegiances. Debates of this nature were to frame a shift in academic attitudes about their roles in the political and social arena which were to occur later.

Overlapping allegiances were a feature of student and intellectual activity during the Depression. While most of staff of the university colleges remained aloof from radical politics, students were in constant contact with radical intellectuals outside the

University. These interactions infuriated the New Zealand public and were deplored by the media, yet they formed the basis of public intellectual activity in the country. Intellectual activity and activism did not take place solely within the university, nor was it an exclusively external phenomenon. Rather, it can be argued that left-wing political activity formed a subset of both student and intellectual activity, and that complicity between students and public intellectuals during the 1930s, helped to establish something of the direction that intellectual socialisation within Victoria University was to take in later years. In this way, intellectual groupings outside the university were to have a decisive impact on the development of professional identities within, and this was particularly evident after the Second World War.

6.3. Post-war New Zealand intellectuals and academics

The Second World War had a devastating effect on the New Zealand population. As the death toll mounted, student numbers decreased. While many New Zealanders were on active duty during the War, there is little evidence to suggest that the 'socialisation' period of 'professional intellectual integration' that had taken place in other countries, such as Britain and the United States, happened to the same extent in New Zealand. People were more likely to be fighting overseas than they were to be entering military intelligence or propaganda operations. Thus the integration of intellectuals into the universities, private enterprise and the public service happened at a considerably slower rate. Furthermore, in the years following the War, academics and students were faced with the task not of simply representing society back to itself, but of explaining a social sphere which no longer held the same allegiances to Britain and the Empire.

During this period intellectuals both inside and outside the university were struggling to find a new voice for New Zealand society and culture. In 1947, the New Zealand Literary Fund was set up. In the same year the National Orchestra was established and based in Wellington. Performances by the orchestra were always well attended. It seemed to many people, that New Zealand in general, and Wellington in particular, was at last attaining a level of culture that was not seen during the pioneering days of the

colony. The first performance of the National Orchestra was held in the Wellington Town Hall on 6 March 1947. Beaglehole (1961) notes that “[c]ontinuously organised chamber music grew out of a series of concerts given in Wellington in the war years, in a small hall ... It was an intimate and sometimes rather jolly affair, as on the night when, seats having run out, the audience rushed downstairs and got the seats out of their cars to put between them and the floor.” (J.C. Beaglehole, 1961, p.146). The Literary fund and the establishment of the National Orchestra in Wellington marked the emergence of groups of people committed to the arts and cultural affairs. Many of these people came to form the basis of several of the intellectual communities that were established in the city. As will be discussed later, several of these people initially worked outside the site University but later took academic employment in the University during the ‘professional integration’ phase of development within the academic community.

Wellington was also to lead the country in its patronage of the dramatic arts. This move had been signalled in 1942 when a politically active people’s theatre was established in Wellington. It took its name and political inspiration from Unity Theatre in London. Mason (1955) notes that “[i]t was on this model, with the added stimulus of the liberal fervour of the late years of the war, that Unity Theatre of Wellington was conceived. It was a serious, optimistic group of Communist Party members; devoted, if not committed adherents; and a sprinkling of somewhat feverish Bohemians.” (Mason, 1955, p.154). The theatre became a focal point for intellectual activity in Wellington and “attracted young people from the University and Training College, and a number of political refugees drawn by its qualities of intimacy and fervour.” (*ibid.* p.157). However, the impending Cold War chilled Wellington’s enthusiasm for this eager but outspoken company. As relations between Russia and the United States deteriorated, the Communist vote in New Zealand shrank to a microscopic portion of the total vote (Chapman, 1962, p.255). By 1949, tradesmen refused to run advertisements or display posters and the theatre ultimately “printed a public repudiation of any connection with a political organisation.” (Mason, p.159). Later, the Wellington theatre scene re-grouped around another less politically oriented theatre called Downstage. It was there that the

first plays by New Zealand writers, about New Zealand culture and concerns were performed (Noonan 1968, p.365).

Although there was an increase in government funded patronage of intellectual activities, no one really claimed the intellectual sphere, not the government, nor private benefactors, nor industry, nor the University. In this respect, New Zealand differed from Britain and the United States, where patronage of the arts was well established. At this time New Zealand was still sending its more able postgraduate students overseas to study. Intellectual labour and production may well have been espoused by many Wellingtonians, but it was still perceived, by those with the means to fund the arts if they wished, to be of secondary value to the serious and practical considerations of building a national agriculturally based economy.

The late integration (compared to the metropolitan West) of these kinds of ‘organic’ or public intellectuals into university colleges, led to their continued sense of disenchantment and alienation within New Zealand society. At this time they can be viewed as only loosely integrated with the academic profession, but in another sense they had always been integrated with the wider society through the necessity to earn a living. This was not merely an anomaly of the Depression years; few New Zealanders at this time had private means. Even by 1956, a census year, it was clear that in general, those New Zealanders not actively engaged in paid employment but in receipt of an income (such as social security beneficiaries), did not earn sufficient to live comfortably. The ‘active engagement’ category in the table below refers to people actively engaged in paid employment.

TABLE 6.1: Average New Zealand income 1956

	Males £	Females £
Total actively engaged	735	369
Total not actively engaged but with incomes	237	109
Total population with incomes	715	299

(Adapted from New Zealand Census 1956, vol. 5: Incomes, p.7).

In the latter 'not actively engaged' category of the table above, 90% of all males and 89% of all females are listed as having no income. Social security beneficiaries are included in this category, but benefits are not counted as income. Of those males in the same category who did receive an income (eg. derived from investments), 57% received less than £300 per annum and seventy-eight percent received less than £500. Of the females with income in this category, 78% received less than £300 and 90% received less than £500 per annum (1956 Census, vol. 5: Incomes, p.7).

In this economic climate there were few intellectuals who were able to work for sustained periods in unpaid intellectual activity and such activities were often peripheral to the business of earning a living. There were however a small number of intellectuals with private means, but as Shils argues, 'free lance' or public intellectuals engaged in intellectual labour were dependent on bookshops, publishers, newspapers and journals for the dissemination of their ideas. They were in effect "independent intellectual entrepreneurs." (Shils, *op. cit.* p.290). Jacoby suggests that American intellectuals of the 1950s were 'publicists' who wrote to and for the educated public (Jacoby 1987, p.26). By the following generation, he writes they had "surrendered the vernacular, sacrificing a public identity." (*ibid.*). The same can be said of several New Zealand intellectuals of the 1950s. One notable intellectual of the day, Blackwood Paul, founded a small press which published the work of many New Zealand writers. On his death he was remembered as a man who "made his own contribution to New Zealand life and letters. In Wellington, one saw him occasionally, in the formal clothes of a business man." ("Blackwood Paul" Landfall, 1965, p.140). He was "an intellectual who loved books and combined a keen literary sense and a strong social conscience with the ability of an excellent business man." (*ibid.* p.142).

Another well-known writer in intellectual circles of the time, James Courage, was remembered on his death as follows: "Although he had a small private income that relieved him of financial worry he was in poor health and spent much time with psychiatrists." (Wilson, 1964, p.235). However, these intellectuals with independent

means or incomes, were in the minority. In the main, people who associated with intellectual communities generally had to find work in unrelated areas to support their intellectual labour.

These 'loosely integrated' intellectuals as well as the more traditional academics and their students, often expressed a sense of alienation from New Zealand society and culture. Throughout the 1950s the social sphere continued to evade cultural definition. Even in 1966 commentators were saying that "[c]ulture as such in New Zealand does not yet wear a recognizably New Zealand face." ("Notes", Landfall, 1966, p.216).

A large part of this disenchantment was sourced in the changing relations with Britain. There was a cooling of temperature on both sides. From the British side of the equation, Fyvel writes that, "British traditional culture had – unlike that of France – become largely interwoven with imperial power. In whatever way the empire was dissolved, therefore, the whole thing had to be a traumatic shock." (Fyvel, 1968, p.56). Shils writes in a similar vein, arguing that "[e]very society faces in varying degrees problems arising from relations between the centre and periphery" (Shils, *op. cit.* p.301). He adds,

"These problems reach an extreme point of aggravation in societies which are ruled from outside their boundaries or which have relatively recently been so ruled. One of the reasons for the aggravation is the modern culture of the society of which the intellectuals are the chief bearers." (*ibid.*).

Shils further argues that problems arise because "the intellectuals of the particular society have been educated in modern higher education institutions which are alien in pattern to the institutions through which the traditional culture has been transmitted. Intellectuals of colonial or quasi-colonial countries have a strong although unfocused sense of nationality – their sense of their own 'nationality' is ordinarily far stronger than it is in the rest of society." (*ibid.*).

As a result, a mood of defiance emerged in the ways in which New Zealand academics and intellectuals described relations with Britain. The journalist and broadcaster,

Alexander MacLeod, noted that, "Britain is not so keen on the Commonwealth as we are in New Zealand. It is embarrassed with the Commonwealth and irritated with it as well." (MacLeod, 1964, p.165). He also noted that, "the urge to independence has been too powerful, and exercised too often and over too short a period, for the British to be able to contemplate it without a certain bitterness." (*ibid.* p.166). The problem was more than simply an awkwardness over how two nations were to talk to one another in the absence of an empire. Shils' argument carries weight because New Zealand intellectuals maintained a strong sense of their own nationality. They sought to differentiate themselves intellectually from Britain. However given the system of higher education in New Zealand, which at the time was patterned, albeit poorly, on British systems, there was no institution that could confidently speak with a local or indigenous voice on behalf of intellectuals and their concerns. Additionally, New Zealanders often felt themselves to be rather poor relations in the Commonwealth. Even as late as 1968, Peter Alcock, a Senior Lecturer in English, at Massey University in Palmerston North, while investigating the growth in popularity of Commonwealth literature, conducted a survey to find out which Commonwealth university libraries carried New Zealand literature. He found very few New Zealand books in libraries in the United Kingdom. There were also very few in Australia, although a university library in Adelaide did carry several texts and planned to purchase many more. Libraries in Queensland, New England, Sydney, and Western Australia were committed to increasing New Zealand stock, while the Australian National University had only a small holding and in 1968, could not really see the point in increasing it (Alcock, 1968, p.401).

This led to a somewhat defensive attitude amongst intellectual communities in New Zealand. Not only did they feel dispossessed by Britain and the Commonwealth, but also within their own society. A comment recorded in Landfall, a New Zealand literary journal, notes that the "nineteenth century respect for [writers and intellectuals], which has survived or been revived in Russia, has gone in English-speaking societies. Writers have become private individuals again; they are no longer seers and preachers, oracles to whom the hungry multitudes listen; indeed in New Zealand they are rather less than other men, and solid citizens shy in embarrassment at the mere mention of the word, as

if touched on the raw.” (“Notes”, Landfall, 1960, p.3). This sense of being different from others allowed intellectuals to build close-knit communities both at the edges of New Zealand society as well as later, within the universities. The sense of isolation, both geographical and social, informed much of the nature of these communities. When asked how New Zealand writers might be helped by the government, the Senior Research Fellow in History at Auckland University, E.H. McCormick suggested that “[i]t might be a good idea to leave them alone for a while to scribble away in their baches and bedrooms.” (“Writers in New Zealand: A Questionnaire”, Landfall, 1960, p.62). This stance is not far removed from a pioneering image of the rugged but solitary and hermit-like country-dweller. It is a New Zealand version of intellectual alienation and one that is closely linked to the physical geography of the country. Nevertheless those intellectuals who most strongly voiced a sense of nationality also believed that time abroad was necessary for intellectual nourishment. The writer, Maurice Duggan (who also worked in advertising) wrote:

“[w]e camp everywhere along the roadside, having with some ingenuity and no taste, disguised our tents with brick and timber: we camp along the lines of escape, the more easily perhaps, to reach the anti-climax of what may be happening over the hill. We live on small islands: the horizon is everywhere watery. It may be inevitable to go abroad.” (“Writers in New Zealand: A Questionnaire”, Landfall, 1960, p.51).

Yet those who did travel, did not always find what they were looking for. The writer James Courage on his death was eulogised with the comment: “So he died, as he had lived, in exile and alone.” (Wilson, 1964, p.235).

This stance of solitude and alienation lingered as an intellectual idiosyncrasy, but one that was sometimes cultivated almost as a passport into the intellectual community. In the late 1950s for example, the poet Denis Glover, Anton Vogt (a central figure in Wellington intellectual circles during the 1950s) and William Renwick, who was later to become Director-General of Education, sat in a small Wellington coffee house known as Parsons Coffee Shop, a place much frequented by intellectuals of the day. As they sat overlooking the busy street, they noted one of New Zealand’s most well known poets,

James K. Baxter, passing below them. Baxter was a central part of a generation of New Zealand poets and writers who were later to become synonymous with the notion of “New Zealand writing”. Like many of his contemporaries, Baxter adopted a solitary and individualistic attitude. Glover noted with some acerbity, “there goes Jim, carrying with him his pit, into which he will jump ... by appointment.” (William Renwick, personal communication, 18 November 1998).

This stance, adopted as an intellectual characteristic, had some grounding in reality amongst many of the servicemen who returned to New Zealand. Beaglehole notes that after the war “the veterans of Alamein and Cassino and the Arctic convoy began to pack the [university] corridors before lecture hours, amiably negligent of signs which forbade smoking, but curiously respectful towards professors and lecturers (so it seemed to some of those elders) who were innocent of the desperate experience of foreign battle, and had a feeling that the tokens of respect should move the other way.” (Beaglehole, 1949, p.243ff). Even before the war ended there was an influx into Victoria University College of men who had been on active war duty. They came to the University as war veterans on government rehabilitation schemes. In 1945, there were almost 1500 ‘Rehab.’ ex-soldiers attending lectures (*ibid.* p.244). ‘Rehab. men’ received special coaching, extra course credits and lectures were repeated to accommodate increasingly overcrowded classrooms (*ibid.*).

One such ‘Rehab. man’ was John Thomson. Thomson served in the Royal New Zealand Navy towards the end of the war. One of his officers suggested that he attend university on a rehabilitation scheme. Thomson took this advice and enrolled at Victoria University College. During his time as a student he founded the literary journal Hilltop (Thomson 1949a, Thomson 1949b), which in its short life, promoted New Zealand writers. He later went on to found the prestigious London-based journal, Early Music, a publication of the Oxford University Press. On his return to New Zealand Victoria University awarded him an honorary doctorate in Music. Like many other ‘Rehab.’ men of his generation, he contributed to the intellectual and academic life of Victoria University until his death in 1999.

This government rehabilitation programme led to a dramatic increase in the numbers of university educated writers, actors and artists who were to form the backbone of intellectual communities in Wellington during the 1950s. It also provided a pool of educated people who were later to fuel the numbers of the academic ranks. The professional integration of intellectuals happened in New Zealand more slowly than it did in many other countries. It also happened in a different way, because intellectuals in New Zealand did not enter into jobs in security, policy or research as was the case in America and the United Kingdom. Despite this, the trend towards integration increased during the 1950s. Many of those intellectuals who did find themselves absorbed into University professional life after the war differed from the earlier professors in that they had experienced active combat at first hand. They were well-travelled people who had seen something of the world beyond New Zealand. They were also a group of people who sought to find a voice for their experience of a war fought in distant countries on behalf of a Britain they had ceased to recognise. The impact of these ideas led to a considerable change in the focus of intellectual communities around Wellington and within the University itself.

6.3.1. Suburbia and social class

Social changes in post-war New Zealand affected the nature of intellectual labour and the academic and intellectual communities. Throughout the country, class and social divisions were increasingly reflected in housing, education and rural/urban economic polarities. The academic and intellectual communities of the time were not isolated from these trends. The social changes that occurred in Wellington throughout the 1950s influenced the patterns of professional integration that took place as intellectuals began to enter the University.

After the Second World War there was an increase in New Zealand's population. It is not surprising that fertility rates rose during the 1950s as marriages, delayed by the war, took place and couples began producing children. In New Zealand the fertility rate

remained high throughout the decade and then peaked again in 1961 (Gilson in Forster, 1969, p.32). The social implications of high fertility were an increased demand for educational expansion at all levels and a need for more teaching personnel. There was also a greater demand for housing as newly married couples set up their own households. Although the suburbanisation of New Zealand was well under way by 1926 (a census year), the post-war period saw an accelerated growth of suburbs in the outer rings of cities and towns. Wellington also experienced a rapid growth (see Appendix 4: Population of Wellington City by Suburb 1929-1966).

During this period, divisions in social class also became more explicit. Prior to the war, upper income groups did not form a particularly visible geographical entity in Wellington. However as the city grew in size and suburbs were built in outlying areas, the wealthy were able to locate themselves in areas where there was expensive housing. Because there was a limited amount of vacant land available in Wellington, the government built large housing tracts, known as 'State houses', for low income earners in the peripheral outer rings of the city, in areas such as Porirua and Lower Hutt. This had the effect of "spatially isolating the lower income groups." (McGee in Forster 1969, p.156). The government lending policy of the State Advances Corporation also influenced borrowers to build new houses rather than buy existing ones in the city. Again, the lack of suitable land in the city meant that people had to build at the outskirts of Wellington (*ibid.* p.151).

The social divisions could readily be seen in the socio-economic grading of the city's districts (see Appendix 5: Greater Wellington Socio-Economic Grade by Census Districts 1956). Small bands of high income earners peopled the inner and central city districts, such as Karori and Kelburn, where Victoria University College was located, while low income earners centred in the outlying suburbs. The 1956 Census noted that there had been greater growth in the 'outer' areas of the main cities, but that in every case, except in the city of Lower Hutt (an outlying district in the Greater Wellington area with large State housing tracts), the population of the inner city areas had declined (1956 Census, vol. 1- Increase and Location of Population. p.23). However, even Lower

Hutt's growth was seen primarily outside the 'centre'. The 1956 Census noted that wartime conditions had also affected housing, as the influx of war workers into the city was a temporary phenomenon. After the war, they returned home and this led, in part, to a decline in inner settlement rings. In addition, the Wellington and Hutt urban areas still showed the highest proportion of flats and rooming houses in the country. This serves as an indication that the Wellington urban centres housed a relatively transient population with large suburban estates on its outer rings.

McGee (in Forster, 1969) argues that a "spatial enigma ... pervades the New Zealand scene and reinforces the myth of a raw pioneer rural society." (McGee, p.147). He notes that "New Zealand's space is occupied by mountains, bush and farmland. They intrude physically into most New Zealanders movements, thoughts and actions, yet it is in tiny pockets of city space that the New Zealand way of life is nurtured. The New Zealander has never consciously come to terms with this dualism," McGee adds, "It is part of him." (*ibid.*). Despite the fact that the New Zealand economy relied heavily on the rural sector, McGee noted that by 1969, seven out of ten New Zealanders lived in urban districts (*ibid.* p.144).

Commenting on the suburban phenomenon in post-war New Zealand, Pearson (1994) suggests that rapid physical expansion can atomise communities. In this respect New Zealand's colonial and post-war history can be viewed not as one of social attenuation, but marked by a lack of association. In a fragmented society, social rituals 'become too fleeting to bind.' (Pearson, 1994, p.31). Pearson adds that more often boundaries are symbolic, and communities are imagined (*ibid.* p.28). The notion that the outer suburbs of New Zealand cities are "nappy valleys" (*ibid.*), places where families move to raise children, is also one that suggests a dimension of social isolation exists within suburbia, as many women with young children in new housing estates can testify. The absence of adequate public transport and recreational or shopping facilities combined with a lack of social networks in newly constructed housing communities is an indication that fractured social relations exist. Despite the enduring rural and pioneering myths with which New Zealanders warmed themselves, the 1950s represented a period of social

transition. Intellectual labour production within this environment, rather than operating within clear community boundaries, reflected changes in the wider culture of the time. Against this backdrop, organic intellectual communities had begun to form around radio broadcasting and theatre after the Depression, and by the end of the Second World War they were highly active.

6.4. Vehicles for the local organic intellectual voice

To a certain extent people located within radio and drama circles were at the cutting edge of an emergent nationalism, and were seeking a means for the expression of these ideas. Intellectuals outside the university were more active than academics in taking the pulse of the nation in this respect. While important aspects of a rapidly urbanising country were not taken fully into account by the universities until the late 1960s, these intellectuals outside the universities were nonetheless collecting more information about New Zealand society than most of their academic counterparts. In this sense they can be seen to be playing the role of Gramsci's organic intellectuals in post-war New Zealand. These intellectuals and their concerns were beginning to be heard in universities by the late 1960s, but at the close of the war, the universities were not yet quite ready for them.

6.4.1. Radio

Radio broadcasting was an important means for expressing some of the ideas being developed in intellectual communities outside the University. The origins of this movement can be found in the late 1930s.

In August 1936, Professor James Shelley left his Chair in Education at Canterbury University College and took up the position of Director of Broadcasting. His appointment had an enduring impact on the focus of radio broadcasting in New Zealand. Shelley was an intellectual first and foremost. He had a life-long commitment to fostering a local New Zealand voice in cultural and educational matters. He recognised

the potential power that radio technology would have on New Zealand households and immediately set to work to introduce local colour into programming. In the 1946-47 Annual Broadcasting Report he wrote:

“It is recognised that social and cultural developments are an essential factor in the successful readjustment of the community to post-war conditions. Creative expression is to a degree the measure of a nation’s stature [...] The power of radio in the modern world is such that by its agency the thought and action of a community may be unified to an extent never before approached in the history of peoples.” (Downes & Harcourt, 1976, p.103).

Certainly the impact of radio broadcasting was not underestimated by intellectuals of the day. The poet A.R.D. Fairburn, a regular broadcaster, noted cynically in 1954 that “[w]hen one does broadcast, one descends the ivory substitute staircase in a seer’s robe, and one’s lightest words of nonsense are regarded as droppings from the mouth of the Ancient of Days, crumbs of imperishable wisdom. Droppings they are, I admit. But not of that kind.” (Day, 1994, p.304).

Shelley added in the Annual Broadcasting Report that: “So far broadcasting has been considered from a national point of view – that is, providing the best programmes available without much regard to the locality of artists or stations. The time is now opportune for the adoption of a supplementary policy – that of using radio as a local institution to serve as an instrument for developing the cultural life, artistic endeavour and civic consciousness of towns and districts.” (Downes & Harcourt, *op. cit.* p.142).

Shelley’s comment may have come as a result of growing public criticism of the practice of using imported British and American programmes. Post-war audiences began calling for the voices of New Zealand commentators (Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand, 1980, p.148).

Two years after Shelley’s appointment, Bernard Beeby became the supervisor of production and assisted Shelley’s vision of promoting local New Zealand drama across the air waves. The Beeby family were themselves central figures in intellectual circles of

the time. Beeby developed a radio drama centre in Wellington which aimed at producing plays of good professional quality by New Zealand writers. This move helped to establish a base of performers and playwrights in the Wellington region, since all radio drama was produced in Wellington (Downes & Harcourt, *op. cit.* p.161). This provided employment for local Wellington-based actors and writers. He was highly successful in this endeavour. After his retirement in 1960, his successors continued his work, and in the twelve months ending on March 31 1975, “59 radio plays, 66 short stories and 89 serial episodes” (*ibid.* p.163) were produced. This represented a considerable rise from “a total of only 47 scripts of plays, short stories and features accepted from local writers in the first year of [radio] expansion, 1953” (*ibid.*).

In addition to promoting local drama, Shelley established a mobile recording unit, which toured New Zealand. The aim of this unit was to capture local performances and oral history on location. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s a small technical team toured remote areas of the country and made recordings of “Maori concerts, school choirs, pioneer reminiscences, tales of the bush, stories of the gold fields.” (*ibid.* p.133). A member of the technical team was later to recall:

“One of the strong points of the tour was to get as much early historical Maori information as we could. But we spent a lot of time in the gold fields, in Coromandel, getting stories from the early settlers there. We tried to document as much of the early history of an area as we could and at the same time, of course, by making up programmes afterwards, provide material to let the rest of New Zealand know what was happening and what those other places were we were visiting.” (*ibid.*).

In this respect those people involved with radio production were beginning to articulate a national narrative. Through promoting the work of local artists and collecting oral data about rapidly disappearing pioneering and traditional Maori lifestyles, they were in effect involved in the weaving of a new social fabric. While the Victoria University College professors taught Greek and Latin to an increasingly restless and political student body, the airwaves of New Zealand were beginning to echo with local voices.

6.4.2. Theatre

Despite a nascent nationalism amongst intellectuals in New Zealand, the post-war affluence had a levelling effect on public attitudes and this had a decisive impact on theatrical activities. The social divisions emerging in New Zealand's seemingly 'seamless' community were enormous, yet the public surface of society remained largely unruffled. Disturbing undercurrents of dissatisfaction and disillusion flowed beneath a relatively complacent social veneer. Conflicts of class, ethnicity and sexuality were erupting throughout New Zealand. For example, there was a tide of discontent as Maori migrated to urban areas to take up work in the city. Traditional tribal lifestyles underwent a corresponding period of upheaval.

Class divisions began to emerge during this period, for example in 1951, an industrial dispute erupted between the Watersiders Union and management. This dispute led the government to declare a State of Emergency. Workers across the country went out on strike and an apparently 'classless' New Zealand society saw widening rifts between working and middle classes. Theatres in Wellington played to relatively affluent middle-class audiences, while picket lines were drawn just down the road.

In 1954, the country was rocked by two separate events. The first was a matricide leading to the arrest of two teenage girls, Pauline Parker and Juliet Hulme. Parker and Hulme battered Parker's mother to death in a Christchurch Park. Evidence of a sexual relationship between Parker and Hulme was found, and this created a major national scandal which was conducted largely through the newspapers. The headlines read: "Daughter charged with murder of mother" (The New Zealand Herald, 24 July 1954, p.14), and "Girls on murder charge" (Truth, 30 June 1954, p.13). During this time attitudes towards lesbian and homosexual activity, which were already conservative, hardened into active hostility.

The second event was the media coverage of the Report of the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents, otherwise known as the Mazengarb

Report (Mazengarb, 1954). This report looked at juvenile activities particularly in the Hutt Valley area and concluded that juvenile morality was a grave social concern. In the rapidly suburbanising area near Wellington, Hutt Valley housing conditions and overcrowding were major problems. The Report suggested that there was a link between poor living conditions and instances of drinking, pre-marital sexual relations between teenagers, and juvenile gang-crime. These young people were later to be named “milk-bar cowboys”, a term which referred to the social gatherings of teenagers around milk bars, before setting out on an evening of ‘crime’.

In 1960, the newspapers reported a ‘mob’ riot at the Hastings Blossom Festival. In this widely publicised incident, a group of young people was reported to have rampaged through the streets of Hastings during a public procession. This led to an outbreak of street scuffles between police and youths. The media reported this incident extensively, leading to editorials entitled “Must the Hooligan Take Control?” (The Evening Post, September 12, 1960) and headlines such as “Kid Glove Treatment Makes Minister ‘Sick’” (The Evening Post, September 21, 1960). The fear of ‘mob hysteria’, ‘street violence’ and ‘juvenile delinquency’ were central themes for many months after (Openshaw, 1988).

Certainly there was enough material within New Zealand society for the creation of a gritty dramatic realism in the nation’s theatres. Yet this did not take place until late in the 1960s. Thomson (1984) suggests that “in a time of re-adjustment to normal life after the war years, critical reports upon society were not wanted. [...] Those dramatic societies in Auckland and Wellington which took an interest in the social and political problems of the modern world looked rather to European and American playwrights.” (Thomson, 1984, p.28). Social criticism tended to be somewhat limited during this era. Thomson adds that: “Though theatre-goers represented only a very few percent of the population, they seem to have reflected a prevailing mood in New Zealand society. Like an adolescent, that society was unsure of its identity; it wanted to be praised and, unwilling to expose itself to analysis, was unduly sensitive to criticism. And unsympathetic criticism was what most playwrights tended to offer. Intellectuals and

writers were self-consciously aware of their isolation in a society which held them in low esteem. Nor were they numerous enough to make an audience in themselves. [...] New Zealand plays could on occasion draw large audiences, but they could not hold them.” (*ibid.*).

For these reasons New Zealand theatre between the years of 1960 and 1965 are generally described as somewhat stagnant (McNaughton, 1981, p.76). Furthermore, unlike radio, which can be broadcast into homes across the country, theatre is essentially an urban activity. Performances are generally held in the evening. During the years of suburban construction and the legal hour of six o'clock closing of public houses, the streets of New Zealand cities tended to be deserted after work. People returned to their suburban homes at the end of the working day. The actor, Elric Hooper who had previously taught at London University, commented in 1978 that: “Theatre is an urban activity, begotten and maintained by the city – and the city in the true sense of that word.” (Hooper, 1978). Not only were New Zealand theatre audiences fickle about social criticism, they also went to bed early.

Hooper maintained that “theatre is the dream mechanism of a society and must act on its civilisation in the same way as the dream acts upon the psyche, for enrichment and release. The theatre’s dreams, like those of sleep, are infinite in scope, fantastic, realistic, funny, horrific, trivial or profound but are given their validity only by their relevance to the needs of the particular society the theatre serves.” (*ibid.*). After the war, much New Zealand theatre could be seen as an intellectual device in search of a society to serve. But the society in which it found itself was one that had a certain selective deafness in hearing itself examined too closely.

Like many other countries after the war which had begun or had already gone through a disconnection from the British Empire, New Zealand saw an increase in the number of theatres. The post-war prosperity allowed municipal spending on such projects, but also like some other newly independent countries, New Zealand society tended to see the theatre as more of a cultural insignia, than as a useful vehicle for the expression of

nationhood. This view was at odds with the ideas of many members of the theatrical and intellectual communities. Thus an uneasy compromise was found. If the theatre audience was largely urban, traditional and intellectual, then in order to survive, theatres performed plays which appealed to that population. The intellectual of the time, as will be discussed later, can be typified to an extent. With this in view, local drama drew primarily on comfortable middle-class family life for its substance. Thomson contends that “[p]lays about people low in the social scale, or with one striking protagonist, are certainly rare in New Zealand before the later 1960s.” (Thomson, *op. cit.* p.59). In addition, there were few plays written or performed by Maori actors. The Wellington theatre scene circled around the cultural needs and intellectual priorities of a small group of educated people, but all this was to change.

In 1960, Landfall had conducted a small survey of New Zealand writers (“Writers in New Zealand: A Questionnaire.” Landfall, 1960). In the introduction to the survey the anonymous author wrote:

“In every society that is not enslaved or fossilized, men are looking all the time for writers and other artists to speak for them, to enlarge their lives imaginatively, to show them an image – critical, flattering, diverting– of the body social, to offer them alternative purposes, beliefs, standards of behaviour, above all to keep them alert and responsive. Writers can do this because in the oceanic pressure of society, which grinds so many people down into units like pebbles, they remain stubbornly personal; social pressure, together with the growth of their powers, merely defines and sharpens each one's nature, the vehicle of his gift. [...] [T]hey form the *unlicensed conscience of society*.” (p.36ff: emphasis mine).

A new generation of intellectuals in Wellington emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s to take up this challenge. A shift in patterns of cultural consumption in Wellington began in 1963, when a group of four Wellington-based friends began meeting regularly in a café in Wellington's Massey House. The café was frequented by local actors, writers, musicians and broadcasting workers and in the mid 1960s it was a place where intellectuals met, talked, drank coffee and debated ‘ideas’. The four men, Peter Bland, Tim Elliott, Martin Sanderson and Harry Seresin, were working respectively as a poet, an

actor, a university lecturer and a business man (Harcourt, 1978, p.148). During their meetings they talked about a plan to create a small, local, professional theatre in Wellington. Academics from Victoria University occasionally participated in these discussions and eventually the circle of friends expanded to include, amongst others, academics from the departments of English Literature (Don McKenzie), Political Science (John Roberts) and Psychology (James E. Ritchie). From these debates it was decided that they would establish a new theatre. It was to be “a friendly, conversational, intimate and hospitable theatre, with refreshments [...] as well as a stage performance.” (*ibid.*). The theatre was to be called ‘Downstage’ and its role would be to be an experimental company which promoted the work of local writers and performers.

They called a well-attended public meeting of supporters on 15 May 1964, and some six months later, Downstage came into existence. Premises were found when a local coffee house in Courtney Place (an area in Wellington city lined with cafés and bars, which now is a focal meeting place for artists, academics and writers) was about to close due to lack of patronage. The Downstage managers leased the premises for three months (although they had only enough funds to pay rent for two weeks) and from that “accidental conjunction of a theatre without a stage and a food establishment without patrons came the unique Downstage theatre-restaurant.” (*ibid.* p.149).

At this point, many academic staff from Victoria University became actively and visibly involved in the cultural life of Wellington. Downstage theatre quickly became a recognised centre for the Wellington theatre scene, but it also provided a meeting ground for both public and university intellectuals at a time when ‘organic’ intellectuals were moving into the realms of academia, and conversely ‘traditional’ academics were appearing more frequently outside the university walls.

In 1969, Downstage presented a series of eight New Zealand plays, known as the Gulbenkian Series. The theatre mounted the season as a series of Sunday night workshop productions between September 1969 and March 1970 (McNaughton, *op. cit.* p.102). As a result of limited funding, an emerging trend in New Zealand theatre was

seen in the creation of productions that were on a small, intimate scale with sparse sets and little physical space between the performers and the audience. There were few raised stages in use and eventually writers began to exploit these conditions. New Zealand theatre characteristically “introduced audiences to a new order of intimacy.” (*ibid.*). In addition, McNaughton maintains that many of the new dramatists had a background in university drama, and these writers began to introduce a more vigorous and confrontational literary expression reminiscent of Brecht (*ibid.* p.120). With the change in production techniques towards a more intimate and yet confrontational view of theatre, local artists felt increasingly encouraged to introduce local themes. By the 1970s Wellington theatre patterns had shifted from presenting largely apolitical performances, to those which ruthlessly dissected the mores and culture of New Zealand society. Since that time, New Zealand theatre has taken on this particular combination of confrontational themes in small theatrical settings. Few barriers are erected between audience and the actors who perform in close physical proximity, often in a rounded or semi-rounded space, and often without a raised stage.

In 1973, a national New Zealand drama school was established in Wellington. In the same year, Victoria University hosted a nine night season of plays at its campus theatre, the Memorial Theatre, by the New Zealand writer, James K. Baxter. By 1978, several political street theatre companies had been established in Wellington. There was the Union Road Show (“Political Theatre.” Salient, 1978, p.17) which was an attempt by a group of unionists, actors and university students to establish a Trade Union Theatre. There was the Larf Street Theatre Group, which performed in Wellington streets, parks and on the University campus (“Larf Street Theatre Group.” Salient, 1978, p.17). Maori Theatre companies were emerging (“Theatre of Shock?: Maori Theatre.” Salient, 1978, p.16). The Victoria University Drama Society regrouped and presented its first production (“Drama.” Salient, 1978, p.17).

Wellington theatre, with its expression of urban malaise, contrasted with New Zealand television drama. During the 1970s, local television productions continued to focus on rural New Zealand images and plot lines. In 1973, Christine Cole Catley insisted that

this kind of programming with its emphasis on small towns and back-country characters contributed “powerfully to an expression and understanding of New Zealand society.” (Cole Catley, 1973, p.43). The images were immediately recognisable to New Zealand audiences and the way they saw themselves she argued, “[w]e are not yet an urban people. [...] The hills are our mythology.” (*ibid.*). Cole Catley explained that the “search for identity, for recognisable voices and faces and landscape is, of course, the central quest in our arts.” (*ibid.* p.44). The insistence that back-country New Zealand shapes the national culture is an enduring myth. The pioneering bush-men, the kauri gum diggers, the goldfields, the mountainous landscape and the isolation, were touchstones in the construction of a national discourse. Yet this rural iconography was presented to a predominantly urban television audience. Most people in New Zealand lived in cities. They still do. With 84.6% of New Zealanders living in urban areas by 1976 (New Zealand Census 1976: Vol 9, p.5), New Zealand, along with Australia, had become one of the “most urbanised nations in the world.” (Perry, 1994, p.141). Wellington theatres in the 1970s were amongst the first to shift the focus of national identity away from the paddocks and hills, and towards the problems created by rapid urban and suburban expansion during a time of economic recession.

6.5. Intellectuals in focus

Despite the fractured nature of the society they were operating within, it is possible to draw some conclusions about intellectual and academic activity in New Zealand during the 1950s and 1960s. Information has been drawn here from Landfall, a key literary journal which was founded in Christchurch, New Zealand in 1947. The journal continues to be one of the major periodicals for intellectual and literary thought in New Zealand today. The purpose of this journal was to provide an outlet for critique and comment on New Zealand conditions, society and culture. In the decades since its establishment, it has achieved this aim by publishing a representative sample of most of the major intellectual and academic figures in New Zealand.

A perusal of the lists of contributors to Landfall between the period 1950-1969 shows that intellectual and academic communities bore similarities to intellectual communities abroad. It is also possible to trace the pattern of professional integration that took place during this period using this source. The following can be ascertained:

New Zealand intellectuals during the 1950-1969 period were:

- predominantly male;
- likely to be supporting a family (therefore usually heterosexual, although with notable exceptions);
- Pakeha;
- an average age of thirty five years;
- likely to perceive a role as critic and conscience of New Zealand society;
- in need of a salary in order to survive;
- likely to have graduated from a major university abroad, such as Oxford;
- likely to have travelled outside of New Zealand, usually in Britain and Europe;
- likely to be living in an urban centre, usually a University town; and,
- likely to be affiliated to a university.

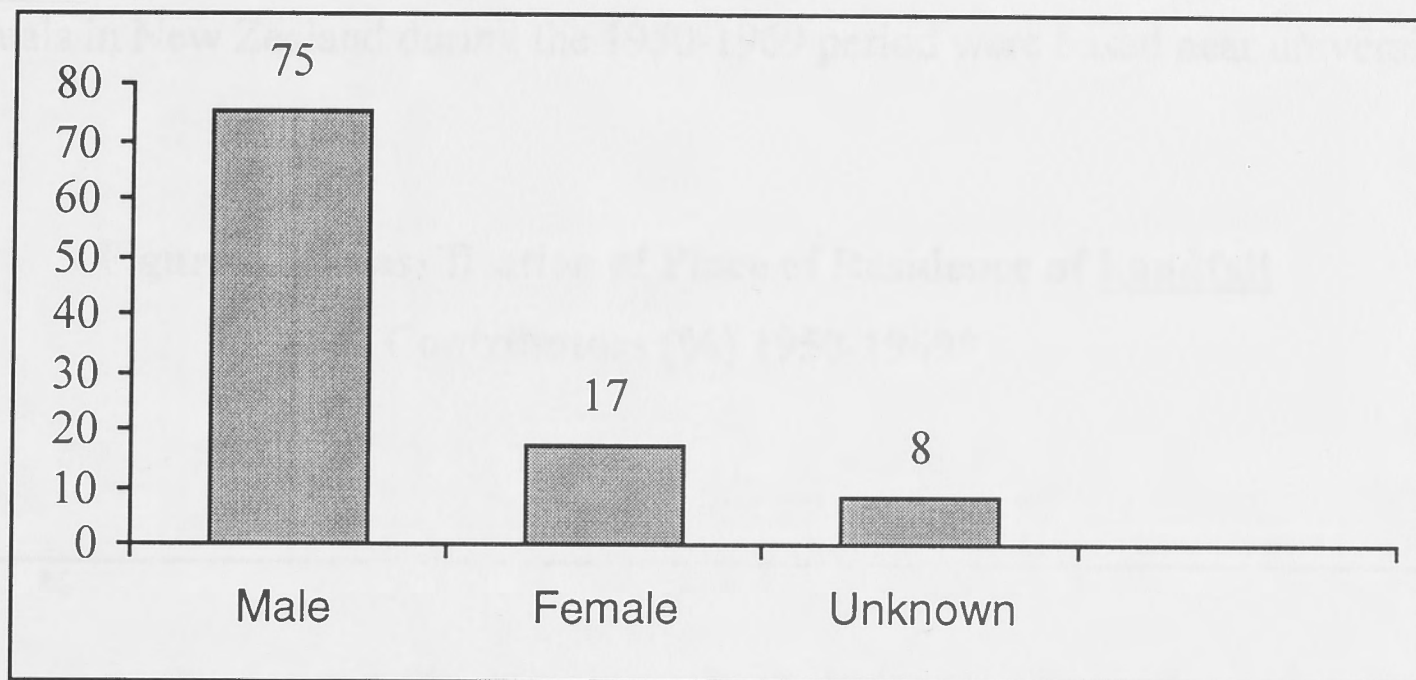
The following tables represent information taken from bio-sketches of Landfall contributors over the 1950-1969 period. The information relates to three hundred and thirty one contributors who are New Zealand citizens, residents or expatriates. Overseas contributors who are not New Zealand citizens and who have never resided in New Zealand have been excluded.

i) **Gender**

During the 1950-1969 period, the numbers of women contributing to Landfall were small, as is shown in the following graph (see also Appendix 6: Gender of Contributors

to Landfall 1950-1969). Less than 17% of contributors were women, while more than 75% were male (the gender of 8% of contributors is not known).

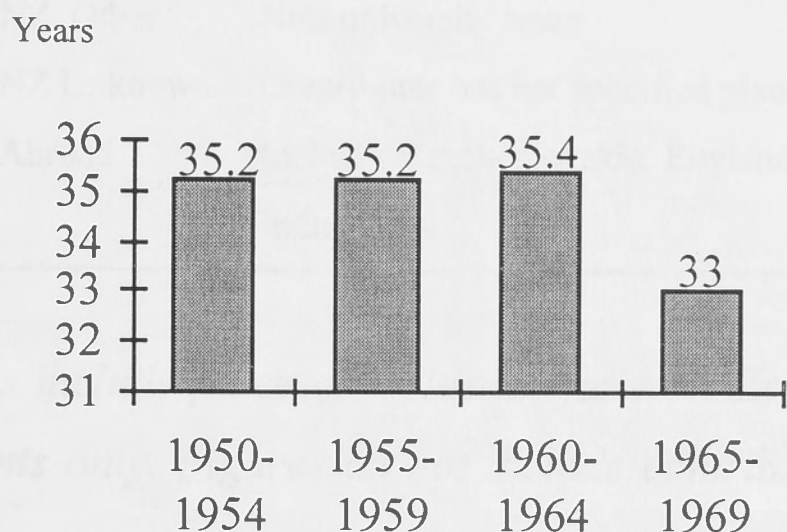
**Figure 6.1. Gender of Landfall Contributors
(%) 1950-1969**



ii) Age

The average age of contributors to Landfall during the 1950-1969 period was 35 years. This trend reflects the growing participation of ‘Rehab.’ men in the higher education sector after the war, as is shown in the following graph.

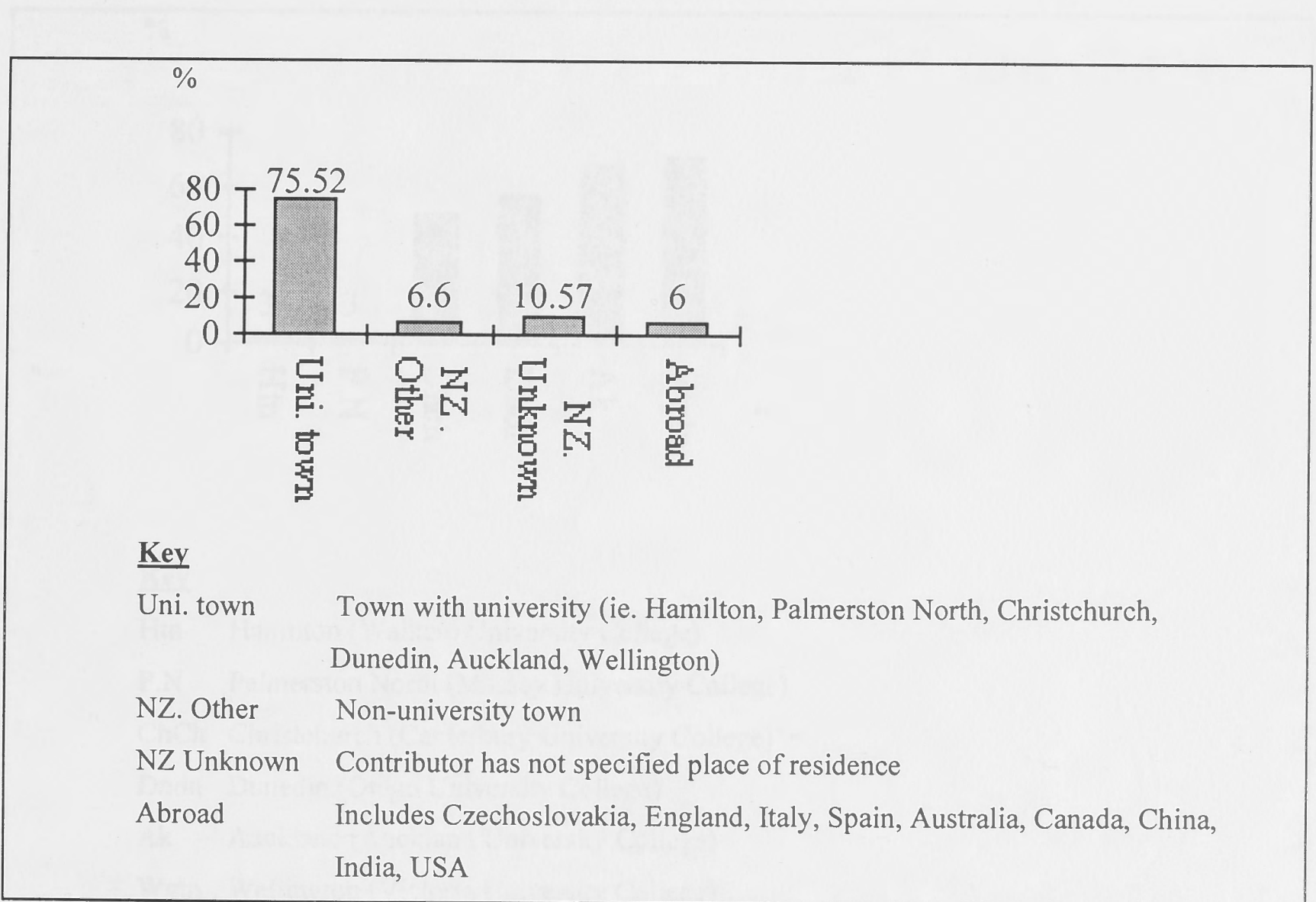
Figure 6.2. Average Age in Years of Landfall Contributors 1950-1969



iii) **Location**

It is also possible to draw some conclusions about where intellectuals in New Zealand were located. The following graphs indicate that contributors to Landfall clustered in the main urban centres, of which most had universities. Far from being rural people, intellectuals in New Zealand during the 1950-1969 period were based near universities.

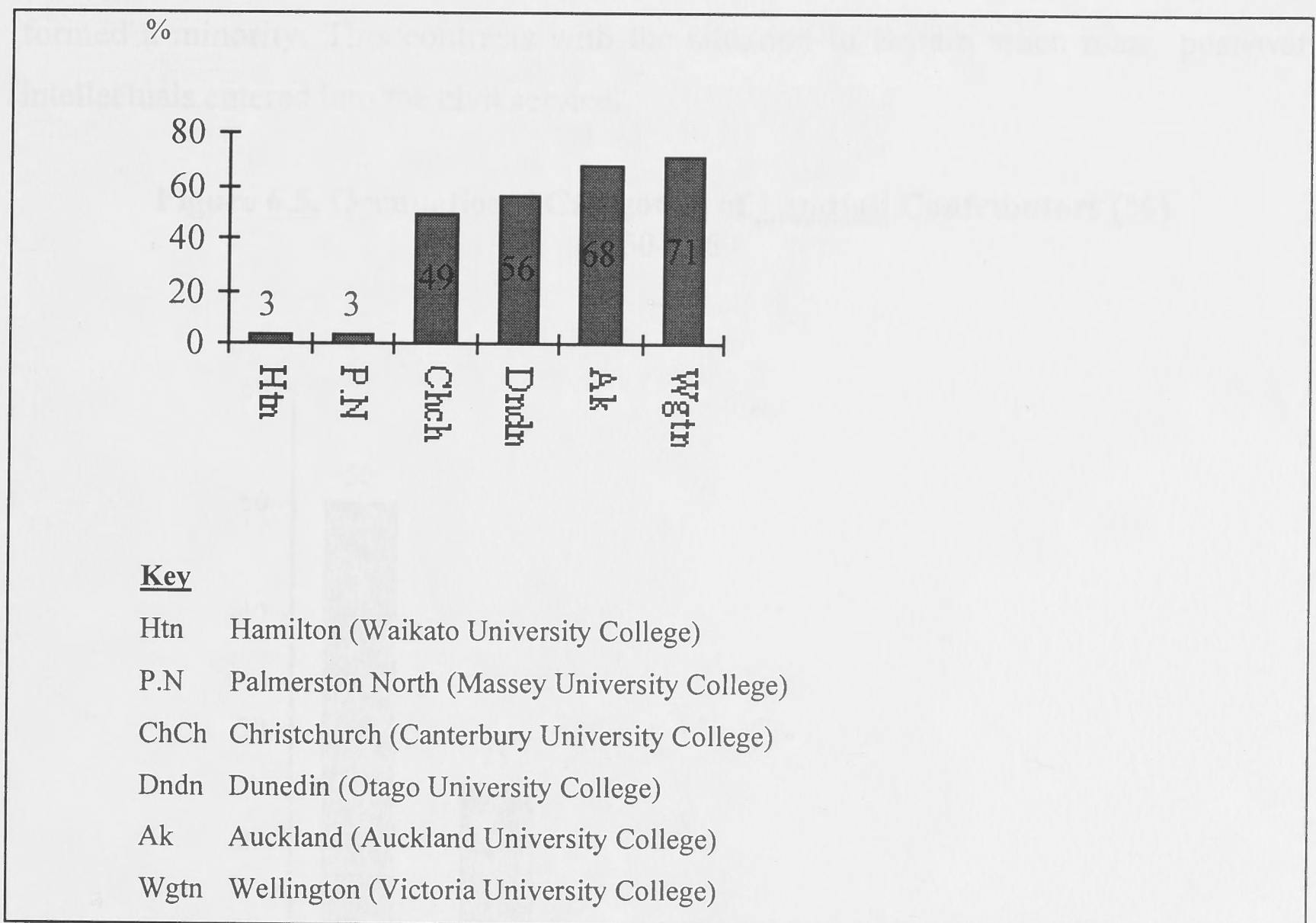
Figure 6.3. Classification of Place of Residence of Landfall Contributors (%) 1950-1969*



* Figures include place of residence for New Zealand-born residents or New Zealand immigrants only. Figures do not include contributors who have never resided in New Zealand.

The following graph shows that the highest number of Landfall contributors living in towns with universities, were located in Wellington. Most of the Wellington contributors were associated with Victoria University College. This information reflects the emergence of increasingly active intellectual communities clustered around towns in New Zealand in which universities are sited, with Wellington (closely followed by Auckland) as a central focus for intellectual activity.

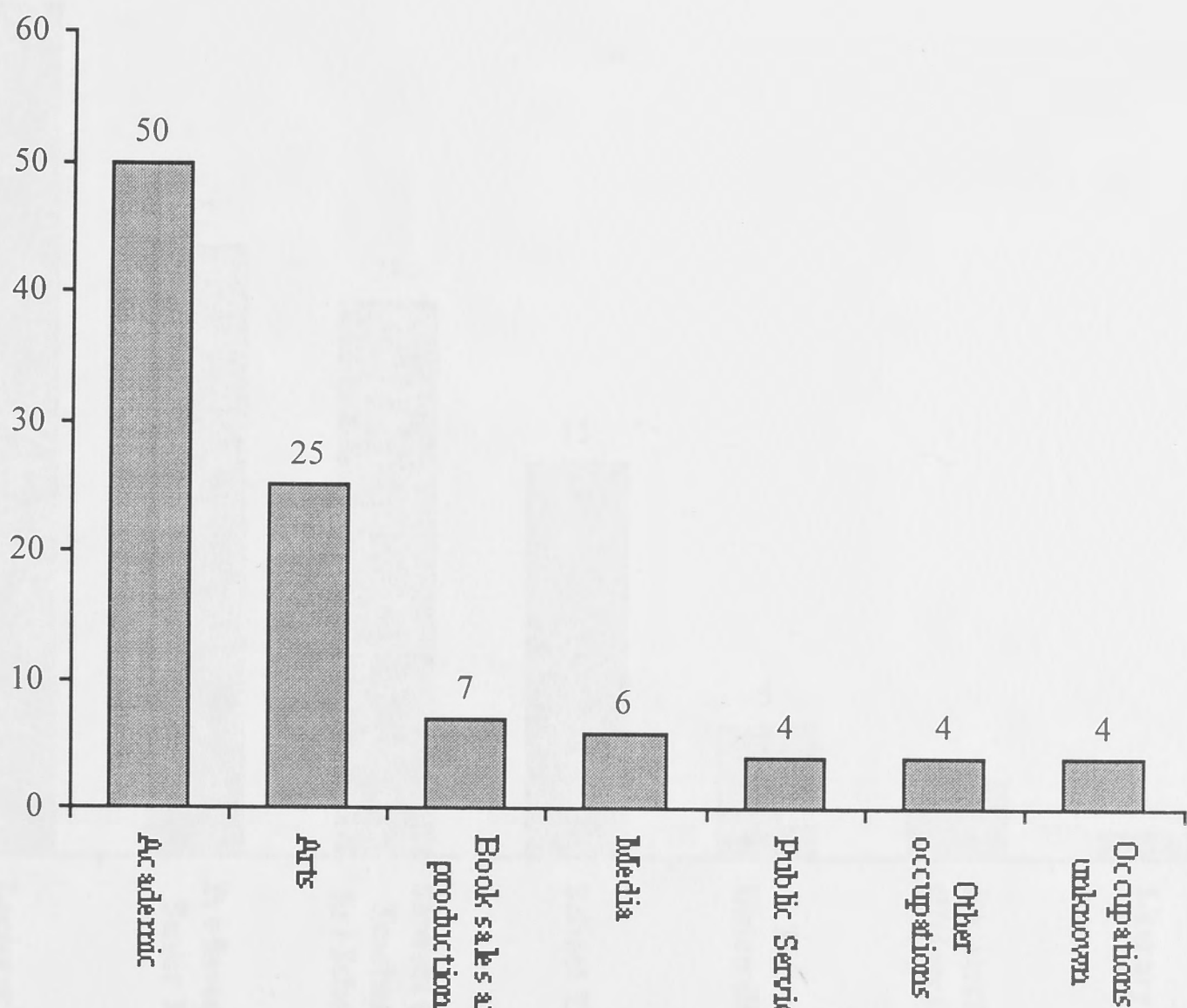
Figure 6.4. Classification of Landfall Contributors Place of Residence in New Zealand by Town in Which a University is Sited (%) 1950-1969



iv) Occupational categories

The location of many of the contributors in university towns suggests that intellectual labour in New Zealand during the 1950s and 1960s was increasingly centred on academic and arts-related occupations. These activities took place primarily in urban centres. Most of the Landfall contributors were involved in some form of teaching or learning activity within the formal educational institutions. However the arts were also well represented during this period. While there were a few contributors who listed their occupations as unskilled urban workers (such as factory workers, drain diggers, postal workers, shop assistants or labourers), or unskilled rural workers (such as coal miners, dope sprayers, bushmen, farmers), most were involved in literary, academic or arts-related labour. Government and public service workers were also represented but they formed a minority. This contrasts with the situation in Britain when many post-war intellectuals entered into the civil service.

Figure 6.5. Occupational Categories of Landfall Contributors (%) 1950-1969



The following graph (Figure 6.6.) provides a breakdown of the first column of the preceding graph (Figure 6.5.). It indicates that of those contributors who were located in academic and teaching and learning related professions or activities, most were based in universities. Senior academics were well represented, but the most active contributors came from the second tier of the academic ranks. These people are designated as university lecturers. Lecturers used journals such as Landfall to establish a reputation in New Zealand academic and intellectual circles. Unlike their professors who in the main, were already visible, lecturers had to build and maintain a profile for themselves.

There were also University or Teachers College students amongst the contributors. Contributions from students exceeded those of schoolteachers. Again, this reflects the active nature of student communities during the period. Many of the student contributors were later to become stalwarts of the academic and arts communities.

Figure 6.6. Classification of Academic, Teaching and Learning Related Occupations of Landfall Contributors (%) 1950-1969

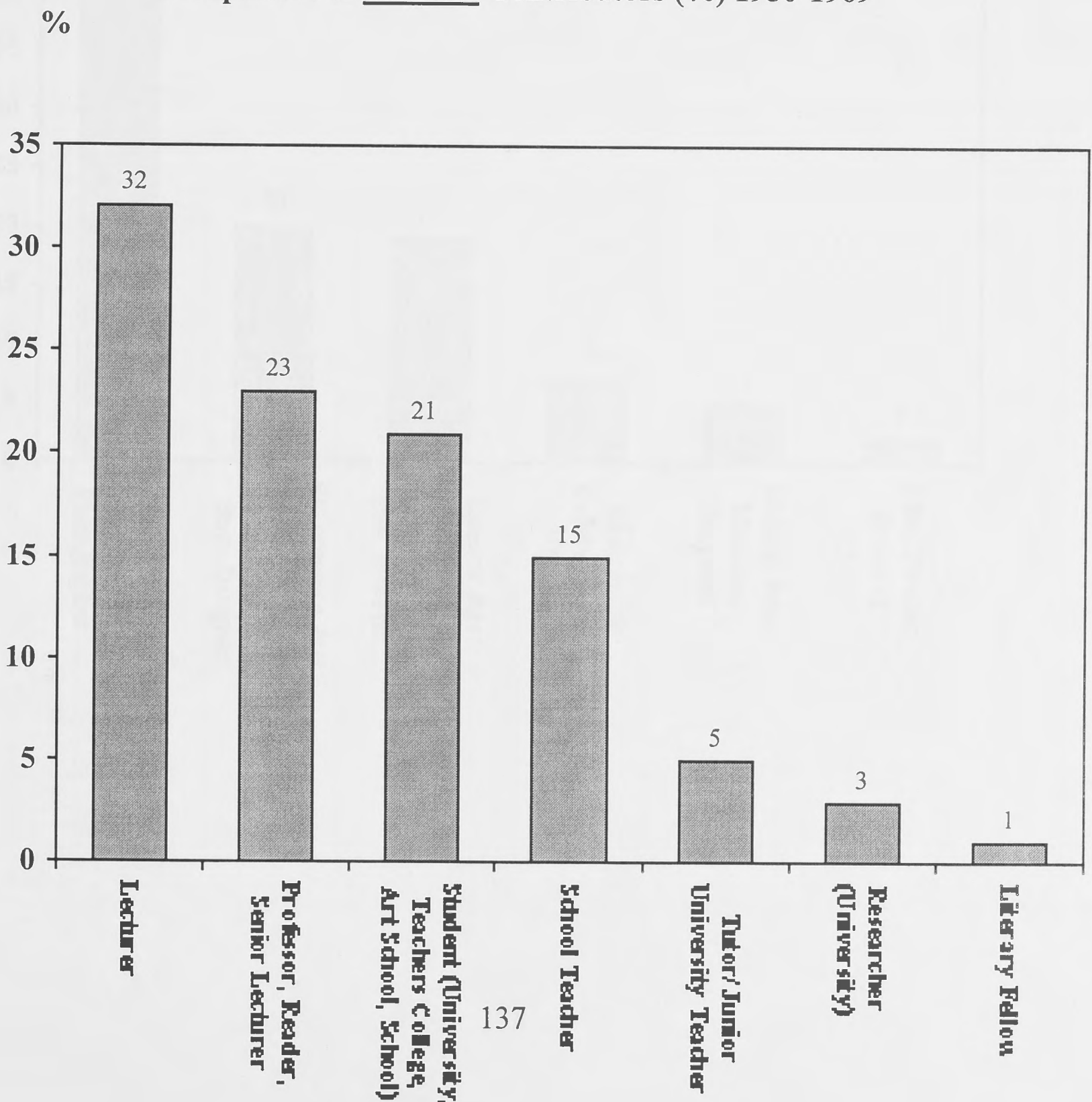
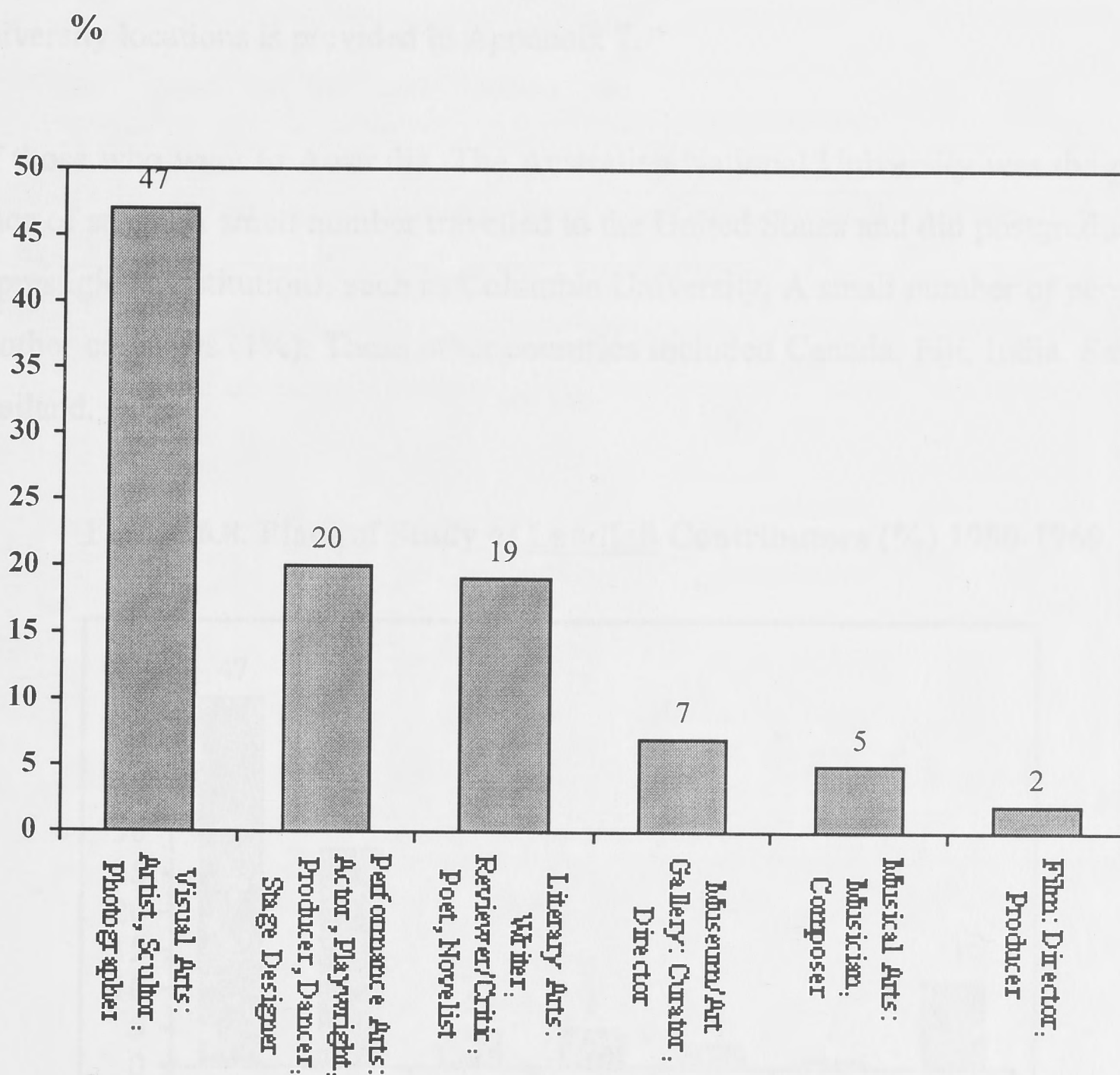


Figure 6.7. relates to information provided in the second column of Figure 6.5. This column relates to contributors from arts-related occupations. Figure 6.7 gives a breakdown of the kinds of occupational areas in which contributors from the arts were involved. It can be seen that the visual arts were well represented. The performance arts were also included particularly during the 1960s. Most of the performance-related contributors were based in Wellington.

Figure 6.7. Classification of Landfall Contributors in Arts-related Occupations (%) 1950-1969

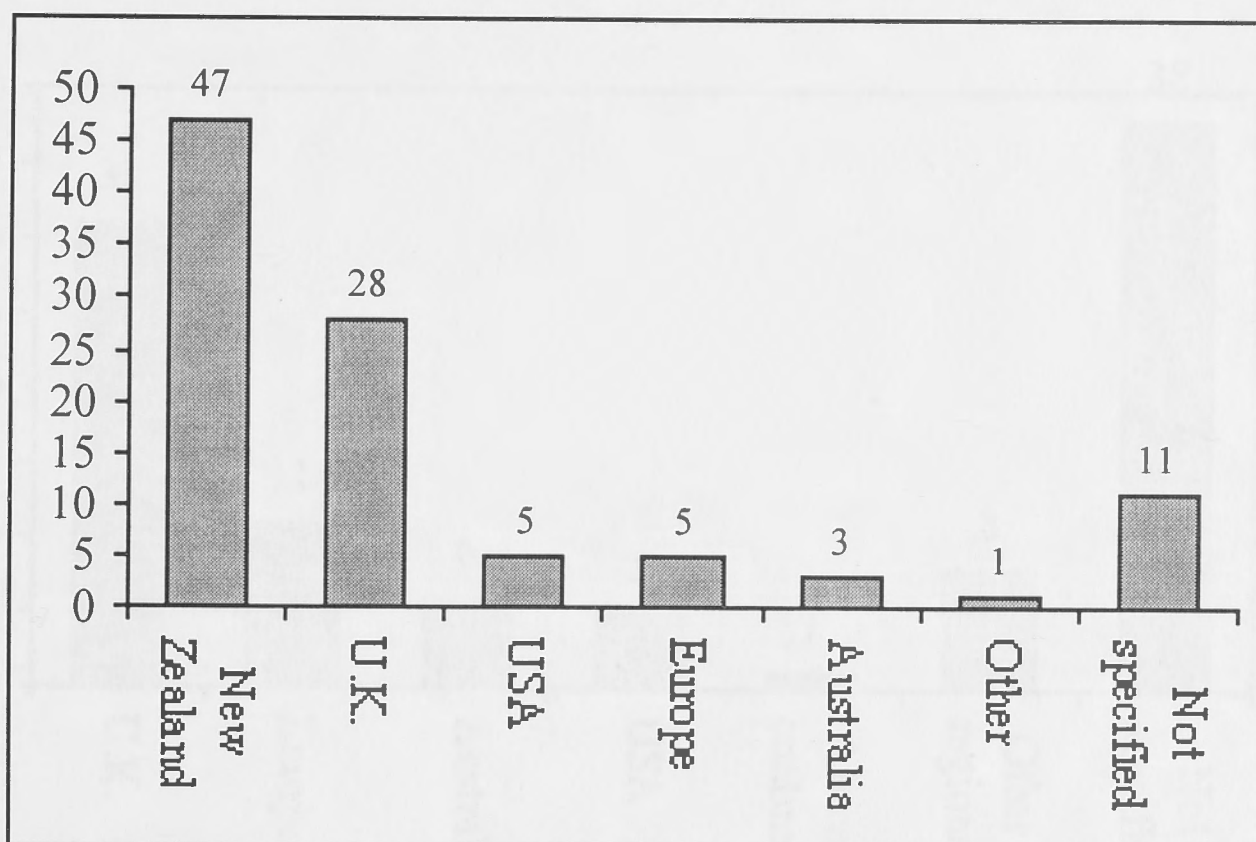


v) **Place of study**

Contributors to Landfall not only clustered in urban locations and academic occupations, but also in keeping with the trend of studying abroad, many had travelled overseas. The majority of contributors completed their undergraduate studies in New Zealand, but later went abroad to do postgraduate work. The graph below shows that the United Kingdom was the preferred place for study. Of those that studied in Great Britain, most attended Oxford University (i.e. 31% of British-educated contributors). A more extensive list of university locations is provided in Appendix 7.

Of those who went to Australia, The Australian National University was the preferred place of study. A small number travelled to the United States and did postgraduate work at prestigious institutions, such as Columbia University. A small number of people went to other countries (1%). These other countries included Canada, Fiji, India, Samoa and Thailand.

Figure 6.8. Place of Study of Landfall Contributors (%) 1950-1969.

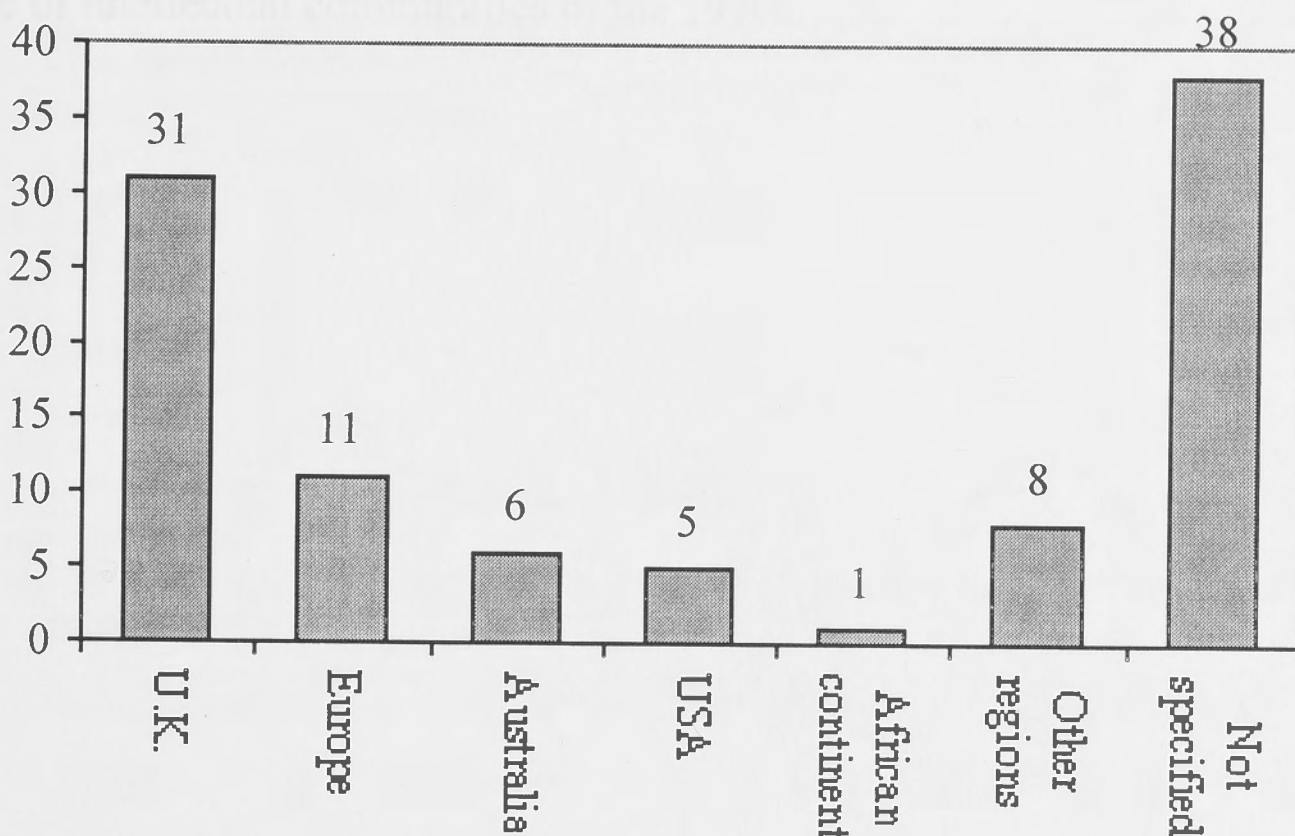


vi) **Travel abroad**

The desire to travel remained strong in many New Zealanders during the 1950s and 1960s. The war had opened new horizons for men and women who had served overseas. At the end of the 1940s when many people returned home, New Zealand suddenly seemed to some, to be a small, tame, and isolated society sitting at the far edge of the world. Similarly, during the 1950s when New Zealand students travelled abroad to study, the desire to see something of the world was instilled. Sea and air transport was a lengthy and expensive business, but nonetheless New Zealand intellectuals travelled extensively. This serves as an indicator that many of these contributors, particularly those based in universities, had money to travel.

The following graph shows that the majority of people travelled to Great Britain, but others went to Europe, Australia and the United States. Some contributors travelled to more remote regions. These are labelled 'Other regions' in the figure below and include the Pacific, Asia, Antarctica, South America and Canada. Appendix 8 provides more extensive information about places visited by contributors.

Figure 6.9. Regions Visited by Landfall Contributors (%) 1959-1960



CHAPTER 7

The kinds of intellectual and academic voices that emerged in the New Zealand post-war period were characterised by a number of salient factors, such as gender, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation. Intellectuals tended to gather in communities where there were people with similar outlooks. Even when they were debating definitions of self, or when they expressed conflicting ideas about intellectual priorities, they conducted these discussions amongst people who shared certain resemblances to themselves. It is not possible to gauge the number of Maori contributors to Landfall during these years, nor with the prevailing sexual attitudes of the time, is it possible to identify the number of lesbian and gay contributors. Certainly they were present, but their voices remain largely hidden amongst the welter of well-educated, much travelled, middle class, male academic contributions. The intellectual and academic communities of New Zealand after the war can therefore be typified as relatively homogeneous in this respect. There were certain orthodoxies apparent in the social make up of these communities. However Landfall was only one outlet for intellectual and academic debate. There were other vehicles such as radio, theatre and later, television. As intellectual and academic communities began to merge in the late post-war period, these technologies and artistic activities became increasingly focused and helped to define the nature of intellectual communities of the 1970s.

CHAPTER 7

THE FUSION OF 'ORGANIC' AND 'TRADITIONAL' INTELLECTUALS AS THE 'CRITIC AND CONSCIENCE OF SOCIETY'

The 1970s ushered in an economic recession in New Zealand. Interest rates rose dramatically leaving homeowners struggling to manage their mortgages, unemployment figures rose, and the New Zealand dollar fell in value. The period of post-war affluence was over and a new austerity marked an increasingly contracted economy. In 1976, a campaign against alleged 'overstayers' (people whose New Zealand visiting visa's had expired) was waged by the New Zealand Police with the direct support of the National Government. A series of dawn-raids on Pacific Island families was conducted by the police leading to public complaints about police racism and violence ("Dogs turned on Tongan workers" Salient, 1975, p.1). Amongst intellectual circles throughout the country, new voices of dissent began to emerge.

In Wellington, Victoria University students were actively involved in protesting the Vietnam War, supporting protest movements against apartheid in South Africa, promoting the Women's Liberation Movement and the Gay Liberation Movement, and importantly, publicising a major new wave of Maori nationalism. During this period there was a fusion of concern across 'traditional' intellectuals within Victoria University, university students, and 'public' or 'organic' intellectuals. As protest movements gathered strength and public support, the University responded by making changes to its curriculum. There was also evidence that many Victoria University staff were in support of some of the issues for which their students were fighting. As staff and

students became involved in various forms of activism, the shape of the University community once again began to shift. The upper levels of the University hierarchy did not change, nor did students cease to express dissatisfaction with aspects of the University's management, however there was an increased sense that the urgency of the social problems emerging in New Zealand society required a cohesive intellectual vanguard. For this reason students and staff often found themselves with matching sympathies and marching alongside each other at public demonstrations.

During the 1970s the rise of the Women's Liberation Movement attracted a steady flow of media attention. A good deal of feminist political activity was concentrated in Wellington partly due to the proximity of Parliament. One of the most active and controversial protest organisations throughout the 1970s and mid 1980s was the Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC). This group, established in 1973, was based in Wellington and had extensive links with students at Victoria University. This group of educated woman had considerable experience with the media and formulated strategies, which would attract attention from the press (Kidman, 1989, p.125). During the late 1970s, the student newspaper of Victoria University, Salient, gave sympathetic coverage to feminist concerns generally, and to WONAAC activities in particular.

Victoria University responded to pressure from the Women's Movement in Wellington in 1974 when the Curriculum Committee gave approval for the introduction of a new interdisciplinary course entitled 'Women in Society'. The course was to focus on the concerns of women in New Zealand society and was "the first New Zealand University to offer an integrated programme of Women's Studies." ("The Study of Women" Salient, 1974).

Anti-apartheid activity against New Zealand's rugby sporting links with South Africa was also prominently featured in Salient during the 1960s and 1980s. This was an important movement in New Zealand because, as MacLean has argued, rugby has a centrality in New Zealand's national imagining (MacLean, 1998, p.23). In opposing New Zealand's sporting and rugby links with South Africa, anti-apartheid movements challenged the role of rugby in the nation's sense of identity. This anti-racist movement was also to be important later, when the Maori nationalist movement gathered strength and numbers, and began to challenge the racial bias of pakeha political and social structures. Many liberal Pakehas in the anti-apartheid movement gave their support to this nationalist struggle against Pakeha racism.

Victoria University staff were divided on how they should challenge apartheid in South Africa. In 1970, the Victoria University Faculty of Law passed a motion of censure against the Chief Justice, Sir Richard Wild. Wild had made a series of statements indicating support for the New Zealand rugby team's proposed tour of South Africa. The motion of censure read: "That the Faculty respectfully record its regret that the Chief Justice should have made a partisan statement on a matter of public controversy, namely the propriety of the proposed All Black rugby tour of Southern Africa." ("Faculty Censures Wild" Salient, 1970, p.1). This gently worded motion sparked a furious debate amongst academics about the role of university staff as critics and conscience of society. One senior member of the Law Faculty, Professor Richardson, who was not present at the meeting when the motion was passed, was reported in The Dominion as saying that "[a]n individual's freedom of speech has always been a cherished principle in university life. But when a group within the university is involved, the principle it seems is open to question." (*ibid.*). A month later, Victoria University's Professor Oliver was reported in Salient as saying:

“I do not believe that the university as a corporate body has any direct part to play in political affairs. Its part surely lies in teaching its students to understand the arts and artifices of politics, and in offering ethical and moral commentary on them, and then leaving each student to the conclusions of its own intelligence and conscience. Individual members of a university staff and students alike, can and at times will play significant political roles. But the diversity alone of the views to be found within a university makes corporate action impossible. It is not conceivable to me that the university as a body corporate can adopt an official stance on, to take today’s issue, rugby football with South Africa.” (“Laughter in the Corridors of Power” Salient, 1970, p.14)

This debate signalled divisions within the university community about the proper role of a tertiary institution in society. Some of the more senior staff expressed alarm that the University should take an active role in politics while others, particularly younger staff, were already active in various protest movements. However the concerns of intellectual movements outside the university were entering the discussions of those within, and not only amongst the student body. Increasing numbers of the academic staff were bringing pressure to bear on the University to take a more active role in the political debates of the time.

There was a noticeable shift in attitudes amongst staff of the University during the 1970s. This could be seen in changing attitudes towards communism. For example, in 1956 during the Cold War, an English Professor from New Zealand, Professor Ian Milner, was ‘named’ in Australia’s Petrov spy inquiry. He was never called to give evidence at the Petrov inquiry and he had subsequently cooperated with the investigation of the Australian Government. Milner was working at Charles University in Prague at the time but later in 1968, he decided to return to employment New Zealand. However when the New Zealand Truth published an article entitled “N.Z. Varsity Post for Ex-Spy”, the universities, which had previously invited him to lecture at Auckland and Canterbury, quickly withdrew their offer. Milner was unable to find employment in a New Zealand university due to his supposed connections with communists. This timidity

caused an uproar amongst intellectuals in New Zealand and articles of protest were still appearing in Salient in 1970 (“Cowardice in the Milner Affair”, Salient, 1970, p.14). However Victoria University at least, began to relax its attitude towards communists within the academic community soon afterwards. In 1972 for example, an honorary doctorate was awarded to noted New Zealand poet, writer and translator, Rewi Alley. Alley was a known member of the New Zealand Communist Party and had spent many years in China involved in political activity.

However intellectual circles still lacked a political focus which contributed to the construction of a local identity. In 1973, Christopher Wainwright commented that the universities were more involved in preserving the status quo of the contemporary social landscape than they were in subverting it. He argued that part of the problem lay in operating within an intellectual climate which did not accord high value to activism. Intellectual labour was becoming increasingly fragmented and isolated, and this, he maintained, reflected the “intellectually fragmented and isolated lives of all who have an interest and competence in radical activity.” (Wainwright, 1973, Landfall, p.61). “University faculty personnel”, he added, “are both deferred to and resented by the populace – somewhat akin to the serfs’ attitude towards the lord.” (*ibid.* p.63).

In the early 1970s a resurgence of Maori activism re-defined the focus of political and intellectual life in New Zealand. It also brought forth a new and very different generation of intellectuals. They were largely drawn from groups of educated, urban Maori who challenged the codes and practices of the existing intellectual communities, both within the universities and in the public realm. This nationalist movement has had an enduring impact on the ways in which university communities in New Zealand define themselves. It has also contributed to the construction of a new national narrative, based not upon a lingering sense of exile and Empire, but focused firmly on the narratives and

contradictions of local and indigenous identity. The following section examines this shift in reference points and argues that it paved the way for a re-definition of intellectual communities in New Zealand.

7.1 *Nga Kairaupatu* (the Dispossessed): Maori nationalism and the new intellectuals.

Post-war urbanisation had a marked effect on the Maori population. Prior to the mass urban expansion that took place in New Zealand, Maori had lived primarily in rural areas, usually although not always, close to their tribal base. In 1945, three-quarters of the Maori population lived in rural areas and were involved in some type of agrarian occupation. The numbers of Maori in rural areas continued to increase slightly until 1961, when 62% of the Maori population had moved to city locations (Pool, 1991, p.153). In the cities, Maori people were confronted with the consequences of rapid urbanisation, over-crowded housing, unemployment, loneliness and racial tensions (Hazelhurst, 1993, p.16). Ranginui Walker (1990) has argued that “[o]ne of the consequences of urbanisation [was] increased knowledge of the alienating culture of metropolitan society and its techniques for the maintenance of the structural relationship of Pakeha dominance and Maori subjection” (Walker, 1990, p.209). This may have been the case later but in the 1960s and early 1970s Maori people in the city were under pressure to establish new social networks which would provide a measure of support in what was for many, a hostile and alienating environment. While this new infrastructure was under construction, Hazelhurst notes that “the touchstone of Maoritanga [Maori culture and custom and pride therein] remained in the rural homelands. Traditional knowledge, marae [courtyard in front of meeting house] etiquette, songs, and chants were carried by people to the marae and centres which sprang up in the cities.” (Hazelhurst, p.17).

In addition, the social networks of Maori in the cities tended to be pan-tribal as people from different rural areas congregated in the towns. As these elective communities

emerged amongst groups of Maori, a growing discontent was evident. Although being located in the cities provided some advantages, urban life was not easy. Beyond that, the tribal base of Maori had been steadily whittled away through decades of government policy and complacency. By the 1930s, only 4 million acres of land remained under Maori control. This was out of a total of New Zealand's 66 million acres. In the main, Maori could not return to their homelands because resources were no longer sufficient to provide for the whole tribe. In most cases, re-location to the city was the only option.

By the late 1960s, Maori were gathering in the cities to protest about what they called the 'Pakeha land grab'. In Wellington in 1968, two newsletters were circulated, they were *Te Hikioi* and *MOOHR* (Maori Organisation on Human Rights). Both these newsletters located the struggle for Maori rights within the class struggle. In fact, several Maori groups at this time were strongly influenced by Marxist/Socialist, trade union, feminist and Black American (notably, the Black Panthers) ideologies (Hazelhurst, p.19; Walker, p.209-218).

In 1970, a group of young Maori established an organisation called *Nga Tamatoa* (Young Warriors). *Nga Tamatoa* provided a strong focus for young Maori intellectuals in urban centres. Their aim was to fight racism through promoting; equal rights, the preservation of Maori culture and language, and Maori land rights. While the organisation was supported by several Pakeha liberal, academic and church sectors (Hazelhurst, *op. cit.* p.19), the internal mechanisms of *Nga Tamatoa* were operated exclusively by Maori. The organisation included young, university-educated Maori but had substantial links with other disaffected Maori groups, for example the Black Power street gangs. From the outset there was a split between radical activists who employed direct methods of confrontation and civil disobedience, and university-educated 'conservative' students, who were more likely to opt for strategies of negotiation in the

political domain. In addition, the emergence of urban Maori protest movements sat uncomfortably with the 'traditional' tribal leaders in the rural home areas. The disjuncture between the *kaumatua* (community elders) with their focus on tribal hierarchies and decision-making procedures, and urban Maori, some of whom had been to university and were locating their struggle within an entirely different conceptual framework, was profoundly disturbing. Liberal Pakeha intellectuals tended to waver on the side of 'tradition', and gave vocal support to the tribal authorities, but the concerns of urban Maori were clearly beyond the scope of the tribal structures, and this left Pakeha supporters unsure of where their own allegiances should lie. Differences in the ways in which political 'tactics' were formulated, divided not only Maori, but also Pakeha. Moreover, Pakeha found themselves increasingly irrelevant to Maori protest movements as Maori insisted on their right to speak for themselves on behalf of their own concerns.

The racial divisions of New Zealand, always entrenched, became heated during the 1970s. On 14 September 1975, a Maori protest march set off from Te Hapua in the North of New Zealand with fifty supporters. The aim of the march was to protest the alienation and control of the remaining 1.2 million hectares of Maori land by Pakeha laws, although it had been triggered by a dispute between government and local Maori over the ownership of an area of land known as the Raglan Golf Course. People joined the march as it travelled through the small provincial towns. By the time the marchers arrived in Auckland on 23 September, the numbers had swelled into the thousands. The march ended at the far end of the North Island in Wellington on 13 October, when several thousands of protesters entered Wellington and converged on Parliament.

In January 1977, a Maori land occupation took place at Bastion Point in Auckland. Once again, the protest centred on the dispute between the government and the Ngati Whatua

tribe over ownership of the land. One hundred and fifty protesters erected tents and cooking facilities and occupied the area. They were given considerable support from local people who provided them with food and electricity. This protest was joined by several non-Maori organisations, notably the trade unions, Socialist Action, the Socialist Unity Party, the Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE). The protesters ignored an eviction injunction which had been filed by the Crown, and on 25 May 1978, six hundred police were sent in to clear the land of protesters. Protest supporters still refer to this a 'Day of Shame'.

During this period, Salient, the weekly student newspaper of Victoria University was active in promoting Maori concerns. During the 1970s, Maori protest focused strongly on land rights and the preservation of the Maori language (*Te Reo Maori*). Maori arts and theatre organisations were springing up across the country as a means of expressing cultural concerns, protest and priorities. Throughout the 1970s, 64 items appeared in Salient, which addressed debates on Maori language, land rights, education, political organisation, justice and arts.

Victoria University no longer stores a complete holding of Salient issues for this period. There are a few copies missing, but the following headlines serve as an indication of the kinds of issues tackled by Victoria University students. It should be noted that there were no references to Maori concerns in the 1970 issues of Salient. The items listed below therefore reflect the 1971-1979 period.

Salient coverage of Maori concerns between 1971-1979

Te Reo Maori – Maori Language

Maori language and culture. By H. Potatau. (5 September 1973). Salient, p.11.

Pakehas learning Maori. By R.W. Steele. (3 October 1973) Salient, p.11.

Te ra nui o te reo Maori. (29 August 1973). Salient, p.7.

Aureretanga: groans of the Maoris. By J.A. Grant-Mackie. Salient, 37 (26), 1974, p.24.

Catering for te reo Maori. By The Rev. H. Potatou. Salient, 37 (13), 1974, p.16.

Maori language week. Salient, 37 (24), 1974, p.3.

Mat Rata and te reo Maori. Salient, 37 (14), 1974, p.7.

Te Ao-Marama Issue. Salient, 37 (23), 1974.

Te reo Maori. Salient, 37 (13), 1974, p.2.

Te reo Maori?: Not if the Education Department has its way. (3 April 1974). Salient, p.8, p.13, p.15.

Where to learn te reo Maori. Salient, 37 (26), 1974, p.9.

Some points about te reo Maori. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.11.

Te Ao-Marama Issue. Salient, 39 (22), 1976.

Maori: the first victim. Salient, 42 (12), 1979, p.9.

Land Rights

A contrary view of te reo Maori. By G.S. Parsonson. (14 September 1972). Salient, p.10.

Land struggle in the North. Salient, 37 (25), 1974, p.14.

Save our heritage now. By T.T.K. Poata. Salient, 37 (26), 1974, p.9.

Taking the land off Matiu. By The Rev. H. Potatou. Salient, 37 (9), 1974, p.10.

Why the Maori land march? Salient, 38 (26), 1975, p.12-13.

Bastion Point: nothing to lose. Salient, 40 (17), 1977, p.8-9.

Battle at Bastion Point. Salient, 40 (2), 1977, p.2.

Digging in at Bastion Point. Salient, 40 (5), 1977, p.8.

Bastion Point – 130 years of government fraud. Salient, 41 (13), 1978, p.5.

Bastion Point – the turning point. Salient, 41 (12), 1978, p.1.

Government moves on Bastion Point. Salient, 41 (2), 1978, p.7.

We gave so much ... Raglan and the Maori land struggle. Salient, 41 (18), 1978, p.15.

Education

Education: of the Pakeha, by the Pakeha, for the Pakeha. Salient, 37 (15), 1974, p.8-9.

Education must compensate for a century of defamation. Salient, 37 (2), 1974, p.8-9.

Students in the heart of Ngati Porou. By R.W. Steele. Salient, 37 (10), 1974, p.9.

The significance of Maori initiative in the education system. Salient, 37 (8), 1974, p.12.

Maoris – withdraw from racist schools. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.12.

Pakeha – I want to educate you for a change. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.11.

Racist sacking at Porirua College? Salient, 39 (12), 1976, p.11.

Organisation

Brown power Otaki. By D. Clemens. (April 1971). Salient, p.4-5.

Te marae i roto i te Urewera. By R.W. Steele. (March 1972). Salient, p.7.

The urban marae. (31 May 1972). Salient, p.10-11.

Address to the Federation of Maori Students. By R. Walker. Salient, 35 (10), 1972, p.6-7.

He Maori ahau*. By K. Dewes. (14 September 1972). Salient, p.11.

The resurrection of Maori identity. By Poata Eruera. (14 September 1972). Salient, p.8-9.

Putting a positive evaluation of Maori identity. (20 March 1974). Salient, p.10.

Tihei mauriora! By H. Dewes. (3 April 1974). Salient, p.13.

Tuhoe – then and now. Salient, 37 (19), 1974, p.5.

Te huinga rangatahi**. Salient, 37 (21), 1974, p.8.

Victoria needs a marae. Salient, 37 (26), 1974, p.9.

Young Maoris protest against racism. Salient, 37 (19), 1974, p.5.

Maori forum. Salient, 39 (3), 1976, p.8.

Mihaka – landing on hard times. Salient, 39 (6), 1976, p.16.

Nga Tamatoa conference. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.12.

* **He Maori ahau – (transl.) I'm a Maori**

** **Te huinga rangatahi – (transl.) The gathering of young people**

Law

Authority and the individual: a Maori viewpoint. By R. Walker. (26 July 1973). Salient, p.12-13.

Justice and race: a monocultural system in a multicultural society. (28 February 1973). Salient, p.8-9.

Institutional racism in law and justice – some examples. Salient, 37 (6), 1974, p.10-11.

What price justice? Salient, 41 (1), 1978, p.9, p.15.

Arts

Letters to the Editor: M. King. (20 March 1974). Salient, p.18.

Letters to the Editor: N. Te Awekotuku. Salient, 37 (20), 1974, p.19.

Letters to the Editor: R. & T. Willoughby-Smythe. (20 March 1974). Salient, p.18.

Maori artists and writers conference 1974: an oasis in the cultural desert. By R.W. Steele. Salient, 37 (13), 1974, p.12-13.

Tangi lacks Maori insight. By R.W. Steele. Salient, 37 (1), 1974, p.14.

Thoughts of Hemi. Salient, 37 (22), 1974, p.15.

Hone Tuwhare. Salient, 38 (10), 1975, p.14.

Maori literature alive and well. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.10.

Theatre of Shock?: Maori Theatre. Salient, 41 (9), 1978, p.16.

Other

Race and death. Salient, 37 (15), 1974, p.9.

Racial stereotypes in the New Zealand press. By R.W. Steele. *Salient*, 37 (1), 1974, p.4.

Who me, racist? *Salient*, 42 (13), 1979.

While many Victoria University students were involved in these, and related protest movements, the University hierarchy also took note of the changing political and social climate. In 1963, urban groups were already lobbying the University to incorporate Maori Studies into its course offerings. The following information is drawn from the archival papers of the Vice-Chancellor of Victoria University held at Victoria University of Wellington. The details of these references can be found in Appendix 9: Vice-Chancellor's Archives.

In May 1963, The Regional Council of Adult Education held a Maori Study conference at Victoria University and passed a resolution as follows:

“This Maori Study Conference held at Victoria University of Wellington under the auspices of the Victoria University Council of Adult Education strongly urges that Maori Studies be an integral part of the courses offered by this University and submits in support of this resolution the following reasons amongst many:

- (i) There is no opportunity to study Maori even extra-murally;
- (ii) There is an ever-increasing interest in this subject;
- (iii) Maori is a subject for both S.C [School Certificate] and U.E [University Entrance] examinations but at that stage when students are ready and willing to widen and deepen their knowledge, there is no opportunity for doing so;
- (iv) *There is much research necessary in the field of Maori Studies which could best be done by the University, eg. the mass of valuable manuscript material in Maori which lies hidden away in various places.* [emphasis mine] (Vice-Chancellors Archives, V-C.A 1)

In the month of June 1963, people who had attended the conference and groups outside of the University initiated a letter-writing campaign to the Victoria University Vice-Chancellor in support of the introduction of Maori Studies into the curriculum and the establishment of a Chair in Maori and Polynesian Studies. Letters arrived from the

Awakairangi Branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League to the Vice-Chancellor advising that a resolution had been passed at a Branch meeting which read:

"That this Branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League urges that the Victoria University of Wellington establishes a Chair of Maori and Polynesian Studies at the University" (V-C.A 2)

A.B. Johnson, Secretary of the Mawai Akona Maori Association wrote to the Vice-Chancellor saying that:

"I was instructed to write to you and urge that the University should give immediate consideration to the establishment of at least a lectureship and preferably a chair, of Maori and Polynesian Studies. ... There can be no question that New Zealand is the metropolitan centre of Polynesians. The largest single groups of Polynesian (*sic*) are the New Zealand Maoris and New Zealand has a special interest in the next largest group, the Western Samoans, as well as a direct interest in the Cook Islands. It could be said that between 65 and 75% of the Polynesians population regard (*sic*) New Zealand as their metropolitan area. Added to this New Zealand is in the Pacific and has a vital interest in what happens in the Pacific. Yet we take more interest in Western Europe and south east Asia than we do in the Pacific. It is an almost incredible thing to us that more vital research into Polynesian matters is being done in Australia and the U.S.A. than in New Zealand, which should be leading the field. ... With great respect we feel that the time has come when Victoria University can no longer evade a clear responsibility to cater for the needs of a substantial part of the population. ... It need not be emphasized that relations between the two peoples depends on knowledge and understanding of each other and in this respect it is our view that the University has a most important part to play. We earnestly hope that this matter will be recognised not and that there will be no further postponement of what must inevitably take place sooner or later." (V-C.A 3)*

* The spelling and grammar of this document has been reproduced directly without editing.

Representatives from the Upper Hutt District Free Kindergarten Association commented that they too wanted "to see a Chair of Maori and Polynesian Studies set up to encourage an even better relationship between the two peoples." (V-C.A 4). The Maymorn Parent-Teacher and Te Marua Parent-Teacher Associations also wrote in a similar vein (V-C.A 5). These groups represented a substantial number of Wellington citizens, both Maori

and Pakeha. The June letter-writing campaign, accompanied by delegations to the Vice-Chancellor, had an immediate effect. When the University Council met on June 24, it was resolved that a Department of Anthropology and Maori Studies be established (V-C.A. 6). A senior lecturer in Maori Studies, Joan Metge, was appointed in February 1965 and courses in Maori studies and Maori language were offered that year.

In 1973, Maori Studies was taken out from the umbrella of the Anthropology Department and established as a disciplinary field in its own right. Victoria University was the first to make this move, and the newly created Maori Studies department had the first professor in Maori Studies ever to be appointed in any university. Dr. Sid Mead became the professor of the new department in 1977. Mead was a Maori academic with qualifications from Auckland University and the University of Southern Illinois. He had travelled to the United States under a Carnegie Commonwealth Scholarship. He was later appointed as an Associate Professor at McMaster University in 1971, although he held a Canadian Commonwealth Research Fellowship at the University of British Columbia during his tenure. Mead had published several books on Maori language, taniko weaving (traditional Maori weaving), and Maori carving and art. The Vice-Chancellor hailed him as “an internationally acclaimed scholar in the field of Maori art and one of the most distinguished in the wider field of Oceania.” (V-C.A 7).

However in the political and social climate of the times, there were also other attractions to the appointment of Mead. He was considered by some to be more interested in traditional Maori culture than in the radical activism of other Maori university academics of the day. He was also described as someone who would be able to move easily between the cultural worlds of both Maori and Pakeha (V-C.A 8). At a time when political relationships between Maori and Pakeha were in upheaval, Mead’s ability to communicate within both cultural domains was of enormous benefit to the University.

However, it also put him in a difficult position. For many Maori operating within institutional structures, the pathways between Maori and Pakeha cultures have never been straightforward. When collisions occur between, and indeed, amongst peoples, the pressure mounts on a handful of people who must continually make challenging choices about their social, cultural, political and intellectual allegiances. Mead, and numerous Maori academics since, have found themselves in the unfortunate position of being both insiders within the university, as well as at crucial times, cultural outsiders.

The academic community of the University was, during the 1970s, ready to invite small numbers of Maori into its ranks. It was also willing to institute Maori Studies as a new disciplinary field. At the same time, the political climate of New Zealand was shifting. Recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and the language of bicultural partnership began to enter the vocabulary of government organisations and legislation. The change in cultural relations, although not necessarily shared by all New Zealanders, marked a turning point in the social pathology of race relations. The postcolonial politics of national identity swerved to fit a new and apparently more culturally inclusive system of myth which included for example, token acknowledgment of the bicultural elements of New Zealand society and the Treaty of Waitangi. While the number of Maori students and Maori academics in New Zealand universities remains disproportionately small, educational policy is steeped in the idiom of equal opportunity. Intellectual communities were amongst the first to recognise the inherent tokenism within government policy, and they were also amongst the first to protest against its effects. Protest movements in New Zealand during the 1980s, such as the 1981 Springbok Tour which led to the government declaring a state of emergency as a result of mass protest activity across the country, tended to use the parlance of a New Zealand-style anti-racism to give a veneer of legitimacy to their organisational structures, which in the main were dominated by a Pakeha intellectual leadership and cadre. As a result of these kinds of protest

movements, and in particular the anti-nuclear Peace movement, New Zealand intellectuals gained more confidence in couching the national identity in terms of a Pacific entity.

Nevertheless the relationship between the university and the new generation of Maori intellectuals remained uneasy throughout the 1980s. When in 1984, the establishment of a Maori marae complex on the university campus was debated, the Pakeha University authorities found themselves embroiled in a bitter controversy about whether or not women would be permitted to speak on the Marae. Many tribes do not permit speaking rights to women during highly ceremonial and significant occasions. Only men may sit on the speaker's bench, and even then the matter of which men have the right to speak is conducted according to strict protocol. While New Zealand had already passed human rights legislation for women against discrimination, many Maori traditionalists believed that the law had no standing when it came to matters of gender equality and Maori protocol. It should be noted however that some tribes, such as Ngati Porou from the East Coast of New Zealand, accord many women full speaking rights. The rise of the Women's Movement and the greater input of urban Maori women into the construction of urban marae led to a clash between Maori traditionalists and urban Maori who insisted that women should be able to speak on their own behalf on the Marae.

While the building of the Marae complex at Victoria University was hailed as a leap forward in cultural relations, the University authorities yielded to the Maori traditionalists on the staff who made it clear that they were not willing for women to speak on the Marae. On one hand, the University took pride in its reputation for free and open academic debate. It took pride in its increasingly sophisticated equal opportunities employment and educational policies. It took pride in its, by now comparatively liberal, academic hierarchy. On the other hand, it was not willing to champion the rights of

Maori women on its own Marae. This was a significant omission on behalf of the University. The Marae has enormous cultural significance in New Zealand. Traditionally it is the central point of a Maori community, and it is there that the shape and boundaries of that community are debated and practised. Membership involves certain duties and responsibilities which provide a living link to ancestral communities. The Marae is the symbol which forms a connection to the past of the community. In establishing a Marae complex, the University was adding a new dimension to its own definition of an academic community. Here the University was extending its own symbolic boundaries to encompass Maori tradition, knowledge and protocol. However, institutional Marae have a different function to ancestral kin-based Marae in that the community they represent is not an ancestral one, but one that reflects the new, and often pan-tribal, communities that have swept the city areas [personal communication Wally Penetito, 27.1.99]. Even in the 1950s, urban Maori tended to become more conscious of their own tribal affiliations through their connection with urban Marae because of their continuing association with others from outside their tribal areas (Metge, 1970, p.136). Maori university graduates tended to give particular meaning to the urban Marae because it gave a sense of identity and stability and common meaning in the alienating environment of the towns (Fitzgerald, 1977, p.150).

However Professor Mead of the Maori Studies Department was in no doubt that the University Marae would follow the protocols of other Marae in the Wellington region, and for that reason, women were not permitted speaking rights. The University authorities deferred to the voice of what they believed was correct 'tradition' in this respect. As a result, a debate about the role of institutional Marae and Maori tradition was sparked. Letters went back and forth between urban Maori intellectuals outside of the University and the Vice-Chancellor. External groups protested that the University Marae formed part of an institutional facility, as opposed to an ancestral institution, and

for that reason, traditional protocols did not necessarily apply. They insisted that the University had the right to allow women to speak. The University acknowledged the protests but did not act on them. A broadsheet was subsequently released on campus by Maori protester, Tama Te Kapua Poata. It reads in full as follows*:

“June 1984 July 1984

Victoria University of Wellington breaks it's (*sic*) tradition of non-discrimination against women. Victoria University of Wellington supports discrimination against women on the non-traditional university Marae.

Discrimination anywhere is discrimination everywhere.

Women should enjoy the priviledges (*sic*) and rights that their male counterparts have at Victoria University? Not so according to the Victoria University authorities.

Since 1981 our pleadings have fallen on deaf ears and the practice continues. The issue is simple, human rights in this case it is women's right's (*sic*) in particular. Our demand is for women to have speaking rights on the “Marae” equal to the men. In 1981 we asked the Marae authorities for a commonsense approach, they have not seen fit to contact us since that time, and that meeting. Our next step was to seek a meeting with the University Council. We have been politely fobbed off.

It seems that the arrogance of those hallowed walls of Victoria University allow us no alternative but to organise. We serve notice on the University and it's (*sic*) hierarchy including the “Marae” concept and it's (*sic*) traditionalists that we accept the challenge willingly...

Our group do not (*sic*) oppose the concept of a University Marae We support a Marae concept

We reject your right to make rules to suit your male ego/ We reject your hypocrisy (*sic*) and your platitudes. We call on all right thinking people to organise with us and demonstrate your opposition without compromise. Our won Maori people must once again stand up and be counted. We must clean up our own backward traditionalists with principles, with courage, with mana and dignity and above all without fear. Kia Kaha Kia Manawanui.

Tama Te Kapua Poata. [address omitted from this text].” (V-C.A. 9)

* The spelling and grammar of this document has been reproduced directly without editing.

National women's groups, such as the Women's Studies Association, also joined the affray, protesting the enforced silence of Maori women in an academic facility (V-C.A. 10). A protest of predominantly Pakeha female staff and students took place on the road opposite the Marae and this led to greater controversy as some Maori traditionalists took extreme exception to Pakeha women voicing disapproval of Maori protocols, from what they saw, as an irrelevant Pakeha standpoint.

The father of a young woman intending to study at Victoria University wrote to the Vice-Chancellor expressing his anger that his daughter would not be afforded an equal voice on the Marae (V-C.A. 11). The University responded in writing, explaining that the Pakeha authorities at Victoria University were not willing to intervene or make a ruling on what they saw as the cultural protocols of Maori people (*ibid.*). The parent eventually took his complaint to both the media and the Human Rights Commission. This led to a swift reaction from academics within the Maori Studies Department who lamented the intrusion of Pakeha women, feminists, outside parties, and others in the matter (V-C.A. 12). The situation has not changed since, and women are still not accorded full speaking rights at Te Herenga Waka (*transl.* The Anchorage of the Canoes), which is the name of Victoria University's Marae.

7.2. The intellectual community at Victoria University of Wellington

Gramsci's work on the traditional/organic dichotomy discussed in Chapter four, is a useful model of intellectual labour and relations in New Zealand. However the literature about pre-war and post-war intellectual communities outside New Zealand also provides a good lens for defining the intellectual community within New Zealand.

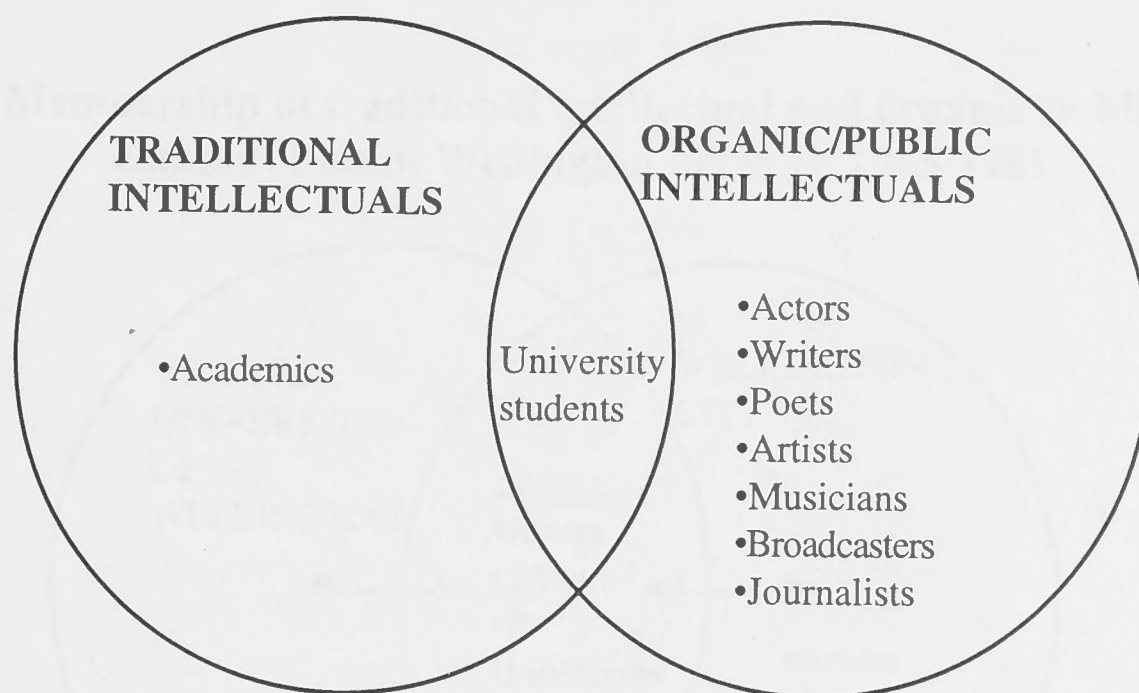
The metropolitan pre-war intellectual has been typified to an extent in the literature as an educated, urban male, often harbouring humanist or leftist sympathies. He generally had private means and was not dependent on an institution for his livelihood. In addition, he felt alienated from the mainstream of society. This is of course a tempting stereotype, but despite notable exceptions to the rule, the image holds a certain veracity. After the war, the integration of intellectual labour into the academic institutions led to a shift in intellectual labour production. The role of the intellectual as a critic and conscience of society began to be more closely defined. Certainly in New Zealand, that role has entered educational legislation.

The representation of the social sphere is a significant part of the intellectual's domain. As intellectuals in New Zealand moved into the educational institutions, the representation of a society in the midst of enormous social and technological change became fraught with difficulty. The representation of a social identity tended to be framed by people who were positioned in socially, politically and culturally advantageous intellectual roles. The world of which they spoke, was to an extent, the world of the 'knowledge class'. And this had the effect of pushing other cultural understandings into the margins, where they remained unexamined and largely ignored by the universities until at least the 1960s and 1970s.

In New Zealand, the integration of intellectuals into the institutional sphere took place at a slower rate than in Europe and America and it happened in different ways. In addition, the suburbanisation of the country had an impact not only on Pakeha social relations which became increasingly fractured and difficult to define, but also on the Maori population. When Maori people came to the cities they did not leave their culture behind in the rural tribal areas. Rather they created new cultural identities and allegiances, which ultimately became part of the social and cultural landscape of the towns.

The intellectual community of Wellington had a decisive impact on the development of Victoria University's academic community. Prior to the opening of Downstage and other cultural events in the city, the University, although often responsive to the outer community, maintained an intellectual distance from the city. While groups of intellectuals, artists, writers, musicians and actors, operated outside the University, Victoria's academics tended to fit the role of the 'traditional' intellectual. Until about 1965, they did not so much represent the social sphere of the city or of the country, as respond to it when there were complaints. Nevertheless, there were overlaps between the membership of 'organic' intellectual groups in the city and the 'traditional' hierarchy of the University. These overlaps could be found primarily amongst the student body and is illustrated as follows:

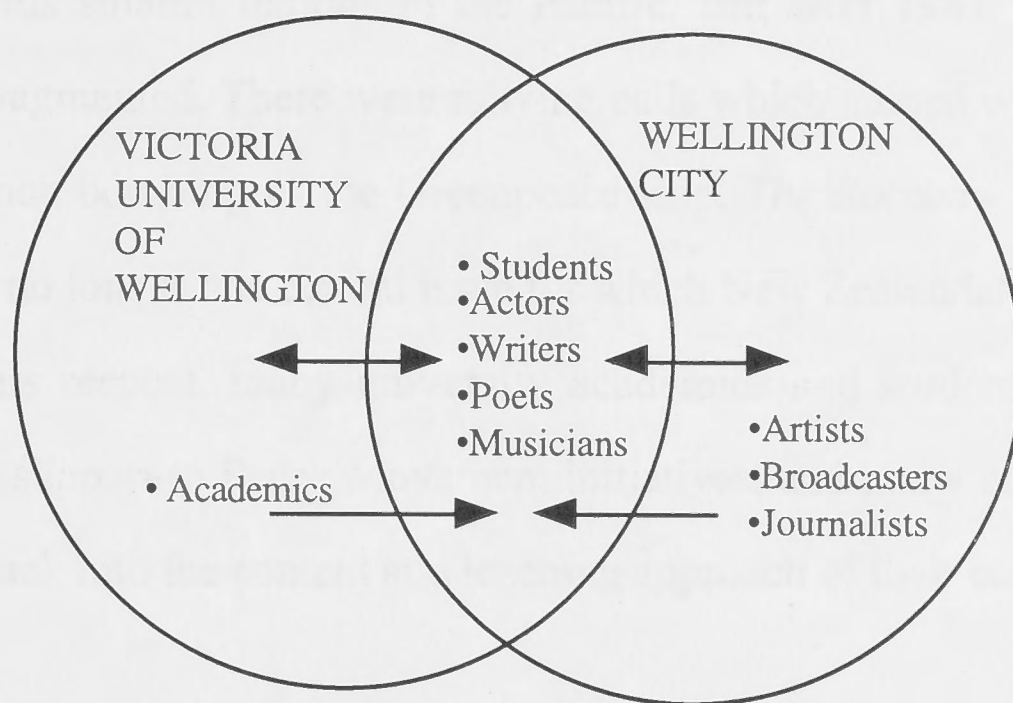
Figure 7.1 Membership of traditional intellectual and organic/public intellectual communities in Wellington prior to 1965



After the mid 1960s and into the 1970s, a period of integration took place as intellectuals gradually began moving more fluidly between the University and the emergent cultural and social milieu of Wellington city. Victoria University began to play a greater role in

the theatrical and literary life of the wider community, and during this period, several previously 'organic' intellectuals took employment at the University. The shape of the academic community therefore began to change in response to new staff with a different outlook, some of whom had been drawn from the ranks of older Rehab. students . It was also during this period that the University began to look more seriously at its own role in expressing the emerging national identity. This process of fusion or professional integration lasted until the winter of 1981 when the Springboks toured New Zealand. After the winter protests of 1981, Maori political groups became even more clearly focussed and did not necessarily turn to the universities for legitimation of their role as intellectual leaders of their own people. However, it was certainly the case that despite wider recognition of Maori matters within the University, the profile of New Zealand intellectuals did not substantially change. They were still drawn primarily from the ranks of the urban, male, Pakeha, middle class. They were still likely to have travelled overseas for their qualifications. However increasingly those people saw a role for themselves as critic and conscience of New Zealand society and they undertook the task of representing New Zealand society back to itself. Membership of intellectual communities can therefore be seen to have merged to a certain degree in the period between 1965 and 1981. This can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 7.2. Membership of traditional intellectual and organic/public intellectual communities in Wellington between 1965-1981.



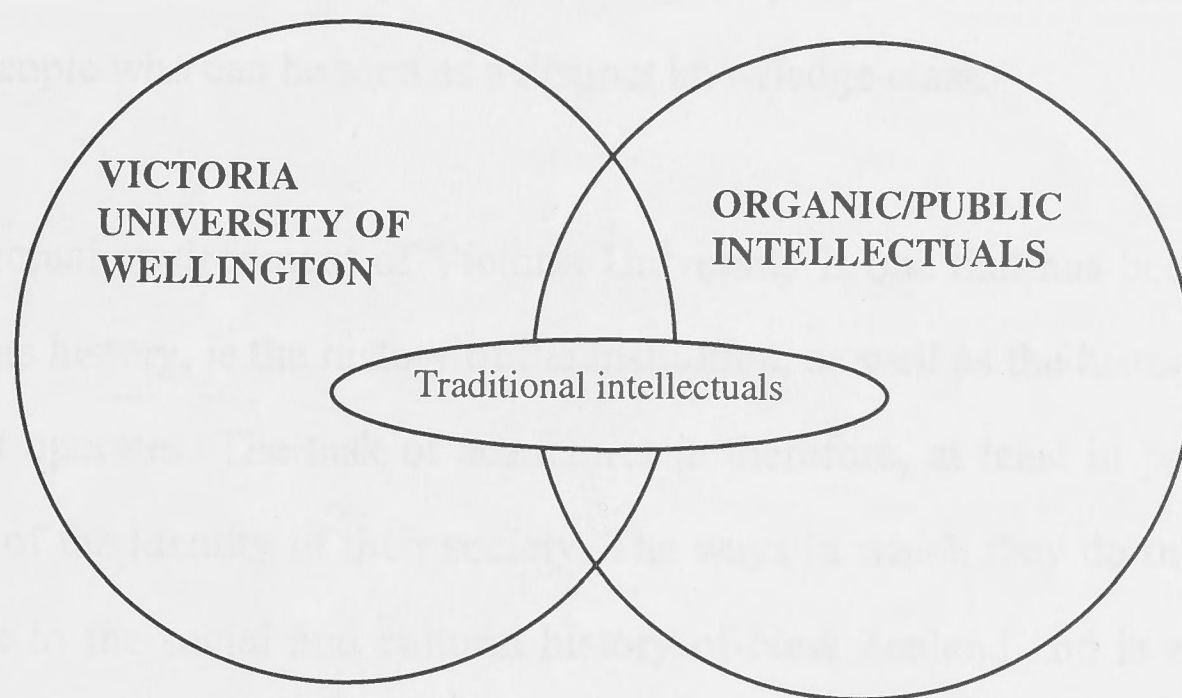
After 1981 Maori organisations drew heavily from the small pool of urban, university-educated Maori graduates for their leadership. These graduates were, in the main, suspicious of the institutional structures of New Zealand society and that sense of alienation, so crucial to intellectual life, found a cultural dimension. They were also able to express their sense of dispossession not only in ways that would be understood by other Maori, but also, as a direct result of their higher education and exposure to Pakeha life in the cities, to a Pakeha audience. For this group of Maori intellectuals, cultural and political self-determination was a pivotal plank in their argument. While they drew on a few Maori intellectuals located within the University, a larger community of Maori rejected the university as an institution, and established literary, artistic and political communities outside the institutional structures.

The 1981 rugby tour protests also led to the establishment of a strong Peace Movement which took a particularly Pacific flavour. The New Zealand Peace Movement was able to attract people from all walks of life. The declaration of New Zealand as a nuclear-free country still serves as a lynchpin in the national identity. Many New Zealanders perceive this stance as one that challenges the cultural and military imperialism of larger countries towards smaller nations in the Pacific. But after 1981, protest movements became more fragmented. There were rallying calls which gained wide support, such as that of the French bombing of the Greenpeace ship, *The Rainbow Warrior*, but in the main there was no longer one central issue for which New Zealanders were willing to fly a banner. In this respect, many university academics and students stepped off their campus to give support to Peace Movement initiatives, and many also transferred some of these ideas back into the content and teaching approach of their courses.

In addition, theatre and radio activity in Wellington had moved out of its early period and was experimenting with increasingly ambitious and sophisticated concepts. Thus,

after 1981 new groups claimed the intellectual sphere. Victoria University did not stand apart from this new activity. In a sense it had already claimed something of a custodial function of cultural life in Wellington through absorbing organic intellectuals into its midst. Victoria University therefore was able to represent both the traditional and the new in its quest to represent the social sphere. This shift in the membership of intellectual communities can be expressed as follows:

Figure 7.3. Membership of traditional intellectual and organic/public intellectual communities in Wellington after 1981.



It can therefore be seen that many groups competed for the role of critic and conscience of New Zealand society. After 1989, the University however could claim a legislative role, while other intellectual communities operated at the fringes of Victoria University's legitimacy as a voice of the society. There has been much two-way traffic between Victoria University students and academics and the outer literary, theatrical, political and cultural groups and organisations of the city. Thus external social, cultural, and economic factors have significantly contributed to the development of Victoria University's intellectual community.

The intellectual environment of Victoria University can be seen as one with clear academic hierarchies which support the academic roles and rituals within. But it is also a community with shifting boundaries. These boundaries both define the University's internal structures as well as distinguish the community from other external communities. This is an important factor where there is considerable movement between the academic and external communities. The unique legislative role of the university as critic and conscience of New Zealand society helps to maintain Victoria University's legitimacy in the field of New Zealand culture as well as its custodial function. The identity of the community continues to be shaped by a small and relatively homogeneous group of people who can be seen as a distinct knowledge class.

The intellectual environment of Victoria University is one that has been shaped by its history. This history, is the history of the institution, as well as the history of the society in which it operates. The task of academics is therefore, at least in part, to articulate something of the identity of their society. The ways in which they do this, is developed in response to the social and cultural history of New Zealand and is adapted for that audience. As such the articulation of culture is, in the post-Empire phase of the nation, a disputed domain that academics must navigate.

SECTION THREE

INTERVIEWS WITH ACADEMIC STAFF

But the hands of my country knit reeds, bend wood,

Shape the pliable parts of boats and roofs.

Mend pots, paint pictures, write books,

Though different books.

– Extract from *What Is It Makes the Stranger?* Robyn Hyde 1938

(Wevers, 1984, p.79)

The particular shape and texture of any academic community rests within the imaginings of the academic staff. In New Zealand, the universities are characteristically staffed by men and women who move restlessly between intellectual allegiances to the local and international academies. While these allegiances often overlap, they can, within the postcolonial context of higher education, also exacerbate feelings of conflict and isolation. These conflicts provide a striking backdrop for the socialisation of academics in New Zealand universities. They also form the basis of a dense and complex approach to the construction of knowledge outside the metropolitan centres. It is argued in the next three chapters that the academic community at Victoria University revolves around the concepts of cultural loss, positionality and retrieval which were discussed in Chapter three. These cultural concepts, involving the articulation of the *Weltanschauung* and national identity, are identified here as cultural symbols. As cultural symbols they act as intangible reminders of how academics are positioned within their own social group as well as within the wider society. They provide access to a common (symbolic) language within the academic community, as well as a means of operating within the social group and ascertaining its procedural and intellectual mores. They also provide a focus for the construction of meaning within the community. While academic communities are clearly predicated on many more variables than cultural symbolism alone, the postcolonial facets of intellectual identity are the key focus in the next three chapters.

In the previous section intellectual labour was situated within its historical, social and institutional context. This section investigates the narratives of the workers themselves. In this section, academic narratives have, as an explanatory tool, been linked to aspects of loss, positionality and retrieval that form the basis of post-Independence identity construction in a New Zealand university.

CHAPTER 8

THINKING ACADEMIA: THE CONSTRUCTION OF DISCIPLINARY ALLEGIANCES AND PRACTICE IN NEW ZEALAND.

“We are re-inventing ourselves all the time.”

– Participant

The previous chapters have explored aspects of the historical development of higher education in New Zealand. This chapter is intended as an introduction to the lived experience of academics in a New Zealand university at the beginning of the twenty-first century. More than 160 years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and in the post-Independence phase of colonisation, academic approaches to the construction of knowledge are again in a state of transition (as discussed in Chapter five). At Victoria University, academics are not only involved with the tensions and dilemmas of this cultural and intellectual upheaval, but also experience its impact on their own practice within the institution.

The information in this chapter is drawn from interviews with academic staff at Victoria University. It was originally intended to preserve the confidentiality of the participants and their identities, and wherever possible this protocol has been observed. However a difficulty emerged when academics began to talk about their disciplines and the ways that they were oriented or socialised into them as students. It became clear that it was difficult, if not impossible, to separate the person (and hence their identity) from their discipline. In every case the people and their disciplines were inextricably entwined. Thus the anonymity of participants was threatened. In cases where it is possible to infer people's identities from the quotes that have been used here, the participants have had

direct control over what material has been used and have provided written permission for the use of all quotes in this work which may lead to their identification.

8.1. The intellectual roles of academics in a post-Independence society

In Chapter three it was argued that the notion of community is one that implies both similarity and difference. Members feel a sense of commonality with each other, and their interactions are characterised by sets of agreed upon symbols which allow them to operate within the social group. They may well interpret the symbols of interaction differently, but there is a degree of consensus about the 'forms' that the community takes. These forms assume both a social and symbolic dimension which provide the basis for the construction of Geertz's 'webs of significance'. At the same time, members also maintain a sense of difference from other kinds of communities. Hence the notion of similarity and difference.

The academic community can also be viewed in these terms. Several of the academics who participated in the interviews identified strongly with the notion of community as will be seen in this, and the following, chapters. Interestingly, the participants tended to describe the academic community as one that operates at both local (i.e. the Victoria University community) and international levels. The local academic community was seen as the place where the day to day workings of the community took place, but although the local group was richly detailed by participants, it was in the international aspect of the community, that the symbolic dimension of interaction tended to be emphasised. This is perhaps a notable characteristic of universities located far from metropolitan centres and will be discussed further in the next chapter.

8.2. Life within the discipline: conflict, choices and resolution

The academic staff who participated in these interviews were asked to describe the factors which influenced their decision to enter and remain working in their disciplines. This question was asked in order to identify their own early academic influences and to

ascertain what they believed was important to forming allegiances to their disciplines. The detailed and reflective responses of the participants to this question tended to dominate the interviews and yielded a great deal of data. Generally speaking the participants took the opportunity to explore the reasons why they entered their discipline, and how they came to be academics. While it is not the focus here to explain why some postgraduate students become academics, the participants spoke at length about this and it is useful to have some understanding of how the disciplines are maintained. It also provides an explanation about the ways in which academic life and the academic profession is reproduced over a period of time. At its core, this is a matter of academic socialisation.

A selection of responses to this question has been included here. Because the discussions relating to this part of the interviews were extensive, usually running into several pages of transcript, the extracts below are ones that have been chosen to reflect some of the key themes which emerged. While the reasons why academics enter and remain in their disciplines are diverse and strongly linked to personal life circumstances, certain motifs emerge. In every case the academics interviewed had experienced highly competent teaching in their undergraduate years. This was a universal feature of the interviews. Again universally, the academics formed deep intellectual, and often very emotional, attachments to their disciplines as a result of the teaching they received during their undergraduate studies. In this respect the data support the findings of earlier studies. Curiously however, a strong feature of the interviewee responses was that many academics appeared to feel that they had entered their disciplines almost by accident. Most of them had begun their university studies in fields other than the ones they ultimately chose to enter. Again, the strength of the undergraduate teaching they received was identified as a salient feature in their decision to enter and remain in their chosen disciplines.

By the time they reached postgraduate level they had all formed significant relationships with particular teachers who then acted as research supervisors. These mentoring teachers were spoken about by the interview participants with a great deal of affection

and respect. Some of the most significant decisions that academics made regarding their own careers were based on advice given to them by their mentors. For example some of the expatriate academics at Victoria University came to New Zealand because their mentors in the United Kingdom directed them to go there at the conclusion of their research degrees. It was often mentors who suggested to their postgraduate students the countries and universities in which they should continue the studies that would further their academic careers. Indeed it was often these mentors who made suggestions for the future careers of their students. The impact of this kind of advice on a life is enormous. The interviewees unanimously cited their relationships with these significant people as critical to their decision to enter, and remain, not only in their disciplines, but also in academic life. It should be noted that the participants came originally from a number of different countries and had attended different universities in different decades. The power of the mentors appears to be a cross-national feature of academic life.

Another theme that emerged in the interviews was a love of teaching. Staff who had formed strong allegiances to their disciplines frequently expressed their pleasure in working with new generations of students.

One final aspect common to the responses was that nearly all of the participants had at some stage studied overseas. Certainly the wandering scholar concept of academic life in New Zealand was alive and well in postgraduate studies at least until the late 1960s. It has been noted earlier that New Zealand-born postgraduate students up until the late 1960s tended to travel overseas to conduct their research. In addition a number of academic staff at Victoria University are appointees from overseas. Links to the 'international' community have been subsequently identified as influencing the decision to remain within a discipline, and contributes to its ongoing fascination. Each of the interviewees chose to talk about their experience of practicing their discipline in New Zealand. The decisions that led people either to migrate, return, or remain in New Zealand had a clear impact on how they experienced and practiced their field. The following extracts are taken directly from the interviews and are intended to illustrate these factors. A limited amount of editing has been done. Some material has not been

included either because it is repetitious or of a very personal nature. The order of the transcribed paragraphs has been rearranged in a few cases. This has happened where a participant has come back to the question again at a later stage in the interview and offered further reflection. Beyond this type of editing, the extracts below have been written verbatim.

8.2.1. An interest in people: Sociology and ritual

The following extract has been taken from an interview with a Professor of Sociology. He is male and describes his nationality as both British and a New Zealander. He has been employed at Victoria University since 1976. He has qualifications from the London School of Economics.

This participant used the interview as an opportunity to reflect on his own social class background (as a lower middle class, grammar school boy from Sheffield), and how this relates to his later decision to enter the field of Sociology. This participant, like all the others who were involved in this set of interviews, had a close relationship with his mentor. This relationship was influential in assisting him to make decisions about his future career and place of further study. Like others in this interview set, he enjoyed his undergraduate years and had formed lasting disciplinary commitments during that time. As was common in these interviews, he did not begin his undergraduate study intending to become a Sociologist. He entered the field as an undergraduate after first studying another discipline which he did not enjoy as much. He talks here about how he came to live and work in New Zealand. Of note in this regard, he provides an interesting analysis of university life for pre-‘baby-boomer’ academics.

I came into Sociology because I'm interested in people. Growing up in the UK, in the north of England, in one of those borderline social class areas, you do get interested in people. We lived in a respectable lower middle class street. My father was a telephone engineer. Well it might sound a bit far-fetched, but a number of sociologists do come from that sort of background – lower middle class, but only just. The grammar school.

The non-conformist type of environment. Coming from that sort of place, education was everything. It was the parable of the talents. If you had a talent you were told to use it.

When I look back, a number of the people I went to school with, are now Professors of Sociology. Coming from where we did, you naturally got interested in aspects of class. Not ethnicity though. Not in those days. A place like Sheffield was relatively homogeneous. Honestly, you didn't think about that sort of thing. I remember that at the time I never quite made the distinction between Catholics and Jews. I always got them mixed up because those were the two groups of kids who didn't have to go to morning assembly. It took me a long time to twig. So it was mainly a class thing in those days. Class was what you were aware of if you came from where I did. In those days, gender wasn't an issue either. Things change a lot don't they?

I was originally destined to do English Literature. But I was turned off by the fact that we had to dissect a text like 'A Passage to India' and do a literary analysis. The sense of the people in the story just got lost. So it wasn't really my thing. So by default, I dropped out of English and took up Sociology. I went to LSE to do that and I found that it was something I could really stick with.

Initially my interest was in the Sociology of Religion. I was a chorister at Sheffield Cathedral. If you're in that kind of role you're engaged in the stage management of ritual. You have a whole set of performance criteria. Nothing to do with what you feel or what you believe, it's to do with how you perform. The ritual, the choreography of the performance, it distances you from your own beliefs. In a way that's what the Sociology of Religion is, it's looking at why people go about religion in the way that they do. I became somewhat skeptical fairly early on. Now I'm a full-blown atheist. But I'm still interested in why people take up particular areas of religion and the way they practice it.

I first thought of becoming an academic in the third year of my undergraduate degree. I didn't know what I wanted to do for a job when I left, so I went to see my mentor. I asked

him if there were any jobs he could think of where you didn't have to wear a shirt and tie and be in an office from nine till five each day. Well, he thought about it for a bit, and then he said, "Well, you could be an academic". So I asked him what I had to do to become an academic and he told me I had to do a PhD. But he also said that he thought I should get a change of scenery, perhaps go to Oxford. So I got a place at Oxford and off I went. I stayed there a couple of years and then I came back to London. That's how I came to be an academic. In those days, embarking on a career as an academic didn't really involve making any choices because you just naturally progressed from one stage to the next.

I came to New Zealand because of my kids. In the early 1970s I was getting on fine. A couple of books published, a lectureship at LSE. But I could see things happening in the UK that were going to result in my kids getting stuck. For example, there was a fairly clear class division where we were. The good schools recruited in certain areas and we didn't live in the right sort of area.

I was just at the stage of beginning to apply for Chairs in the UK. I was born in 1943, just before the baby-boomers. Just before things started to tighten up in the universities. I went through my career hearing doors slamming behind me. I would slip through easily enough, but the cohort behind me found it more difficult. For example, the year I got my lectureship at LSE, there were three appointments made in Sociology. The next year, there weren't any appointments made at all, and there weren't for several years after that. I'd had the experience of having access to things that were becoming more restricted for the people who came behind me. I could see that happening again in the early 1970s and it was my first experience of having doors close in front of me. I began to realise that this would happen to my kids if I stayed in the UK.

I never really thought about emigrating until the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania arrived in London to do some headhunting for a Professor in Sociology and my name sort of got shoved forward. My wife jumped at the chance. But there was a PhD student at LSE from New Zealand and he said to us, 'For God's sake don't go to

Tasmania, it really is the end of the world". There was a job going at Victoria University in Wellington at the time and I put in for it and got it. I knew nothing at all about New Zealand. The only thing I'd been told about New Zealand, by a distinguished Professor of Economics at LSE incidentally, was that they'd got plenty of food over there. So I thought that was good. At least we wouldn't starve. Truly, that was all I knew. But it's really worked out. The kids have done brilliantly. I don't think they would have if we'd stayed in the UK, it's too tight there. So I suppose some of the reasons why I stayed in the discipline is partly because of why I came to New Zealand.

8.2.2. Through the portals: Mathematics and the boy's club

The following extract is taken from an interview with an Associate Professor of Mathematics. She is a New Zealand-born female and has qualifications from Victoria University of Wellington. She has been employed at Victoria over a period of more than twenty years.

Like her contemporaries, this participant experienced excellent teaching at undergraduate level and attained a high level of success in a field which attracts few women students. Her affiliation with the discipline developed during these years. Due to a period of illness, this participant had to make choices early in her undergraduate life about which discipline she would continue to study. She chose Mathematics over other areas in the Sciences largely because she was favorably impressed with staff attitudes towards students. Of note here is the fact that this participant had done her studies at Victoria University and as such, has long associations with the institution. In a sense, her now very senior position within the university, like many of her colleagues has come about through a sequence of chance events. For example, at one stage, the participant resigned from academic life and went to live in England. She came back to New Zealand to honour family commitments and ended up applying for, and being appointed to, her old job at the University.

Initially I was drawn to [Mathematics] because I was good at it. It's a very satisfying subject. I like the elegance of it. It was very unmessy compared to a lot of the other subjects I was doing. It also seemed to be quite a user-friendly subject. I was good at other subjects as well, like Physics and Chemistry, but they didn't seem to be nearly as student-friendly. The Maths group was exceptionally so. I was very ill in my second year and I was only allowed to continue in a couple of subjects, so I had to make some quite hard choices.

When I finished my degree I had a scholarship to continue but I was still [unwell]. I didn't feel I could do an Honours year with that happening. I didn't feel I could get decent grades, so I went teaching. I really enjoyed that. I found it terribly tiring but I did enjoy it enormously. Then I came back and did Honours and that went really well. I was offered a junior lectureship and began working on my Masters.

I became interested in Mathematics Education in my early research. I was interested in misunderstandings and language issues in the classroom. I was interested in communication issues, which rapidly turned into an interest in equity issues. Issues to do with girls and Mathematics. Being in the rather unusual position of being a highly successful female in Mathematics, it seemed sensible to do that. Obviously, it was clear to me that I was alone. That was what started me off.

I have considered throwing it all away. I threw it all in at one stage of my career. I threw in my job here and went to England. I intended to live there. I only came back because my father was seriously ill. It was sheer chance that I came back at the time when my old job here was being advertised. So I came back.

Sometimes I get tee-ed off with the boy's club stuff. Sometimes it's just little things, like sometimes I'm the only female in a meeting. And yes, sure, why should that matter? But it does get a bit boring. On occasions when one is trying to present an unpopular view – it can get dismissed by virtue of my femaleness rather than being considered on its

worth. It doesn't happen so often now that I'm so senior, but it did happen a lot when I was younger.

On the other hand I think that relationships between colleagues in New Zealand universities are considerably more relaxed than in English universities. In Maths Departments around New Zealand, we all know each other. We can go out to dinner and we all like each other. I know almost all of them. It's being in a small country. It's a 'small country' thing.

I like being here and having the wide exposure to a lot of other disciplines. One can choose to take advantage of that or not. I do take advantage of it. I really enjoy that exposure to people in other disciplines. It can inform my own discipline, but mostly it just informs my own life.

I do feel a sense of identity with the University. It's difficult to say exactly how. It's to do with the place. There's the cemetery where I used to have lunch as a student [N.B. Facing north on the Victoria University campus, overlooking the city, is an historic cemetery surrounded by trees. Students often gather there on sunny days to read, talk or relax]. There's the student café. There's the Hunter building. I had my very first lectures in the Hunter Building [N.B. the Hunter building was one of the first buildings to be constructed on the present site. It is now designated as an historic building]. So it's the place. But it's hard to say. University was a very traumatic time for me when I was a student. It was because of getting so ill, so being a student here at the University is forever associated with that. It was a great time. It was a wonderful time. But it was also a significant life event time. In that respect I suppose it's imprinted a bit more deeply than it would otherwise have been.

8.2.3. Big frogs, small ponds: Theatre and invention

The following extract has been taken from an interview with an Associate Professor of Theatre and Drama. He is male and describes himself as both a Canadian and a New

Zealander. He has been employed at Victoria University since 1978. He has qualifications from the Universities of Toronto and London.

He developed a strong affiliation with his field as an undergraduate in Canada, and continued his studies in London. He came to New Zealand on an academic contract job, later returning to Canada, but eventually settling permanently in New Zealand. Of note in the extract below is a discussion surrounding the practice of the discipline in the New Zealand context. The participant acknowledges the drawbacks of the geographical isolation of practicing a profession in a small country, but also emphasises that the somewhat haphazard approach to the construction of knowledge in New Zealand universities allows a degree of flexibility and freedom that is not as present in countries with systems of higher education which have developed over a longer period. In this respect the formulation of cultural identity in a post-Independence Commonwealth nation is a process which offers an academic scope for invention, creativity and innovation.

The original impetus for getting into the field of Theatre and Drama Studies came from a particular teacher when I was an undergraduate. He subsequently became a sort of a mentor. I started as a History student but I ended up as an English student. By the time I was in my final Honours year at Toronto University I'd become so keen on Shakespeare and Renaissance drama that I wanted to do postgraduate work. It was [my mentor] that was particularly influential. In discussing with him where I should do graduate work, I could see that it was really going to be a toss up between graduate schools at Illinois, Wisconsin, Cornell and two or three others that were particularly strong in Renaissance drama at the time.

The other possibility was to go to England to the Shakespeare Institute at the University of Birmingham. At the time the Shakespeare Institute was based in Stratford. That's where [my mentor] had been. I suppose the idea of working on English drama while also being in contact with actors and people who were working on the plays was enormously attractive. It's been part of my work ever since. In fact I ended up going to

London when the Shakespeare Institute moved back to Birmingham. I thought that living in London for two or three years would be more fun than say, going to Wisconsin.

Living in London and going to the theatre on average two or three times a week totally drew me into the world of English theatre. It was a very exciting period in British theatre. Peter Brooke was directing at the time. His Theatre of Cruelty season was on at the Royal Shakespeare Company. There were new productions of Pinter plays every six months to a year. I arrived when Olivier was at the height of setting up the National Theatre at the Old Vic. His Othello was one of the first things I saw there. It was an amazing time and my jobs ever since, whether I've been teaching in English Departments or in Theatre programmes, have always been in theatre.

I guess coming to New Zealand was part of the ongoing sense of excitement. I was working in professional theatre in London in the early '70s. I had a choice of jobs in this part of the world. The first job was in Australia. It was at the newly formed School of Drama at the University of New South Wales. But they had a particular awareness there of NIDA being on campus and they didn't want to encroach at all. They also had an English Department that was very opposed to practical theatre. So their Theatre Studies programme was set up to be totally theoretical and historical and academic. There was no practical work at all. If I'd gone there it would have been a kind of academic tunnel... teaching Aristotle and never going near a stage.

The other job that was on offer in the early '70s was at Otago University [in New Zealand]. They didn't really know what they wanted. They just decided to employ one person to create a drama programme at the University. That meant I could do whatever I liked. It was a chance for me to continue learning and to explore, and to absolutely link the theoretical with the practical.

What happens in New Zealand, which doesn't happen so much in Australia, and even less in Canada where I had my first university job, is that you're a big frog in a small pond. At Otago University in Dunedin, it was a very small pond indeed. Before I knew

what was happening I was one of the founders of a professional theatre company. I was appointed to the Southern Regional Arts Council. I was on Arts Council drama panels doing things that were so new. All of a sudden you were in touch with everybody.

The Otago job was a temporary contract job. The airfares were paid at the end of it to go wherever I wanted. At the time I didn't have the idea of staying permanently in New Zealand. I got a job at McGill University back in '76. But I think the size of the pond and the size of the frog is really quite important. It relates to being in Wellington as well. When I was in Dunedin I was a big frog in a small pond and I didn't actually like being in such a small pond. Dunedin was too small. I'd grown up in a big city and I'd lived in London for two or three years. I like big cities. I'm an urban animal. When we were in Montreal and the possibility of a job in Wellington here at Victoria University came up, I have to say that it was the only city in New Zealand that I felt was interesting enough to live in. Dunedin was too small. Auckland was too boring. Wellington was small enough for [my wife] and just big enough for me. It wouldn't have been big enough if it hadn't been the capital city. If Broadcasting hadn't been here, if the Arts Council hadn't been here, if government departments, embassies and high commissions hadn't been here, I wouldn't have been interested. It was those things that made Wellington such a lively place.

Yes, Dunedin was a small pond too, but in a sense, New Zealand is a small pond. Here I can do a range of things and that's what's brought me back to New Zealand and that's what's kept me here. In Montreal I realised I would have to specialise, I couldn't do everything. Here I could direct, I could create a theatre, I could be involved in making Arts policy, I could teach... everything. That kind of generalism is kind of intoxicating. You feel that there's no area where you can't have an influence. Oh, there were periods of doubt. I sometimes thought that if I'd gone to the University of Michigan, or if I'd stayed at McGill, or if I'd taken a job in Australia, maybe things would have been better. Or maybe just different. I sometimes wondered if maybe I was dissipating my energies.

But in the end I think it's worked out well. Part of my background is the fact that I'd been in Canada in the 1960s when a particular form of Canadian nationalism in theatre and drama was coming through. That was picked up on in Australia slightly later. When I first arrived in New Zealand in 1971 it had hardly started. But because of my assumptions as someone from a British Commonwealth country and my assumptions about postcolonial development, I felt we needed to get rid of the 'cultural cringe' and establish firmly who we are. I've been a sort of cultural nationalist all my life. One of the reasons I got involved in Playmarket was because I wanted to see New Zealand plays on the stage here. That was part of my impulse in starting the Fortune Theatre. It was part of the basis upon which I formed the first course in New Zealand drama in a New Zealand university. It wasn't considered particularly radical at the time. It was simply an idea whose time had come. Nationalism was, and still is, an important part of my commitment to the discipline.

There's something a bit odd I suppose in my commitment to New Zealand and to New Zealand theatre. Because I'm coming in as a Canadian, not as a New Zealander. But in New Zealand, it's much easier to be accepted as an expatriate than it is in some other places. In the university environment there are so many of us. Even if you turn on the radio and listen to someone being interviewed, they're as likely as not to have a non-New Zealand accent, whether it's British or European or American or whatever.

8.2.4. A great day for tennis: Political Science and other accidents

The following extract is taken from a participant who is a Professor of Political Science. She is female and was born in New Zealand. She has qualifications from the Wellington College of Education, Victoria University, the University of Malaysia and a PhD from Columbia University. She has been employed at Victoria University since 1976.

This participant came to university as an undergraduate student at the direction of a mentor. During her undergraduate student years she formed lasting friendships with a number of senior academic staff at Victoria University who acted in the dual capacity of

mentors and colleagues. Since her return to New Zealand she has herself established strong links with postgraduate students, aiming to provide them with some of the encouragement and support she received herself as an undergraduate. She has travelled, studied, and taught extensively abroad, and identifies this as an important factor in her professional development and in her commitment to her discipline.

Most of life is accidental. When I left school I didn't intend to come to university. I applied for, and got into, the teachers' training college in Wellington. The Principal of the training college was a very remarkable man. He called me into his office one day and he looked at me and said, "Miss Clark, you are in the wrong place".

I thought, "Oh my God. He's going to chuck me out before I've started".

He said, "Miss Clark, I've seen your School Certificate results. You must go to university".

So I didn't come here voluntarily. I came because I was instructed to do so. Because I was a full time training college student, I had to attend Victoria University as a part time student. I came here at 8am in the morning when there were only English courses running. I also came after 4 o'clock when Political Science was running. There really wasn't a great deal of choice. However having been instructed to come here, I took to it like a duck to water. I loved it. In the three years between the ages of seventeen to nineteen, I did a teacher's certificate. I did a BA. I did LRSM. And I was elected to the Students Union executive of both places. At nineteen, I was a highly qualified, accidental student.

When I was elected to the student executive here, my responsibility was to look after the foreign students. I was also doing Asian Studies by that time. In 1958-59 the foreign students were almost exclusively South-East Asian and Malaysian. That's how I got interested in Asia.

I decided that I wanted to see the world at other people's expense so I applied for Commonwealth Scholarships in India, Pakistan and Malaysia. I also applied for a Rotary Scholarship. I got both the Commonwealth and the Rotary scholarships. The Rotary Scholarship was set up to send me anywhere in the world for a year, but the others were for a minimum period of three years. At the age of nineteen I really didn't know if I wanted to be anywhere for three years. Three years seemed quite a long time. So I took the Rotary one. So again, even though it was a kind of accidental decision, it was also the best decision of my life.

I did my MA in Malaysia and then I was awarded scholarships at Cornell and Yale. But I decided that I was sick of being poor. So I decided not to take up those scholarships. Instead I made a choice between taking up an academic life and foreign affairs. Foreign affairs certainly had its attractions, but even though I still wanted other people to pay for my travel, I wanted to be able to decide my destination. That was why I chose the academic rather than the diplomatic life. In the end it wasn't really that difficult. I can still remember exactly when I decided that the academic life was something I could do. It was when I was a student here at Victoria. I was always a part time student when I was an undergraduate. I was always running in or running out. One day I was walking down Kelburn Parade [a public road that runs across the campus]. It was a lovely sunny day. Peter Munz and Reggie Harrison [two notable Victoria University academics] were beside me and Reggie said to the Peter, "Great day for tennis". And Peter said, "Yeah o.k. I'll meet you on the court". I never wanted to play tennis, but it occurred to me then that this was the sort of life where you can make up your own mind about what you want to do and you don't have to ask anybody's permission. So my aspirations to be an academic were entirely to do with freedom.

I chose to take a position at the University of Melbourne in 1964 because the salary was double what Auckland University had offered me. So I went to a tenured lectureship at Melbourne University at the age of twenty-two. Australian universities were only just beginning to take an interest in South-East Asia and I spoke fluent Malay. I was there for two years and then I got married. My husband took a job back at the University of

Malaya, so I went back too. I was a lecturer there for three years. In 1969 he became a Professor at Columbia University in New York and I enrolled there as a PhD student. By that stage I'd worked out that if I wanted an academic career, I was going to need a PhD. I won a scholarship to Columbia and I was a very mature student by then. So I crashed through and got my PhD very fast. I did it inside three years, even though American PhDs include a minimum of two years course work and lots of examinations.

After that I taught at the City University of New York. I got the only Political Science job available in Manhattan that year, so I was very lucky. I loved that. It was in the middle of Harlem. Most of the students were black or Spanish. It was hard work but it was very rewarding. The City University had open admissions and free tuition. It was a way out of the ghetto for the very poor. A very ancient and honorable tradition.

I loved New York and I could have stayed there forever but because my marriage ended I came back here to Victoria University. I came back at the beginning of 1976 as a lecturer. The only salary details I've ever remembered in my life were leaving \$US27,000pa to come to \$NZ9000pa. By August in the same year, I was promoted to a Senior Lecturer. My beloved Professor Ralph Brookes who had taught me as an undergraduate died suddenly and I was appointed as Professor of the Department in 1978. So you see, these are the sorts of accidental circumstances that have brought me here.

8.2.5. A congenial matrix: English Literature in New Zealand and at Oxford

The following extract is taken from an interview with a Professor of English Literature. He is a New Zealand-born male and is a well-known writer of fiction. He has qualifications from Auckland University and Oxford University and although he has taken employment in a variety of fields, he was initially appointed to Victoria University in 1963.

Of note in the following extract is the comment on New Zealand universities (in particular, Auckland University) after the Second World War. The participant was heavily involved in student and academic life at a period when literary expression was increasingly being used as a vehicle for cultural identity in New Zealand. Like many young New Zealanders of his generation, this participant travelled overseas to do his postgraduate study, in this case Oxford University. In many ways, the narrative of this participant expresses the kind of intellectual and academic rites of passage for New Zealand students after the war.

When I first started at Auckland University, straight after school, I was going to do a Law degree. I decided to do a BA first and do the Law qualification later. That was in the 1950s. To my surprise I found myself getting more and more interested in literature. My other major subject was Greek. The English department at Auckland University was an extraordinarily good one. There were people there like M.K. Joseph, Sydney Musgrove, John Reid [noted academics and writers, who formed the basis of an active and influential literary group of the time]. Curnow [a noted New Zealand writer] was an appalling teacher and a very lazy one, but nevertheless he was an influential person around the place. It was a nice combination of creative people, like M.K. Joseph who was also a very fine scholar, and some very good teachers. There was Bill Pearson [a noted New Zealand writer and academic] and Crawford. Crawford later went on to a Chair of Scottish Studies in Aberdeen. He was a very irascible socialist. There was an extremely exciting, extremely interesting group of people teaching there. After doing that for a couple of years, the attractions of Law appeared to dwindle. It's very important to remember that in those years, you didn't have to worry about getting a job. If I were starting my study now, I would probably begin with Law. But back then you just went on doing subjects that interested you, and you knew that somewhere or other there would be a job. It was very easy and cheap to be a student. You were absolutely certain of getting a holiday job at the Wool Stores or the Railway yard. If you lived at home with congenial parents, it was a very nice time to be a student.

I've stayed with the discipline ever since. I suppose it was the constant excitement of English Literature. You knew you'd never run out of it. So if you get any pleasure at all out of reading, it's a kind of endless subject. By the time I was in my third year, I realised that it was a subject that could go on forever. There was the excitement too for someone like me, coming from a fairly working class background. There was an excitement in finding that there were things in the world that I simply hadn't known about or guessed about. To some extent that feeling has gone on.

Things really opened up for me at university. It probably sounds a bit feeble but it was like being on the first step of an escalator. I liked the feeling of it so I just kept going without ever really having to make any big decisions. There were no turning points when I had to decide between one thing or another. It was although I was already on the slope going up, so I just decided to stay there. Sometimes I think my life has been without much moral fibre because of the comparative easiness of the time when I went into this. This was in the late 1950s. In 1960 I went off to Oxford.

Going to Oxford should have been a greater culture shock than it was. I think I would have taken greater value from the experience if I had been five years older. I chose to go to Oxford because it always seemed to be the pinnacle of places to get to. In that respect I suppose it was a kind of intellectual snobbishness. It was a place that I knew a lot about. It looked so nice. With a choice between Oxford and Manchester, well, who wouldn't go to Oxford! But it was also where New Zealanders went. Where else would you go? In that generation, very few people from New Zealand went to North America. A lot of my teachers at Auckland University had been to Oxford. So it just seemed the obvious place.

I was never one of those precocious people who were writing novels at the age of nine. I started to get interested in writing at university. I think that the study of literature and being surrounded by friends with similar interests gave me the impetus to start writing. There's a problem trying to mix being a creative writer with working in a university, although it's a very congenial sort of matrix to be in. But I'm sure it's damaging. I don't

say this with any sense of regret or self-pity, but I'm convinced that I would have been a better academic if I hadn't been a writer. And vice-versa. It's a matter of dividing one's energies. I think that if someone wants to be a writer and an academic, it would be far better to teach something other than English Literature. It's obvious to me that if you're teaching Yeats or Auden for a term, they take over in a way. They fill your mental space. They take over the canvas. It doesn't leave much room for you, so your own writing gets put on hold. There's always a danger of being over-influenced. That's what's wrong with a lot of academic writers. They write like people who teach English Literature. I can think of a number of writers who do that. I'd say they'd be a hell of a lot better as writers if they didn't splash around in Ezra Pound's pool.

8.2.6. Elysian fields in the Pacific: Classics and cultural identity

The following extract is drawn from a Professor of Classics. This participant is male and describes himself as a British/New Zealander. He has been employed at Victoria University since 1974 and has qualifications from the Universities of Sheffield and London.

Of note here is the relationship this participant had with his academic mentor. In this case, it was his British research supervisor who advised the participant to take up work in the southern hemisphere. The participant discusses how he has practiced his discipline in the New Zealand context and how the formation of a new cultural identity amongst Pakeha students has had a positive impact on increasing enrolments in his field. This latter point is reinforced towards the end of this extract with a quote taken from another participant involved in this interview set which relates to cultural identity in New Zealand.

How did I decide to go into the discipline? The straightforward answer is that it was suggested to me by my supervisor at London University. But it was also an area that I was interested in at undergraduate level. The reason why I went into comedy rather than tragedy was that someone had just written a book about tragedy and I wanted to apply

some of the techniques to comedy. I've worked in the field in Sicily and southern Italy. I suppose I've remained in the field because I've moved into university administration. There's not always the opportunity to move into new fields when you make those sorts of decisions.

I came to New Zealand because my PhD supervisor in London sent all his graduate students out to Australia and New Zealand. He had good contacts here and it was a time when it was difficult for Australian and New Zealand universities to get staff, particularly in Classics where the main centres of influence were in Europe. He saw it as a way of getting new knowledge out to Australia and New Zealand. In those days, if you went to New Zealand, you had a guaranteed passage back home if you stayed for four years. So there were lots of people who came out to New Zealand and did a few years work and then went back to jobs in England, the United States and Canada and so on. Equally, most of the Classics staff of Australian and New Zealand universities are peopled by ex-graduates of my supervisor, Tom Webster. Some of them came out and enjoyed it enough to stay permanently or they shopped around for something else. At the time there weren't all that many academic posts in England, so this part of the world was attractive. I went and worked in Canada for a while after I came out here. But a friend of mine in the Classics Department at Auckland University told me about a job going here at Victoria University. He suggested that I should apply for the Chair. So I did and here I am ... still.

Being away from the primary sources for the subject isn't so much of a problem. The greatest problem is the lack of books and periodicals. But in fact people tend to choose research areas here that they can do. When we appoint people to the Department, we stress that New Zealand is a long way away and you can't really be a professional in archaeology because there's no way of getting back during the digging season. Sometimes we've had people who come over here and after a while they've got interested in moving into other areas of research, and because New Zealand is really too far away to do that easily, they've got frustrated and left. So in a sense the appointments we make here are self-selecting.

Classics courses here have enormous enrolments [N.B. Enrolments in Classics courses at Victoria University are amongst the highest in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences]. There are a number of reasons. I wonder if the emphasis on Maori culture and the focus on knowing one's own history has spawned a similar desire amongst Pakehas to know a bit more about their own culture. It's also because it's inherently attractive in that it's so distant from New Zealand. It's a subject which is easily packaged and easily appreciated. There's a sense in which because it's 2,500 years old, it's somehow easier to handle.

[N.B.: Another participant in the field of Art History said this of Classics courses at Victoria University: "*The students are desperate to know about this stuff. There are those who do it because they feel their culture is under threat and they want their sense of self reinforced, and then there are those who come along with a genuine sense of wonder about it. There's always a mix.*"]

8.3. Characteristics of disciplinary allegiance and practice in New Zealand

When participants were questioned about the ways in which they formed loyalties to their disciplines, five key characteristics clearly emerged:

- 1) Highly competent teaching at undergraduate level fostered strong allegiances to the discipline.
- 2) Strong mentoring relationships were formed with key academic staff during the postgraduate research period (if not before). These mentors had a profound influence over the subsequent professional, academic and life choices of those students who went on to become academics.
- 3) A feeling that academics entered their disciplines almost by chance appeared to increase their sense of affiliation to their fields.
- 4) Study or travel abroad was a significant factor in the continuing sense of pleasure and enjoyment that the academics received in practicing their discipline.
- 5) A love of teaching contributed to the academics' continued sense of enjoyment in their chosen fields. This will be explored further in Chapter ten.

While most of these findings appear in previous studies, the significance of international travel to larger centres, and the apparently accidental choice of discipline, are new findings. Academics from metropolitan centres also emphasise the importance of creating cross-national 'networks' between colleagues in the field, and are likely to travel long distances to attend conferences and meet with academics from other universities and other countries. These meetings are important for the maintenance of the profession, newcomers to a field can be introduced to the disciplinary community, and information and ideas can be shared. Joint research projects and publications often have their origins in these occasions. The importance of international travel in academic life is not unusual.

All of these factors apply to academics in New Zealand, however there is a further dimension to this problem. New Zealand is geographically remote from the main metropolitan centres, and international travel is expensive. In addition, the exchange rate is generally unfavourable for academics who wish to fund extended research or conference leave from their own salaries. Furthermore, for a great many academics based in New Zealand, 'home' is somewhere else, in Canada, North America, or the United Kingdom for example. There is an underlying sense of social, intellectual, social, geographical and psychological isolation for some of the interview participants. This will be discussed further in the next chapter, but it is clear that the need to travel (often to larger metropolitan centres) has a greater significance than merely creating collegial networks. For some academics, a lingering intellectual and emotional dependence on the metropolitan West, informs their view of their disciplines, increases their sense of isolation, and affects their professional practice.

However, those interview participants who expressed this sense of isolation, also added that the impact of geographical distance from metropolitan centres was not an entirely negative experience. In many cases, it allowed them a greater freedom to practice their disciplines in a way that they believe would not be possible in the more established environment of a metropolitan university.

The interviews yielded data that suggest that several academics fell into their disciplines by chance. This may be a characteristic of academics outside of the New Zealand context, or it may be one that is typical of New Zealand academics. Certainly, in New Zealand, the academic context seems to attract people who have formed 'accidental' allegiances to their disciplines. Some of the participants had mentors who encouraged them to take up work in 'the colonies'. Twenty years ago, New Zealand was still perceived as a land of opportunity by people based in metropolitan centres. There was a belief, based on fact, that beginning academics could rise through the academic ranks more quickly in places like New Zealand, than they if they remained in the more closed university systems of their own countries.

There was also a strong suggestion from these 'accidental' academics, that taking up work in New Zealand allowed them a greater degree of innovation and creativity in the practice of their disciplines. This attitude is based on a perception that disciplinary practice was still in formation in New Zealand until the 1980s. There is a belief that research and knowledge priorities were more flexible during this period, than in metropolitan centres where an academic elite was already established. In this respect, they believed that academics in New Zealand could perhaps take greater risks, and experiment more freely with their disciplines.

These findings suggest that academics hold a perception about socialisation into academic life in New Zealand. They believe that institutional, professional and disciplinary socialisation is more of an open-ended process than it is in universities with long established, and less flexible, disciplinary priorities. There is a clear attitude that an intellectual elite is absent (or less embedded) within the New Zealand university and that socialisation is less a matter of decree, than it is of negotiation. There is also a perception that intellectual labour can have a greater focus on the practical application of disciplinary knowledge in association with people outside the university as a result. These perceptions may reflect something of the pioneering myth that sustains parts of

New Zealand society, nevertheless they form an important section of the symbolic landscape of academic life.

The findings outlined above are also useful in identifying some of the factors which maintain the academic profession over a period of time. Although each of the participants experienced very different sets of life circumstances which led them to enter, and remain, in their disciplinary fields, there were common motifs which emerged spontaneously from this section of the interview process. However these interviews also need to be viewed in terms of the specific environment of the academic community. The next chapter moves beyond individual narratives and seeks to identify some of the unique professional positioning that occurs within Victoria University and explores how this has influenced the discipline and research priorities of academics.

CHAPTER 9

PLACES IN THE MIND: ACADEMIC LIVES AT VICTORIA UNIVERSITY

“The university is built from bricks and mortar, but it is also a place in the mind.”

– Participant

It is argued here that the symbolic motifs of intellectual identity amongst academics tend to revolve around aspects of loss, positionality and retrieval. These concepts have been discussed earlier in the theoretical overview of this research. In postcolonial terms, the notion of *loss* relates to a sense of loss of cultural identity, loss of ‘mother’ land, and loss of territories. For academics in New Zealand, this sense of loss incorporates each of these factors and is expressed directly by the participants as a sense of extreme isolation. This isolation is described in terms of geographical distance; New Zealand is a remote country in the Pacific. It is also described by several participants in terms of intellectual isolation. This is evident in the remoteness from key metropolitan centres, the difficulty of quickly obtaining texts from overseas (it has previously taken up to six months for books to arrive from the United States and Europe, although the use of internet ordering has alleviated the length of the wait), the heavy dependence on sabbaticals overseas in order to keep up with one’s own discipline, the reliance on email to maintain contact with colleagues abroad and complaints about the inadequacy of the periodicals in the university library.

It is suggested here that the aspects of loss identified by academic interview participants forms part of a symbolic vocabulary within the community. Staff within the community become familiar with an attitude towards cultural identity. It is not suggested here that staff in any way share a uniform interpretation of what cultural identity means, nor is it suggested that this forms the basis of most spoken conversations between academics. Rather it is argued that an attitude exists which assumes that aspects of cultural identity

and expression are important to the way in which people operate within their disciplines and within their societies. This attitude could of course be linked to the rise of cultural studies in universities in the Western world, but in New Zealand, cultural identity has been long problematised. It made its first appearance with colonisation. It is also a problem that has never been resolved despite the popularity of cultural and related studies. The focus here is to look at how this attitude affects academic lives.

The notion of *positionality* relates to the ways in which academics locate (or position) their intellectual identity and labour within the cultural, social and geographical contexts of a New Zealand university. The positioning of academic identity in a post-Independence nation is particularly complex. It occurs within contexts which have been disrupted or created through a period of colonial migration and history. There are also considerable differences between the ways in which New Zealand-born academics position themselves in relation to their expatriate colleagues who have taken academic employment in New Zealand on a permanent basis. These differences have an impact on the ways that academics view the university and their own disciplines and for that reason, these factors are implicated in the ways in which the disciplines are reproduced over time. This can be seen for example, in the socialisation of postgraduate students, some of whom will incorporate these messages into their own practice of their discipline as academics or practitioners in later years.

If, as has been argued earlier, universities have undertaken a custodial or managerial role in the mediation of cultural experience, then academics have a certain defining power within the societies they operate within. The articulation of the *Weltanschauung* and of the structures of society by academics is loaded with the cultural luggage they bring with them. The society imagined and researched by academics in New Zealand is one that is viewed through the particular cultural narratives of a group of people who themselves experience considerable conflict over the ways in which they position their own professional and academic identities.

It is argued here that the ways in which academics position themselves within the academic context of the university can be seen in their interpretations of what an academic community is, and whether they believe that Victoria University contains such a community (or indeed, whether it contains several communities). The notions of academic community that were identified by the academic staff have then been linked to the ways in which they describe key roles within the community. In this case the staff were asked to discuss their views of the role of the academic as 'critic and conscience of society'. The linking of these ideas provides a lens through which academic identities can be seen to develop. This development is then related to concepts of cultural identity which were expressed by the participants. This latter linkage is useful in forming an impression of how academics articulate their own narratives of post-Independence society within their disciplinary contexts.

The concept of *retrieval* relates to the ways in which post-Independence academics regain a sense of identity, culture and location. In New Zealand, this retrieval tends to revolve around research, and for both expatriate and New Zealand-born academics this often leads to the prioritising of local material. The growing emphasis on local research is motivated partly by convenience (one doesn't have to travel extensively overseas to obtain data), but it is also a way in which academics can articulate the narratives of the nation and locate themselves within it. In this sense they are not only telling the story of a society as it unfolds. They are also in the extraordinary position of placing themselves (as people in search of an academic and cultural identity after a period of social upheaval) within their own narratives. The community into which academics enter in New Zealand is therefore one that is strongly postcolonial. Identity, culture, loss and retrieval are each woven into the fabric of the community creating a peculiar climate for academic practice.

9.1. 'The tyranny of distance': concepts of loss in academic identity and practice

Analysis of the interview material reveals a persistent theme in several of the discourses of academics. This theme relates to the concept of loss. For academics in New Zealand, this concept operates at several levels. The first level of loss is expressed in terms of a

sense of isolation. The geographical isolation of New Zealand was identified as a contributing factor. Some academics revealed that it was partially responsible for slowing their own research process and hence their academic careers. As one participant said:

During the 1970s and '80s research was difficult in the sense that nearly all the primary materials were in the Northern Hemisphere. It was very slow and dependent on sabbaticals and microfilm. It was particularly difficult getting to archives, repositories, and libraries. So that made it slow and there were times when it was frustrating just being so far away from the major centres and the major libraries. In that sense I haven't been in the loop. I haven't been at the conferences every year that are held in North America or Britain. For that reason I've probably developed more slowly than colleagues overseas who are working in the same area.

– Participant, male, expatriate

For expatriate academics who have arrived in New Zealand from the Northern Hemisphere, reference points abroad often remained central to their continuing sense of identity. This is expressed by another participant who mentioned the distance of New Zealand from other main centres in terms of the impact on his own life:

This may sound silly, but I grew up in the Northern Hemisphere. My birthday is on June 21. That's midsummer's day, the shortest day of the year. Here I always feel very depressed on my birthday, because it's the longest day of the year. On no other day does it bother me that the seasons are upside down. But on that day I always feel a bit nostalgic and a bit claustrophobic. I think the New Zealand Christmas is bizarre. Christmas in the middle of summer and dusty towns and artificial snow painted on the walls in Wanaka.

– Participant, male, expatriate.

Universities in New Zealand have recognised the difficulty that exists for some staff in this respect. To an extent, certain arrangements have been made to deal with the problem of distance:

One of the wonderful things that New Zealand universities did in the 1970s, and still do now, is give you a round the world air ticket when you have a sabbatical. In the '70s it was a recognition that we were on the edge of the world and that people here had to be sent back to the centre. In some ways I deeply disapprove of that attitude, but it does recognise that given a Western European intellectual orientation, it's absolutely essential to a lot of us. We have to travel quite far away for our research.

– Male participant

However it was a feeling of intellectual and academic isolation that distinguished some of the academics who participated in the interviews from other kinds of cultural narratives. This was particularly true for those who were located in disciplines that had developed historically in metropolitan centres. While New Zealand-born academics did not experience the sense of isolation in the same way as their expatriate colleagues (and three participants, all New Zealand-born, did not feel isolated intellectually or geographically), some still mentioned their experience of being in a remote climate. The following section explores some of the facets of intellectual isolation experienced by some of the staff.

9.1.1. Intellectual isolation

Intellectual isolation took different forms for expatriate and New Zealand-born academics. For expatriate academics, there was a lingering memory of having been in larger metropolitan university centres. As one participant commented:

The sense of isolation here is a problem. You have to be even more careful here than if you were in London. You have to be sure that you've done your searches.

That's because you're not bumping into people every day and getting the latest debate in the area.

– Participant, male, expatriate

One New Zealand-born participant expressed it somewhat differently. As has been earlier noted, New Zealanders have been described by writers such as J.C. Beaglehole, as 'a people torn in twain'. This feeling appears to persist amongst some younger academics.

It's the intellectual isolation that gets to me. Until recently I had no one here who I could talk to about what I was doing. I didn't get the kind of mirroring that you need. I went on leave a couple of years ago and when I got back I wrote [to] the Leave Committee and said [that] I needed some feedback on the difficulty of living and working in New Zealand, but using primarily European material that is heavily archival. I wanted to hear what they had to say not only from a practical point of view, but also from the point of view of feeling caught between two worlds. Well, I got absolutely no response whatsoever.

– Participant, male, New Zealand-born

A Maori participant noted that a similar experience exists for Maori academic staff. He suggests that this sense of intellectual and geographical isolation leaves many Maori people with a desire to study overseas:

There's an isolation factor. There's a sense of being a long way from where everybody else is. There's a sense of academics not being as good as academics elsewhere. I suspect we are as good, but we don't always acknowledge it to ourselves. There's a bit of cultural cringe. It gives us an inbuilt sense of insecurity or instability. We get our first qualifications in New Zealand but then there's a sense that we really need to go to finishing schools in other places if we really want to make it. People here seem to think that a postgraduate qualification is going to be better if you get it overseas. When I was a student

most of our texts were written by scholars from overseas. We need to have faith in our own material and our own research and our own scholars.

– Participant, male, New-Zealand-born

The New Zealand tradition of going abroad to conduct postgraduate study in metropolitan centres has largely fallen into disuse but as can be seen in the extracts above, it has left a singular legacy in the ways in which some academics in New Zealand perceive the value of local qualifications. This can lead to a degree of uncertainty in the manner in which some academics present themselves on the international academic stage. The following extract is taken from a participant who is talking specifically about New Zealand-born academics:

I think we're a bit too apologetic about ourselves here in New Zealand. I think it's a New Zealand tendency. There's a tendency to denigrate ourselves. You'd never find that in Australia.

– Participant, male, New Zealand-born

Elements of geographical and intellectual isolation are tied in with the ways that cultural identity is perceived and articulated. The following section explores how a sense of isolation impacts on perceptions of cultural identity.

9.1.2. Cultural identity

Cultural identity in New Zealand has long been linked with a sense of profound loss. In earlier generations Pakeha settlers experienced separation from their homelands and Maori experienced the loss of familiar and traditional ways of life. The heritage of those early losses has been handed across the generations, shifting in shape and focus but remaining as a symbolic focal point. This has implications for academics in those disciplines for which the attempt to portray or discuss British or European knowledge is central to an understanding of the subject. In this respect Britain can never be perceived

as neutral territory, it is a reference point which has been built in to the way that New Zealanders see themselves. As one Pakeha New Zealand-born participant said:

The other day a friend of mine said to me, "You're so British, but you're not really". She thinks that my life project is to sort out where I belong. It's a very common postcolonial condition. The generation before us had England rammed down their throats. Their way of sorting things out was to take on the New Zealand 'ideal' and to be violently anti-European. They were completely dismissive about the 'Old World'. They rejected England. But I think our generation finds it slightly more problematic. We don't have that same sense of loss that our parents and their parents had. England, or Europe, is like something we lost before we even got it. We don't get as anti-European as the last generation because we're a generation removed. So for us, it's like we say to the last generation of academics, "Hey, hang on, you're throwing all this stuff out, but we want to know something about it". Look at our students. They're desperate to know about this stuff.

– Participant, male, New Zealand-born

This contrasts markedly from the experience of an expatriate academic who said:

So where's 'home'? Where's home ever for an expatriate? It depends on how you look at it. Either you have several homes, or you don't have a home. It's much better to look at it positively. New Zealand is home in the sense that it's where I live and I expect it's where I'll stay until I die. I expect I'll retire here. In that sense I'm a New Zealander. But I'll always be a Canadian as well. I'll always feel that Canada is home too. I think where you grew up is really important. In some respects I feel more at home there than in New Zealand. But I'm a stranger there too. Everyone there thinks I talk funny. I'm not regarded as one of them and obviously I'm not. So I regard myself as having more than one home. I think you have to do that or you end up very cynical.

– Participant, male, expatriate

Maori people express their cultural losses somewhat differently. New Zealand is a remote country, but it is also a very small one. Social networks cross back and forth between regions. This is particularly true for many Maori. Cultural identity for Maori is torn between urban and rural tribal referents. In many cases young Maori have to leave their tribal areas if they wish to get a university education. This takes them to the cities where a loosening of tribal links can sometimes occur (Kidman, 1995). This is expressed by a Maori participant as being problematic but also, in some instances, necessary to the development of a personal identity.

There are constraints to being a Maori in New Zealand. The Maori 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 Maori in New Zealand. In New Zealand you always have to make choices about how much inside the Maori world you want to be. That's partly because most of the Maori 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 Maori 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 Maori community. A very Maori 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 Maori 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.

– Participant, male, New Zealand-born

The attitude towards cultural isolation can also be expressed in a sense of surprise and wonder when New Zealand 'voices' are heard or given primacy. This can fuel the desire to translate local priorities into academic research. A participant who did not feel herself to be culturally, geographically, or intellectually isolated in New Zealand said:

I was watching a programme on TV the other day about animals and people in New Zealand. It was amazing. You could hear New Zealand voices talking and using phrases that were familiar. Most wild-life-type programmes are about animals from overseas. We never hear our own voices on those sorts of programmes. It's just an example, but I think it's really important to hear our own voices, whatever those voices are. I don't think there's only one New Zealand voice. I think it's the same in research. We need to hear voices that reflect our situation in the world.

– Participant, female, New Zealand-born

Isolation was not a factor in all of the interviews nor was it a question that was specifically asked. However for those staff who, without prompting, mentioned that they had experienced a degree of isolation in being located within a New Zealand university context, the impact of geographical and intellectual distance was profound and had a significant effect on the ways in which cultural identity was constructed. Cultural identity can not be separated from the organisation of the academic sphere, if, as has been previously argued, academics have a mediating function in the field of culture. For this reason it has been included here as part of the symbolic dialogue conducted by academics in this university. It is not necessary that each member of the community experiences this kind of alienation, what is important is that the academic community contains many people who give voice to it in different ways. Thus it appears that members of the community have a common point of reference even for those who have not personally experienced it.

Furthermore it should be noted that those who have experienced various forms of isolation have experienced it in different ways. For example there are differences

between the ways that New Zealand-born Pakeha might frame the question of distance and cultural dislocation, and the ways in which Maori may express it.

In the same vein, geographical and intellectual distance is a focal point for some New Zealand-born participants, but it is a concept which is formulated on different premises (and different notions of location and 'home') to those of expatriate academics. The messages that academics give to students about being in New Zealand, about New Zealand society, and about the importance of doing study in the country, are important. Either students will reject these notions and construct new ways of interpreting their culture and society or they will perpetuate these notions. Alternatively they may adopt aspects of these attitudes and reject others. Whatever the case, the attitudes of academics towards these matters are implicated in the construction of the community and the context in which they are socialised, and are therefore worth exploring further.

9.2. Academic positioning: location, community and roles

Given that the academic community in this New Zealand university contains elements of loss in varying degrees, it is useful to assess how academics subsequently position themselves within their communities. With this in mind participants were asked to describe what they thought the term 'academic community' might mean. If they did have a concept of 'community', they were then asked whether they believed Victoria University had one. They were also asked to give their own interpretations of academic roles within the community (if indeed they did believe that one or more communities exist). In fact, two staff members were clearly of the view that there was no academic community at Victoria University. One staff member was skeptical about the academic community as a concept.

Attitudes towards academic roles were approached through an interview question about the legislative role of academics in New Zealand as 'critic and conscience of society'. Participants were asked how they interpreted this role and whether they thought it was relevant to them. These questions were asked in order to ascertain how academics

position themselves in constructing social and cultural narratives based on their knowledge of their discipline. This is seen here as relevant because the narratives that academics construct are ones that those who come after them will either challenge, or perpetuate and maintain.

9.2.1. Academic concepts of 'community'

Participants were questioned about the concept of an academic community. In New Zealand universities this is a term that is frequently used by academics but its meaning is not always clear. Certainly academics do not appear to have a uniform definition of an academic community. However it is a term which is in common usage and as such it formed the basis of this set of interview questions. It was intended to throw some light on how academics perceive the university environment and their place within it. This was seen as important because if any modelling of academic behaviour and positioning takes place amongst new appointees, it is relevant to explore the ways in which academics position themselves in relation to the University environment.

Two participants both with a background in the social sciences were skeptical about the term 'academic community'. One staff member said:

'Academic community' initially means something negative to me. It throws up pictures of something stereotyped, something overly theorised, something that's not real.

– Male participant

However, the majority of participants felt that it was a term which directly applied to their experience of the University or of the academic life. It was a term which gave them a variety of identity-locations, including a sense of situatedness within the institution, international links with other scholars, placement within the historical context of the scholarship of one's discipline and a home base for interaction with other groups within

society. The international aspect of the 'community' was emphasised by several staff, for example:

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.

– Female participant

For some staff the concept of community entailed feeling part of a network of scholars that persists across time and across generations. The following comment highlights this attitude but it also throws light on the ways that the academic profession is maintained and perpetuated. The role of mentors is again important. In this respect intellectual allegiances can at times also contain an emotional dimension:

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."

– Female participant

Amongst those participants who defined the term academic community positively, there was a strong feeling that an academic community can only operate effectively if it is in constant contact with other communities outside. As one participant said:

*If an academic community is really working properly, its outer shell is visible.
The people within are always in interaction with people outside.*

– Male participant

It is worth noting here that interactions with external communities can also serve to strengthen and highlight the symbolic boundaries surrounding a community. Thus communication with members of other communities can emphasise the differences between various communities and may go some way towards consolidating membership of the home community, in this case, the university. The same participant commented that a threat to the structure of the academic community presently exists due to managerial and leadership shifts within higher education in New Zealand. This participant suggests that these shifts have drawn opposition from the membership of the academic community:

The staff here feel very fragmented at the moment. Very few of us see the Vice-Chancellor as the academic leader of the University and that's what a V-C should be. Nowadays we see him as the manager of the University. We see him as our employer. Academics need to feel that they're part of the whole process of the university rather than feeling that they're simply people at the University.

– Male participant

Interestingly most of those who were willing to give an interpretation of 'academic community' spoke of a sense of shared values with other community members. For example a senior academic who has given considerable time to senior university administration said:

I think [academic community] means a group of people who share similar views about the value of education and while they may not agree on how those values should be implemented, they do at least agree that we're moving in a common direction.

– Male participant

This comment reflected a prevailing attitude amongst the staff who were interviewed (with the exception of the participant who took a negative view of the academic community concept). The notion of shared values operating within an environment of conflicting interpretations pointed to the possibility that several of the academic staff participating in this interview set appeared to unconsciously favour what amounts to an almost Cardinal Newman-like ideal of higher education. For these staff, the 'Idea' of a university, whether such an 'Idea' exists or not, was central to the way they operate within their professional contexts. In other words it seems that although the notion of the 'Idea' of a University has fallen into disfavour amongst many higher education commentators, it is a notion which persists for some academic staff when they begin to talk about the way they position themselves within the institution. In this respect it matters little if the community has an actual existence or not. What matters here is that people believe the 'Idea' of a community exists and behave accordingly. Even those participants who took a negative view of the concept of community still used the notion as a reference point. The following quote is taken from a participant who was skeptical about the existence of an academic community but still employed the concept to describe how he differentiated himself from the academic group:

As an undergraduate I always avoided the student cafés because they always wanted to talk shop and I wanted to talk about other things. I would go to weekend dances, but not with the other students. I'd go to the Nurses' Home where they had jazz. It's still the same now. I don't want to talk academia all the time. I don't want to be always part of that sort of club. I'd rather go down town and have a beer with the journo's [journalists] from the Evening Post.

– Male participant

The concept of community is a problematic one. However from a symbolic interactionist perspective it implies both similarity and difference. Participants did use the notion to express how they interpreted their environment, even if the term 'community' did itself not appeal and they identified both commonality and conflict within it. However several

participants voiced skepticism about whether Victoria University contained an active academic community. Yet as will be seen later, despite this skepticism, most of the participants experienced a strong sense of affinity with the university community.

9.2.2. Interpretations of the 'academic community' at Victoria University

Certainly people outside of Victoria University have a perception of an academic community existing within the university walls. This is expressed in a variety of ways. For example there is an expectation from people outside of the University that academic staff will choose to live in particular suburbs and thereby extend professional associations to neighbourhood groupings. Several participants commented on this:

When we first arrived here we went to a Real Estate Agent. As soon as they hear that you work at the University they take you up to Karori to look at houses. That's where all the academics live. I didn't have a car in those days and Karori seemed to me to be way out in the bush. I said I didn't want to live there and all the Real Estate Agents just told us that we had to because it's where academics live. Well we certainly didn't want to live cheek by jowl with academics. So we went and lived somewhere else.

– Male participant

Inmates of the University were reluctant to identify a single unifying community within the institution. They were more likely to point to several different communities, not necessarily based within disciplines, at large within the University:

I think that Victoria University has a series of academic communities. I do think there's a sense of common purpose even though we carry out that purpose in very different ways.

– Female participant

Another participant agreed, adding that the survival of the Victoria University community rests on its links to international scholarship:

The University has some weakness in the sense of containing an 'academic community'. There are a few departments with a strong sense of community though. I think if a community of academics like us is going to survive, it has to be always reaching outwards into the international community.

– Male participant

A strong and universal thread in each of the interviews was a strong disenchantment with the managerial ethos that is currently being introduced in New Zealand universities. This ethos is one that each of the participants felt deeply unhappy about and voiced very firm opposition. All the staff suggested that this kind of approach to academic life was systematically destroying their faith and commitment to the University. One younger staff member commented:

Victoria University doesn't have a single unifying academic community although I do think that there are a series of communities here. I think the idea of a community is being systematically destroyed. Academics have been disempowered here by the whole management ethos that's been creeping in over the last few years. They've basically allowed it to happen.

– Male participant

Another participant discussed how the managerial ethos encroaching into academic lives had affected academic leadership within the University, leaving staff feeling vulnerable and deeply disturbed about the future of higher education:

I think the University has a lot of communities. There are academic communities of people in the staff club, eating their lunch and talking about issues to do with the University or general culture. If you want to talk about a general community here, I think there's a sense of disgruntlement, of disenchantment. I think that's

because philosophically, most of the university staff are opposed to where the University is taking them in terms of education. It used to be that when that sort of problem came up, the academics were at daggers drawn with the Council. But that's changed now that the 1989 Education Act has been brought in. Before that, the Vice-Chancellor and the academics were one body. So the Vice-Chancellor led the academics through conflicts with the Council. But since the 1989 act of parliament, the Vice-Chancellor has become the employer of the academic staff. That effectively means that the academics no longer have a real leader. It also means that the Vice-Chancellor is sitting between two poles, the academic staff and the Council trying to satisfy them both, and in the end, satisfying neither.

– Male participant

The main threat to the existence of an academic community at Victoria University was perceived in terms of the corporate philosophies and ideologies that were creeping inside the university walls. The participating staff universally condemned the managerial stance evident in the University's approach to senior management. The participants opposed the notion that a university could be run like a business or a corporation. They saw this as a threat to the 'collegial' ways in which they believed academic communities should work. This is an interesting point. The term 'collegial' implies a degree of consensus in the matter of decision-making. Whether or not academics have in the past behaved with 'collegiality' is open to debate. What is relevant here is that the participants identified this as an important aspect of the way they defined accepted behaviour within the social group. In perceiving the increasingly corporate stance of the University's management as a threat to the internal functioning of the academic community, the participants responses suggest that social interaction within the academic group is framed by certain symbols, such as the notion of collegiality, which in turn provides a structure for the practice of social behaviour. When those symbols are seen to be challenged, in this case by importing external corporate business ideologies and practices into the social group, the members of the academic community firstly become more aware of their own community boundaries which are seen to be violated

by the intrusion of external social practices, and secondly, they become more aware of the established social codes of the group. They also are more likely to reflect seriously on their own positioning within the group and actively begin to re-establish or construct new allegiances within the community, thereby strengthening and consolidating the threads of loyalty within the social web.

For this reason, despite considerable opposition from within the community to shifts in the community structure, participants voiced a strong sense of allegiance to their social group. The academic community was a notion that many perceived as being under threat, yet most expressed a deep commitment and affiliation with the University as a place where they drew their sense of identity and where they felt they belonged. The next section explores how the academics position themselves within an institutional structure.

9.2.3. Academic identity, location, and belonging

Concerns about the leadership and management featured in discussions about the academic community. However participants were asked later in the interview if the University itself gave them a sense of intellectual location and identity. Two participants disagreed that they felt a sense of identity within the institution, but the rest stated firmly that they felt a strong affinity with the University and this gave them an intellectual grounding in the construction of their professional identities. This intellectual grounding was also the basis for the formation of social attachments to other people within the institution and within the discipline (both nationally and internationally). This aspect of the interview data is seen as relevant because the ways in which academics position themselves within an institution has an effect on the ways that they practice their discipline. Furthermore if the notion of loss is tied in to the formulation of the cultural identities of academics, then the ways that they construct a sense of belonging to the social environment they have entered is central to an understanding of academic positioning.

The following comment reflected the attitudes of most of the participants:

Oh yes of course I feel a sense of identity with the University. But sometimes that's characterised by resentment or despair. But for better or worse, yes I belong here. The University isn't simply an employer; it's also the context in which you do your own intellectual work. It's where you do your creative work, your research, your teaching. I've been coming here to the same place for twenty years now. To some extent, I say good morning to the same people. How could you not identify with it?

– Male participant

Most of the participants mentioned particular locations on the University campus that had special significance for them and which contributed to their sense that they 'belonged' to the institution. For some participants, those locations were bound up with childhood memories, as was the case in the following quote:

When I look at the Hunter building I feel a sense of identity. When I was a child of seven or eight, I was sitting in the back seat of my parent's car. As we drove down Kelburn Parade I asked what that building was. It was unlike any building I'd ever seen. I was told that it was the Hunter Building. They said it was the University. I still remember that moment.

– Female participant

Other participants linked their sense of belonging with the University to their sense of location within the city of Wellington:

I do feel a sense of identity with Victoria University. Partly because it's in Wellington. I like the fact that Wellington is a political city and the University is part of that.

– Female participant

This was a theme which was returned to subsequently by several participants:

I get a sense of belonging to the place when I come into my office. I can look out over the harbour and the city. I love the city. I like it here on the hill. When I hear people say that it's just an unpleasant campus on the windy side of the hill, I can't agree. I like the fact that some of the Departments are in old houses that people used to live in. I like the way the buildings are crowded over the hill. I like the greenness of the bush. I like being able to walk down Kelburn Parade and see all the old houses still there and part of the campus.

– Female participant

One feature of the University that was widely commented upon by participants was the fact that Victoria University has a substantial collection of New Zealand art works. Early works in this collection were largely funded from the salary contributions of the academic staff. As such there is a great deal of staff pride in the art works as well as a sense of personal investment in their continued presence on campus. The collection itself is displayed on walls around the campus. It is considered to be one of the more significant collections of New Zealand art in the world. Most staff mentioned that the art collection, displayed in easily accessible areas, gave them a sense of identity either as New Zealanders or in more abstract ways related to the institution itself. As one participant said:

The artwork serves the function of providing a sense of identity.

– Male participant

Another participant spoke of being a student at the University. For this interviewee the University represented important aspects not only of her intellectual and professional development but also significant parts of her youth:

The phrase alma mater for one's University is profoundly significant. "Our mother". I think that people do have, and should have, a sense of attachment to what that represents.

– Female participant

The sense of belonging extended to the social and professional networks within the institution. This was also a strong feature of the interviews and was commented upon by each respondent (including the participants who stated that they did not feel a sense of identity with the University):

I get a sense of identity from the company of the people here at the University. It's a good place to be. There's a sense of democratic involvement in the place. That's a strong feature of this university and one that you'd want to preserve. There's a strong feeling that there isn't a hierarchy here. There's a sense that all the staff are in this together and we make the decisions that count.

– Male participant

The Maori participant had another view about maintaining a sense of identity with the University. He said:

Yes, I feel as though I belong here. I feel I'm part of it. It's partly to do with wanting to belong. I need to feel that I belong here. It's partly to do with my late start in university life. It's partly to do with being Maori. That need to belong is part of the legacy of being Maori. Coming to university and not knowing if you're going to be able to handle it. With my Maori students now, I tell them that as long as they work hard, and as long as they want it badly enough, they can belong here too.

– Male participant

Identity construction within the institution is based on a variety of different premises. However the ways in which academics locate themselves within a particular university

has an impact on the kinds of the messages they give to their students and to the wider society. Despite concern being voiced about changing community structures, participants did feel a sense of allegiance to the University which emerged from and resulted in the formation of emotional attachments. These allegiances both allow participants to identify with other members of the community, and typify aspects of the symbolic interaction between them. Their allegiances not only helped to identify what forms the academic community takes, they also provide a means of locating community boundaries. People who professed a sense of belonging or identification with the University and hence with the community, can also be seen to be entering into a symbolic dialogue with others, even in cases where those others do not have the same interpretation of their identity within the social group.

These dialogues take place within the formal setting of the university but extend to informal social networks amongst colleagues who choose to socialise with each other outside of work. Only two participants said that they rarely socialised with academic colleagues outside of work hours. The rest revealed that their closest friendships were primarily with other academics. Interestingly these friendship groupings were not disciplinary-based but reached across faculties and departments throughout the University. Thus the symbols of the academic and professional environment are reinforced through less formal contact between community members providing them with a sense of continuity and belonging. Academic socialisation can therefore be seen to operate on a number of formal and informal levels. The kinds of allegiances people expressed focussed on their disciplines and this is common in university environments. However the way they constructed a sense of belonging to the institution and the people within it, suggests that the process of socialisation is largely symbolic.

Given the kind of positioning that was expressed here, the participants were questioned about the kinds of roles they played within the academic context. This is another element of academic positioning which provides a lens with which to view respondents interpretations of how they located themselves within the New Zealand higher education

setting. The following section explores one of the most commonly debated academic roles in New Zealand society.

9.3. Critic and conscience of society: interpretations of academic roles

The legislative role of academics as 'critic and conscience of society' is an aspect of academic life which is constantly debated in a variety of public fora in New Zealand. In a rapidly changing university environment it is one role that the participants could easily recognise and identify as being common to each of them. It was however a role that was interpreted widely. The reason that the 'critic and conscience' legislation was emphasised in this set of interviews is because academics are viewed here as a group of people engaged in the expression of cultural identity and as such, they are commentators on the different forms taken by the wider society. As a community group their symbols are characterised in part by a sense of intellectual and geographical isolation which in turn influences the manner in which they position themselves within the University, within their disciplines, and within international academic contexts. In order to view part of one's professional role as a 'critic and conscience of society' and to give voice to that society, it is therefore necessary to locate oneself within that society in some way.

This aspect of the interviews provided a way of looking at the ways in which academics perceived their roles within the community and within wider society. Participants were asked what they thought it meant to be a 'critic and conscience of society' and whether they believed it was a role that was relevant and necessary to their own work. In every case the response was adamant. Each participant was very firmly of the belief that the role of critic and conscience of society was of enormous significance and each believed that it was a role that they would fight to protect if they felt it was ever under threat. This question incurred some very passionate responses from the academics and was the one question upon which there was vociferous agreement. The following responses sum up the attitudes that were expressed by the participants:

The critic and conscience role of the university, which is written into the legislation, was one of the reasons that I came back to New Zealand. I wanted to come back to a society where it was appropriate for me as a citizen to utter. To participate. I've done a lot. Not always very publicly. But over the last twenty years I've been engaged in the way the government of this country works. It's my government, just as it's yours. I've been lucky because different governments of different political persuasions have given me tasks to do. They've trusted me. They've sought my advice and ideas. It's nice to feel that it's appropriate to be active and engaged, first of all as a citizen and secondly as an academic. All citizens should be active, not just academics. A society without an active citizenry might just as well have a dictator.

– Female participant

I believe that if you know a lot about a particular subject, then you have a responsibility to share that knowledge when and where it's appropriate. But we must also remember that the state does fund us to know a lot about our fields. It's incumbent on us to return that knowledge to others.

– Female participant

The participants were equally adamant that it was a role that was not in any way 'owned' by academics. They each believed that it was a role that all members of a society have a responsibility to undertake. To a degree, this attitude reflects the reality of intellectual labour in New Zealand. Not all intellectuals have been professionally integrated into the university system. Although the legislation specifically identifies the duties of university academics to society, there is recognition that the local and indigenous intelligentsia outside the universities also share this role. However the participants suggested that for academics, there was an "intellectual responsibility" to act in this capacity due to what they perceived as the special nature of their community. The following selection of extracts highlight this attitude:

The role of critic and conscience is written into the Education Act. It's a role that's important to all members of a society. But it's important for academics because it's part of our job to be literate and to give voice.

– Female participant

It's not just academics who have a role as critic and conscience of society but we have a privileged status in society. We have the opportunities to do research and to form ideas about society. Academics within a university are well placed to provide a way of thinking about the world that we're in. We're well placed to articulate the problems and to initiate the debates. We have the ability to take aspects of the more esoteric research and put it into plain language and make it available to people outside the university.

– Male participant

Academics are well placed to act as the critic and conscience of society because we have the research abilities and in theory we have the time to do it as well. Unlike other places in society we have the resources and we are appointed to do it.

– Male participant

This role was one that clearly gave these academics a sense of joint purpose within their professional contexts. Participants in this set of interviews also used this role to identify appropriate social behaviour within the group. They each saw the critic and conscience aspect of their work to be an important facet of their professional identity. For that reason, participants who felt that other academics were not performing that role or taking it seriously enough, were cited as being 'weak links' in the community chain. It was also clear that this role was seen to supersede disciplinary allegiances. For example:

I think it's very easy in New Zealand for a small group of people to take themselves too seriously. I don't like those people who think they're special because they read T.S. Eliot and then refuse to use their talents to create change

in the wider society. It disappoints me when academics like that avoid contributing to academic life. I think it's a failure of responsibility. Certain people of the Left who are based in universities, are inclined to exchange their views in lifts. They'll say that it's a bugger of a world out there and then the lift doors open and they disappear into their offices.

– Male participant

Concerns were also voiced about academics who were seen to use the privilege of the university environment to articulate views from a sense of self-interest rather than, as one participant put it, “for the greater good of the academic community and our society”.

As one participant commented:

In theory the universities are separated from the state. That's the positive aspect of the ivory tower. Because we're at the cutting edge of research, academics should be able to stand back from what's being presented to a society and criticise it. We should be able to evaluate and challenge. That's the theory anyway. In practice it's much more difficult because every individual has their own set of beliefs and preoccupations about the way the world is going. That's bound to get in the way of a disinterested view. I would be worried if internal conflicts within the University started to impinge on how we respond to matters of conscience beyond the University. But I still think there's a very important role for the University in employing the critic and conscience approach when it comes to giving unbiased advice on government policy for example.

– Male participant

Despite the rather high-flown nature of some of these comments – the role of critic and conscience of society was clearly an ideal that had great meaning for all the participants. It was also a role that acted as a framework for ‘appropriate’ community behaviour as well as a filtering system for those who were perceived as failing in that role. This has implications for academic socialisation, because it indicates strongly held beliefs about appropriate behaviour. However the ways in which the role was performed was

interpreted in diverse ways. For example the teaching role was seen as central to the performance of the critic and conscience function by several academics:

It's our job to be the critic and conscience of society. But that doesn't mean we run off to the media every five minutes saying that the government's full of right-wing nutters. I do it in a much more subtle way. Hopefully I do it through my teaching. Hopefully I'm getting my students to question current models of society and economics. Hopefully I'm helping them to realise that there are alternatives. It's not my role to say that one alternative is better than the other. I think it has to be more subtle than that. I think we're in the job of exposing and critiquing all forms of society and making students aware that there are alternatives and that it is possible for them to change things.

– Male participant

One participant explained how he believed he fulfilled the role of critic and conscience as a teacher within his discipline:

I act as a catalyst for that critic and conscience role in my teaching. In my field there's a richness of content that allows students to look deeply into questions of social power and ideology. For example, in the field of Art History, if you're talking about Western art, you're talking to students about elite objects. Objects that were made by an elite, for an elite. You can't get away from that even if some of those people are operating within an environment of mass culture or popularism. At the end of the day they're making an object which is valued in a cultural and economic market place. It is an object which has collector value and is prized. A lot of New Zealand students find those concepts of elitism quite problematic. In a way they find the ideas quite foreign. I teach a course on eighteenth century French art and of course the great revolution is looming over everything. The students immediately think about the revolution and they ask me what the peasants were doing while all these great works were being produced. I tell them that they sure as hell weren't buying art. That gets them thinking. So

even though we're looking at a different society in a different time and place, it's still possible to make students aware of political ideologies and show them how it can relate to their own situation.

– Male participant

This participant had a clear sense that the role of critic and conscience included an awareness of the colonial and post-Independence contexts of New Zealand history and society.

Each of the participants believed that the role demanded that they provide a discipline-based critical social analysis of society. This did not vary between participants in the fields of humanities, social sciences and the sciences. In this respect, it was a uniform view. Some participants believed that it was important to make the role visible through public comment in the media, others saw the role being fulfilled through research or critiques at conferences, others again believed that giving advice to government and/or community groups was another way of fulfilling the role. One participant mentioned each of these factors and then discussed how he, his Department, and his students had been actively involved in protesting government policies during the 1980s and had received a degree of protection from the Education Act legislation:

In the early 1980s there were two big political issues. One was the cuts to university funding and the other was the Springbok Tour. Staff within our Department had a great political commitment to making a protest. The students were also very vocal in expressing their political commitments. That's not unusual in our field. You do tend to get students who are active and involved. Students who care about what's going on in the world. So we used the resources of the University to create a public protest. We used the theatrical and design resources of the Department to make [props for street demonstrations] which we knew would catch the attention of the cameras. We used the resources of our Department and our discipline to create a kind of theatricality which would highlight the kind of protest we were making. If we hadn't had the protection of

the critic and conscience legislation I think we would have felt a lot more vulnerable about using our critical and creative strengths quite so openly. So while other people wrote letters to the newspaper or published articles, we used our particular discipline base to state a case. I got involved in that way partly because during the 1981 Springbok Tour, I protested as a private citizen. And as a private citizen, I was kicked and beaten by the police. Afterwards I felt that it was a bit of a waste. I felt we hadn't dug deeply enough. That was why, when the 1984 Tour to South Africa was planned, I didn't just go out and join the protests as a private citizen. I mobilised a whole lot of students and we used the skills of our discipline to stage our protests. I knew we could communicate to a much wider group of people if we used our skills in that way.

- Male participant

9.4. Loss and positioning within the academic community

Several themes emerged from the interviews with academic staff that highlighted their attitudes towards the university environment. It has been argued that notions of loss inform aspects of the symbolic dialogues into which academic staff in New Zealand enter. These notions are not experienced by all community members, but there is a wide awareness of these factors and this influences how academics talk about their work.

In surmounting the sense of isolation or alienation that some participants articulated, each person had in some way positioned themselves within the academic community and had constructed academic identities within it. Thus the defining power of culture and society that universities assume is articulated by academics who often experience conflicting feelings about the culture and society they are asked to research and define. These conflicts are also evident in the way that the academic community is itself defined and this has an impact on how members construct cultural narratives.

The ways in which people form academic identities and allegiances within the university environment and how they interact with other members, are informed by attitudes about

'appropriate' values and community behaviour in key roles. This behaviour influences boundary construction around the community and also affects the way in which participants respond to perceived threats to their community. In this respect the ways in which academics are socialised, are linked to these established codes within the university. Academics are only not socialised into a discipline, if what they said of their own experiences in the previous chapter holds true, a great deal of disciplinary socialisation will already have taken place at undergraduate level. But academics are also socialised into the distinctive values and behaviour of the academic community. In this case they are also required to learn something of the symbolic dimensions of interaction as well as those behaviours which are visibly practiced.

The role of critic and conscience of society is also important to the way that academics position themselves professionally. It is a role with which the participants identified closely and provides them with an outlet for expressing their knowledge and commitment to their disciplines in the public arena. While they hold different views about how that role should be performed, they each expressed its importance. The post-Independence context of New Zealand has allowed many of these academics to reflect and comment on their society and as a result, they have spent a considerable amount of time thinking about their location within it. The next chapter examines how academic staff link notions of retrieval to their research and teaching roles.

CHAPTER 10

HOME AND AWAY: RETRIEVAL, RESEARCH AND THE SUPERVISOR/STUDENT RELATIONSHIP

“That’s the nice thing about research. In the end, all roads lead to home.”

– Participant

“ [O]ur best and brightest students know that they must leave New Zealand.”

– Participant

The previous chapter explored aspects of loss and positionality that occur in academic narratives. This chapter focusses on the ways in which academics retrieve a sense of identity and location within the postcolonial context of higher education in New Zealand. The interviews with academic staff revealed that retrieval takes places in a variety of ways. Many staff chose to express their location as academics in New Zealand through the use of local materials and data for their research. This is not an unusual approach for academics. Academics in New Zealand frequently find that there are fewer options available to conduct extensive research trips abroad due to the remoteness of the country in the Pacific. It makes practical sense to use local data for research, as it is not always possible to spend lengthy periods of time in the field overseas. Nor is it always possible to attend key conferences and discipline-related fora abroad. Thus in order to maintain an active research engagement in one’s discipline, it is appropriate for academics around the world to gather data from sources that are readily and locally accessible.

This comprises an interesting shift in perspective. In more recent years the movement towards local priorities has led to a greater insistence that academics located on the western ‘periphery’ will define themselves on their own terms, rather than have their

society and culture defined for them by the theories generated in the metropolitan centres of the West. This movement away from the 'centre' can also be linked to a shift in the narratives of cultural identity. In this respect, the 'local' and the 'peripheral' become the 'centre' of analysis. This movement towards more regionally based approaches to knowledge and method, has not taken place without considerable debate. The academics who have chosen this way of conducting their research are themselves in a situation of cultural uncertainty and conflict. Thus it has not been a smooth or uneventful transition. Even those academics who have adopted the 'local' as their own, continue to express doubts about how this might affect their careers and possibilities for international publication or employment.

The second method that academics commonly use to retrieve a sense of professional identity can be found in their teaching roles, and specifically the supervisor-student relationship. The participating staff each regarded their work with students as being significant factors in the expression of their commitment to their disciplines. Thus the supervisory role that academics take with postgraduate students allows them to find a degree of resolution and location in the cultural conflicts that surround their roles as academics in a postcolonial situation. The supervisor-student relationship is examined here in some depth because staff did perceive this as a process of socialisation for students moving into advanced areas of disciplinary study as well as into the arena of academic life. If communities can be seen most clearly, at their boundaries and through practices of initiation, this relationship is important. The ways in which academics talk about their relationships with their students, and particularly their postgraduate students, contains vital trace elements of their own relationship towards their disciplines, their view of 'acceptable' behaviour within the academic community and their relationship with the University.

10.1. Retrieval of identity through 'local' research'

In the face of loss and isolation, academics in New Zealand are inventive in the ways they have regained a sense of belonging within their professions and within their national

culture. Some have re-focussed their attention to the use of local research materials as a matter of necessity:

It was marrying for a second time and taking on four children (the youngest of whom was ten years old) that meant I couldn't really go overseas to South-East Asia for long periods to do my research. But it was also because coming home to New Zealand meant that I could be more engaged in the community than I'd ever been able to as a foreigner in Asia and New York. As a citizen, I wanted to be involved in my society. But also, by taking on a large family, I couldn't really go off overseas all the time. I retain a life-long commitment to South-East Asia and I often visit or go on holiday there. But I haven't done any serious research there since I married. So I turned my research interests more and more towards New Zealand. That's fine though. I love it.

– Female participant

From the interviews there emerged a strong sense of commitment to the 'local'. Several participants mentioned that this commitment needed to be balanced and located within the international research forum. This was not only because academic promotion continues to rely heavily on international publications, but also because several participants saw themselves almost as ambassadors for New Zealand material abroad:

I think one shouldn't immerse oneself totally in the local. I think it's important to maintain connections overseas. But I rely heavily on New Zealand material. I see myself as helping to maintain a profile of work in this country and of New Zealand society overseas. The local and international interests are entirely compatible. I've taken New Zealand into the international forum.

– Male participant

Other participants related an ongoing commitment to the cultural narratives that are emerging in New Zealand society. While they saw these narratives as having

international appeal and relevance, they also perceived something unique about the cultural and social contexts they take place within.

It's here that Maori Education has its critical mass. It's where these sorts of dramas are played out every day. It's happening all the time across the system in so many different ways. Going away to London helped too. I needed some distance from it. It gave me a sense of objectivity but it also helped to put it into a wider frame of reference.

– Male participant

In some disciplinary areas staff have made a conscious choice to prioritise local data, this has happened even in subjects, such as Mathematics, where it is possible to conduct research without local cultural referents. For example:

All of my research is centred on New Zealand. In the last few years all my research has to do with Maori and Pacific Nations students in the classroom and what makes the classroom a comfortable place for them. My next project will be on refugee children.

– Female participant (Statistician)

For other participants, the retrieval of the 'local' was not only a practical matter of gaining access to field data. There were also vestiges of 'empire-speak' present in the way that some academics described their fascination with the domain of local knowledge. For those academics, the notion of the 'voyage into the unknown' underlined the way they saw their fieldwork. In this respect, a certain legacy of the 'imperial adventurer' informed contemporary visions of the sciences:

I think if you're talking about the Sciences, it's easy. New Zealand has a richness of diversity in the climate, the landscape, the geography, the flora and fauna and so on. Look at the research teams we send out to the Antarctic. Doing fieldwork

in this country is a joy and a voyage into the unknown. For a person working in the Sciences this region is still a place of exploration and discovery.

– Male participant

Other participants saw their research as a way of seeking a cultural definition of themselves and others in New Zealand and Pacific societies. In this respect, local research allowed some researchers to re-frame the narratives of the West and retrieve a local identity and location from which they could turn their critique to an analysis of the West. In a sense they used their research to ‘re-define’ what is known of the West. For example one participant has looked at how colonial explorations in the Pacific shaped a changing perception of the world within the West:

Being in New Zealand has made me think about how I can re-orient my own research so I can still look at European material but with some kind of New World ‘take’ on it. For example, I’m interested now in looking at the impact of the European voyages, especially the French voyages, to this part of the world. I’m focussing my research on the Pacific and the impact that those voyages had on European society. In a way, I’m shifting my analysis away from the centre to the periphery. I think we’re in a unique position in this part of the world to do that. It’s partly to do with who we are and who we’ve become. In New Zealand, we are, to some extent at least, European. We can’t deny that. Our language, our lifestyles, the whole idea of academia, even some of the ways we think about the world, are heavily influenced by European models. So it seems to me that you have a choice. Either you deny that the academy is inflected by local priorities and prejudices or you subscribe to some kind of Republic of Letters. I don’t think the two are mutually exclusive. With globalisation, there’s an opportunity for an incredibly rich dialogue.

– Male participant

Local research also holds other attractions for some academics. New Zealand and the South Pacific region continues to be imagined by many Northern Hemisphere academics

as a place of mystery, exoticism and difference. If the East is an imagined territory in postcolonial theory, the South, and particularly the South Pacific, is still contained within the cultural imagery of Gauguin and the British explorers. As such, it continues to provide a cultural counterpoint to western lives and locations. In this respect the cultural 'Other' emerges through the colonial vision in the shape of inhabitants of the South Pacific, of which New Zealanders are part.

When I go to conferences overseas in Europe or the United States, my research grabs a lot of attention because it's based in this country. New Zealand seems so distant and far away to people in the Northern Hemisphere. Not a lot is known about it. There's a certain curiosity value in it. When I'm in New Zealand I'm just me, but when I'm overseas presenting my research, I'm treated as some kind of special exotic bird because I'm seen as so foreign. I love it.

– Female participant

This 'otherness', particularly that experienced by New Zealand-born academics overseas, can ultimately provide a stronger sense of location in the New Zealand context. If cultural difference is a feature of being abroad, then affiliations and cultural loyalties to New Zealand can be further engendered by these experiences. These affinities can be expressed through the research that academics conduct in the New Zealand environment. In this way, loyalties to the local academic community emerge alongside a commitment to the construction of local narratives of culture. Thus, the experience of being 'different' inflects the research that academics do and underlies the kinds of cultural narratives that arise out of their research. These kinds of experiences also increase the sense of 'sameness' or 'affiliation' with other academics within the New Zealand situation. The following extracts are intended to highlight these ideas:

I did live in Melbourne for three years. I had always thought that Australia would be just like New Zealand. It hadn't crossed my mind that it would be different. Yet working there was like working in a foreign country. Over there, everything was just so different, the phrases that people used, things they said,

the ways that they saw the profession. It was a really good experience. It's a kind of taken-for-grantedness isn't it, that things will be the same. It made me think quite differently about living here in New Zealand. It made me want to emphasise my location as a New Zealander and as an academic living and working in New Zealand.

– Female participant

Everything about being here influences my research priorities. I'm firmly of the view that the local is as important as the non-local. In my field there's so much that's been imported that the idea of having a New Zealand based discipline is something that's only recently been thought about. Of course there are still people who don't see that as being important. I do. In terms of the history of a place, I think there's something quite specific about where you're located. I don't feel that I have roots anywhere else but here. I've never been to England or Europe. I'd like to visit, but I've never felt an urge to go simply because it's where I come from [i.e. as a Pakeha New Zealander].

– Female participant

Local priorities have a wide influence on the way in which a discipline is perceived and practiced within the local environment. Academics who have made disciplinary commitments within the New Zealand context also have considerable influence over the development of disciplinary practice in other local and national spheres. For example, one participant discussed the way that his discipline, Classics, had changed over a period of time, leading to changes in disciplinary practice throughout the world. Alongside other academics based in New Zealand, he participated in the re-framing of local practice within the country. This allowed academics at Victoria University to differentiate themselves from the way the discipline was practiced both overseas and in other New Zealand universities. In this respect, the process of differentiating allowed academics to maintain and increase their sense of disciplinary community and allegiance within the Department at Victoria University. He explains:

New Zealand universities and schools used to have a very traditional focus on Latin language and literature. But there was a period when Latin was declining in the schools and Latin teachers were losing their jobs. This was happening throughout the world. In Canada and the United States they responded to the collapse of Latin and Greek by developing something called Classical Studies. In New Zealand, the schools were also wanting some sort of alternative, so we invented Classical Studies for this environment. Classical Studies was specifically designed to be taught in New Zealand schools. It was set up so that there were a series of different topics which different teachers could take. For example, a science teacher could take a topic on Greek science. A history teacher could take a history topic. An art teacher could take a topic on art. An English teacher could take a literary topic. It was deliberately designed so that you didn't need a Classics teacher. It was also a subject you could pick up in the sixth form even if you hadn't done any Classics subjects beforehand. So in that respect it was picked up by people who didn't really know what subjects they wanted to take, or kids who hadn't done very well in School Certificate. A lot of the bad Latin teachers had gone by then and the ones that were left were really enthusiastic about the subject.

Victoria University was the first university in New Zealand to build a Classical Studies component in to our degree in a comprehensive way. We were following developments in Canada and the United States but we built on our own strengths as a Department. We were the first university here to build up a major and Honours system in the subject. We decided to go a different way from what was happening in Classics Departments in Australia where there was a strong focus on ancient history and subsequently a strong ancient history focus in the secondary school curriculum. We decided to focus more on literature. We've led the field in that respect. Auckland University moved much more in the direction that Australian universities were going in, with the emphasis on ancient history. As a result they're only just beginning to develop Classical Studies up there.

They've maintained a focus on Greek and Latin with some teaching of hieroglyphics.

So in New Zealand the subject has been developed in a particular way and there's been a lot of discussion and meshing of the curriculum with the secondary school curriculum. To an extent though, at Victoria University we engineered that meshing of school curriculum and the university focus by setting up the programme for schools.

– Male participant

In this regard it can be seen that the universities have some impact on the way in which the culture of a discipline is practiced nationally. In the case of Classics, it has already been suggested that this subject has a cultural dimension for New Zealand students seeking access to the narratives of a Western past and history. Thus the reconstruction of this discipline within the national curriculum of schools indicates how universities have a mediating function in the field of culture. The example above indicates that the reshaping of the discipline for New Zealand school children has allowed a degree of retrieval for those academics practicing the discipline and has also allowed them to maintain and perpetuate the life of the discipline within the country.

The process of prioritising local research allowed academics to find identity and location within their own community contexts. But for each of the participants, their research engagement formed only part of their identity. The other aspect of retrieval could be seen in the pleasure they took in teaching.

10.2. Retrieval of identity through teaching

Academic socialisation extends to another important group in the University, namely the students. At postgraduate level, students are initiated into aspects of the academic and disciplinary community. The manner in which they are socialised reflects the nature of academic practice in New Zealand. Victoria University is relatively small in comparison

to other universities in urban centres overseas. As a result, staff frequently enter into social and professional conversations on an informal level, with academics outside their own disciplines. This has led to a perception that the University provides a more interdisciplinary environment than some of the longer established and subject-based universities they have visited. There is also a belief that the student body generally adopts a less formal demeanor in their relationships with academic staff than they have witnessed in other universities.

The teaching role is therefore a key focus for the socialisation of newcomers into the discipline. Several interview participants expressed a belief that the socialisation process for students was different to their own, as well as different to that of some of the metropolitan universities with which they were familiar.

There are academic staff at Victoria University who do not enjoy teaching. In most university institutions there are people who take little pleasure in their contact with students or do not teach well. This is the case at Victoria University. It should therefore be noted that the interviews conducted here do not reflect negative views of the teaching role. All of the participants in this set of interviews happened to be people who took pleasure in teaching and saw it as a vital part of their work. While all but two participants admitted to disliking marking essays and exams (and only one participant expressed enjoyment in reading and marking student assignments), they still cannot be seen as fully representative of all academic staff at the University. Rather, it can be argued that they represent a certain section of staff who enjoy teaching. The following extracts highlight the kinds of opinions expressed by the participants:

I enjoy contact with the students. I enjoy teaching. I don't pretend for a minute that I enjoy the colosseum aspect of undergraduate teaching. I don't like going into a lecture with four hundred first year students. I think that's a trial for most people except those who are gifted with histrionic skills. The smaller the class, the more I enjoy it. I find contact with young people very stimulating. It's always interesting to see what the next generation of New Zealanders are like.

– Male participant

Mostly I feel that I'm deeply privileged because I'm being paid to do what I would be doing anyway. Reading and writing. Teaching. I enjoy the connection with the young. I think the day I say the young are dreadful, is the day I should fall on a sword and retire. I think the young are stunning. Courageous and cheerful. Having taught in four other countries, I think that students in New Zealand are a happy mixture of politeness, without being deferential, and opinionated without being obnoxious. All but a few of them are completely literate and intelligent, charming and good. Of course I'm not dealing with the dregs of society. I'm dealing with people who are here because they want to be here.

– Female participant

In New Zealand I think there's more of a sense of everybody being equal and going into it together. Part of that comes from the breadth of the student body. It's not just undergraduates straight from school. There's a wide range of people that you come across that add to the sense of community. There's an unwillingness to stand on ceremony or to kowtow to the authority of the professors. There's none of that here. I get the impression too that partly as a result of that, the staff come together and know each other much more. In other universities, I think the contact is more subject oriented. It's very different here. Interdisciplinary discussions and contact take place as a matter of course.

– Male participant

The participants viewed teaching as an essential part of their work. Their contact with students allowed them to bring their disciplines to life. Each of them expressed enjoyment in watching students form allegiances to the subject over a period of time and in this respect they took pride in their contribution to the formation of these disciplinary affinities. Whether these views express a common attitude amongst academic staff generally is not known since there were no participants within the sample who did not enjoy teaching. Each of the participants expressed a degree of dissatisfaction with some

aspects of teaching, such as working with very large classes or marking, but there were none here who disliked the role of teaching. For this reason the following section can only be seen to represent the opinions of a very specific group of academic staff. Nevertheless the views which have been expressed contain some interesting themes which relate to the maintenance of academic disciplines.

10.2.1. The student socialisation process

The term 'socialisation' was avoided in the interview questions as it was seen as a somewhat leading term. In exploring the ways in which the academics socialised their students it was hoped that they would reveal something of their attitudes to their own processes of socialisation. However as it happened, each of the participants appeared to be comfortable with the term, using it freely when discussing their relationships with their students. The participants suggested that the nature of academic socialisation has changed in response to changes in the composition of the student body and this has affected their own perceptions of the socialisation process.

Several participants suggested that socialisation of students did not occur as successfully as it had previously when the institution was much smaller. One participant had a poignant memory of student socialisation in earlier years. The following, rather lengthy extract, is included here because although it is a tale which is unique to a particular discipline and Department, it demonstrates that academic socialisation has changed over a period of time and that these changes coincide with shifting national trends in higher education:

We used to socialise students much more widely than we do now. There's higher numbers of them so there are greater demands. Years ago at the end of a student production we'd all go down to the pub together and talk and have a drink. The sense of the life and the community was very strong. There was a sense of a social community. When I first came here, we'd take our class down to Downstage Theatre on Saturday nights for the changeover. We took them down

at eleven or eleven thirty at night and we'd all pitch in and we'd be there until three in the morning. There wasn't any money for that, it was totally voluntary, but it was a really good experience for our students. It was also a way for us to help professional theatre here. The theatre was very strapped for money. But it was a socialising event for the students. In a way it was the equivalent of going to the pub for a drink.

At that time, if the students were putting on a performance, it was very seldom that I wasn't there all night on at least one of the nights. I'd be helping in the studio, painting walls or setting up lights. Staff and students were in boots and all. We used to rub shoulders much more than we do now. Now we have a technician who does that work. We have families and there's pressure on us to be at home at nights to look after the kids.

It's hard to know how much changes because you've got older and so much more institutionalised and how much changes because things change anyway. Undoubtedly we have become more institutionalised and undoubtedly there's a lesser degree of informal contact with our students as a result of that. The kind of socialisation that used to go on is important but it has got lost. It's less common for us to go out for a drink, which is a pity. Now, there are too many students and too little time. There are increased pressures on our time. But how much of that is lost because you've just got older and grumpier, I don't know.

– Male participant

Despite changes to the way socialisation takes place, all of the interviewees commented that they saw this aspect of their work as important. However, in terms of socialising postgraduates into the academic life of their disciplines, the participants clearly did not feel that their role as supervisors was exclusively, or even primarily, to maintain the academic profession. This is suggested in the following two quotes:

I don't think that all our students should become academics. There are other good and useful lives to be led outside of the university.

– Female participant

We're not just teaching our postgraduates to be academics. I had one eighty-year-old student who finished her thesis and I asked her what she'd do next. She said, "Oh, I'll probably die. They keep giving me my student loan, and I'll never be around to pay it back".

– Male participant

However there was strong evidence to suggest that they did see a role for thesis supervisors in maintaining their own disciplines across time. As one participant commented firmly:

At the end of the day, it's the discipline that counts. Not them, not me, but the discipline.

– Male participant

Another participant also suggested that academic allegiances to their disciplines tended to be stronger than allegiances to the university institution. In discussing his relationship with postgraduate students, he expressed the view that the role of the supervisor was to draw students into the discipline and encourage them to form lasting allegiances to it. Interestingly, this replicates the process that each of the participants had been through themselves as students in that they formed affiliations with the subject as undergraduates and went on to extend that interest into a life-long commitment once they became thesis students:

We're socialising them into the subject primarily. Staff are much more committed to their subjects, then after that they form commitments to the institution that allows them to teach that subject. With postgraduate students you're bringing them into your subject. They've selected the area as one that

they want to work in, so you show them the boundaries of that. You show them what they can and can't do. They've already formed some affiliation with the subject as undergraduates, so by the time they become postgraduates they're extending that commitment.

– Male participant

When the participants raised the question of socialising postgraduate students into academic life, they were asked to elaborate how they performed that function. Each participant had different methods. One participant aimed to inculcate a passion for the subject alongside a technical expertise in research:

I think that every teacher hopes that as a result of your engagement with them, they will come away with a greater enthusiasm for the subject. Knowledge, enthusiasm and technique! The techniques of writing, the techniques of research. That's how we're socialising students into the discipline.

– Male participant

Another participant perceived a role for supervisors as academic mentors. The mentoring role was seen as a particularly important one by the participants and aspects of mentoring postgraduate students infused most of the discussions that took place in this section of the interviews. This role will be discussed further later. However of note here is the variety of ways in which academics attempt to replicate their own postgraduate experience by forming significant supervisor-student relationships:

For a start there has to be some area of common interest. That's not always easy to forge because students don't always come along with an interest in your own field. But you need a degree of partnership. When I first came across that word mentoring, I wondered what it meant. Well it turned out that that's what I've always been doing. I form relationships with students that often end up in joint articles. That's my job. I have the links with particular journals and publishers and I get students started by working jointly with them.

– Male participant

10.2.2. Supervisors' expectations of students' discipline allegiance and role behaviour

In their role as postgraduate supervisors, each of the interviewees made a series of critical assumptions. All of them believed that their students would already have formed significant attachments to the discipline prior to embarking on a course of postgraduate study. Each of them assumed that they would not have to inculcate enthusiasm for the discipline itself in their postgraduate students. This is a commonsense assumption. With the enormous costs of postgraduate study in New Zealand, there are few students in a financial position to afford to take the gamble on a discipline of which they may tire, or of which they may wish to shift out of before the completion of their higher degrees. On the other hand, it is an assumption which appears to rest on the past experience of the supervising academics themselves. As undergraduate students they each formed disciplinary affiliations and went on to postgraduate study in order to extend those affiliations. It was assumed without question that their students would also have been through the same process.

To an extent a degree of socialisation has already taken place. By the time they get to postgraduate level, it's an opportunity for them to take control of their own research.

– Male participant

For this reason the participating supervisors believed that they had to assume different pedagogical roles with their postgraduate students than they did with undergraduates. In this respect, academics are required to understand, and be oriented towards, varying role behaviour in the communication of their disciplines. This is essentially a matter of socialisation into the role of the teacher, but it requires an understanding of, and an alignment with, the knowledge structures of a discipline.

One of the pedagogical roles appeared to be teaching the student how to be a student-researcher. In other words, the students having already formed disciplinary allegiances

as undergraduates, needed to be inducted into the more specialised nature of discipline-based research. In this regard the kinds of behaviour that staff expected of postgraduate students appeared to differ in some respects from that of undergraduates. Supervisors therefore saw a role for themselves in helping their students 'become' postgraduates and assisting them to learn 'appropriate' behaviour.

As postgraduates, students have already worked out that they're committed to the subject. To a large degree, they've selected the broad research areas and topics where they want to extend their knowledge. But there's a cross-over between being an undergraduate student and being a postgraduate student. I'm there to help them with their research of course, but I'm also there to facilitate that 'little death' that takes place when they cross the threshold into postgraduate work. I'm not there to teach them the discipline. They already know it. I'm not there to teach them to be academics. Or at least, not unless they ask me to or if they have unusual talent for the subject. No, I'm there to teach them how to be postgraduate students. I'm there to teach them how to do research. I'm there to introduce them into the community of my discipline. If I'm going to spend several years of my time with that student, I want them as far as possible to know the rules of how we operate within the discipline. I want them to know the protocols and the language we use to speak to each other. If, in the end, they decide it's not for them, fine. But at least they know what it is they're rejecting.

– Male participant

In order to teach 'appropriate' behaviour, academics must themselves assume particular roles which will facilitate the students' adoption of that behaviour. Both supervisors and students therefore adopt particular roles when they interact. Initially, the boundaries between roles during the student's transition to postgraduate work, becomes blurred. In this regard, it is almost as if the accepted behaviour of the academic as a 'teacher', which is a familiar stance in undergraduate teaching, is reversed or re-defined. The student must learn that the 'teaching' role of the supervisor has altered once they pass through the portals of postgraduate study. They must learn quickly that they have

different responsibilities within the supervision relationship, one of which is that they must begin to work with, and articulate, ideas in a one-to-one situation with their academic supervisors, and it is expected that these ideas will be of interest and provide some form of intellectual 'benefit' to their supervisors. Thus, they are required to contribute to the relationship on an entirely different level to that of an undergraduate student. The shifting role of the 'teacher' is neatly expressed in the following:

There has to be mutual respect. Both the supervisor and student have to acknowledge that they're learning. There needs to be a sense in which you're both exploring and finding ways of moving ahead. The supervisor will have more experience of the discipline but that's only part of it. It's a developing relationship. It's not a 'teacher'/'taught' relationship. It's something which becomes effective when ideas are being tossed backwards and forwards for the mutual benefit of both.

– Male participant

Acts of identity retrieval occur in the supervision relationship when academics shift their role behaviour from being a teacher to that of becoming a co-explorer of a discipline with a student initiate. In a sense the academic supervisor and the student are navigating the knowledge domain together. But this is also a ritual of initiation. When academics bring new people into their field, and assist students to create academic identities within it, their own sense of belonging is consolidated. While the views they express are perhaps an idealistic perspective of the supervision relationship, and while the reality is sometimes far distant from the practice, they form a symbolic cornerstone in the way in which academics interpret their roles as socialising agents. In this respect, their views offer a closer glimpse into the ways they view their disciplines (as opposed to their relationships with their students).

There appeared to be a degree of awareness amongst staff that they were assuming 'role' behaviour with their students. The following quote highlights the idea that teaching roles

are assumed in order to induct students into acceptable disciplinary behaviour, in this case, learning the skills of self-evaluation:

I tell my students from the outset that we're in a very artificial situation. I'm both a mentor and a critic. They need to learn methods of self-evaluation and get that intellectual distance so that they can stand back and see the work.

– Male participant

Most of the participants saw a technical aspect to the roles they adopt with postgraduate students. To an extent it appeared almost as if they are there to polish or draw forth abilities that are already implicit within their students by the time they begin their higher degrees. However the staff assumed that students would work independently on their research, leaving them to facilitate rather than 'teach' the building of new skills:

With students, either it works, or it can be dreadful. The real guts of a postgraduate degree is that the students will learn to work by themselves. The obvious role for me is to put time into reading their drafts and advising them about the structure of their written work. The postgraduate students must come out of it being able to write better than when they began. It's a lonely thing being a postgraduate. Every student will tell you that. But I don't see any way around it. It's a monkish decision to do postgraduate work anyway.

– Male participant

It's about challenging their own beliefs and getting them to question themselves and what they believe in. But I always make the assumption that my students know more about the topic than I do. It's more of a technical-professional relationship. I keep them on track. I ask the hard questions about what they're doing. I make sure they're making use of all the resources that are available to them. I look for enthusiasm in the students. I don't want to lead them down a track that's too different from where they began because I don't want them to lose their initial enthusiasm. I want them to tell me about the decisions that

they're making, because there are hundreds of decisions they have to make as they go along. For that reason I keep notes as we go.

– Male participant

The attitudes that academics hold towards the socialisation of their students suggest that there are indeed tacit processes of socialisation in operation in academic life. There is a perception that students must learn appropriate behaviour from their academic mentors. Views are held about the importance of inculcating appropriate work habits. Above all, there is the attitude that academic life requires independent and reflective thinkers and that academic mentoring will aid this process. While staff do not necessarily agree on what constitutes appropriate behaviour, good work habits, or independent thought, these aspects were highlighted when they discussed the processes of socialisation.

10.2.3. Supervisors' expectations of students' work habits and attitudes towards student selection

The participants expressed a strong assumption that postgraduate students would come into the supervision relationship having already developed organised and independent working skills. There was also evidence that older and more experienced staff were only willing to take students on for supervision if they believed that the students were 'up to it'. Evidence of good work habits served as an indicator for several supervisors about the students ability to complete a thesis. This evidence is predicated on the assumption that supervisors will have had some contact with students as undergraduates and have formed opinions about their work habits, or that they are willing to act on the recommendation of trusted colleagues. When this is the case, many supervisors will actively encourage students to take on teaching or related roles in the Department, this is particularly true of those students who may require extra attention.

In the past I've agreed to supervise people who I wouldn't agree to supervise now. I'm more conscious of making sure that I'm the right person for that student. I've known a lot of my postgraduate students for a long time. I've known them as undergraduates. I encourage them to be tutors and to be actively

involved in the Department. I do that because I want them to feel they have a sense of place here. In the main, I think that women students are sometimes more hesitant about that involvement than some of the young men. Some of the young men seem to think they have a greater right to be here. Recently when our class was talking about where they wanted to be in the future, and what sorts of jobs they wanted, one chap said to me, "I'd like your job". So I asked him if he meant that he wanted to be an academic and he said, "No, I want your job". Interestingly, none of the women said that.

– Female participant

Thus it appears that a student's entry into the postgraduate environment is facilitated by having had previous contact with academic staff at undergraduate level. This attitude indicates that staff believe that academic socialisation is part of an ongoing and increasingly focussed process, which becomes more selective at the level of advanced study. This can become a difficulty however as the size of the student body grows. Staff do not always have the same opportunities for personal contact with their undergraduates. For this reason, the assumption that students will enter postgraduate study having already formed disciplined and autonomous work habits is one that cannot always be made.

It only works for me if I don't have to be chasing them up all the time. I only take people who I know will make the running. I really only accept people who are self motivated and organised. I really like students who know what they're doing and know where they're going. I prefer people who work in the way that I work. I like to talk out where they're at and give them ideas about where they should be heading. But I expect them to implement those ideas. I choose people who I can rely on to do that.

– Female participant

When staff are not familiar with students' undergraduate work they are likely to seek other indicators, such as practical experience or practice in a field, to make their decisions about which students they will supervise:

We can't take on many graduate students because we're a small department. I normally only take on students who I think have the capacity to do it. But I'm also interested in taking on students who have worked in the field. A lot of our postgraduate students have practical experience. They've gone away and practiced [the field]. When they come back to us there's a certain maturity of attitude and a commitment to what they're doing.

– Male participant

These decisions tended to be based on previous experience with students who did not complete their degrees:

I would refuse to supervise someone who I did not perceive as being able to complete the job. I am terribly busy and I'm really only interested in taking on people who can do it. People who can get through and not need masses of emotional support. All but one of my students have completed within about five part-time years. The one who failed to complete was incredibly gifted and incredibly talented, but he had huge problems completing things. At one stage, his father locked him in a hotel room [in a country overseas]. He'd found out that the thesis wasn't finished, so he locked him in and told him that he wouldn't let him out until a draft had been sent to me. But it was all to no avail. It never got done.

– Female participant

These comments indicate a series of expectations that supervisors held regarding appropriate postgraduate academic behaviour. The ability to work consistently and autonomously was a high expectation, and one that influenced a supervisor's decision about which students would be selected. Whether this assumption is realistic or not, it is

one that this group of participants expressed as being important. The way that students are selected for supervision and are ultimately paired with academic mentors (supervisors) is a curious process, which rests on somewhat intangible explanations. More experienced academic staff tend to adopt rather obscure measures for the selection of students, which are based on whether or not they believe students are 'up to it'. In this respect, there is an implicit suggestion that advanced scholarship is only for the chosen few. This attitude helps to maintain an aura of exclusivity around academic scholarship and indeed, academic life in general. Even those academic staff who spoke of their discomfort with the notion of academic elites expressed this attitude. The construction of this mystique forms part of the symbolic boundaries around academic work.

Those students who are seen to be 'up to it', are identified in a variety of ways, one of which is selecting students who clearly hold similar work ethics and work habits to those of their supervisors. In a very real sense, the identification of students who mirror, or reflect, the supervisor's own attitudes is a way of reproducing the discipline over time. Furthermore, although the interviewees did not believe that the maintenance of the profession was a primary concern when working with students, the selection of like-minded people who may well form the pool of academics in the future, indicates an implicit desire that certain aspects of the academic status quo will continue.

It is interesting to note that in some disciplines, a student's previous practical experience in a field is increasingly recognised. Several metropolitan universities are also beginning to recognise the significance of practical knowledge in a discipline, but in New Zealand, this attitude has its origins in the integration of specialists and practitioners into the university environment in the recent past. It also reflects the notion that the formation of the disciplines in a post-Independence environment requires the expertise of people who have been practicing locally.

10.2.4. The mentoring role

Once the early expectations of supervision were resolved, modified or confirmed, and the supervision relationship was underway and working well for the participants, aspects of the mentoring role become more evident:

You have to like each other. There's not a lot of point in working together otherwise. It can't be an authoritarian relationship. It should be companionable. It should be collegial. Two minds working on the same sort of problem. At its best, I see supervision as a kind of benign neglect. I trust them and their abilities so much that I want them to go away and do it for themselves and I'll be as much help as I can. But I'm not mother. A hands-off approach based on trust of the student has always seemed to work best.

– Female participant

The mentoring relationship was one that was important to the participants because they had themselves experienced strong bonds with their own supervisors. The supervision relationship is one that takes place often over a number of years and is rarely static. Nevertheless, there is appropriate behaviour to be learnt in performing these roles too. Despite comments about the collegial aspect and emotional bonding that can sometimes occur between mentors and students, these relationships are staged within the framework and boundaries of a particular community. For that reason, emotional attachments are structured within the professional networks and behaviours of the community. The participants implicitly assumed that students would quickly learn the nuances of these attachments and respond accordingly. In cases where this happens and the student adopts the 'correct' attitude towards the emotional dimensions of the professional relationship, all is well. However none of the participants referred to or cited instances where this did not occur. It would be interesting to have material which relates to instances where students and/or supervisors did not understand the nuances of the professional relationship and the impact of these upon socialisation. However the interviews did not

yield this type of data. More commonly, staff referred to the role differences between supervisors and students:

It's a bit hard to quantify the difference between a supervisor and a student. On one hand you want it to be collegial. If you have to work with someone for years, you do often form a sort of emotional bond with them. But it happens within fairly strict professional boundaries. I can't say where those boundaries are, I just know that they're there and I would be embarrassed and offended if any of my students crossed the line with me. But sorry, I'm stumped to know where the line between being fond of someone and being there for them professionally gets drawn. I don't even know how it gets drawn. But if it's going to work, it has to be there.

– Male participant

We have a code of conduct that governs our behaviour with students and other people at the University. But supervision is a strange situation where a formal code of conduct doesn't seem very relevant. When I work with a student, I get to know them quite well. I like to try and keep in touch with them when they leave here. I can't really think of any other situation that comes close to the kind of relationship you have with a postgraduate student. It's distanced but it can also be quite close. It's not like a family relationship or the sort of relationship that you'd have with a close friend or even with another colleague. Sometimes you get to know a student's life circumstances better than some of their own families. It's real, but it's also a bit artificial.

– Female participant

In order to form a structure around the less tangible aspects of supervision, some staff take steps to regulate and assess the relationship.

I don't think you can ever be friends in the sense of being equals because I think there's a difference between a student and a supervisor. Even with my own

supervisors, I didn't feel that we were equals until I'd finished that process. What I do try to do is make them feel that the work they're doing is valuable. I want them to feel that I'm on their side, if there are sides to be taken. I'm their advocate. But I can't do it for them. I can only provide advice and suggestions. I think I've got better at supervising. I'm more explicit now. I like to have a contract with my students. We work through it and we look at it each year and we work out which bits of it still suit us and what needs to be changed. I'm much more conscious of not just letting it happen but actively ensuring that it is working for both the student and for me.

– Female participant

If disciplinary allegiances are partly based on emotional attachments to the subject, academic staff can be key people in the formation of those allegiances. They are present when students' form intellectual affinities and as teachers, they are often partially responsible for their emergence. This makes the supervisory relationship, even when it is working well, vulnerable to emotional conflict. The supervisor must create a professional detachment and emotional distance at the same time as constructing the degree of approachability and availability required to maintain the relationship and its changing nature over a period of years. If intellectual affiliations to a subject operate within a broad emotional domain, then various intensities can be generated in the process of forming subject loyalties. This is a less tangible aspect of intellectual life and one which was familiar to the participating staff, as well as one with which some had struggled, either as students themselves, or through being in proximity to students who had entered postgraduate study. For this set of interviewees the structuring of their professional roles within the context of the University afforded them a degree of protection in their relationships with students as well as providing them with a framework of 'accepted' behaviours. For this reason, role behaviour helped them to construct boundaries around their interactions with other members, in this case, students. It also provided a negotiable 'blue print' for conducting those roles. Thus it was this dimension of the community that allowed participants to act as mentors.

10.2.5. Sending students' on their way: study abroad

One strong factor that emerged in many of the interviews was the need to send more able students abroad for further study. This is not an uncommon academic viewpoint, but in New Zealand it should be remembered that study abroad was a long held tradition and one that several of the New Zealand-born academic staff had themselves experienced. Several of the older and more senior staff members who participated in these interviews and who had themselves studied overseas maintained that it was essential for good students to go abroad.

My role is to draw students into the discipline and into the intellectual environment and into the network. My job is to locate good research students and put them in touch with other experts. I can help them to arrange to do their PhD somewhere else if they want to go overseas. Certainly we are producing graduates who are able enough to be looking seriously at picking up academic posts overseas. So collaboration and networking is what I can best offer to students.

– Male participant

There were a variety of reasons why some of the participants saw the need to travel as being important to able students. Some saw study abroad as essential to entering academic life:

The Vice-Chancellor would probably cut my throat for saying this, but I see my role with the best and brightest as getting them off-shore. By the time they've done a four year Honours degree with us, and possibly a Masters degree, my best gift to the very best is to help them get scholarships to study elsewhere. I don't think I'd be doing my best for my students if I told them never to leave home or if I encouraged them to stay with me. I would be limiting them. I would be binding their feet. If they do want to become academics, there's no way that doing three degrees here will enable them to carry out that wish. A lot of people

have life circumstances that prevent them from going abroad. But our best and brightest students know that they must leave New Zealand. In the past twenty years there have been two to three students per annum who I have assisted to get off-shore. The best of them want to come back. No one should ever believe that staying here is the be all and end all. People should have academic records that show they have had variety. They should have records that show they have had courage.

– Female participant

Others who had travelled from New Zealand to study overseas, saw this as an opportunity for students to develop intellectually, but they also saw it in terms of national development:

I think it's very unfortunate that most postgraduate scholarships in New Zealand now tend to compel students to stay here. Students don't really have the opportunity to study abroad anymore. To deprive a bright young person of the opportunity to engage day by day with another culture and another country is to deprive them of something of enormous value. It not only deprives them, it deprives New Zealand of what they could feed back into their own country later on. I think that's the worst thing that's happened intellectually in my lifetime. By not studying overseas, students are forced into New Zealand topics to the point of narcissism. People immediately limit their opportunities for the rest of their lives by staying. Of course it is expensive to travel, but if education means something, you find a way, and you get a return.

– Male participant

Thus, study abroad remains an important notion to the academic community at Victoria University. It is in part due to a familiar and widespread academic viewpoint that students should travel beyond their alma mater if they wish to continue in academic life. But in New Zealand, the idea is also linked firstly, to the tradition of study abroad for New Zealand students, which some older academics wish to see replicated in later

student generations. It is also partly due to the conflicts that surround cultural and academic identity in a postcolonial context, that study and travel outside of New Zealand is perceived to be useful. Some participants suggested that since New Zealand is a small, remote country, there is a greater likelihood that students will become provincial or inward-looking in their scholarship if they do not travel. There was an attitude that exposure to other cultures would expand the intellectual horizon. This perception also holds true for academics in other parts of the world, but in New Zealand it also reflects the ongoing dependence of some of the staff in their own scholarship, on metropolitan centres.

10.2.6. Full-time and part-time dilemmas

The reality for most students in New Zealand is that they will not have the opportunity or the desire to travel overseas to do further study. New Zealand universities are populated by part-time students. When large numbers of part-time students are studying towards higher degrees, certain problems emerge which affect the degree of socialisation that takes place. In the first instance, part-time students tend to take longer to complete their degrees:

The full-time students here finish in minimum time, they're all stunners. But mine, being part-time, take much longer.

– Female participant

Part-time students are often in full time employment outside the University and are in the situation of juggling competing demands of employment, families and study. This poses dilemmas for their socialisation into the university environment. Some of the difficulties that part-time thesis students experience was expressed as follows:

Almost all of my postgraduate students are part-timers. That makes it a very different sort of situation from other students in the Department. The others are mostly full-timers. The full-time students are easily socialised. They have duties

within the Department. They are markers or teaching assistants. In that way, they get highly involved in the day-to-day running of things. They're involved in passing knowledge on, mostly to undergraduate students. With part-timers it's very different. Their 'real life' goes on somewhere else. For full-timers, their 'real life' is here. So as a result, my students don't get very socialised into the University. As a rule, they're much older. They have careers. It's not in their interests to socialise them into the University. The discipline – yes. The University - no. They're in a very different situation to the full-timers and there are particular problems associated with part-time postgraduate study. Many of them have established professional reputations before they come to me. Many of them have been working autonomously for some time. To an extent they have to put that behind them and learn to take direction and criticism from me. It's very hard for them and sometimes it's hard for me too. It's sometimes hard to ensure that the right kinds of things happen because if it doesn't it's a disaster. I don't know the answer to those conflicts. Some students come in having resolved those issues. But others come in with a feeling of resentment. They're thinking, "I'm a person of established reputation, so why should I have to show you my writing to peruse and check as if I was a school child?" Of course, the point of the matter is, that within this sphere, they are school children. But I haven't resolved it very well.

– Female participant

The part-time nature of academic study for many postgraduate students means that academic departments cannot always rely on a fully committed student community. The socialisation roles of academics become that of *negotiating* entry and membership to newcomers to the disciplinary or institutional community. The degree of negotiation that takes place with people who have primary commitments outside the University means that the academic community (including staff *and* students) assumes a different form from that experienced by academic staff in their own student years. It also means that many staff have to maintain an active, and up-to-date awareness of the activities of external professional and intellectual groups. In this respect, the induction into the community of new members with external professional and intellectual priorities is not

new in New Zealand. The University has been facilitating this process since the professional integration of the intelligentsia into the institution began in the 1970s.

The changing composition of the student body itself influences the kind of academic environment in which socialisation takes place. Even when students are studying full-time, in New Zealand the age profile of postgraduates tends to be in the mature age range (35 years and over). The reality is that most postgraduates in New Zealand will not be actively maintaining the discipline within a university context after they have qualified.

Most of my postgraduates are mature students. Most of them are full-time students but in a sense, because they're mainly women and they tend to be older, they are sort of part-time because they have lots of other things going on in their lives. Those students have different needs to others. Their time has to be juggled much more. They have competing demands on their time. They also have a lot less confidence. They don't always feel that they have a right to be here. They almost feel that it's a fluke that they got to be here. In this field there's also the problem that there's not really a sense of what you might do for a job at the end of the PhD. That can be really difficult if they have ties in Wellington, husbands and families. They can't just move away to where the jobs are.

– Female participant

In the case of Maori students, there are higher numbers of mature women doing postgraduate degrees than there are men. For some Maori students, difficulties arise when their own cultural affiliations and priorities clash with those of university study. For Maori staff, this can lead to conflicting emotions:

I think about the things I went through when I was doing my postgraduate work, and I suppose I can be fairly severe with students. When they hit problems, I think, 'Jesus, I've been there and there are ways of working through this'. I think, 'Shit, this was me twenty years ago'. I get a sense of déjà vu. I remember

not being able to sleep at night. I'm carrying my experience through with me all the way. So when students get stalled on what they're doing, I can get pretty severe with them, because I really want them to complete. I keep pushing them hard. But I see them responding in terms of the quality of what they're doing. I'm partly driven by the difficulties that exist in Maori Education, of Maori students having lower expectations of themselves. We need to socialise them from the very beginning that they need to raise their own standards, raise their own expectations of themselves. But we need to get ourselves right first before we start preaching at them.

– Male participant

10.3. Retrieving academic identity and fostering student socialisation

The notions of loss, positionality and retrieval were threaded throughout the interview process with academic staff. These notions appeared to act as symbolic cornerstones of academic identity in New Zealand. They each framed the kinds of symbolic dialogues into which staff enter. The participants were a group who had found some resolution for these dilemmas in orienting their research priorities toward New Zealand and the Pacific region. In turn, their research informed their teaching and their relationships with their students.

The supervision relationship is a complex web of allegiance and conflict. It is also a critical factor in socialising people into academic life. The retrieval of identity through teaching involves a high degree of selectivity and this entails judgments about which people will be admitted into academic life. The selection process is linked to socialisation in that by choosing students with 'appropriate' (or like-minded) intellectual attitudes and qualities, academics can maintain their disciplines and professional influence across a period of time.

The kind of socialisation that takes place in New Zealand will be familiar to an international audience, but it also reflects aspects of the post-Independence community.

Due to its location in the Pacific, the university has an emerging set of professional and disciplinary priorities that do not always fit neatly with those developed in the higher education institutions of metropolitan nations in the West. Local influences are increasingly valued, but they often conflict with established western or metropolitan understandings of a discipline or a tertiary institution. Thus identity retrieval within the university environment is based on the intellectual and social history of New Zealand and this informs the relationship that has ultimately emerged between academics and their society.

CHAPTER 11

ARRIVALS IN THE PRESENT HISTORIC

In the modern university, the origins of academic lore leave their residue in documents and memoranda, as well as in tradition, practice and memory. The ritual and the archive become a frame for the present. Academic life in New Zealand is shaped by the cultural projects of the past, the push towards nationhood, and the incipient movement into a Pacific identity, and these frame the ways that intellectual workers practise their disciplines within the universities. Academic identity is drawn from a generous mix of public and institutional intellectual history, and personal narrative. In New Zealand, arriving in the institutions of the present, means that one has travelled in the socio-cultural past. It means that the accumulation of competing narratives that form the basis of identities within the university, provides a lens through which current practice in the disciplines can be viewed.

It has been argued here that the forms that social interactions take within the academic community are influenced by the sense of intellectual identity of the players. This identity is not fixed; it shifts and changes in response to the culture and conflicts of the discipline and the priorities of the institution, which are in turn, informed by the society and culture of the wider community outside the University. The symbolic boundaries around the post-Independence university have altered the ways in which academics perceive knowledge and their own roles in maintaining, generating and preserving it. The environment within which academics in New Zealand are socialised is therefore changing substantially, as are the shape and boundaries of the intellectual and academic communities they inhabit. This means that there is a potential conflict for academics who desire to retrieve local knowledges from the margins, at the same time as having to respond to an increased international trend towards the 'globalisation' or 'commodification' of higher education.

Academic life in New Zealand changed in the post-Empire phase, after the Second World War and the proclamation of Independence, as the New Zealand people sought local meanings for their cultural experience. The professional integration of public intellectuals and university academics in Wellington, particularly during the 1960s, allowed them to lay claim to the cultural aspects of nationalism in the country. As radical intellectuals and university academics found ways of working alongside each other, they were able to stake out cultural and intellectual territories in the arts, theatre, radio and music as well as in the knowledge domains of the disciplines. These domains became important vehicles for the expression of nationhood and local culture and as such they were also a means for political expression. However, in a sense, these cultural activities were a 'high' culture interpretation of the 'real' New Zealand. The interpretations came largely from well-educated Pakeha men, who had travelled overseas to study in British, American or Commonwealth universities, and as such they were inflected with the particularly middle class biases of the times. 'Low' culture, as reflected in working class or Maori concerns, tended to be portrayed stereotypically or ignored. Additionally, images of masculinity in New Zealand have been entrenched in New Zealand society as a particular legacy of the pioneering days of the colony, and in the ways that disciplinary knowledge is organised. As a result, the 'feminine' or the 'domestic', was largely absent within the high culture bastions constructed by male intellectuals until the 1970s, and even then recognition was somewhat grudging.

The notion of a 'real' New Zealand then, is a work of cultural fiction, a necessary element in the post-Empire phase of nation-building, and the images are largely constructed by intellectual workers. After the Second World War, the workers came from the ranks of the educated middle-class and as such they tended to articulate a seamless society with few social conflicts. In fact the opposite was the case, and in the post-war period of suburbanisation as cultural consumption changed in a more prosperous economy, the search for the 'real' New Zealand was influenced by a focus on discovery, creation, and the individual, all of which tended to disguise the emerging class, social, and racial divisions within the society (Perry, 1994, p.11). This dominant

social imagery mapped a society in transition, and it mapped a way of thinking about national identity in the absence of an Empire.

The articulation of a cultural identity, albeit a high culture version, has been the work of intellectuals in post-Empire nations. Academics located outside the West, even if they have lived in metropolitan centres, will read academic life and national identity differently to those within. In a post-Independence nation, intellectual labour is directed towards different priorities to those of the metropolitan West. The methods for seeking definitions of the local, work on a different axis to metropolitan intellectual workers, who have the task, not necessarily of constructing new definitions, but testing and challenging old or stale ones. Outside the West, there are still many societies occupied with the process of naming themselves, and this naming takes place in the context of diverse competing social forces.

The application of a cultural and historical framework to the socialisation of academics departs from most previous work in the field, in taking the process beyond the boundaries of the discipline and the institution. For that reason it was always likely that differences in the patterns of socialisation would be found. However the identification of these differences tends to affirm many of the previous studies of intellectual labour in the West, rather than challenge them. The post-Independence lens on intellectual work has allowed useful comparisons to be made, although this study has placed the academic life in a small nation, at the centre of the analysis, and investigated intellectual labour in the West against these interpretations. In this respect, the West and its metropolitan centres have been displaced, and the examination of intellectual identity on the periphery has provided the central focus for this study.

Disciplinary allegiances are constructed and maintained in metropolitan centres. They are also constructed and maintained in New Zealand. In New Zealand however, there has been a history of sending students abroad to continue their study. That means that academics have been exposed to Western patterns of socialisation, but they tend to reinterpret them when they return to the New Zealand context. As increasing numbers of

students choose to continue their studies in New Zealand, the exposure to metropolitan practice is weakened and new practices, with a local bias, begin to emerge. As greater numbers of Maori and Pacific Nations peoples enter the University, there is a corresponding shift in research priorities. These priorities often emerge from the immediate cultural concerns of the country or the region. There are few knowledge domains that are not affected by this transition. In the Sciences, techniques developed in the West may be either critiqued and challenged, or used for example, to investigate issues of genetic modification as they relate to the political and cultural concerns of indigenous peoples. In the humanities, the voyages of Europeans to the South Pacific in the nineteenth century may be investigated in terms of the way they were perceived by indigenous peoples, rather than focussed on discoveries made on behalf of the Empire. The trend in New Zealand towards identifying a local knowledge base, frequently involves an allegiance to the Pacific region and its concerns, as much as to the discipline itself.

Throughout Britain's empire-building phase, the academic disciplines underwent a significant transformation. With the development of new technologies, such as photography, the steam ship, and refrigeration, it became possible not only to capture photographic images of life in the distant territories, but also to transport specimens back to the Northern Hemisphere. The discoveries made during these voyages of exploration made the construction of an imperial pedagogy possible. Scholars in the West were outsiders in the Pacific societies that they investigated. Their analyses and conclusions about life in the Pacific emerged from their own worldviews and understandings. The Pacific was framed, and made to fit, within a Western perspective. Specimens and information about Pacific cultures were transported to Britain and Europe during the nineteenth century and ideas about those specimens and lifestyles were exported back to nations in the Oceania region through the migration of British professors to the universities in the Southern Hemisphere. Intellectual labour in New Zealand, unlike that in the West, has focussed increasingly (although not exclusively) on retrieving and establishing a local interpretation of the cultures, societies and geographies of the Pacific.

The initiation of students into the disciplines is a major factor in the reproduction of the academic profession both in the West and in New Zealand. The majority of students now passing through universities in New Zealand are less likely to travel overseas to further their studies. While it is likely that the appointment of academics from universities abroad will continue long into the future, the new generation of students who go on to take up posts in New Zealand universities are likely to read the profession quite differently. It is too soon to tell what changes might take place in the academic profession as a result, but the diminishing exposure of New Zealand graduates to universities in the West may well create an environment where more local practices are favoured. This attitude is certainly evident in previous studies. A young Maori student at Victoria University, who has since gone on to an academic post in another New Zealand university, said of her undergraduate experience, "in my department, most, if not all of [the academic staff] have been to England. It's like their brains are still there, you know. Sort of posh. They seem to see England as their intellectual home, even though most of them aren't English. They talk about the great Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, and it's like this University is just a hellhole at the ends of the earth." (Kidman, 1995, p.8).

These readings of the disciplines and the academic profession are shaped by the colonial contexts of the past. While academics in New Zealand are able to engage in disciplinary dialogues with colleagues in metropolitan centres, there is also an extant dimension of their intellectual identity that has been shaped by an exposure to the cultural and historical climate of a university institution in a post-Independence nation. At the same time as the academic disciplines were developing during Britain's imperial phase, New Zealand was establishing institutions of higher education. The University that was founded took its cue from the tertiary systems of England and Scotland, but the institution did not flourish well on foreign soil. The institution that developed was vulnerable to economic constraints as the colony was being built. Later, when the Hughes Parry Committee made its report, it became evident that in attempting to mimic British and Scottish universities, the professors had failed to create a vibrant and vernacular university in the country. The identity of the University institution was torn

between referents in the Northern Hemisphere and the exigencies of the local economy and society. Not only were there conflicts between Maori and Pakeha ideas about higher education, there were also conflicts between Pakeha and British notions. In practice, the University was a colonial hybrid. This influenced the kinds of academic appointments that were made, and affected the kinds of research priorities that evolved. The history of a nation, and the shaping of a society and a culture, cannot therefore be separated from academic practices or the patterns of intellectual labour, in the present.

The relationship between Britain and New Zealand cooled after the Second World War creating a space for the people of New Zealand to construct new meanings for a national identity. The intellectual communities that emerged in post-war New Zealand bore remarkably similar characteristics to their counterparts in the West. They were usually inhabited by members who were male, living in proximity to an urban centre, and they tended to harbour left wing or radical political sympathies. However in addition to these common characteristics, intellectual labourers in New Zealand also tended to be Pakeha. They were frequently well travelled and educated in universities overseas. They were also likely to be living in proximity to an urban university where they could find companionship with their peers.

The post-war boom affected New Zealand in similar ways to America. The growth in population led to a transformation in residential patterns as people moved to the newly built suburbs. New schools and houses were built and communities began to appear on the outskirts of the cities. The personal finances of public intellectuals in New Zealand were such that there had always been very few people who could sustain long periods of unpaid intellectual activity. In the main, they were dependent on salaries for their survival. Nevertheless the integration of intellectual workers into the universities happened at a much slower rate than in Britain and America. This was partly due to the fact that intellectuals in metropolitan centres began the drift to the universities during the Second World War when their skills were used in military and propaganda operations. New Zealanders on the other hand were more likely to be actively serving overseas, so the professionalisation of intellectual labour came about more gradually. However

during the 1960s and 1970s Wellington became a location for the employment of many workers in the arts, music, radio and theatre. At the same time, the nascent nationalism of the post-Independence phase was kicking in, and culture was increasingly linked to expressions of nationalism. Eventually a degree of professional integration took place and the University began to appoint people who had been active in the creative and artistic communities in the city. The influx of these workers, some of them Victoria University graduates and Rehab. men, into the institution, led to changes in the way the University 'narrated' the nation.

By the 1970s, the voices of Maori protest had become more insistent. Alongside the development of a sense of nationhood, there came attenuation to indigenous and local understandings. This is not to suggest that race relations in New Zealand are uniformly equitable or harmonious, they are not, and it is because of that, and because policies of cultural assimilation and integration had not worked, that organised Maori protest became so visible. But Pakeha New Zealanders also used Maori culture in the expression of nationhood. Not because it was necessarily viewed sympathetically by non-Maori, but because it highlighted cultural and historical differences between New Zealand and Britain. Maori groups put forward their own intellectuals, some were university educated, urban professionals, others were organic intellectuals, or people with advanced knowledge in the Maori world. These intellectuals challenged the worldviews of the Pakeha intellectual elite, and in doing so injected their own understandings into the way that intellectual labour was defined and organised. Thus, the professional integration of intellectuals into the universities happened in both New Zealand and the West, albeit at a different rate, but in New Zealand this integration was premised on the local and indigenous narratives that were emerging.

The traces of imperialism linger within the New Zealand university. In this study, it has been framed around notions of *loss* (intellectual or geographical), *positionality* (constructing an academic community from the raw materials of the local and metropolitan intellectual worker, and acting as critic and conscience in a small post-Independence society), and *retrieval* (that is, the retrieval of an intellectual and academic

identity particularly through researching the local and teaching a new generation of post-Independence post-baby boom students).

The academics interviewed in this study constructed their interpretations of the University community in different ways. They employed a variety of devices for developing and articulating their identities within the postcolonial context, and they each understood their roles (for example, that of critic and conscience of society) quite differently. However despite their unique understandings of these factors, this study has quite possibly begun to identify some cross-national aspects of academic socialisation. Academics born either in New Zealand, or overseas, had each received competent undergraduate teaching. They formed strong professional relationships with academic mentors. They are people who entered their chosen fields, more as a result of 'happy accident', rather than careful planning, in that they had originally intended to pursue study in other disciplines. The opportunity to study and travel abroad was also of enormous significance to them. This is possibly due in part to the high degree of geographical isolation experienced in New Zealand, as well as the sense of being 'different' in a small country that places a high value on being able to 'get on with others', and not 'standing out too much' (something which is often seen as 'showing off'). The group of academics interviewed also placed a high importance on their enjoyment of teaching both as a way of practising their disciplines, and drawing people into their fields. Across these common experiences the notions of loss, positionality, and retrieval are overlaid.

Many participants traced their early academic influences to the organisation of disciplines in metropolitan centres. Some of the staff had been born and raised in the Northern Hemisphere and relocated to New Zealand, others had completed their first qualifications in New Zealand and subsequently travelled to metropolitan universities to continue their studies or research. Several of the expatriate academics came to New Zealand with similar expectations to those of the early settlers. They perceived New Zealand as a land of opportunity where they could rise through the academic ranks more quickly than in their home countries. Some staff also believed that disciplinary

formation in New Zealand was either less advanced or more flexible than in some other countries, and that they would be able to practice their disciplines in more creative and original ways. Maori staff also suggested that the formation and translation of disciplinary practices into Maori culture allowed them a freedom of creative cultural expression that they could not experience elsewhere in the world.

They talked about a sense of loss in terms of geographical or intellectual isolation, but the experience was constructed variously between expatriate, Pakeha, and Maori academics. In this respect, the experience of loss is a symbolic axis upon which intellectual labour in New Zealand is variously patterned. But the feeling of isolation is not an entirely negative one for many academics. It allows them the opportunity to shape their disciplines in new ways. It also allows them to experiment with new forms of expression, and they are encouraged, through the tertiary education legislation, to bring their knowledge to bear on the society around them. To act as a critic and conscience of society therefore enables these academics to build professional identities at the intersections of New Zealand culture.

In retrieving an academic identity, academics in New Zealand must negotiate between the different layers of local and international disciplinary affiliation. Many have chosen to focus on local research, which they later bring to the international fora of their disciplines. Vestiges of imperialism remain embedded in disciplinary practice, and occasionally when academics bring South Pacific or New Zealand-based research into the metropolitan arena, they have a sense of 'otherness' from those working in Northern Hemisphere locations. New Zealand is still small enough, remote enough and 'foreign' enough in relation to metropolitan centres. It still carries the image of a distant British ex-colony in the South Pacific, and this can sometimes make local and indigenous academic priorities difficult for outsiders to read.

Academics also retrieve a sense of identity in initiating newcomers into their disciplines. Teaching is an important part of this process. While some of the staff still desire to retain the tradition of sending students abroad to study, the composition of the student body

has changed sufficiently to make this less feasible. The number of older students studying part-time, means that commitments for disciplinary initiates are often divided between the University and the outside world. In this respect, the disciplines that will be carried into the future by this new group of students may well respond to an even greater variety of social and cultural priorities.

The socialisation received by academics has been viewed here in the context of their current work at Victoria University. The rituals and traditions of the University are rooted in the colonial past, and their practice now, acts as an intangible reminder of all that has gone before. The history of the nation is never far away, it lives inside the moments of academic practice, and that practice is never far distant from the culture and the society that surrounds it. The staff and the students of Victoria University have indeed travelled a long way in order to arrive in their own present historic.

Appendix 1

Salient sources

The following sources have been taken from Salient, the Victoria University of Wellington student newspaper, and have been used as background information in Chapter seven. The references have been drawn from the 1970-1979 period and are listed chronologically.

Salient 1970

An imaginative grasp on living knowledge. By J. Shallcrass. (18 February 1970). Salient, p.7.

Drama in New Zealand. By G. Webby. (18 March 1970). Salient, p.6.

Salient looks at the monarchy. (18 March 1970) Salient, p.12.

The case for a constitutional monarchy. By Sir James Donald. (18 March 1970) Salient, p.18.

The economics of sentimentality. By B. Jesson. (18 March 1970) Salient, p.16-17.

The tour: NZUSA's case. By P.H. Grocott. (10 June 1970) Salient, p.2.

The visual arts in New Zealand. By M. Day. (18 February 1970). Salient, p.16-17.

Time for a literature. By A. Brunton. (4 March 1970). Salient, p.13.

Salient 1971

Brown power Otaki. By D. Clemens. (April 1971). Salient, p.4-5.

Salient 1972

A contrary view of te reo Maori. By G.S. Parsonon. (14 September 1972). Salient, p.10.

Address to the Federation of Maori Students. By R. Walker. Salient, 35 (10), 1972, p.6-7.

He Maori ahau. By K. Dewes. (14 September 1972). Salient, p.11.

Rewi Alley Lit.D. Salient, 35 (9), 1972, p.1.

Te marae i roto i te Urewera. By R.W. Steele. (March 1972). Salient, p.7.

The urban marae. (31 May 1972). Salient, p.10-11.

The resurrection of Maori identity. By Poata Eruera. (14 September 1972). Salient, p.8-9.

Violence in New Zealand literature. By J. Bertram. Salient, 35 (9), 1972, p.8-11.

Salient 1973

Authority and the individual: a Maori viewpoint. By R. Walker. (26 July 1973). Salient, p.12-13.

Drama. (23 May 1973). Salient, p.19.

Gay pride week: a change in attitude. (26 July 1973). Salient, p.6-7.

Justice and race: a monocultural system in a multicultural society. (28 February 1973). Salient, p.8-9.

Maori language and culture. By H. Potatau. (5 September 1973). Salient, p.11.

Pakehas learning Maori. By R.W. Steele. (3 October 1973) Salient, p.11.

Te ra nui o te reo Maori. (29 August 1973). Salient, p.7.

What women writers? The New Zealand literary press as the last bastion of male chauvinism. By D.S. Long. (19 September 1973). Salient, p.12-13.

Salient 1974

Academic colonialism New Zealand style. Salient, 37 (8), 1974, p.1.

Aureretanga: groans of the Maoris. By J.A. Grant-Mackie. Salient, 37 (26), 1974, p.24.

Catering for te reo Maori. By The Rev. H. Potatou. Salient, 37 (13), 1974, p.16.

Education: of the Pakeha, by the Pakeha, for the Pakeha. Salient, 37 (15), 1974, p.8-9.

Education must compensate for a century of defamation. Salient, 37 (2), 1974, p.8-9.

Gays: the fight against ignorance. Salient, 37 (8), 1974, p.10-11.

Gays: up against the repressive society. Salient, 37 (7), 1974, p.1.

Institutional racism in law and justice – some examples. Salient, 37 (6), 1974, p.10-11.

Land struggle in the North. Salient, 37 (25), 1974, p.14.

Letters to the Editor: M. King. (20 March 1974). Salient, p.18.

Letters to the Editor: N. Te Awekotuku. Salient, 37 (20), 1974, p.19.

Letters to the Editor: R. & T. Willoughby-Smythe. (20 March 1974). Salient, p.18.

Maori artists and writers conference 1974: an oasis in the cultural desert. By R.W. Steele. Salient, 37 (13), 1974, p.12-13.

Maori language week. Salient, 37 (24), 1974, p.3.

Mat Rata and te reo Maori. Salient, 37 (14), 1974, p.7.

M.P's too busy for gays. Salient, 37 (15), 1974, p.6.

Not so gay (Editorial). Salient, 37 (8), 1974, p.3.

Outrage at gay forum. Salient, 37 (15), 1974, p.6.

Putting a positive evaluation of Maori identity. (20 March 1974). Salient, p.10.

Race and death. Salient, 37 (15), 1974, p.9.

Racial stereotypes in the New Zealand press. By R.W. Steele. Salient, 37 (1), 1974, p.4.

Save our heritage now. By T.T.K. Poata. Salient, 37 (26), 1974, p.9.

Sociology department cracking up. Salient, 37 (17), 1974, p.3.

Students in the heart of Ngati Porou. By R.W. Steele. Salient, 37 (10), 1974, p.9.

Taking the land off Matiu. By The Rev. H. Potatou. Salient, 37 (9), 1974, p.10.

Tangi lacks Maori insight. By R.W. Steele. Salient, 37 (1), 1974, p.14.

Te Ao-Marama Issue. Salient, 37 (23), 1974.

Te huinga rangatahi. Salient, 37 (21), 1974, p.8.

Te reo Maori. Salient, 37 (13), 1974, p.2.

Te reo Maori?: Not if the Education Department has its way. (3 April 1974). Salient, p.8, p.13, p.15.

The academic geography of the University. Salient, 37 (18), 1974, p.8-9.

The significance of Maori initiative in the education system. Salient, 37 (8), 1974, p.12.

Thoughts of Hemi. Salient, 37 (22), 1974, p.15.

Tihei mauriora! By H. Dewes. (3 April 1974). Salient, p.13.

Tuhoe – then and now. Salient, 37 (19), 1974, p.5.

Victoria needs a marae. Salient, 37 (26), 1974, p.9.

Where to learn te reo Maori. Salient, 37 (26), 1974, p.9.

Young Maoris protest against racism. Salient, 37 (19), 1974, p.5.

Salient 1975

Hone Tuwhare. Salient, 38 (10), 1975, p.14.

Why the Maori land march? Salient, 38 (26), 1975, p.12-13.

Salient 1976

Gay lib. Salient, Salient, 39 (11), 1976, p.6.

Gay liberation conference. Salient, 39 (23), 1976, p.15.

Gays persecuted. Salient, 39 (16), 1976, p.7.

Gay women. Salient, 39 (21), 1976, p.13.

Maori forum. Salient, 39 (3), 1976, p.8.

Maori literature alive and well. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.10.

Maoris – withdraw from racist schools. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.12.

Mihaka – landing on hard times. Salient, 39 (6), 1976, p.16.

Nga Tamatoa conference. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.12.

Pakeha – I want to educate you for a change. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.11.

Racist sacking at Porirua College? Salient, 39 (12), 1976, p.11.

Some points about te reo Maori. Salient, 39 (22), 1976, p.11.

Te Ao-Marama Issue. Salient, 39 (22), 1976.

Tongan work scheme: still clumsy and exploitative. Salient, 39 (4), 1976, p.10.

Women in gay liberation. Salient, 39 (23), 1976, p.15.

Salient 1977

Bastion Point: nothing to lose. Salient, 40 (17), 1977, p.8-9.

Battle at Bastion Point. Salient, 40 (2), 1977, p.2.

Digging in at Bastion Point. Salient, 40 (5), 1977, p.8.

Taylor. Salient, 40 (26), 1977, p.10.

Salient 1978

Bastion Point – 130 years of government fraud. Salient, 41 (13), 1978, p.5.

Bastion Point – the turning point. Salient, 41 (12), 1978, p.1.

Drama. Salient, 41 (9), 1978, p.15.

Gay rights. Salient, 41 (8), 1978, p.17.

Glad to be gay. Salient, 41 (14), 1978, p.11.

Government moves on Bastion Point. Salient, 41 (2), 1978, p.7.

We gave so much ... Raglan and the Maori land struggle. Salient, 41 (18), 1978, p.15.

What price justice? Salient, 41 (1), 1978, p.9, p.15.

Salient 1979

A history of gay rights. Salient, 42 (19), 1979, p.11-13.

Gay is fighting. Salient, 42 (16), 1979, p.7.

Maori: the first victim. Salient, 42 (12), 1979, p.9.

Who me, racist? Salient, 42 (13), 1979.

Appendix 2

Information Sheet for Interview Participants

Joanna Kidman: Background

- Enrolled as a doctoral candidate in Sociology at the Australian National University,
- Working as a Senior Lecturer in Higher and Tertiary Education at Victoria University of Wellington.

Aims of research

- To identify the means by which academics are socialised into their disciplines and into the academic environment of the university;
- To explore aspects of the intellectual, historical and sociological processes involved in constructing the academic experience at Victoria University.

Aims of interview

- To fulfil the fieldwork requirements for a doctoral thesis in Sociology at the Australian National University;
- To ascertain your views about your academic discipline, academic life at Victoria University and expectations of the supervisor/student relationship;

Collection, use and storage of data

- The interview will last approximately one hour.
- The interview will be tape-recorded and partially transcribed.
- Data will be written up in a way that will ensure your anonymity.
- Any quotes taken from the interview will be sent to you prior to the submission of the thesis. At that point you will have the opportunity to delete, modify or add information.
- Interview information will be stored in a locked cabinet at Victoria University. It will be destroyed five years after the completion of the research in accordance with the University's document destruction procedures.

Interview participation

- Your participation is voluntary. You may withdraw your consent to participate at any time.
- Interview information will be treated in confidence.

Contact people

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Research Methods, The Australian National University
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Appendix 3

Academic staff interviews

Background information collected before interview

- (v) Disciplinary Area
- (vi) Name of university or universities from which qualifications have been gained
- (vii) Have you ever been a student at VUW?
- (viii) Length of employment at Victoria University of Wellington
- (ix) Length of time resident in New Zealand
- (x) Nationality
- (xi) Gender: Male Female (Delete one)

Optional questions

1. Marital status
2. Number of dependents

Interview questions

1. The discipline

- What influenced your decision to enter and remain in the field of x ?
- Does being in NZ influence your research priorities? If yes, Why? How?
- Do you ever think about or plan to look for academic work in your field outside of NZ? Why, Why not?

2. Being an academic

- What appeals to you about university/academic life?
- What do you dislike about it?
- Do you perceive a role for academics as critic and conscience of society? If yes, why is it important and how can academics fulfil that role. If no, why not and what should the primary intellectual role(s) of an academic be?

- When you hear the term ‘academic community’, what (if anything) does that mean to you? Do you think Victoria University of Wellington has an ‘academic community’ Why or why not?

- Do you choose to socialise 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 (e.g staff club, professional organisations/associations outside the university, children at the same school (school fairs, children are friends etc), informal occasions)

If you answered **never** or **seldom**, is there any particular reason?

3. The University

- Do you feel a sense of identity with VUW, if so where does it come from, what characterises it?
- What, if anything, do you imagine is distinct about being an academic in a NZ university?

4. The students

- What sort of professional relationship do you aim to construct with your postgraduate students?
- How would you describe an effective supervisor/student relationship?
- Describe what normally happens in a supervision session that you are conducting?

Appendix 4

Population of Wellington City by suburb 1926 – 1966

	1926	1936	1945	1951	1956	1961	1966
Thorndon – Tinakori Rd	7,698	7,600	8,516	7,022	6,444	5,723	4,998
Lambton Quay–Welli ngton Tce	5,868	6,633	7,431	6,633	5,093	5,795	5,155
Willis St- Cambridge Tce	9,031	7,930	6,644	5,089	4,231	3,250	2,580
Aro St- Nairn St vicinity	3,380	3,710	3,674	3,425	3,381	3,072	3,142
Mt Cook- Wallace St	4,877	4,939	4,810	4,185	3,827	3,726	3,644
Mt Victoria (west) vicinity	6,841	7,432	7,122	6,522	6,125	5,793	5,807
Johnson- ville	1,351	1,911	2,425	3,206	3,380	3,920	5,001
Newlands	141	204	225	374	723	1,527	3,666
Raroa	120	231	594	1,027	1,459	1,786	2,093
Khandallah- Nairnville	1,471	2,480	4,260	4,815	5,015	5,542	6,074
Ngaio	1,277	2,221	3,342	3,529	3,703	3,994	4,430
Kaiwhara- whara	532	478	472	359	459	343	282
Wadestown	1,897	2,748	2,821	2,900	2,997	3,072	3,304
Wilton- Otara	57	199	408	583	932	1,577	2,207
Karori	2,857	6,359	7,844	8,664	9,139	9,546	10,624
Northland	1,890	2,253	2,621	2,490	2,545	2,732	2,918
Kelburn	3,623	3,898	3,681	3,711	3,591	3,547	3,751
Taitville	250	232	310	268	310	375	396
Mitchell- town	593	682	654	653	610	595	605

Brooklyn	3,647	3,803	3,612	3,406	3,270	3,414	3,410
Vogeltown	1,127	1,558	1,607	1,685	1,808	1,967	2,046
Morning-ton	425	573	786	843	906	981	1,335
Happy Valley-Owhiro Bay	220	362	448	625	674	693	848
Island Bay	4,681	6,056	6,206	6,096	6,279	6,289	6,636
Melrose	1,254	1,933	2,069	2,060	2,169	2,516	2,579
Berham-pore	2,512	2,468	2,363	2,237	2,239	2,210	2,243
Newtown	13,085	12,998	12,182	11,666	10,560	10,301	10,116
Oriental Bay	966	1,140	1,079	1,061	1,033	1,052	1,115
Roseneath	1,325	1,593	1,690	1,654	1,478	1,662	1,647
Hataitai	2,906	3,471	3,629	3,587	3,754	3,892	4,150
Kilbirnie	5,999	6,735	6,740	6,299	6,140	6,002	6,157
Lyall Bay	3,235	3,522	3,560	3,433	2,944	2,796	2,866
Strathmore	295	473	2,309	2,961	2,876	2,786	3,830
Miramar	3,170	6,538	7,745	8,266	8,042	8,132	8,538
Karaka Bay-Worser Bay	653	926	1,050	1,005	1,158	1,202	1,265
Seatoun	1,271	1,775	2,109	2,367	2,140	2,159	2,197
TOTALS	100,525	118,072	127,038	124,706	122,244	123,969	131,655

(SOURCE – Extract from 1966 Census Vol. 1, Increase and Location of Population: Table 14 Population of Divisions of Main Cities and Selected Boroughs p.21ff)

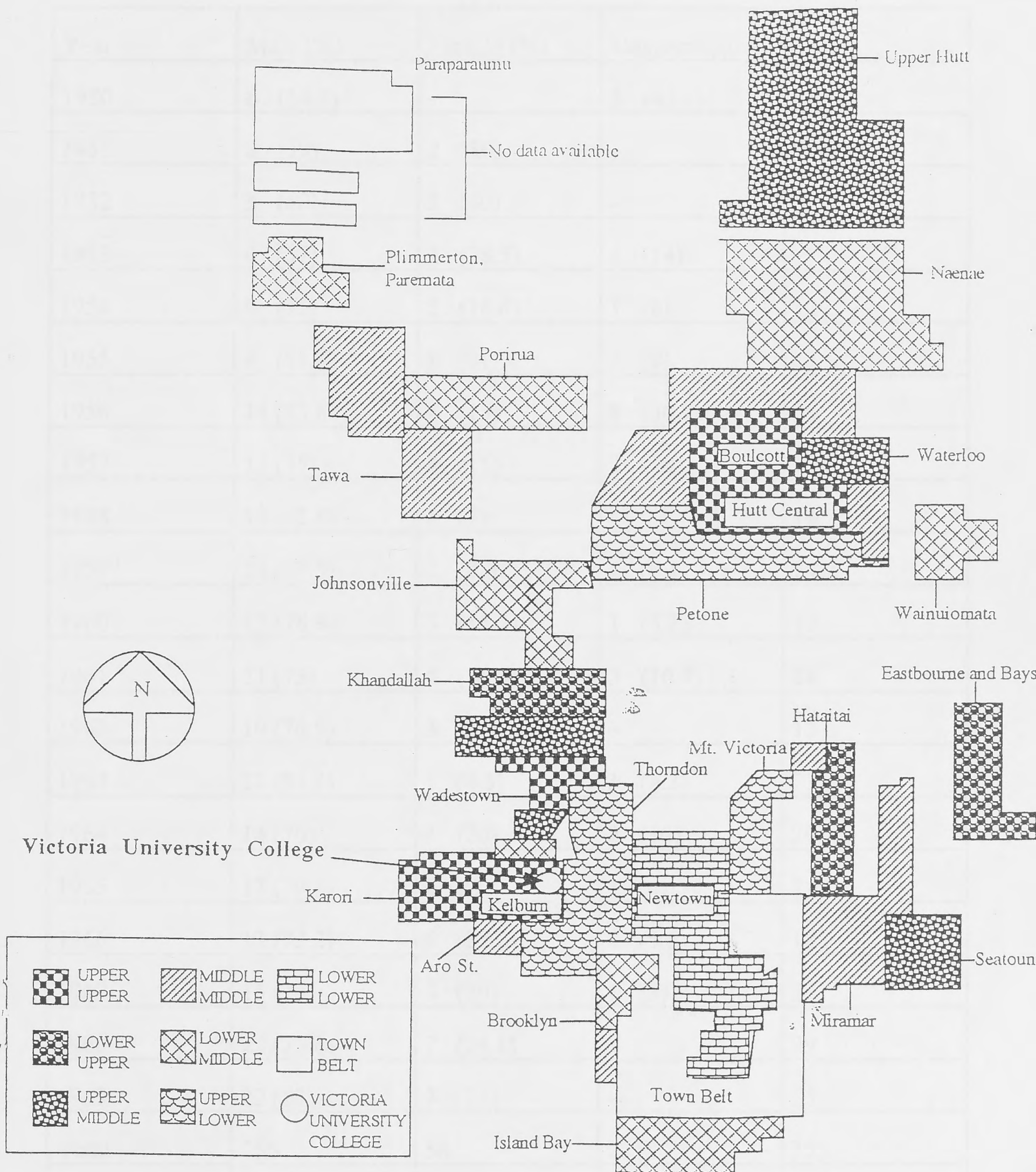
Population of Hutt Valley 1926 – 1966

1926	1936	1945	1951	1956	1961	1966
9,373	18,066	32,284	46,280	50,671	53,044	57,403

(SOURCE – Extract from 1966 Census Vol. 1, p.22)

Appendix 5

Greater Wellington Socio-Economic Grade by Census Districts 1956



Based on Gilson in Forster (1969) p.164

Appendix 6

Gender of Contributors to Landfall 1950-1969

Year	Male (%)	Female (%)	Unspecified	Total
1950	6 (54.5)	-	5 (45.4)	11
1951	2 (50)	2 (50)	-	4
1952	3 (60)	2 (40)	-	5
1953	4 (57)	2 (28.5)	1 (14)	7
1954	9 (75)	2 (16.6)	1 (8)	12
1955	9 (81.8)	1 (9)	1 (9)	11
1956	14 (53.8)	4 (15)	8 (30.7)	26
1957	15 (75)	3 (15)	2 (10)	20
1958	13 (92.8)	1 (7)	-	14
1959	21 (87.5)	2 (8.3)	1 (4.1)	24
1960	15 (78.9)	3 (15.7)	1 (5.2)	19
1961	21 (75)	4 (14.2)	3 (10.7)	28
1962	10 (76.9)	3 (23)	-	13
1963	21 (91.3)	1 (4.3)	1 (4.3)	23
1964	14 (70)	4 (20)	2 (10)	20
1965	17 (70.8)	6 (25)	1 (4.1)	24
1966	13 (72.2)	4 (22.2)	1 (5.5)	18
1967	15 (75)	4 (20)	1 (5)	20
1968	22 (75.8)	7 (24.1)	-	29
1969	22 (88)	3 (12)	-	25
Total	266	58	29	353
%	75.3	16.4	8.2	99.9

Appendix 7
University locations

Landfall Contributors Place of Study: 1950-1969: *§

Place	Total Number	%
<u>NZ</u>	203	61.3
 <u>Australia</u>		
<i>Adelaide University</i>	1	0.3
<i>ANU</i>	6	1.8
<i>Melbourne College of Divinity</i>	1	0.3
<i>National Gallery Art School (Melb)</i>	1	0.3
<i>Sydney University</i>	1	0.3
<i>Unspecified Australia</i>	3	0.9
TOTAL	13	3.92
 <u>England</u>		
<i>Architectural Association School</i>		
<i>of Architecture, London</i>	1	0.3
<i>Art College, Manchester</i>	1	0.3
<i>Bath Academy of Art</i>	1	0.3
<i>Cambridge</i>	20	6
<i>Cambridge Art School</i>	1	0.3
<i>Central School of Art, London</i>	1	0.3
<i>Oxford</i>	36	10.8
<i>Royal College of Art, London</i>	1	0.3
<i>Royal College of Music, London</i>	2	0.6
<i>University of Dublin</i>	1	0.3
<i>University of Edinburgh</i>	2	0.6
<i>University of Glasgow</i>	1	0.3

<i>University of Leeds</i>	2	0.6
<i>University of Liverpool</i>	1	0.3
<i>University of London</i>	13	3.92
<i>University of Manchester</i>	3	0.9
<i>University of Nottingham</i>	2	0.6
<i>University of Wales</i>	1	0.3
Unspecified England	27	8.1
TOTAL	117	35.34

Other Countries

Europe

<i>École des Beaux Arts (Paris)</i>	1	0.3
France (unspecified)	5	1.5
Germany (unspecified)	3	0.9
Italy (unspecified)	2	0.6
Royal College of Art (Amsterdam)	1	0.3
<i>Sorbonne</i>	2	0.6
<i>University of Budapest</i>	1	0.3
<i>University of Prague</i>	1	0.3
<i>University of Rennes</i>	1	0.3
<i>University of Turin</i>	1	0.3
<i>University of Verona</i>	1	0.3
<i>University of Vienna</i>	1	0.3
TOTAL	20	6.0

United States

<i>Brandeis</i>	1	0.3
<i>Columbia</i>	6	1.8
<i>De Pauw</i>	1	0.3
<i>Duke</i>	1	0.3
<i>Harvard</i>	2	0.6

<i>Rutgers</i>	1	0.3
<i>Stanford</i>	1	0.3
<i>University of California</i>	1	0.3
<i>University of Illinois</i>	2	0.6
<i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	1	0.3
Unspecified USA	4	1.2
TOTAL	21	6.3

Other Countries

<i>University of Alberta, Canada</i>	1	0.3
Fiji	1	0.3
India	1	0.3
Samoa	1	0.3
Thailand	1	0.3
TOTAL	5	1.5

Place of Study Unspecified 46 13.9

TOTAL NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTORS = 331

* Applies to New Zealand-born residents or New Zealand immigrants. Does not include overseas contributors who have not resided in New Zealand.

§ Some contributors studied in more than one country, hence the sum of the percentages across different national categories exceeds 100%.

Appendix 8

Travel destinations

Landfall Contributors 1950-1969: Places visited overseas*§

Country	Raw	%
Antarctica	2	
<u>Africa</u>		
Ghana	2	
Nigeria	1	
South Africa	3	
<u>Asia and Middle East</u>		
Asia (unspecified)	1	
China	3	
India	3	
Indonesia	1	
Korea	1	
Middle East	2	
Palestine	1	
Persia	1	
Thailand	1	
<u>Europe</u>		
Belgium	1	
Budapest	1	
Cyprus	1	
England	126	38
Europe (unspecified)	17	
France	8	
Germany	5	
Greece	2	
Italy	8	
Russia	1	
<u>Pacific</u>		
Australia	25	7.5
Fiji	1	
New Guinea	1	
Samoa	4	
Pacific (unspecified)	4	
<u>South America</u>		
Argentina	1	

Guatemala	1	
Nicaragua	1	
<u>USA and North America</u>		
Canada	3	
United States	22	6.6
Unspecified	151	45.6

TOTAL NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTORS = 331

* Applies to New Zealand-born residents or New Zealand immigrants. Does not include overseas contributors who have not resided in New Zealand.

§ Some contributors studied in more than one country, hence the sum of the percentages across different national categories exceeds 100%.

Appendix 9

Vice-Chancellor's archives

Vice-Chancellor's Archives (V-C.A): Victoria University of Wellington

- V-C.A 1.* Letter from the Director of Adult Education (J.C. Dakin) 10.6.63 concerning resolutions of the Maori study conference. [762: 4/2/2 1963/69 – Anthropology].
- V-C.A 2.* Letter from the Secretary, Awakairangi Branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League 12.6.63. [762: 4/2/2 1963/69 – Anthropology].
- V-C.A 3.* Letter from the Secretary, Mawai Akona Maori Association – Maori and Polynesian Studies. 7.6.63. [762: 4/2/2 1963/69 – Anthropology].
- V-C.A 4.* Letter from Mrs. A.M. Hofsteede, Hon. Secretary, Upper Hutt District Free Kindergarten. 19.6.63. [762: 4/2/2 1963/69 – Anthropology].
- V-C.A 5.* Letter from A.S. Clark, Hon. Sec. Treasurer of the Maymorn Parent-Teacher Association. Establishment of University Subject "Maori and Polynesian Studies". 13.6.63. [762: 4/2/2 1963/69 – Anthropology].
- V-C.A. 6.* Maori Studies. R.P. 28.10.69. [762: 4/2/2 1963/69 – Anthropology].
- V-C.A 7.* News Release: New Zealand's first Professor of Maori appointed. [225: 4/2/2/1 Chair in Maori].
- V-C.A 8.* Letter to Vice-Chancellor from a senior member of staff. 25.7.73. [225: 4/2/2/1 Chair in Maori].
- V-C.A. 9.* Broadsheet released by Tama Te Kapua Poata. July 1984. [2315: 1981-1984 – Maori Studies Department]. Note- Broadsheet tabled in Council minutes.
- V-C.A. 10.* Letter to the Vice-Chancellor from the Women's Studies Association 15.8.84 and from individuals dated 16.8.84, 21.8.84 [2315: 1981-1984 – Maori Studies Department]. Note- Letters tabled in Council minutes.
- V-C.A. 11.* Norman Thomas: Letters to the Vice-Chancellor 6.7.84 and 19.7.84. Reply from the Vice-Chancellor's representative 9.7.84. [2315: 1981-1984 – Maori Studies Department]. Note- Letters tabled in Council minutes.
- V-C.A. 12.* Statement to the Human Rights Commission by member of Maori Studies Department. 8.8.84. [2315: 1981-1984 – Maori Studies Department]. Note- Letters tabled in Council minutes.

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