

The gown and the korowai:

Māori doctoral students and the spatial organisation of academic knowledge.

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ABSTRACT:

This paper draws on 38 student interviews carried out in the course of the team research project *Teaching and Learning in the Supervision of Māori Doctoral Students*. Māori doctoral thesis work takes place in the intersections between the Māori (tribal) world of identifications and obligations, the organisational and epistemological configurations of academia, and the bureaucratic requirements of funding or employing bureaucracies. To explore how students accommodate cultural, academic and bureaucratic demands, we develop analytical tools combining three intellectual traditions: Māori educational theory, Bernstein's sociology of the academy, and Lefebvre's conceptual trilogy of perceived, conceived, and lived space.

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Since the mid-1990s the number of Māori doctoral students enrolled in New Zealand universities has increased dramatically - from 77 in 1994 to 275 in 2005 (Ministry of Education, 2006). Although there were anecdotal reports of Māori students experiencing supervision difficulties, there had been no systematic studies. In 2005, the research project *Teaching and Learning in the Supervision of Māori Doctoral Students* was initiated (McKinley & Grant, 2008; McKinley, Grant, Middleton, Irwin, & Williams, 2007, 2009).¹ This paper draws on 38 student interviews carried out in the course of this wider project.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith argued that the educational ‘battleground for Māori is spatial. It is about theoretical spaces, pedagogical spaces, structural spaces’ (1997: 203). Educational research has been described as undergoing a ‘spatial turn’ as geographical theorists increasingly influence educational inquiries (Lingard & Gale, 2007). In higher education, ‘space may be forgotten as an analytical category open to questioning, but it is omnipresent as an unquestioned category in everything we do’ (Harvey, 1996: 267).

Doctoral pedagogy is infused with spatial language. Thesis-writers *locate* their research in epistemological or abstract space; they *position* topics, questions, methodologies and theories in *fields* or *disciplines*. The conceptual, interpersonal, financial and professional components of disciplines are globally constructed: they coalesce around and forge connections between international, national, regional and local hubs, including conferences and journals. Disciplines rank and reward; according differential status to individuals, research units, paradigms and publications in which ‘The language of exclusion is by and large spatial; who’s in, who’s out, at the heart, on the margins’ (Gulson & Symes, 2007: 99). The disciplines of the twenty-first century have been reconfigured by ‘the interactive effects of globalisation and the ICT revolution’ (Ferguson & Seddon, 2007: 117) and doctoral

¹ A key player in profiling Māori aspirations at the doctoral level has been the Māori and Indigenous Postgraduate Advancement (MAI) programme located within Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (NPOTM) at the University of Auckland. In 2005, the Director of MAI (Emeritus Professor Les Tumoana Williams) suggested a research project on the supervision of Māori doctoral students. Funding was won from the Ministry of Education’s Teaching and Learning Research Initiative (TLRI) (Contract no. 9250). The research team consists of: Principal Investigators Elizabeth McKinley and Barbara Grant (University of Auckland); Co-researchers Sue Middleton (University of Waikato), Kathie Irwin (Te Puni Kōkiri) and Les Tumoana Williams (Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga). In addition to the 38 Māori students, 20 supervisors (Māori and non-Māori) were interviewed.

students' disciplinary engagements are face-to-face, in print, and online. Their networks are local, regional, national and global.

Students' intellectual identifications and professional affinities with global 'fields' are overlaid by organisational configurations of institutions in which they are enrolled. TEOs [Tertiary Education Organisations]² classify students and staff according to administrative categories (programmes and subjects) and locate them geographically in departmental buildings. Becoming a researcher involves professional identification with a discipline or field and institutional affiliation with a department or interdepartmental group. Administrative divisions and architectural organisation within institutions do not always coincide with researchers' professional and disciplinary identities (Bernstein, 2000). Students whose topics do not neatly fit organisational structures may find themselves torn, straddling multiple institutional locations and interpersonal affiliations.

Māori students' experiences of doctoral study can involve conflicting spatial identifications: disciplinary, institutional and tribal. Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains:

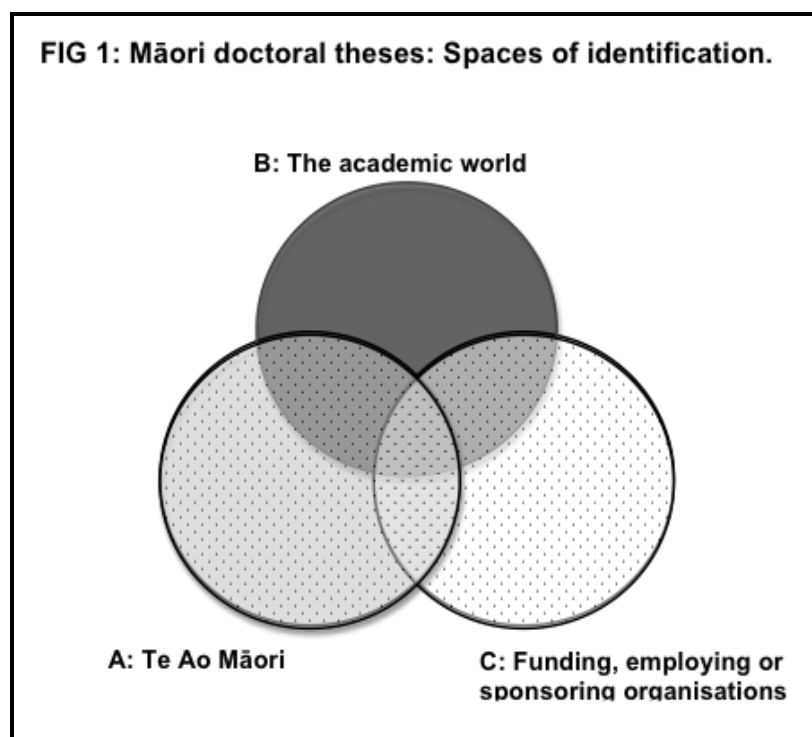
For Māori there are several ways of identifying one's indigenous 'community.' One commonly used way is to introduce yourself by naming the mountain, the river, the tribal ancestor, the tribe and the family. Through this form of introduction you locate yourself in a set of identities which have been framed geographically, politically and genealogically (1999: 126).

Distinctions between categories that structure Western society are not always found in Māori society. For example, in the Māori language *whenua* is the word for both land and afterbirth and *wā* is the word for time and/or space.

Fig 1 sketches intersecting spaces within and across which Māori doctoral students may locate themselves and their work. 'A' represents Te Ao Māori (the everyday world of Māori students), embracing their affiliations and obligations to whanau [extended family] hapu [subtribe] and iwi [tribe]. 'B' represents the epistemological (disciplinary), the

² New Zealand's 1980 Education Act defines TEOs as including Universities, Polytechnics, Private Training Establishments [PTEs] and Whare Wānanga [institutions run according to Māori values and principles]. Doctoral degrees are awarded by all of New Zealand's eight universities, one polytechnic and one Whare Wānanga. New Zealand Government. (1989). *Education Act*. Wellington: New Zealand Government

professional (organisational) and the institutional (administrative and departmental) configurations of academia. ‘C’ stands for the employing or funding organisations in which many students and their research projects are enmeshed, including Government Ministries, CRIs (Crown Research Institutes) or the tribal bureaucracies acting as intermediaries between a tribe and state funding (as in the case of agencies handling funds gained as a result of land claims against the Crown)³. Academia, the Māori world, and employing or funding agencies overlap and intersect in multiple and contradictory ways in doctoral students’ work. A thesis topic may be ‘given’ to the student to research on behalf of the tribe ($A \cap B$) or by a CRI seeking to enhance its ‘outputs’ in relation to Government requirements to build Māori research capacity ($B \cap C$).



³ The Waitangi Tribunal was established by the New Zealand government under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (amended in 1985) to hear claims by Māori relating to contraventions of the Treaty of Waitangi (ToW), both historical and recent. The ToW was signed between Māori chiefs and the British Crown in 1840. Claims have resulted in payments to some tribal groups, who have then offered educational scholarships for tribal descendants. The Waitangi Tribunal has also become a place of employment for Māori historians.

New Zealand's Fifth Labour Government (1998-2007) expressed commitment towards Māori aspirations for higher education in two key documents: *Rautaki mo te Matauranga Māori: Working with Māori 2004-2007* (Tertiary Education Commission, 2004) and the *Tertiary Education Strategy 2007-2012* (Tertiary Education Commission, 2007). Both reports identified the importance of Māori-centred knowledge creation. Nearly all of the thesis projects described in our interviews addressed Māori-related topics and employed Māori concepts and processes. The Tertiary Education Commission's *Strategy* recognises 'that a key aspiration of Māori is that Māori knowledge, Māori ways of doing and knowing things, in essence Māori ways of being, are validated across the tertiary education sector' (Tertiary Education Commission, 2007: 4). Similarly, the Māori Tertiary Reference Group aimed to 'encourage and enhance kaupapa Māori research activity' (Ministry of Education, 2003: 36). Smith defines Kaupapa Māori research as:

... a social project; it weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonialism, Western forms of education, Māori cultural aspirations and socio-economic needs, and Western economic and global politics. Kaupapa Māori is concerned with sites and terrains. Each of these is a site of struggle. Each of these sites has been claimed by others as their 'turf.' They are selected or select themselves because they have some strategic importance for Māori (1999: 191).

Our analysis begins with a case study, then second, we introduce further student stories drawing on Henri Lefebvre, 'an overarching presence in the educational appropriation of spatial theories with many researchers referring to his work on perceived, conceived, and lived space' (Gulson & Symes, 2007: 101). Third, we locate Māori students' thesis topics in relation to spatial configurations of disciplines. As have leading Māori educationists (Pere, 1983; L Smith, 1999), we apply Basil Bernstein's sociological model (2000) here. We then identify some cultural and political communities in which students positioned their research and conclude with the interwoven identities of Māori doctoral graduates.

A case study

Atakohu's⁴ 'doctoral journey was prompted by *he moe tapu*, which is a sacred vision' connected with sacred natural resources in her tribal area (A). She described 'a spiritual vision about three [endangered landforms]. And within that dream was an urgent need for me to advance the kaitiaki [guardianship or caretaking] of those [landforms].' In a postgraduate Māori Studies course (B and $A \cap B$), Atakohu became aware of 'a burgeoning interest in cultural indicators of [such landforms].' To pursue this academically (B), she needed to work across institutional divisions between 'science, resource management and law.'

As social action, the research would assist 'the advancement of our people.' It involved not only research amongst her whānau within their tribal area, but also within bureaucracies (C) responsible for administering conservation legislation. Ethical approval involved three separate processes. First (A) 'there was immediate whānau consultation, that's my immediate whānau. ... My senior whānau, I had consultation with them, they gave approval. Then I had extended whānau meetings.' She also had to go through the 'normal' university Ethics Committee (B) and seek permission to access documents and staff in state bureaucracies (C).

The project engaged incommensurable bodies of knowledge. The agencies' policies did not 'engage traditional ecological knowledge' ($A \cap C$). The discourse of 'western capitalism in these bureaucracies' prioritised 'economic development over conservation and preservation.' In the academic literature (B) Atakohu found an 'oppositional theorising of Te Ao Maori [the Māori world-view] and science' ($A \cap B$). Positioned in the interstices ($A \cap B \cap C$), Atakohu's PhD thesis sought synergy by 'embracing difference and affinity theoretically':

It's about the reconstruction of identity in terms of the movement between difference and affinity in the practice of tikanga and the practice of Pākehā culture, discourse, science and technology. It's about our reflexive cooptation of both discourses ... a Māori synergistic research model for Māori advancement in multiple fields of environmental monitoring, indicator development, kaupapa Māori research, indigenous studies, law, science and sociology.

⁴ All names are pseudonyms. Because of the sensitivity of much of this material, we have not identified tribes, places or thesis topics.

Here Lefebvre's analytical trilogy is useful because it helps us to connect:

... the physical – nature, the Cosmos; secondly the mental, including logical and formal abstractions; and thirdly, the social. In other words, we are concerned with logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias (Lefebvre, 1974: 11).

'Nature' appears in Atakohu's story in 'the three [landforms]' she is studying. Her research straddles multiple 'logico-epistemological spaces' including 'law, science and sociology'. It is informed and inspired by 'a spiritual vision' emanating from the underworld 'of the imagination, symbols and utopias'.

Rhythms of Place

Perceived spaces are those of everyday social practice, of bodily movements and habit. From infancy bodily orientations in space become 'the practical basis of the perception of the outside world' (Lefebvre, 1974: 38) and underpin adult everyday activities such as negotiating corridors, reaching for books. Lefebvre urged social scientists to 'envision a sort of "rhythm analysis" which could address itself to the concrete analysis of rhythms, and perhaps even to their use (or appropriation)' (Lefebvre, 1974: 205). He argued that: 'Perceived spaces, those of bodily and everyday social practice, have their own rhythms. Some of these are easy to identify: breathing, the heartbeat, thirst, hunger and the need for sleep are cases in point. Others, however, such as those of sexuality, fertility, social life, or thought, are relatively obscure' (1974: 205). Natural (seasonal, diurnal or bodily) rhythms are overlaid with cultural rituals and conventions: festivals, rites of passage, routines and so on.

These may not keep time with the industrial/ bureaucratic tempos of *conceived* spaces (also referred to as abstract or mental spaces). Legally mandated enclosures by the state or of capital (public or private property) conceived spaces include those 'of cartographers, urban planners or property speculators' (Shields, 2004: 210). Colonisation involved the enclosure of Māori communal lands, their confiscation and/or sale as individually owned 'lots.' Colonial schooling was informed by a project of 'individualisation' – of land and of minds:

In carrying out the work of civilisation among the aboriginal Native race, through the medium of school, some impediments to progress [could be] gradually overcome by a diligent course of training ... and the first and most serious of all is that state of communism in which all kinds of property are held amongst them ... In the school-room, by a careful and persevering system of appropriation we may gradually train them to a proper perception of and regard for the meum and tuum.⁵

The codified representations of conceived spaces are ‘representations of space’: ‘In order to dominate space, technology introduces a new form into a pre-existing space – generally a rectilinear form such as a mesh-work or chequerwork’ (Lefebvre, 1974: 139). Maps, floorplans, blueprints, models, flow-charts, timetables, taxonomies, grading or ranking systems – hallmarks of education at all levels – are representations of [abstract] space. University campuses (physical, landscaped and built) are the architectural manifestations of such representations. The conceived spaces of university life are patterned by ‘industrial’ rhythms: academic years, working days, degree timeframes and examination deadlines.

Lefebvre argued that analysis of the layering of rhythms could bring us ‘closer to a pedagogy of appropriation (the appropriation of the body, as of spatial practice)’ (Lefebvre, 1974: 205). In the ascendancy of the conceived, ‘the decorporalisation of space is paralleled by a decorporalisation of time’ (Simonsen, 2005: 2). Yet primal bodily beats and social rhythms of everyday life continue to reverberate as doctoral students celebrate holy days and holidays, attend tangi [funerals], fall ill, give birth. Amy went home to look after her dying father, but did not discuss this on campus ‘as I thought that they might jump to unfair conclusions about how Māori students generally have troublesome whānau and untidy lives’. The cultural significance of pregnancy and childbirth was at odds with the priorities of one of Moana’s supervisors: ‘I had a couple of kids while I was doing my PhD. [...] the response of the one [supervisor] who didn’t have children when I found out I was hapū [pregnant] was “Oh children shouldn’t need to interfere with your PhD.”’

The everyday rhythms of home were sometimes appropriated for thesis purposes. When Rangi feared he would never make it to the end of the thesis he returned to his tūrangawaewae [home ground]:

⁵ Report of School Inspector Henry Taylor in 1862.; AJHR, 1862, E-4, p 35 (doc A51, para 7)

I'd go home to the bush. I'd take that little bit of time out. I always believed in that whakatauki [proverb]: Hoki atu ki tou maunga kia purea ai i ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea [Return to your ancestral mountain to be purified by the winds of Tāwhirimātea]. So I always used to go home. I'd hang out with my uncles. I'd help them possum hunt, maybe for four days.

Māori supervisors are scarce and often very busy. Rangi, having tribal connections with one of his supervisors, would 'turn up to his home, I'd kill him a pig and come back from the bush and sit down with him for a kōrero [talk] about the thesis.'

Lefebvre's third category, *lived space* (also referred to as third space) encompasses the underworld of 'fantasy and desire.' Lived spaces are infused with symbolic meanings – personal/ biographical and collective/ cultural. Encompassing the pre-linguistic imagery, symbols and dreams of earliest infancy, lived space is the mainspring of mythology, spirituality and the imaginary. Māori students' research takes place within and between the conceived spaces of Western knowledge systems and '... spiritual relationships to the universe, to the landscape, and to stones, rocks, insects and other things, seen and unseen' (L Smith, 1999: 74). Mere changed departments because of a traumatic spiritual experience. Her original department building:

... stands on old war grounds. I don't know if that's the reason why [the department] can't gel. I suspect it is. I had to karakia ...[perform an incantation]. That's one of the war grounds. That's one of the battle sites and you feel it. You walk on there, but you karakia first. I was quite relieved to get away from there because I felt safe in the Maori Studies Department.

For Mere this place was at one and the same time a *perceived* ('you walk on there'); a *conceived* (a university department) and a *lived* (spiritually experienced) space.

From lived spaces emanate the 'representational spaces' of poetry, the visual arts and religious symbols. These are also objects of research: 'Ethnologists, anthropologists and psychoanalysts are students of such representational spaces' (Lefebvre, 1974: 43). Under colonisation, Māori were made objects of scientific as well as political domination

(McKinley, 2003, 2005). Rather than being disembodied abstractions, colonial sciences expressed ‘human thought, fantasy and desire. They are also institutionally based, materially constrained, experientially grounded manifestations of social and power relations’ (Harvey, 1996: 80). ‘Natives’ were objects of orientalist fantasies:

Beyond the spatial limits of civilisation there were untamed people and untamed nature to be incorporated into the imperial system. Attitudes to people on these peripheries were ambivalent, however. While this was regarded with disgust or fear if they violated the space of the colonisers, they were also idealised or romanticised (Harvey, 1996: 49).

The literature available to Māori doctoral students may refer to ‘canonical’ colonial research texts, as Morris outlined:

Part of the analysis was re-looking at some of the translations by writers like Percy Smith and to really check the integrity of the interpretations. What I found was that all European writers tended to impose their kind of perceptions on the interpretation of the pieces they were translating. They would assume a meaning when the meaning wasn’t actually there and they would misinterpret words. When we reference translations by non-Māori from the past, it’s important that we go back to the original translations to make sure that it’s contextual, or that it’s translated properly.

In such texts, Māori encounter ‘themselves’ as objects, rather than subjects (agents or authors) of research (McKinley, 2003); alienated from their ‘lived space,’ ‘translated’ into the disembodied abstractions of the conceived. Maaka explained: ‘Like any colonised group, we had everything squeezed out of us like a tube of toothpaste, our culture and everything. And we’re left with nothing and then we start reinventing, and I think that there has been quite a bit of reinvention. Our world and our history is magical enough without actually having to reinvent things.’ Because pre-European society was tribally based, the very idea of a ‘Māori’ identity has been described as a colonial construction (Pere, 1983; Rangihau, 1975). Rapata’s thesis explored how

Mātauranga-a-Iwi in its simplest sense is just how the iwi described its relationship with its environment and emerging out of there created its own knowledge system. Each iwi had its own knowledge system. With the contact period, Pākehā who moved around the different areas created the beginnings of what we now consider as Mātauranga Māori. They take a practice from this area, a practice from that area, write them as myths and legends and then slowly it formed what people assumed what Māori was.

Lefebvre writes: ‘That the lived, the conceived and the perceived realms should be interconnected, so that the ‘subject’, the individual member of a social group may move from one to another without confusion – so much is a logical necessity’ (1974: 40). For these students, the everyday integrations between the emotive-imaginary, the bureaucratic-abstract and the embodied-habitual dimensions of experience are not seamless: there are fissures, tensions, and stresses in the doctoral experience. The rhythms of bodies, bush and tribal tradition were sometimes dissonant with the regular beats of institutional time. Employing and/or funding agencies superimposed additional rhythms over those of tribal and academic spaces. Silas was employed by an agency with contracted outcomes to build Māori research capacity: ‘in terms of some of the milestones, the output you get is pumping out PhD students’. He felt pressured by his boss because ‘The final output of the PhD thesis is an output for his programme.’ This was ‘affecting my ability to carry out my work and placing a bit of stress on me because he’s wanting these results in order for him to tick his box with regard to his outputs within the workplace. And that’s affecting my ability to think analytically’.

Kaupapa Māori research reinstates the ‘third space’ of the imaginary, the speculative, the artistic, and the spiritual. Maaka’s project included whakapapa [tribal genealogy]: ‘The Gods that I connect with aren’t Gods, they’re my tūpuna [ancestors] and I think that there is a spiritual connection there because they lived, but also that it’s far bigger than that, an intellectual connection.’ In her scientific research with human tissue, Rangimarie worked ‘to keep the spirituality, the tikanga in my research because it’s not separate and sometimes we have to separate it to understand it and intellectualise it but it’s not’. Mere explained that:

Often I have to karakia if I’m blocked. I have to sing. When I present my papers I

always end with a waiata [song], and I always explain why. And I do this when I'm overseas so that I present in an indigenous manner simply because I karakia at the beginning of it and I end with a waiata and I tell them why. And that's because it remains unclosed otherwise.

The spatial organisation of disciplines.

Contemporary disciplines are scripted and mapped in international, national and regional forums such as learned societies, journals and conferences. The economic and political powerbrokers of the English-speaking world remain hubs of epistemological dominance: the status hierarchies within international research organisations, the global rankings of institutions and journals, the ebbs and flows of theoretical fashion. In countries on academe's 'periphery', writing for 'overseas' audiences can elicit a sense of dislocation (Middleton, 2007). Because of New Zealand's small population, one of the external examiners of a doctorate must be from an overseas university. Betty worried that she had to 'teach' the international examiner: 'What am I supposed to write in Chapter One? What knowledge are international examiners coming with? Do I have to do a whole history of Aotearoa? And how come I have to do that when other people don't have to set that context for their international examiner? That's just way more work for me'.

Today's scientific and humanities disciplines have evolved from their nineteenth century beginnings as the self-regulating communities Bernstein termed 'singulars': 'Organisationally and politically, singulars construct strong boundary maintenance' (2000: 54). Culturally (in professional associations, networks and texts) and psychologically (in students, teachers, researchers), singulars (physics, economics, psychology, etc.), 'develop strong autonomous self-sealing and narcissistic identities. These identities are constructed by procedures of introjection' (Bernstein, 2000: 54). Some of the Māori doctoral students self-identified with a 'singular,' but described their universities as projecting a different (external) identity onto them. Mandy 'was determined to get this PhD in Economics because I\we get pushed back into "If you can't fit into Maori Studies, maybe it's History" – it's like we shouldn't be there. But we *can* be in those other fields.' Kayla's own identification and her discipline's positioning of her conflicted:

When you say, 'My orientation is Māori and this is how [social science] applies and fits', you're actually on the other side of the fence saying, 'Hang on, this is how you apply it to me.' There's resistance from academia and from the [social science] profession to saying, 'No, *you* should be fitting around what *we* have'. There's that kind of tension.

Kayla's thesis critiqued her discipline from a Māori perspective.

The majority of the theses were located in the newer interdisciplinary fields Bernstein termed 'regions'. Many regions are professional fields (Education, Health Studies, Business Studies etc), involving a recontextualising of singulars. For example in the 1970s the subject Education consisted of the sub-disciplines of educational psychology, sociology, history and philosophy. Such regions are positioned at 'the interface between the field of the production of knowledge and any field of practice' (Bernstein, 2000: 9). The 'recontextualising principles' providing cohesion to a professional field derive from the commercial and professional demands of its market (Adkins, 2009; Green, Maxwell, & Shanahan, 2001). Bernstein suggests that the identities produced by 'regions are more likely to face outwards to fields of practice and thus their contents are likely to be dependent on the requirements of those fields' (Bernstein 2000, 54).

The late twentieth century saw the development of interdisciplinary subjects centred, not on 'external markets', but emanating from the 'lived spaces' of marginalised populations and associated grassroots movements: feminism produced women's studies; Māori activism produced Māori studies. In Dorothy Smith's terms, such new disciplines were grounded in a 'standpoint' epistemology (D. Smith, 1987). Similarly, many Māori doctoral students grounded their research in traditional knowledge, an angle of vision enabling critical engagement with western science. Amiria, a biologist, scientifically tested the medicinal value of traditional seafood to 'prove that the knowledge from the tūpuna [ancestors] is credible'. Ngaio drew on Māori proverbs to argue that the 'notion of entrepreneurship is not peculiar to Western civilization.' Ben argued 'that if you could put people back in touch with Tikanga Māori as a governance and management model then organisations should start to function better.' Leigh explored the educational aim that 'the child will stand as a Rangatira, as a chief.' Glenda identified traditional values underpinning Kaupapa Hauora Māori [Māori

health practices] and worked ‘with Māori Health Providers to implement those values into their service.’

Māori words were used for Māori concepts. Hannah used ‘Māori labels because they best express what an iwi organisation or characteristics of an organisation might look like ... I don’t think I could express everything I would want to by using the English language.’ Although Leigh was not fluent in te reo [Māori language], she would ‘definitely quote in Māori. What they’ve given me, that’s their taonga [hierloom]. The quotes in Māori will stay in Māori. It’s not up to me to change what they’re saying.’ Mandy wanted her thesis to reach a Māori as well as an academic audience. She ‘had to do the whole thing in English and then I had to get it translated into Māori. We have two sets of hurdles. A lot of Māori students are in that position. The burden can be almost too much.’ April described use of te reo as a political issue:

... not identifying it as a foreign language or as something that necessarily needed a translation, throughout was important ... there are some things that are very difficult to translate into English. And then when you have the translation, you feel like you’ve sold out a bit. If you’re having to translate mana as authority, prestige, you lose a bit of what mana is by that process.

Others did not have grounding in traditional knowledge or language. Rose’s Pākehā father ‘was a minister, and the things Māori were shut down. My mother’s a Māori, has the Māori in my family. The tikanga was seen as the occult.’ When Rose developed an interest in the Māori ‘feminine’ and tried to discuss this with elders, they ‘weren’t very happy about my research, because they converted to [a Māori Christian denomination], and they just wanted those old goddesses to stay buried. So, on one hand I had my father unhappy, and then on the other hand I had the elders from my marae [ancestral place] unhappy.’

Researching Communities.

Tribal concerns, rather than disciplinary ‘research questions’ were the lived mainsprings of many students’ theses. As Linda Smith explains, for many Māori researchers

... 'the community' is regarded as being a much more intimate, human and self-defined space, in a research sense, to 'the field.' 'Community' conveys a much more intimate, human and self-defined space, whereas 'field' assumes a space 'out there' where people may or may not be present. What community research relies upon and validates is that the community itself makes its own definitions (L Smith, 1999: 126).

Research was initiated and 'owned' by whanau, hapu or iwi. Marama 'was corralled into doing the PhD on behalf of the tribe. It is looking at how health policy has impacted on the way that they deliver Maori health services, to Māori within their tribal area.' Peter explained that:

The thesis is about my hapu. I place myself within the thesis using whakapapa. ... I whakapapa down starting basically from Papatūānuku, bring the whakapapa line down through to this person after whom our hapu was named, down through, down to me ultimately. And as I get into the latter generations, I look at the evolution of the community, how it developed in pre-European times. I look at struggles that we've encountered as a hapu within the contemporary context: struggles within our own community; struggles with local authorities over the river, where they want to take all the river [for irrigation] and we've been challenging that, fighting to save our sacred places.

Makarete was 'interested in governance because my tribe was going through a settlement process' and explored 'how we were going to obtain and manage our asset from our tribal settlement.'

Tribal life is oriented around a 'place': the marae [ceremonial meeting place]; the land [whenua]; the tūrangawaewae [place for the feet to stand, home]. But some, particularly urban, Māori have grown up alienated from these. One student explained that 'you can have a hui' [consultation meeting] in a community but 'a lot of people don't attend.' During her fieldwork in one small town 'there was significant violence and dysfunction'. Despite having ethical approval from her campus, tribal elders, and a state bureaucracy, she found herself 'vulnerable, as a Māori woman with basically no protective support... I came into homes where people were smoking P. I was attacked physically'. Her encounter with 'dysfunction'

and ‘cultural breakdown’, as expressed in the violence of a criminal gang, was invisible in her academic (including Māori student) networks, which she saw as promoting idealised images of cohesive tribes and ‘successful’ (middle-class) Māori students.

Linda Smith (1999: 120) identifies ‘communities of interest amongst Māori researchers that ‘do not necessarily occupy the same geographical space.’ Leigh participated in global indigenous people’s networks, including ‘an Indigenous Forum and met indigenous people from Canada and the US.’ Marama had ‘presented to the World Health Organisation in Cairo, to an Indigenous Peoples conference in Canada and to the Adelaide Australasian/Pacific one’. Trans-secting the categories of ‘indigenous’ or ‘Māori’ or ‘tribe’ are further communities of identification: ‘Indigenous women are such a community, as are indigenous rights workers, indigenous artists and writers, indigenous health workers’ (L Smith, 1999: 120). Mere’s thesis attempted ‘to visible-ise Māori with disabilities so we can become invisible as a part of our community.’ Ashley’s study of Māori women in a new technology field drew on Mana Wāhine (L. Smith, 1992), a cultural counterpart to the western idea of feminism: ‘Mana Wāhine is the main analysis that I used. Kaupapa Māori is how we worked together as Maori. Mana Wāhine is how we worked together as Maori women. ... We were moving to indigenising [the new technology]’. Her university did not know where to ‘put’ her:

“Oh, this is not a [technology field] PhD, you should be in Māori Studies. Oh, this isn’t [technology] so you should be in Women’s Studies. Oh, you should be in Social Sciences”. And I said “No, this is definitely [technology], this is about making sure that we can be who we are in [technology].. Not [technology] telling us how we should be in their professions, it’s how *we* want to be in that profession.

Conventional disciplines (singulars) are made up of distinct and sometimes incommensurable languages, paradigms and methodologies. Mid-twentieth century sociology, fragmented by paradigms such as functionalism, phenomenology, Marxism and so on, was united into one discipline by common objects of study (social systems and structures). Bernstein termed this ‘low level’ of integration a *horizontal knowledge structure* (1999). A *vertical knowledge structure* involves a higher level of integrating theory across disciplines, as with Atakohu’s thesis, which involved: ‘meta-theories that overarch

disciplinary fields such as feminism, including science and indigenous studies. It's about developing a theoretical framework from high abstract theory, then embracing the field work of the reconstruction of Māori identity and environmental worker identity, from practice up.'

The pedagogy of supervision Adkins argues that, when thesis projects require such 'vertical' integrations of disciplines, 'The supervisors' role in guiding the selection of knowledge [...] involves an understanding of the strategies required for knowledge integration, modeling for students the processes through which concepts and research approaches over disciplinary boundaries can be understood as commensurate' (Adkins, 2009: 173). However, single supervisors seldom have the ability to guide the student to weave it all together. Ashley was 'trying to learn Kaupapa Māori at the same time as learning the western theories.' She felt pushed around as people 'kept telling me that I'm doing action research, I'm doing phenomenology if I said that I was spiritual, and that I'm subjective. When they say, "What's your ontology, what's your epistemology?" I was like "I'm just Kaupapa Māori, that's all I'm doing, it's just Kaupapa Māori"'. Ginny described Kaupapa Māori as 'both more than and less than a paradigm'. It 'doesn't actually direct what methods will be used, it's like the critical bit in critical theory, it's an attitude or a perspective rather than a set of methods.' Ashley explained, 'We can utilise any research methodology from anywhere... they're all tools: education's a tool, law's a tool.' Marama criticized the argument that 'Maori stuff shouldn't have to fit within Western methodologies and frameworks. I believe it can and will fit. You don't have to cut yourself off and reinvent the wheel.'

While conventional scientific methods were seen as useful, there was criticism of their hegemony. Mandy's field required that 'you had to start with a hypothesis, you had to go out there and collect data which reflects that hypothesis.' And Silas questioned the commitment of funding organisations;

They have been saying that they support a Kaupapa Māori approach, but having said that, even though they are trying to promote more people to bring in Maori components into their work, I think that's about as far as they are keen to take it. They want to see lots of bio-physical, positivist science there, with a nice little Māori box tacked onto it.

The gown and the korowai [traditional Māori cloak that is woven]

As a pedagogical process, doctoral supervision can be viewed in Bernstein's terms as: 'a sustained process whereby somebody(s) acquires new forms or develops existing forms of conduct, knowledge, practice and criteria from somebody(s) or something deemed to be an appropriate provider and evaluator' (2000:78). Through supervision, a doctoral candidate acquires 'the principles for the production of what counts as the legitimate text' (Bernstein, 2000, p. xiv). But when the 'conceived' spaces of the university do not fit the epistemological, spiritual, familial and conceptual resources students need to address, research and write about cutting-edge topics, supervision is stretched over the 'edges' of supervisors' disciplinary comfort zones. With multiple, cross-departmental supervision arrangements, students' work and disciplinary identities become splintered, fragmented across disparate departments and disciplines with no integration or coherence.

Moana's thesis straddled two academic disciplines/departments. Approached by a leader of her tribe, who was also an academic and became one of her supervisors, Moana's thesis was not only allied with academic disciplines but also grounded in tribal identities. She had two supervisors - one was Māori and supervising the 'tikanga Māori' and 'tribal' perspective, and the other a Pākehā academic working from the discipline base. The weaving of the thesis presented problems:

'... [the thesis] has gone in two totally different, it's two different formats going forward. [...] they very much only looked within the frame of reference that they were both looking at (in their own work). And in the final analysis of the thesis, those two have not married up and this has been problematic. Neither of them would have been able to bring it together. That was always going to be my challenge.'

Here Moana speaks of a separation of disciplines that are required to be woven to 'produce the legitimate text' within a 'vertical knowledge structure'.

Lefebvre suggested that 'rhythm analysis' might bring us 'closer to a pedagogy of appropriation (the appropriation of the body, as of spatial practice)' (Lefebvre, 1974: 205). The spatial rhythms he identified are intimately and inextricably linked in the academy's pedagogical relationships with Māori doctoral students.

The culmination of the PhD in the act of graduation brings into stark relief layers of Lefebvre's 'conceived, perceived and lived spaces' as ceremonies are held on university marae (Māori cultural meeting places) and students wear the korowai over the conventional academic gowns.



FIG 2: Māori doctoral students with a supervisor at graduation on a Marae.

The marae is a vital part of Māori culture traditionally used as places for everyday living and infused with symbolic and spiritual meaning they have been appropriated by universities as pedagogical spaces - 'the teaching laboratories of Māori studies and Māori language classes' (Mead, 2003: 108) – located next to, and taken care of by, the Māori studies department.

The korowai worn by the students can be ancestral heirlooms or they may have been made especially for the occasion, such as Ashley's:

I've actually made a korowai [...] for this PhD, it's a big long length one and it has the story on back on it, so, it's all feathered and that korowai is a big part of this PhD. So weaving the actual korowai is weaving all the stories in between that and that's my findings and my discussion and the conclusion is the actual korowai finished and I

can see those as indigenizing a thesis structure of course from a Maori woman's perspective.

The wearing of the korowai is symbolic of 'indigenising the academy' (Miheua & Wilson, 2004), appropriating the doctoral work for cultural practices. For another student, Kayla, the layering of the cloak is to be both Māori and academic:

You know, we're Māori first and [social science subject] applies to Māori, it fits around it. So when you showed me this picture [of the gown and korowai] it was like, I don't necessarily see them as a tension as such - I see that you can wear them both. One on top of the other ...

But the layering of the gown and cloak can be seen as a challenge to an identity as a Māori academic.

Lefebvre's 'perceived, conceived and lived spaces' presuppose the appropriation of the body as a mediator of the relationship between them. While the korowai is symbolic of the lived experience of the student, the gown represents the practical mastery of conceived space in the academy. Through the layering of both cloak and gown Māori doctoral bodies live out 'the different temporalities of both self and society and, in this process, preserving and developing difference within repetition' (Simonsen, 2005, p.8).

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