Educating Researchers:
New Zealand Education PhDs
1948-1998

'State-of-the-Art'
Monograph No. 7
July 2001

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NEW ZEALAND EDUCATION PHDS 1948-1998

NZARE

New Zealand Association
for Research in Education
Te Hunga Rangahau
Mātauranga o Aotearoa

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A CDROM based on the data from this project has been developed for supervision training. For further information see the back cover of this monograph.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In some countries, educational researchers marked the new millennium by reviewing the history of "Education" as an academic discipline, mapping the research undertaken by its protagonists, and exploring their research experiences (Fisher *et al.*, 1999). Around this time too, some of the national educational research associations that had been set up in the 1970s in various parts of the world commemorated their first 20 or 30 years. December 1999, when I completed the field-work for this project, marked 20 years since NZARE had held its inaugural annual conference at Victoria University of Wellington (McDonald, 1980). As I searched for the names and dates of local Education PhD[1] graduates, I realised that it was 50 years since the first of these students had enrolled in their doctoral studies. By the early 1990s, 40 years after these pioneer students had graduated, the first New Zealand professional doctorates EdD degrees – had been introduced. In Australia, whole conferences were being held on professional doctorates specifically (Maxwell and Shanahan, 1998) and on doctoral education more generally (Kiley and Mullins, 2000). As new models for doctoral programmes were being debated, it seemed opportune to look back at the first 50 years of thesis-only education PhDs in New Zealand.

I found some local writing on the doctoral experience, including a few publications and ongoing projects on thesis supervision in general (Grant, 2000; Rountree and Laing, 1996). There were also some brief autobiographical essays on the experience of doing a PhD in education in New Zealand (*e.g.* Irwin, 1992; Smith, 1997). Several education books based on PhD thesis projects include reflective accounts by New Zealand authors on their PhD experiences (*e.g.* Jones, 1991; Middleton, 1993; Smith, 1999). However, little historical or empirical work had been done in this country on the PhD in Education. How many Education PhDs have there been and at which universities? Who were the students who have done Education PhDs and what brought them into doctoral studies? What were the topics, theories, methodologies and techniques employed in their thesis research? What were their experiences of supervision like? How did they organise time and create space for a thesis in their everyday domestic and working lives? And what can those who supervise and administer doctoral studies – or who are currently doctoral students – learn from these experiences?

This study draws on historical writings, bibliographic resources and data from interviews I conducted with 57 of the 200 or so who have graduated from New Zealand universities with a PhD in Education. Before introducing the interviewees, it is important to have some understanding of the settings in which these students lived, worked, designed and carried out their research. This introductory chapter falls into three parts. The first identifies literature and concepts that have helped shape this project. The second outlines the origins of the PhD degree in New Zealand universities. In the third, I identify the first Education doctorates and explore the growth in their numbers up until the end of the twentieth century. I conclude by describing the interview process, and introduce the main themes that later chapters address.

ON THE SUBJECT OF "EDUCATION"

Research on university education in general, and on doctoral education specifically, has assumed an increasingly prominent place in educational writing. Such projects have ranged in scope – from fine-grained studies of supervisor-student relationships to historical and structural analyses of higher education systems. The "personally" or pedagogically-oriented studies include resource books for students and supervisors aimed at improving practice, and autobiographical accounts of the experience of undertaking and supervising doctoral research (Phillips and Pugh, 1987). The systemic or structural analyses include historical explorations of higher education as a whole (Readings, 1996) or of the doctoral degree specifically (Noble, 1994). The more sociologically-oriented of these structural analyses conceptualise university systems in contexts of economic globalisation and the focus and funding of university research as increasingly tied to commercial, professional and political imperatives (Kelsey, 1997). As investors in the global economy, nation-states, it is argued, "have begun to see themselves as the purchasers, on behalf of tax-paying citizens, of a range of teaching, research and consultancy services" (Scott, 1995, p. 80).

Allied to this, say such writers, has been a decline in the autonomy of academic disciplines as arbiters and producers of what is to count as valuable new knowledge. Increasingly, research is initiated, produced and evaluated in its industrial and professional contexts of application, by trans-disciplinary, and often ephemeral, teams from both private and public sectors. British writers have conceptualised this trend as signalling a fundamental change in what they call "modes of knowledge production" (Gibbons, *et al.*, 1994; Scott, 1995, 1998). Such writers describe Mode 1 knowledge production – the earlier model – as discipline-based and curiosity-driven. In contrast, they describe "Mode 2" research problems and projects as arising in professional, scientific or commercial settings. They are not derived from single disciplines or the passionate curiosity of a single individual. The theoretical and methodological structures of "Mode 2" research do not pre-exist the applications from which such trans-disciplinary projects spring – "both are improvised" (Scott, 1995, p. 149). Discipline-based, university-bound models (mode 1) are seen as having lost ground in relation to "Mode 2" projects (Gibbons, *et al.*, 1994; Scott, 1995, 1998).

In Britain and Australia, scholars have been quick to conceptualise doctoral education in terms of this dichotomy. The traditional thesis-only PhD – driven by individual curiosity, and conceptualised as an academic exercise – has increasingly been questioned as an appropriate apprenticeship for researchers in contemporary settings. A plethora of new professional and work-place doctorates has been introduced – involving complex combinations of coursework, portfolios and projects in addition to – or instead of – the thesis (Kylie and Mullins, 2000; Maxwell and Shanahan, 1998).

In this regard, Education as a university subject is of particular interest because of its historically ambivalent classification – as both a traditional university liberal arts subject and as an adjunct to professional training. Tensions between the "pure and applied" dimensions of Education as a discipline, and its ambivalent status within university hierarchies, have been the object of many analyses – philosophical (R.S. Peters, 1966), sociological (Young, 1971), and historical (Fisher *et al.*, 1999). Throughout its short history as a university subject, Education has also been subject to the influence of, and/or regulation by, other authorities such as government agencies, professional bodies and

teachers' colleges. Educational research – including doctoral research – has straddled the divide between pure and applied; and between academic and professional. Not all Education theses have originated purely out of individual curiosity (Mode 1). As Chapters Three and Four will illustrate, some have been, at least in part, strategic responses to contractual opportunities provided by government and independent organisations and, in this sense, may have at least some affinities with the improvised problem-solving teamwork of Mode 2. This two-fold theory of modes of knowledge production is useful when exploring how students came to choose their topics, how they arranged funding and other support, and the uses to which their findings were put.

This model – although useful in helping us think about educational research – was developed for studying research in general and scientific research in particular. What further theoretical tools are available to help in framing a study of the doctoral experience in Education specifically? Here, I have found concepts from the sociology of the curriculum useful. Such an orientation, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith has summarised it, enables us to view our discipline "not simply as a way of organising systems of knowledge, but also as a way of organising people or bodies" (Smith, 1997, p. 193).

Recent work within this tradition has drawn substantially on post-structuralist notions of "the subject" – or "subjectivity" (Butler, 1997; Foucault, 1982, 1985). The term "subject" is used here in three, inter-woven, senses. First, it refers to Education as an academic subject in the sense of a discipline, field of study, or discourse. As Bernstein observed (1971, p. 57), in formal education it is only at doctoral level that the "mystery of the subject is revealed." While academics often think of a discipline or subject as an epistemological entity (Hirst, 1975; R.S. Peters, 1966), within university bureaucracies the term "subject" is sometimes used in the sense of an administrative classification – students enrol in a subject, major in a subject. A university subject may also be a unit of accountancy – subjects may be allocated staff or funding. The connections between epistemological categories and administrative classifications may be tenuous. But for Education they are crucial. One's bodily location in relation to other scholars – and the intellectual and pedagogical constraints and possibilities this creates – is influenced, for example, by whether an institution locates Education in an arts faculty, in a separate Education faculty, or by whether or not it chooses to amalgamate with a teachers' college.

Doctoral study has been described as a process of reproducing "subject-loyalty" in the sense that it is a process of initiation into an epistemological community of scholars. Less abstractly, it may also involve developing a sense of belonging to a department or faculty and a sense of loyalty to particular supervisors, groups or factions within a department (Bernstein, 1971). Education academics sometimes have competing allegiances to other subjects – such as psychology, philosophy, history, sociology or anthropology. Some belong simultaneously to several academic or professional organisations. Sociologists of education, for example, often belong to both New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE) and the New Zealand Sociological Association (Middleton, 1989).

From a doctoral student's point of view, the subject of a thesis may simply refer to its topic, or object of investigation. This may not sit comfortably within the formalised categorisations of knowledge. The institutionalised and administrative divisions between fields of knowledge can, in fact, impede the free flow of students, supervisors, ideas and EFTS funding, across and between "cost centres" such as departments. As Bernstein (1971) pointed out, such a pattern of organisation (which he termed a "collection" knowledge

code) can make it difficult to do trans-disciplinary projects across these divisions (an "integrated" knowledge code).

The term "subject" is also used in relation to (but not entirely analogously with) the individual. This notion of the subject is double-sided. In the first sense, it is similar to the grammatical subject of a sentence – the (autonomous) actor or agent. As the "subjects of our behaviour" (Foucault, 1985), we act upon the world. We choose our topics and methodologies and freely engage in doctoral projects. Conversely, the word "subject" is also used in a passive sense – we can be "subject to" the whims of our supervisors. As thesis students we are subjected to authority, to degree regulations, to the conventions of thesis writing within a field, and to examinations (Foucault, 1977, 1982). Judith Butler urges us to distinguish between the embodied individual (or human person) and the subject, arguing that the latter is "a linguistic category, a place-holder, a structure in formation. Individuals come to occupy the site of the subject ..." (Butler, 1997, p. 10). Examples of such linguistic categories (or subject-positions) include those of competent doctoral student, linguistic philosopher or independent thinker. These categories pre-exist – and also produce – us as students, philosophers, and writers. Subject positions "exist" in texts such as, and everyday practices based on, university regulations, disciplinary (sociological *etc.*) conventions, and interchanges between academics in journals and at conferences.

The term "subjectivity", then, is useful in this inquiry because it draws together the discipline, those who engage with it (students and supervisors), and the regulations and conventions that govern it. As Bill Green and Alison Lee ask with respect to Australian education doctorates: "What does it mean to be a postgraduate student in education – that is, to be pursuing advanced research training in education as a field of study? ... What is involved in becoming, as it were, "subject-ed" to education?" (Green and Lee, 1999, p. 207). To understand the experiences, perspectives and research of PhD graduates, we need to know something about the universities in which they studied and the nature of the doctoral qualifications to which they willingly subjected themselves.

ORIGINS OF THE PHD DEGREE

Universities – and the scholarship undertaken within them – "are coloured by the spirit of the age of their creation" (Scott, 1995, p. 8). Nineteenth century New Zealand universities have been described as rooted "in the soil of British colonialism and the early provincial university at Otago and Canterbury College were colonial institutional sites for the assimilation of a British national culture or civilisation" (M. Peters, 1997b, p. 19). Education was not taught as a university subject in the nineteenth century. However, the search for a local identity and for an education system that would foster this, prompted local educational thought and stimulated early scholarship in education by leading administrators and teachers (Renwick, 1989; Watson, 1979). This emerging scholarly tendency amongst education professionals created the preconditions for a later academic educational research culture.

Historians have argued that in Europe the PhD degree was a product of the industrial age in which scientific research was pivotal. The degree was designed in nineteenth century Germany as the foundation of scientific training (Noble, 1994; Readings, 1996). It was introduced to Britain after the First World War – half a century after it had been established in Germany and the USA. During the 1920s, scientific research "which was

national (or international) in scope and generally basic, rather than of largely local significance and applied," became embedded in British university missions (Scott, 1995, pp. 141-2).

How did the PhD degree "arrive" in New Zealand? By the 1900s the University of New Zealand (and its four constituent university colleges) was encouraging local research and had set up post-graduate travelling scholarships to enable students to study overseas. It was at this time that the University of New Zealand first experimented with a PhD degree – an experiment that one historian of the time described as "an ultimate failure" (Beaglehole, 1937 p. 278). The Senate of the University of New Zealand had first mooted the introduction of the PhD as early as 1906. At the time, the idea of a Doctorate in *Philosophy* awarded across the disciplines was puzzling. For example, Sir Robert Stout expounded:

> ... so far aȷ I can gather from the proposed Doctorate of Philosophy, it is in fact to be mainly a Doctorate in Science. Why a Doctorate in Chemistry should be called a Doctorate of Philosophy and not a Doctorate of Science I cannot understand ... if we are to have a Doctorate of Philosophy it should be confined to mental and Moral Philosophy (cited in Parton, 1979, p. 186).

The University's Board of Studies did not recommend the adoption of the PhD degree until 1921 (Parton, 1979, p. 186) and it was introduced in 1922. The experiment was brief and in 1926 the degree was abolished. One reason given for this was "the difficulty of setting a uniform standard" (Beaglehole, 1937, p. 278). Others have pointed to administrative problems created by a regulatory requirement that PhD students be full-time. In 1925 the University's Senate Recess Committee asked "for a precise definition of what is required by the section on candidates giving the whole of their time to the study of their thesis and correlated studies" (Parton, 1979, p. 185). The Board's reply was to abolish the degree.

Although there were no local PhDs – in Education or in any other subject – from 1926 until the degree's re-establishment in 1948, during this time the ground for a local educational research community was consolidated. New Zealand's first university Departments of Education were set up. John Watson (1979, p. 4) described how the 1919 University Act earmarked a sum for Chairs of Education, and in 1920 its selection committee in London, which included Ernest Rutherford, chose a remarkable Englishman, James Shelley, to be New Zealand's first Professor of Education. Shelley's encouragement of educational innovation, including the establishment of a psychological laboratory, have been well-documented elsewhere (Alcorn, 1999; Beeby, 1992; Carter, 1993). Watson (1979) and Renwick (1989) have described New Zealand educationists" increasing contacts with overseas visitors at this time, including the 1928 visit of Dr James Russell, Dean Emeritus of Columbia University. The Carnegie Corporation of New York had funded this and other important visits. It funded the setting up of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) in 1934 and – as with similar organisations in Canada (Fisher *et al.*, 1999) and Australia – continued to fund it for another ten years.

While it was now possible for local Education graduates to do Masters theses in Education locally (Roth, 1964), from 1926 to 1947 New Zealanders still had to go overseas for their doctorates. It was, however, possible at this time to submit published works for a local Doctor of Science or a Doctor of Literature degree. The 1963-67 supplement to the *Union list of theses* (Swift, 1969) lists two Litt D degrees on educational topics awarded

during the 1940s by Canterbury University College of the University of New Zealand. In 1944 John Lawrence Moffat was awarded the Litt D for his publication, *An examination of the criteria of literature, with special reference to the teaching of literature in New Zealand secondary schools.* And in 1948 the Litt D was awarded to George William Parkyn for two books that he had written for, and which had both been published by, the NZCER: *Children of high intelligence: A NZ study;* and *Success and failure at the university.*

In 1944 and 1945, the re-establishment of a PhD course was discussed at the Senate of the University of New Zealand and there were debates between arts and sciences faculty representatives on this issue. Arts faculties argued that the reintroduction should be delayed until their staffing became adequate to cope with supervising postgraduate research and scholarships were made available to students. However, the reinstatement was supported strongly by the sciences and science-based professional schools. They argued that they were ready and able to supervise doctoral students because "increasingly in the laboratory sciences at least, group research had been developing" (Parton, 1979, p. 185). A motion that the award be made only in sciences and professional subjects such as medicine was lost. In 1945 the Senate "amended the Bill to the form it had the previous year, and the degree was reinstituted without restriction by faculty" (Parton, 1979, p. 186), with research fellowships to be awarded for doctoral studies in each of the four constituent university colleges. As Parton described it (1979, p. 186):

> The introduction of research fellowships played a major part in the great expansion of research activity from about 1948 onward. The reintroduction of the PhD degree, at which most research fellows aimed, was justified by results of research carried out far more than by degrees awarded.

According to Scott (1995, p. 142), it was "during the Second World War and in the years of post-war reconstruction that universities acquired their present status as the leading institutions of knowledge production." After the Second World War, universities in Britain, Europe and the USA invested heavily in research. Within New Zealand, the science research students who, during this period, began flocking into one university college (Canterbury) were later described as a "student elite upon whom in some departments was lavished the affection and attention reserved normally for domestic pets or favoured sons" (Gardner *et al.,* 1973, p. 398).

In New Zealand educational research, the universities assumed an increasingly prominent role. During the 1950s, the Carnegie Corporation provided a "substantial sum" to stimulate research in New Zealand universities at the expense of independent research organisations like the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) and the NZCER:

> From a position of having a staffing entitlement, when funded by the Carnegie Corporation prior to the war, that was 50 percent larger than the average university department of education, NZCER now fell back steadily to an establishment that was only a third of the average university department in 1960 (Watson, 1979, p. 6).

The United States Educational Foundation in New Zealand was established in 1948 (Renwick, 1989; Phillips *et al.,* 1989), and visits to New Zealand from American Fulbright scholars, as well as visits by New Zealand academics to the USA, served to fuel local

educational research (McDonald, 1989; Phillips *et al.*, 1989). In later chapters the impact of such visits on local doctoral students will be described by some of the interviewees.

Despite what Watson (1979) and others have described as the lack of a coherent government research policy, the general political climate of the post-war years was encouraging to educational researchers in universities. Post-war policy-makers' visions for education as a vehicle for the promotion and protection of democracy have been well documented (Alcorn, 1999; Beeby, 1986, 1992; Middleton and May, 1997), and the place of science (including social science) was central in this wider project. The 1950s have been described as –

> ... the heyday of the technical expert. Science and technology were the engines of progress. The limiting factor was not the assured availability of money and natural resources but of human capital. Education thus came into its own both as an instrument of personal betterment and of economic and social progress (Renwick, 1986, p. 106).

It was during this time – the early 1950s – that New Zealand's first PhD students in Education were enrolled. The Hughes Parry Report recorded that "an average of ten doctorates in philosophy (all faculties) or science, and five in medicine or dental surgery" were awarded in each of the five years between 1955 and 1959 (Committee on New Zealand Universities, 1960, p. 21). Two of these first graduates did their theses in Departments of Education.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PHD IN EDUCATION

How many PhDs in Education have been completed in New Zealand? What has been the nature of the growth in their numbers over the years and their distribution across campuses? It may seem a simple task to count the number of PhD degrees that have been awarded in Education, but, in fact, determining who has, and who does not have, a PhD in Education is problematic.

To help with this task, there are three main bibliographic resources. Roth's (1964) book, *A bibliography of New Zealand education* was comprehensive in its listing of unpublished university research, but did not distinguish between Masters and doctoral theses. During the 1970s, Keith Pickens compiled a bibliography of *Unpublished degree and diploma studies in education*, which was published in instalments in *NZJES* (Pickens 1975; 1976a; 1976b; 1979). In 1956, the New Zealand Library Association (NZLA), based at the University of Otago library, published its *Union list of theses of the University of New Zealand* (Jenkins, 1956). Still working from the Otago University library, librarians have compiled a supplement to the original Union List every three-to-five years since then – a total of 11 supplements. The most recent of these – listing theses up to and including 1997 – appeared in 1999 (Cochrane, 1984; Jenkins, 1956; Jamieson, 1963; Kirkus-Lamont, 1989, 1993; Klemp, 1993, 1997, 1999; Swift, 1969, 1972, 1976, 1980).

Despite having access to such comprehensive lists, I encountered the following difficulties. There were minor discrepancies between the Pickens and the NZLA bibliographies – for example, sometimes the dates given for a thesis differed by a year or two; some theses that were included in the Union Lists did not appear in Pickens's list and *vice versa*. In contrast with the two Education bibliographies, the Union Lists included

theses from all university faculties. Some theses that I knew had been supervised primarily in Education Departments (my own for example) were listed under other subjects (such as sociology). In an informal conversation, a librarian with experience in compiling the lists explained that sometimes librarians had little to go on other than the title of a thesis or its abstract. A thesis *on* education may have been supervised by staff in "other" departments. Conversely, theses on non-educational topics are sometimes supervised by Education Department staff. Is a thesis an Education thesis by virtue of its epistemology (topic, theme *etc.*) or because of the administrative location of the student or supervisor?

To complicate matters, students sometimes change supervisor mid-stream. A supervisor may have died, retired, left the campus or even the country. Students may also have changed supervisor – and sometimes as a result, department – because of incompatibilities of personality, political or theoretical orientation, or as their requirements changed as the research evolved. If I became aware of changes in supervision, or shared supervision across or between departments, I have categorised a thesis as an Education one if its author clearly identifies with Education as a discipline. The quantitative data presented in this monograph, although a useful indication of trends, should therefore be regarded as slightly "fuzzy round the edges."

The first New Zealand Education PhD was awarded to Brian Sutton-Smith in 1953. His thesis, written at Victoria College of the University of New Zealand, was entitled *The historical and psychological significance of the unorganized games of New Zealand school children*. Marie Clay (1980, p. 24) has described Sutton-Smith as having "a flare for the creative and unusual aspects of developmental psychology" and his work as emphasising "divergent thinking, coping with novelty and aesthetic development" (p. 25). For Sutton-Smith, wrote Clay, play –

> ... is much more than the puritanic dualism of Work and Play allows. When one considers such avant-garde formulations it is little wonder that New Zealand's most published developmental psychologist has spent most of his academic career in the USA. Think of our traditional aversion for the 'play way!' (Clay, 1980, p. 25).

In 1979, when Clay wrote the paper from which this quotation is drawn (her *State of the Art* paper on child development research for the inaugural conference of NZARE), Sutton-Smith remained, she said, New Zealand's most widely-published developmental psychologist. The author of several prominent books, he had been published in debate with Piaget in an American journal. Clay lamented Sutton-Smith's departure from New Zealand. He was, she said "ahead of the times" (p. 25).

The second of New Zealand's local PhD graduates in Education, Philip Lawrence, chose to remain in New Zealand after his graduation and enjoyed a distinguished career here, including holding the Chair in Education at the University of Canterbury. His thesis, completed at Canterbury College of the University of New Zealand in 1955, was also on child development and also drew on Piaget's work, which he described as just becoming available in translation. The thesis was entitled: *The significance of method in intellectual tasks: A study based upon an analysis of intelligence test errors*. A returned serviceman, Professor Lawrence described in an interview for this project how, in the immediate post-war years:

> Professor Field was always very keen on urging his students on. His great strength was in supporting students and urging them on to go further. He wanted me to do

a PhD. He wanted me to go to Britain, to London. That's where he really wanted me to go. But he realised that I wouldn't be going and couldn't go, so he urged me to take up this possibility of doing a New Zealand PhD.

For Philip Lawrence, family considerations were important in this decision:

By the end of that year [1950] I had a wife and child. I got a postgraduate scholarship and normally the pattern in the past was people like me would have gone to Britain or somewhere, like the group before me – that was the traditional route. I'd been appointed as a junior lecturer. I wrote to the University of New Zealand and asked them in view of the fact that I had a wife and a baby and no money, could I defer it for a year or two and they said "No." That's why I didn't take the usual route of going to London Institute of Education and doing a Ph.D and had to rely on New Zealand. So when New Zealand brought in local PhDs and allowed staff members to do it part-time, that was my saviour.

Philip Lawrence's situation as both staff member and doctoral student was to become a common pattern. Gardner *et al.* (1973, p. 398) report that, across all faculties at Canterbury, in 1962, there were 37 students (as opposed to staff members) registered for the PhD. In the same year, 29 university staff members were registered. In 1970, the number of students who were not staff members increased to 124, while there were 54 staff members registered there. Because of the tendency in Education Departments to appoint former school teachers to lecturing positions, the trend for PhD students to be members of staff continued to be exacerbated in the case of Education doctorates in all the universities (see Chapters Two, Four and Five).

Figure 1 (see Appendix) charts the growth in the numbers of Education PhDs from 1950 to 1997 (the final year for which I could obtain a comprehensive list). During the early 1960s, growth remained slow. From 1960-64, only one further Education PhD candidate graduated – Philip Lovegrove, whose 1964 PhD from Auckland was entitled: *A cross cultural study of scholastic achievement and selected determiners*. At this time too, the University of New Zealand was disestablished, and its constituent colleges became universities in their own right. Subsequent graduates held degrees from these rather than from the University of New Zealand.

A further eight Education PhDs graduated between 1965 and 1969. Four of these graduated from Victoria University – Peter Freyberg in developmental psychology; Ian McLaren in The history of NZ education; S.L. Kaviliku on education in Tonga; and John Barrington on education in Samoa. This period also saw the first Education PhD student graduate from Otago University – K.H. Melvin in the philosophy of education. During this period, too, the first two students graduated from Massey University – Ray Adams with a thesis on classroom interaction amongst adolescents; and H.S. Houston with a project on boys' sex-role development. In 1966, the first woman PhD in Education – Marie Clay – graduated from Auckland University. Clay's thesis was on *Emergent reading behaviour*. As many New Zealand educationists since the 1960s have done (Phillips *et al.*, 1989), Clay later paid tribute to American influences on this work. In her case, this came about through the opportunity to visit the University of Minnesota, where she came into contact with "an organismic model in developmental psychology" (Clay, 1980, p. 34) which became central to her work on early reading. This early work was the springboard to an eminent international career and reputation. As Renwick has observed (1989), Marie

Clay's work on reading is renowned in many countries, especially in the U.S.A.

The five years from 1970 to 1974 saw 12 more students graduate with PhDs in Education (11 men and one woman) across the six universities. The University of Waikato had been set up in 1963 and in 1971 it produced its first doctoral graduate in Education – I.G. Ord, whose thesis was entitled, *Mental tests for pre-literates and associated papers*. Like those of other Waikato doctoral graduates, Ord's degree was referred to by the Oxford acronym "DPhil" rather than the Cambridge abbreviation, "PhD." (By the 1990s, as a result of market pressure, Waikato fell into line with the rest of the country and adopted the dominant "PhD" convention.)

By the late 1960s and the early 1970s, universities were experiencing the full impact of the post-World War Two baby-boom "population bulge." This had specific, and multiple, effects on Education Departments. In schools, the post-war teacher shortages had continued and governments of the day had responded by providing generous financial inducements to attract school-leavers to programmes of teacher education. (As Chapter Two outlines, many of those interviewed had availed themselves of these.) The University of Waikato offered the nation's first BEd degree in association with Hamilton Teachers College and other campuses soon followed a similar path (Middleton and May, 1997). All of these developments resulted in a huge increase in the number of students and staff in university Education Departments:

> In 1950 the total number of teaching staff in New Zealand's four university education departments was seventeen; in 1960 it was twenty-two; by 1970 there were six departments, employing 67 teaching staff; by 1980 they employed 107 (Middleton, 1989, p. 52).

As later chapters illustrate, many of these staff did their doctorates "on the job" and swelled the numbers of part-time doctoral candidates in Education. However, although the numbers of enrolled PhD students (particularly part-timers) began increasing from the early 1970s, the full impact of this growth would not be reflected in completion statistics for another five years or so – the time taken for a part-time student to complete the degree. In the five years from 1975-79, there were 30 new education PhDs awarded (23 men and 7 women).

For the next 15 years, numbers remained fairly steady. From 1980 to 1984 another 24 graduated (16 men and 8 women); in 1985-89 there were 32. The influx of women into academic jobs was reflected in a changing gender balance in Education doctorates – by the early 1980s, the ratio of male to female graduates reversed and, for the first time, there was a female majority (14 men and 18 women). This trend – a result of the "feminisation" of the teaching profession more broadly – would be further exacerbated in the 1990s. From 1991 to 1994 another 28 students graduated, and of these 19 were women and only 9 were men (Fig 2).

The 1990s saw dramatic changes in New Zealand higher education generally (Peters, 1997a, 1997b). Government policies of de-regulation and the setting up of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority encouraged the emergence of degree courses in institutions other than universities. Colleges of Education, polytechnics and private providers began to offer degrees and diplomas in teacher education. The statutory requirement that those teaching in degree courses be active researchers (Woodhouse, 1998) meant that more staff in colleges of education, polytechnics and other degree-granting institutions sought to upgrade their qualifications (Fergusson, 1999), creating a

wider demand for doctoral degrees. Also by this time a substantial number of education professionals in schools and educational management – teachers, principals and administrators – already had Masters qualifications. Seeking promotions, a change in occupation, or simply for intellectual stimulation, an increasing number of such professionals sought doctoral qualifications. They did this despite government funding cuts and increasing student fees. Following trends in Britain and Australia (Maxwell and Shanahan, 1998), during the 1990s Auckland, Waikato and Massey universities began offering New Zealand's first professional doctorates (EdD degrees). As the research for this project was being completed, the first of these students were finishing their theses. Interviewing them, however, must await a later project.

In the three years from 1995 to 1997 (the final year for which a comprehensive list of theses is available), another 46 PhDs in Education were awarded (29 women and 17 men). These included the first three PhDs grounded in kaupapa Maori perspectives: one at Otago (Russell Bishop in 1995); and two at Auckland (Linda Tuhiwai Smith Mead in 1996 and Graeme Hingangaroa Smith in 1997).

Bearing in mind the "fuzzy edges" of the classifications of "Education" doctorates discussed above, I identified a total of 183 Education PhDs that had been completed in New Zealand universities from 1953 to 1997. Of these, 41 (22%) were completed at Auckland, 41 (22%) at Waikato, and 37 (18%) at Massey. By the end of 1997, Otago and Victoria had each produced 24 (14%); and another 16 (7%) had graduated from Canterbury (Figs 1 and 3). Although my figures for 1998 and 1999 are incomplete, it is safe to say that, by the end of the millennium, well over 200 "Education PhDs" had been awarded.

While these figures are interesting, to comprehend the PhD *experience*, we need qualitative data. As Franz Fanon has argued, "What are by common consent called the human sciences have their own drama" (1986, p. 22). It is to the drama of the human science "Education" – as enacted by its PhD graduates – that this project now turns.

RESEARCHING LIVES

My view of this drama is through the spectacles of life-history interviews – an approach that is now wide-spread in educational research (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Casey, 1996; Witherell and Noddings, 1991). During 1999 I interviewed 56 people (32 men and 24 women) who had completed PhDs in Education in New Zealand. An interview from a previous project (Middleton and May, 1997) was also included, making a total of 57. Of those interviewed for this project, eleven had done their PhDs at the University of Auckland, and another eleven at Waikato. I interviewed nine who had graduated from Massey, ten from Otago, nine from Victoria and seven from Canterbury.

How do those who have graduated with PhDs in Education account for the extraordinary commitment that is necessary to complete a doctoral thesis? How do they explain and describe the desire to know, or search for truth that drives such inquiries? How and why did they take on doctoral studies? And how did they describe their experiences of – and perspectives on – the research, supervision and writing processes?

Writing of the of the passion for knowledge that had driven him through the "advances and detours" of his own scholarly life, Foucault explained that what motivated him

> ... was curiosity – the only kind of curiosity, in any case, that is worth acting upon
> with a degree of obstinacy: not the curiosity that seeks to assimilate what it is

proper for one to know, but that which enables one to get free of oneself. After all, what would be the value of the passion for knowledge if it resulted only in a certain amount of knowledgableness and not, in one way or another and to the extent possible, in the knower straying afield of himself? (Foucault, 1985, p. 8).

As Bateson has noted, the personal narratives told by adult educational researchers offer "stories of the evolution of curiosity and attention" (1997, p. i). It is, she argues, "crucial to the field of Education to understand how curiosity can continue to develop in adulthood" (p. I). She offers the following insight: "research is one of the activities through which we continue the processes of learning and exploration so crucial in childhood, transformed to offer new knowledge to the society rather than knowledge new only to the individual" (Bateson, 1997, p. i).

A life-history format for the interviews enabled the graduates to tell their own stories of the "evolution of curiosity and attention." Each interviewee filled in a brief biographical form prior to interview. This included their fathers' and mothers' (or care-givers') levels of education and occupation. In addition, interviewees provided details of the schools they had attended as pupils; the age at which they had left school; their occupations upon leaving school; and details of their tertiary education. They identified the thesis title; their years of PhD enrolment and graduation; and filled in an outline of their subsequent career – many provided me with a full printed *curriculum vitae*. The overall purpose and scope of the project had been explained in the covering letter that accompanied the formal invitation to participate. I began each interview with a statement like the following example from one of the transcripts:

> In a disciplinary sense this project sits between the sociology of knowledge and oral history. It's part of a general interest in Education as a field of academic study and how it sits in the universities ... I'm interested firstly in epistemological questions – what kinds of research questions, what kinds of theories and traditions informed your research? Secondly there are the more experiential dimensions of why you did a PhD, what it was like doing the research and doing the thesis and the conditions under which you did it. And then finally the pedagogical question of the supervisory relationship.

Interviews were loosely structured (chronologically) and ranged in length – from 40 to 90 minutes. Tapes were transcribed by professional typists. I listened to each tape and corrected any errors in the transcript before returning it to the interviewee for comment. Further changes were made if requested and a final corrected copy sent to each interviewee as a personal record. After viewing the transcripts, many agreed to allow use of their real names in the sections on thesis topics and methods (Chapter Three). Apart from that chapter, and the brief excerpts quoted in this one (above), elsewhere pseudonyms have been used for all quotations from the interviews.

My framing of the interviews, and analysis of the data rested on the assumption that a thesis project involves more than individual creativity; that it does not originate solely in academic books or in disembodied ideas, but is rooted in all dimensions of a student's experience. As Patricia Williams has argued, in qualitative research, the personal is not the same as the private – "the personal is often merely the highly particular" (1991, p. 93). Or, as another researcher expressed it, an individual's "scholarly history must be, in its unique way, part of a history of the profession itself" (Neilson, 1998, p. 7). The PhD

theses on library shelves bear traces of the settings in which their authors lived and worked – biographical, familial, institutional, cultural, historical, political and geographical. What it is possible for individual researchers to ask, the methods with which it is possible for them to inquire, and the templates for what counts as "academic" vary over time, between and within institutions. My approach to the interview transcripts is to treat them as more than personal stories and my mode of analysis is not that of case studies of individuals. Instead, I have "read across" multiple texts – hundreds of pages of interview transcripts alongside historical and bibliographic records – an approach (as later chapters will explore) known as "discourse analysis" (Foucault, 1980b; Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998). I entered the edited transcripts into a NUD*IST computer data-base[2] which I created in a form that enabled multiple readings "across" transcripts. I read them, for example, historically (according to the years in which the thesis was produced). I read them epistemologically (by thesis topic or sub-discipline). And I read them according to the questions I had asked, and the themes of each of the following chapters.

As the researcher of this project, and the author of this monograph, I am not merely a detached observer, but a part of what I am studying (Middleton, 1993). I hold a New Zealand Education PhD; I have worked with many of those interviewed; we share membership of professional organisations. Stories told in interviews are affected by interviewees" degrees of trust in the interviewer; their willingness or ability to delve into what can at times be emotionally fraught (or blocked) memories. Stories are influenced by how the interviewee, and also the interviewer, is feeling at the time of the interview – stressed, pressed for time, preoccupied, relaxed, etc. What interviewees tell interviewers also depends on their interpretations of the questions asked; their readings of the scholarly fields; and the institutional or professional conventions that shape such research projects.

Similarly, my analysis of the data is biographically and socially "situated." It is influenced by the texts available to me at my time and place, the texts that attract me, the texts I reject (Britzman, 1998). It is shaped within the constraints and possibilities afforded by the conceptual resources of the fields of study that inform my theoretical and methodological orientation (Foucault, 1980a). It is influenced by the form of the electronic NUD*IST software program that I have used to code the transcripts into a data-base (Haraway, 1995; Poster, 1995). It is constructed in terms of the ethical and other conventions to which my professional and institutional allegiances commit me. And it is influenced by inter-personal considerations – including the fact that I am researching and writing about the very networks of collegial relationships that sustain my own work. It also surfaces from the emotional underworld and sense of relevance suggested by my own psyche (Britzman, 1998; Butler, 1993; Ellsworth, 1998). Like those I have interviewed, as a researcher and colleague I, too, am "subject-ed" to Education.

How and when do people become attracted to the scholarly or researching life? When does the passion for knowledge begin? Chapter Two introduces the interviewees as children and follows their stories of the evolution of their curiosity up until the time of their enrolment as doctoral candidates. Chapter Three explores "how curiosity can continue to develop in adulthood" by studying the thesis projects – their questions and topics; the theories and disciplines on which they drew; and the methods and techniques employed. Chapter Four explores the pedagogy of supervision and the support systems students had available to them on campus. In Chapter Five, the candidates discuss their management of time and space – in their homes and families, in their work-places, and

in the "secret places" in which some of them thought and wrote. Chapter Six takes the students through the examination process, explores the significance of the doctorate in their lives, and traces some trajectories for future inquiry.

FOOTNOTES

1. I have used a capital 'E' for Education to refer to Education as a discipline, or field of study, and a lower case 'e' to refer to the *process* of education.

2. Non Numerical Unstructured Data – Indexing, Searching and Theorising. NUD*IST is produced by QSR International Pty Ltd, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

CHAPTER 2

CANDIDATES AND QUESTIONS

How do Education academics describe the beginnings of the desire to do research? How do we develop the tenacity and the work habits that enable us to see projects through to completion? How do we explain our fascination with certain topics or problems – the processes by which "we come to attach ourselves to as well as to ignore particular ideas, theories and people" in educational theory and research? (Britzman, 1998, p. 16). As Britzman has expressed it (1998, p. 5), "how does education live in people and how do people live in education?" We need, she argues, to explore "matters of love and hate in learning" (p. 5). These, she says, are the key to unravelling "what attaches the psychical to the social and the social to the psychical" (p. 5).

The research questions posed by adults may not emerge only from problems posed in academic texts, or the fads and fashions of academic disciplines. They may also spring from seeds sown in childhood, and be rooted deep in the multi-layered strata of biographical experience. Maxine Greene writes that: "rationality itself is grounded in something pre-rational, prereflective – perhaps in a primordial perceived landscape" (1995, p. 52). With respect to the theories espoused by educators, she observes that –

> On the original landscape where an individual is grounded, where her or his life began, there is always a sense of consciousness being opened to the common. When we are in the midst of things, we experience objects and other people's actions corporeally and concretely. And, despite the distancing and symbolising that come later, the narratives we shape out of the materials of our lived lives must somehow take into account our original landscapes if we are to be truly present to ourselves and to partake in an authentic relationship with the young. (Greene, 1995, p. 75)

Conceptualising my 57 interviewees as what Greene called "situated beings", this chapter will sketch the emergence of some of their key research questions and related theoretical/political concerns as they described living them from childhood up until the time they enrolled for their doctorates.

GROWING UP

As adults, we speak our childhoods through the conceptual apparatus of our adult knowledge. Terms like race (or culture or ethnicity), class and gender often occurred spontaneously during the interviews to categorise aspects of childhood and later experience. In everyday life, such categories are used in multiple settings – by state bureaucracies, by social scientists, and in everyday commonsense speech. As Hacking (1991, p. 194) has expressed it, "The bureaucracy of statistics imposes not just by creating administrative rulings but by determining classifications within which people must think of themselves and of the actions open to them." Our childhood experiences of social class, ethnic, gendered and religious affiliation can underlie, and resonate with – in multiple and complicated ways – the political, and academic theories that attract and repel us as adult educational researchers.

The majority described families of origin that – allowing for the changing status of occupations over the 50 years studied – would be (or would have been at the time) classified as working-class or lower middle-class. Many spontaneously described their families as "working-class" or "lower middle-class".[1] Simon, a post-war baby-boom child, told of his youthful passion for economics at school and related this enthusiasm to his family's class location –

> I loved economics. I thought here was a vehicle with which one might change the world a bit. I saw that economics was a tool for shaping policy. My family was a working-class family and a Labour Party family. I remain a member of the Labour Party to this day – not without some misgivings along the way! So I had an initial sort of socialist economic perspective on life. I enjoyed it at school. I had an excellent teacher, though I didn't admit to that for a long time because I came to see the school I went to as a bastion of middle class values. I had a difficult time there in some respects, but it changed the way I saw things.

Simon was one of five interviewees who spoke of the importance of a Catholic upbringing in the formation of their "quest for a better state of things for those we teach and for the world we all share" (Greene, 1995, p. 1). Another example of this is Perry, whose parents had attained a more middle-class level of income and status. He too had taken his family's core values through into his teaching and later research and spoke about –

> The social justice thing – I was brought up a Catholic and that is a very powerful thing. I have thrown away a lot of it now, but that side of it I think has definitely coloured so much of my work ... I have always had a kind of concern. Being schooled in Catholic schools, I think you do get a sense of being taught that everyone should be on the same level. There is an egalitarianism – that's the rhetoric, anyway!

Gordon described a similar philosophical legacy from his childhood dynamics of class, Christianity and politics. His background, however, was not Catholic, or working-class –

> Both my parents were in business and were successful in a very poor area of the city – very working-class. I came from a fairly privileged background. I got to see the sacrifices that they had made for other people and how they did a lot for their community and were respected for that. They were very political people, Labour Party, very political ... Very passionate, very caring. They'd do anything for you, and then, at the end of the day, they might begin to think about themselves. They would always put other people first. It is really a Christian way of living, without their being devout Christian.

One of the younger interviewees – one of the few whose parents had degrees and professional occupations – traced his enthusiasm for liberation politics to his Catholic family –

> My parents were interested in social issues. They were quite active in church politics ...They were involved with those people pushing social issues in the church when

there was a lot of radical stuff going on in the Catholic Church before the Vatican swung around the other way. So I suppose that would have been an influence. And my parents had been involved in early anti-tour stuff and anti-apartheid stuff; were CORSO supporters [an overseas aid organisation] and stuff like that for a long time and so there was a bit of a feeling.

Although he had won a scholarship to a Catholic secondary school, his parents had "given it back to the school."

Themes of what one interviewee called "service to the community" came through in many of the interviews and, for some, strongly influenced their later decisions to go teaching. Four of the interviewees had dreamed as youngsters of a religious life. For example, Ralph, one of the older interviewees, explained that –

I always had a philosophical bent of mind right from the beginning and was very interested in religion and theology and Christian religion. I formed the opinion during my secondary years that I would like to be a missionary. My father, who was a man with his feet on the ground said, 'That's all very well, you may well do that, but you should get a solid qualification first in something in case it doesn't work out – in something which would be useful.' He suggested I ought to get a qualification in teaching.

Barry, whose father was a minister in a protestant church, stated that "Right from a very early age, certainly about aged eight, I was very committed to following a theological path". Similarly, Lionel, a Catholic, explained that he –

Felt that I had a vocation. I felt I did. My sister was in an order ... I thought, well you know she's done it, I might as well do it too. I did want to go but I didn't want to go unqualified 'cause I had this nagging thing in the back of my mind that what happens if you don't succeed? And I knew I'd always be a teacher.

One of the Catholic women, Mary, "seemed to be destined to be a teacher from the time I was about 12, when I actually wanted to be a nun ... I wanted to go to the novitiate that young untrained novice nuns went to. I wanted to do that rather than go to the local secondary school, but my parents didn't want me to."

Two of the younger men explained that they were influenced to go teaching by their church work in the sense that –

Growing up in a religious environment you tend to get into youth groups and stuff like that. I went to Boys' Brigade and all those sorts of things so you got a sense of working with other people and I went to leadership courses and things like that so I guess my religious background almost pushed me ...

In contrast, Rachel grew up in a strict protestant home in which religious austerity was combined with a strong working-class anti-intellectualism. Her strategy was intellectual rebellion –

My parents never read books, we didn't. Reading was a real treat and weren't really supposed to read at home. My parents were fairly religious. You were

supposed to be doing something around the place to help and reading is sitting on your bum doing nothing. So I used to lock myself in a wee upstairs room and read. I loved reading and I think perhaps that's why I loved English. So I did English and it was such a breeze.

Parental valuing of education in working-class families varied and sometimes reverberated down the generations. Anthony described a grandfather who had not attended a secondary school. He recalled –

Very clear memories of a sense of academic frustration ... So in some ways there was always the sense of growing up in an environment where education was quite highly valued. There were always discussions at meal times on politics and my grandfather was an early member of the Labour Party so there was that sort of background. He knew some of the early suffragettes. He was born in 1888 and he grew up as a young child in that environment. I think I was always challenged by him intellectually. He often said that he was living his life through his grand-children.

Jody, a passionate reader, spoke of her distress when her financially-stretched family moved away from a city library and, because they had moved to an outlying borough, would have had to pay to use the city library. Suddenly there was "limited access to books and I remember just constantly re-reading the same books over and over and over and over again."

In some families, cultural politics – including racism – in their communities wove into the children's psyches. One of the Maori interviewees described how –

We were an extremely politicised family. Our mother was very political ... The local politics and the racism, I guess, was very in those days against solo parents, which wasn't a great situation for our family to be in. So there were all of those kinds of things which I think were very influential in how we thought. You only have to look at my brothers and sisters and what they're doing and how they interact politically with the world – you can see that there is a fairly common thread there. So we were politicised.

Race-relations issues in childhood were also described by some Pakeha as foundations of their adult intellectual and political concerns. Kate's family relocated when she was a child –

It was only a township of about 200 people, but it had a really high proportion of Maori people living there. So that was my first experience of living in the community and having a lot to do with friends with close Maori connections. Socialising and special events of the community were shaped by having a hangi for celebrations and things like that. I loved that and I think that was really formative in terms of shaping my sense of what it meant to live here in New Zealand.

All four of the Maori and Pacific Islands doctoral graduates interviewed described their academic success as generated by and on behalf of their communities rather than as primarily an individual achievement, as in the following example –

During my class 5, which is equivalent of standard 3, there was a competition in our island. I somehow won the competition. It was a mathematics competition and in terms of my own performance in mathematics I was encouraged by the response of the family and the response of my school in the island right at a very young age – maybe I knew something in mathematics … At the end of the sixth form I knew that I could pass New Zealand University Entrance exam and I decided that I would want to pursue study at university level to gain a qualification for myself and my family – to be the very first one in the family to gain a degree.

Similarly, a Maori boarding school graduate described how –

I was strongly motivated. We were filled up with the ideology that rested on the Maori boarding schools – you had a role to play and you were a role model. So extremely conscientious and I think reflective of that kind of support from the school. But I think beyond that, in terms of where we've come from as a family and the context in which we lived … the history of that is that it's one of the first areas in which Maori lost land. It's one of the first places where the loss of language was felt. It was one of the most red-necked places in the 1960s in New Zealand. Going through that experience in schools was very formative … Basically the racism and so on had a very formative impact on wanting to do well, to show people that we were capable, we could achieve.

James, who identified as both Maori and Pakeha, had been brought up in a largely Pakeha community and said that –

I can still remember the Maori kids at our school. I can still remember the way one boy was pursued. If I close my eyes I can get back into the classroom with the teacher. I can still name the teacher and I can still name the incident of this boy being hounded out of the school, basically hounded out of the school. It was the fourth form – most Maori kids never got past the fourth form; they were just hounded out of the place.

A feeling that "something was wrong" or a sense of injustice at school was sometimes described in personal terms as "not fitting in," as in the case of Judith's account of "being a scholarship child at a private school." She explained that "people were very nice to you but they'd say things like, "Well we are going out on the boat but we didn't invite you 'cause we knew you couldn't afford it.""[2] As David Harvey (1996, p. 103) has expressed it, "The margin is not simply a metaphor, but an imaginary that has real underpinnings. From that location a powerful condemnation of supposedly emancipatory discourses shaped at the centre can be launched." Or, in Edward Said's words –

The pattern that sets the course for the intellectual as outsider is best exemplified by the condition of exile, the state of never being fully adjusted, always feeling outside the chatty, familiar world inhabited by natives, so to speak, tending to avoid and even dislike the trappings of accommodation and national wellbeing (Said, 1993b, p. 39).

While for some, like Judith, experiences of marginalisation were seen as having predisposed them towards leftist politics and theories, others responded to such experiences in different ways, for example:

> I went to a little private boarding school. If you don't get caught up in the status symbolisation system then you don't get caught up in anything, so status has always been a factor. And I think that is the university's business, to peddle status and, if you want to be a peddler, you'd better have some!

The delights of "problem solving" were discovered early by some. Felicity described the extraordinary efforts of her grandfather, an amateur scientist whose findings were later used by a government agency –

> My grandfather was a very much a self made man, a tough kiwi bloke – but more than that. He was a great fisherman and I used to go out with him as a child. Every fish he caught, he kept scales and labelled them and dated them. He built up an amazing knowledge. So I had been part of that labelling, watching, understanding and explaining process around the fish. What I learned from him – not from school – is that you can make your own knowledge about something that people are very ignorant about. And that was probably quite deep in my mind.

Kate "was keen to be a detective. I read a lot of detective stories. In fact I think that's why I've become a researcher – because it's as good as being a detective." And Janet, a future mathematics educator, described the pleasures of solving mathematical problems at high school and applying her skills in other school subjects: "I was always interested in maths I think and I always liked doing it as part of geography. I was always fiddling around with the figures – I would measure beaches and draw graphs. I always liked that."

Whatever the intellectual directions they were later to take – in terms of disciplinary foundations, theoretical orientations, political ideals, research topics, questions and methodologies – interviewees described their childhood and adolescent years as foundational to these. While a few had left school without the formal qualifications needed, or the desire, to enter tertiary study as school leavers, many by this stage had developed a passion for learning, or reading, or political, religious or social concerns.

FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

At some stage in their adult lives 31 of the 57 had taught in primary schools, and 14 had taught in secondary schools. Only 12 had never trained for, or worked in, school teaching. Upon leaving school, 12 had gone directly into the work force, 24 went straight to university and 21 of the interviewees went straight into a primary teacher education course. Many of those who entered teaching in the years when student teachers were paid, described the student teachers' salary as one, and in some cases *the*, major incentive for embarking on teacher training. For example, Albert chose college "because they paid you and it wasn't in my life space to contemplate going to university full time. My parents were not well off and it was a matter of survival. In those days teachers' college students were paid, and quite nicely!" Similarly, Donald (one of the older interviewees) surmised–

> Why did I go teaching? I didn't really feel any great call for teaching, but some friends had gone to Wellington Teachers' College and said it was really good. And in those days you got paid to go to Teachers' College. That was an incentive and I couldn't afford to go to University. My parents weren't wealthy. I couldn't afford to go to University but I understood that you could get pretty generous leave to go to university from teachers' college while you were there, and all of that proved to be so.

Some of those who had gone straight from school to university had bonded themselves to teaching and been paid under the government studentship scheme while doing full-time university degree programmes. Others had signed up for studentships as graduates in order to do a one-year Diploma in Teaching (secondary or primary) course at a teachers' college. Maurice, who described himself as "working-class", explained that "in fact the studentship was seen by me at the time as a way of going to university" rather than as symptomatic of a desire to teach. Another studentship-holder, Tina, reviewed the multiple issues that had informed her decision –

> In my seventh form year I found out that you could get a studentship to go to university and it could last for five years – two degrees, or five years, whichever was the lesser. I thought that was a really useful way of going to university ... That was in '79. So I applied for a studentship. I had no intention of going teaching because it was a $1500 bond and I thought, well, after five years I'd pay back the $1500 bond and I'd have some money when I was at university...

Most of the women – particularly those who had left school prior to the mid-1980s – described teaching as the best of a limited range of career alternatives for girls (Middleton, 1993). Amy's description was typical: "I had a provincial New Zealand upbringing in small towns. I'm in the immediate post- war age group and there were still those options of being a teacher, a dental nurse, a secretary, a nurse – about it really. So which of this fairly small range of possibilities would I go into?" There were, however, a few school leavers who were enthusiastic at the idea of going teaching. Christine told of how "I had always known I was going to teach since the age of five when I lined up my teddy bears and dolls and told them what to do. I come from a teaching background as well." Felicity had a passion for going primary school teaching, and a related commitment to questions of equality, from an early age –

> I always knew I wanted to be a teacher. I went to university to be a teacher. I hadn't gone on a studentship through some ill-judged feeling that other people might need that money more than I did. I can't believe I did it that way! I was always going to be a teacher and then I worried that I might not be selected. So at the end of my first year I applied for college so that I would be in on a programme when I got out of university.

The status of primary teaching as an occupation, though, was not always so elevated in the perceptions of the interviewees, their peers or those who influenced their career choices. Going to teachers' college was regarded by many as a lower status choice that did not demand too much in the way of intelligence. For some, such as Emma, whose working-class family did not have tertiary education as an expectation, this supposed

"easiness" was a source of encouragement. Furthermore, teaching built on her youthful experience of working, in a voluntary capacity, with children –

> I was a girl and we weren't an educated family, we do not have education within immediate family. It was the norm to get pregnant, have babies, to do shop work or whatever. I was one of the first to go to teachers' college and university – wow that surprised me! So it was a very different concept to go to college... My own childhood was based around being with other children, my mother ran a childcare centre, she praised me a lot in terms of how I worked with children as I was growing up. By the age of six I was helping to look after younger children so it's in the blood – it was in the family blood to look after other children. How I came to be in teaching, I guess was a case of having no other choice in the sense that that was what I knew and it was a huge enough goal to become a teacher. I didn't actually believe that I could be accepted for teachers' college. No other career options like economics or accountancy, which I enjoyed at school, appeared to be open to me because my teachers and others did not consider this direction was open to me due to being a girl and having a low maths ability.

Rachel, who also used the term "working-class" to describe her background, described how her decision to go to college "just happened really. I didn't feel like I could ever go to university because I didn't have the brains. It wasn't an option and everyone went either teaching or nursing. I feel sick with sick people and I think I applied for teaching when everyone was being accepted." Some working-class boys felt similarly, as Christopher explained –

> I had to work very hard and succeeded to be very average. I even heard my mum and dad say one day, 'Oh he'll never be quite as good as his brother' and it must have cut something to the core. Anyway going through secondary school I realised I wasn't bright enough to go to university. So I applied for teachers' college.

The lower status of primary teaching and teachers' colleges as compared with secondary teaching and universities meant that some of the more academically successful school leavers were discouraged from taking it up, as Gina (whose parents were both teachers) explained –

> At secondary school I performed well. I remember the principal and the senior mistress of the school desperately trying to talk me out of [primary] teaching. Not the sort of thing they thought I should be doing, I 'should be aspiring a little higher' were the kinds of words they were saying. Which, of course, made me all the more determined to do what I'd already decided to do. I was quite a determined teenager. I wasn't going to be told what to do by them and so, yes, I came to college.

The majority of those who had been teachers' college students had managed to do at least some university courses concurrently. Some described the teachers' college itself as exciting and as an important foundation of their later intellectual and research interests. For example, Donald described his college as –

... an amazing place. I went to Wellington Teachers' College in 1954-56 and it was simply an amazing place... It was really a wake-up kind of education. It was probably the greatest experience I ever had in my life ... This was when many of the young poets, novelists and writers were all centring themselves around Wellington.

Christopher, who had struggled through secondary school, contrasted his teachers' college and his university course experiences –

I did [do university] but certainly it took me a lot of trouble. I think I scraped through [English 1] with a "C' but the college courses were very good. I became interested in those sort of things only at college. People have said about college that it was just playing around ... but I developed a love of literature in college.

Others were less inspired by college, but fell in love with some of the ideas encountered at university. For example, Ralph – who was later to take up developmental psychology – described browsing in the library in the post-war years –

I used to browse among the psychology books, found them very exciting – especially people like Freud who opened up vistas of interesting things. I got more interested in social sciences. In my second year at teachers' college, because we were allowed to take two units, I took education and psychology or philosophy.

And Jack – who was eventually to take up historical and sociological research – had loved his education courses in the 1950s –

I did Education One and I loved it and I passed it, which was a tremendous thing for me because it showed me – I passed it well. It was the New Zealand Comparative Course with Professor Bailey. I loved his lectures, they were extremely clear, he was a very good lecturer. He was fascinated by comparative studies, he was interested in teaching.

But it was working as a teacher, as much – and in many cases more – than their undergraduate studies that had inspired many towards becoming Education academics and/or professional researchers. Experiences of marginality as school pupils, combined with seeing similar injustices played out before their eyes in the schools in which they taught, were described by some as formative of their eventual research questions in their PhDs. Several were involved in community groups and social activism that allied with social issues in their schools. For example, one of the interviewees was gay and a high school teacher during the late 1980s and early 1990s: "I'd always known it and things were not easy. And here we had the law reform, here we had human rights legislation – it was just prior to that going up, why is it that we were not being inundated by these gay and lesbian students who we were teaching?" Similarly, Anna – middle-class and Pakeha – described teaching in the school at a social welfare home for girls –

That's when I suddenly saw things I'd never seen before, particularly in terms of racism. Most of the girls in there were Maori, most of them were very bright and

very attractive and lovely girls. I just adored them to bits, but they had had terrible lives. A lot of them were abused, a lot of them just had very, very difficult lives. I saw in a flash that this is the situation – that it's not that these kids are stupid, dumb, *etc.*, but they had had appalling lives. Also I heard a lot about police harassment from the girls. They told me what had happened to them and I was appalled. I learnt a hell of a lot about New Zealand in terms of race – things that had been hidden from me really. I think I'd had a fairly complacent attitude and did at some level of my being believe that if you didn't do well at school or got into trouble it was somehow your own fault – the usual commonsense kind of ideologies.

Anna was subsequently attracted to neo-Marxist sociological analyses of gender and class.

A similar inter-weaving of teaching experience, politics, and research interests was described by Joy. She was attracted to liberal feminism when her experience as a female senior teacher in the 1980s raised questions of equal opportunities for women in educational leadership –

> I came across a couple of men who made some remarks to me that I had found particularly offensive about the fact that, because I was going on a middle management course, that I was being blatantly ambitious. And then another principal spoke about the fact that if you wanted to be in a senior position then you had to put your job first and your family second. I thought that was just blatantly discriminating against women.

Staffroom politics had also influenced Harold. Primary trained, he had left school without University Entrance in the post-war baby-boom years when entry qualifications to the colleges had been lowered to meet the teacher shortage (Middleton and May, 1997). The status hierarchies in a rural District High School had – rather than "putting him down" – motivated him to complete a degree:

> I got a relieving job at a combined high school and intermediate. I was teaching in the Intermediate section ... Every morning they'd have assembly. The secondary teachers would all wear their gowns in assembly – the intermediate teachers didn't have gowns because they weren't graduates. I also found that at lunchtime and things like that the secondary teachers all sat at one end of the staffroom and the intermediate primary teachers all sat at the other end. And I thought, 'Well, bugger you, I can get one of those gowns if I want to!' So I guess, in that respect I really did my bachelors to kind of prove to myself that I could as well. And I finished up doing my doctorate!

Several spoke about missing the stimulation of academic study once they became full-time teachers. Dee was one of the younger interviewees, and one of those who had graduated with the BEd degree. She had started teaching in the early 1980s, loved her job, and –

> ... had heaps to learn about teaching but I wasn't getting the academic stimulation. I was the only one reading the research articles in the staffroom – me and the

principal. We were reading SET[3] and we were having conversations but my colleagues weren't. They were talking about the beach trip coming up and the lunch boxes.

STUDYING EDUCATION

The relative status of different academic subjects has become a popular topic in the sociology of knowledge since the early 1970s (*e.g.* Bernstein, 1971; Bourdieu, 1971a, 1971b). Such analyses point to the "special symbolic economies within disciplines, departments and universities at large that produce and consume research as sign-values to sustain internal command economies of disciplinary repute, professional prestige, and administrative allocation" (Luke, 1997, p. 54). Chandra Mohanty asks –

> What is at stake in the way intellectual, institutional, pedagogical, and relational territories are drawn, legitimated, regulated and consolidated in educational institutions and systems? What dangers inhere in these cartographies? To whom? What knowledges and identities are legitimated/delegitimized as a result over the struggles over territorial boundaries and borders? (Mohanty, 1997, p. x).

Perhaps reflecting the status of school teaching as an occupation, "Education" has been described as low status in relation to other academic subjects and professions (Fisher *et al.*, 1999; Green and Lee, 1999). One of the older interviewees, who had attained senior administrative positions in his university, commented with respect to the "territory" of Education that it "was thought it was an easy subject. One of my aims when I became Head of Department was to change that. I think I can fairly say I did that successfully and put a much more research spin on the whole approach to Education." Another senior academic commented with respect to his undergraduate days in the 1960s that: " I was aware even then – I am much more sharply aware now – that education has never been valued as a discipline. It is perceived as a soft option that doesn't contribute epistemologically or psychologically in any substantive way." However, while aware of the low regard with which some outsiders held the subject, few, if any, of the interviewees described their personal encounters with Education in such terms.

In fact, a number had abandoned other disciplines to take up Education as a major, a double major, or at Masters' level. One history student explained how –

> I went back to the Education Department and saw people who were really committed to what they were doing. They were very student centred, but they were also people whom I respected academically because they were vigorous scholars, but they were also skilled caring teachers. They were what I would have wanted in every scholar, but which wasn't always visible.

Maurice, a working-class student, described why he had abandoned the department in which he had majored in favour of the Education Department for his Masters degree –

> The politics of knowledge became really important to me at that point. In particular, I came to see the Philosophy Department as this privileged little enclave, a kind of pale imitation of the progression of the public school system in Britain where people talked in funny voices about questions which bore no relationship to their own

context. That propelled me towards Education, which was perceived in the university as being at the bottom of the hierarchy of subjects, and Philosophy as at the top.

Maurice and several others were attracted by 1970s studies in the sociology of knowledge. Theories such as Marxism, and the various "critical theories" that increasingly underpinned many sociological studies, appealed particularly to some of those who had been student activists. One of those interviewed was involved with Nga Tamatoa (a radical, Maori student group) in the 1970s and found that "the Sociology of Education taught me a way to analyse what was happening to me as a teacher, but also what was happening to Maori structurally in the system." Like those of other Maori interviewed, later research projects would seek "theoretical spaces, pedagogical spaces, structural spaces" (Smith, 1997, p. 203) for Maori in education. Similarly, a Pakeha social activist said that his anti-racist work around the 1981 Springbok rugby tour protests had later connected with his studies in Education –

> It was 1981 that actually brought home to me with a lot of clarity that political education was something that happened. There was a lot of political education went on in 1981 that had nothing to do with the university. It was no formal learning context, but people were learning heaps and heaps.

However, critical sociology affected others very differently. For example, Janet described struggling through a difficult "working-class" childhood, enduring domestic violence in her adult life, and her determination to succeed academically against great odds. In Education lectures –

> I heard why working-class people fail. Then I thought, 'You bastards! You're sitting there saying how people fail and you're not empowering anybody.' I looked at some post-modern stuff and I thought, 'Fuck this! It doesn't actually tell me how to change any policies!' All I'm interested in is looking at how you change policies and what policies are going to work for people who need empowering. Theories that say that this rationality's as good as that rationality did fuck all for me. It just made me so angry after what I've been through. I thought, 'All you intellectuals sitting there – you don't know a shit!' I got really carried away.

To her, liberal individualist positions felt more empowering. Angry with "Education" she sought supervision for her thesis in another humanities department. One or two others also felt alienated from "leftist" social theories. A young honours student felt intimidated by older postgraduate students: "They were so intelligent and critical and Marxist – neo-Marxist and radical and wonderful and I kind of revered them. I just felt inadequate. I thought I might just go over to psychology."

Contrary to popular stereotypes (Coddington, 2001), not all Education academics espouse "leftist" positions. As an academic subject, Education is made up of multiple and competing theoretical positions (or discourses), "in which groups of people align themselves with certain practices and ideas that have value (symbolic capital) in that field" (Johannessen, 1998, p. 303). A former junior lecturer, and National Party member, described feeling uncomfortable in a university department because of his "blue" political affiliations –

> Both at college and at university, I stood out because I stood for what I believed in ... Both environments were red, tinged with red. They were obviously supportive in those days of the [Labour] opposition ... But for instance one [leftist] person I have great respect for and she me because we got on and are able to be honest with each other and have a decent discussion – an intelligent, intellectual, wonderful person. But with lesser people, who just sniped, it made the environment a bit unpleasant.

For some, Education was attractive because of the ways it connected academic and more personal interests and experiences. Owen described shifting into an Education Department for his Masters because: "People wrote about it in an interesting way and the fact that you were allowed to state quite controversial opinions in terms of your own schooling was exciting. It was OK to reflect on your own schooling and say, "Well look! I went through this kind of school, this is what it was like for me." A developmental psychologist had enjoyed finding links between educational research, his own family life, and his personal values –

> That blend of human development with a strong family and early childhood focus is what I spent most of my early years doing. So to me there is continuity between what I started in terms of seeing service to other people as being the goal and finding an opportunity for doing that with the education background.

Another developmental psychologist alluded to his childhood in connection with his first forays into graduate research –

> What I was interested in was what motivates people to do things, because I was very interested in the whole theory of volition ... I suppose you could say this reflects my background a little. That, being a person very interested in religion, the social conscience and all the rest of it – the nature of will and will power – seemed an obvious thing.

Another student's encounters with intellectual debates in her university coursework had elicited deep-seated psychological conflicts, "My mother thought philosophy was evil because it challenges faith." I remember going through this thing thinking, "God – well, if there is a God, surely he'd want us to use our reason if we had any? It wouldn't all be faith! So I had to work through all those sorts of things."

These examples illustrate the multi-dimensional foundations on which our educational theories and questions rest. Academic disciplines (or subjects) such as Education are, then, more than "flat maps" of concepts. This multi-layered "working" of academic or professional "knowledges" is known in post-structuralist terminology as "discourse" (Foucault, 1980b, 1982). As "discourses", the various theories and traditions that together make up the academic subject Education Studies "express human thought, fantasy and desire. They are also institutionally based, materially constrained, experimentally grounded manifestations of social and power relations" (Harvey, 1996, p. 80). The stories told here by adults, reflect back on their "thoughts, fantasies and desires" as undergraduate and graduate students in Education.

Rather than considering these as mere personal tales or private matters, we can explore them as particular examples of the "evolution of curiosity and attention" (Williams, 1991;

Bateson, 1997). These narratives can help us to "understand and make problematic the classificatory criteria through which individuals are to be disciplined and self-regulated" as doctoral students; and as educational researchers (Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998b, p. 13). How and why did those interviewed come to take on their doctoral projects? How did they describe their compulsion to pursue a major piece of research and writing, even at great personal cost?

BECOMING A DOCTORAL STUDENT

Doctoral degrees were described by many as an apprenticeship, or a rite of passage. To be "hailed" or "interpellated" (Althusser, 1971) as "Doctor" is to enter the highest symbolic order of academe. As one recent PhD graduate expressed it:

> I always viewed a PhD as an apprenticeship, something that you had to serve. If you're very lucky you might enter the club and that's why I guess that total feeling of when I'd passed my orals of entering the club and of my hand being shaken. They said, 'Congratulations, Dr! You're one of only four or five in New Zealand in your area.' It was amazing.

The title "Dr" wins admission to a select group. "To have a name", writes Judith Butler (1993, p. 72), "is to be positioned within the Symbolic, the idealised domain of kinship, a set of relationships structured through sanction". The name, she argues, "works as a politically invested and investing performative. To be named is thus to be inculcated into that law and to be formed bodily, in accordance with that law" (Butler, 1993, p. 72). Entering the long apprenticeship or initiation that is doctoral candidacy can be seen in this way – as an experience of recognition; of recognising one's own reflection in the mirror of others' proclamations that one is indeed doctoral material and coming to describe oneself to oneself as such. How, then, did these New Zealand doctoral graduates come to so identify? By what processes did they come to see themselves as doctoral material?

Coming to identify as doctoral material was described by many in terms of the language in which authorities addressed them. Elizabeth Ellsworth (1998, p. 6) writes that "mode of address ... is one of those intimate relations of social and cultural power that shapes and misshapes who teachers think students are, and who students come to think themselves to be." Only a few of those interviewed described proceeding from graduate to doctoral studies as almost automatic. Simon was mentored from an early stage of his degree course work:

> Sitting down and making a decision to do [a PhD] was as though I was socialised into doing it. And yes I think my supervisor had a major impact on that decision insofar as he'd just come back from doing his doctorate [overseas]. I was one of the first Masters students that he supervised as a beginning lecturer and in that sense he functioned clearly as a mentor.

The most commonly described experience of being "hailed as doctoral material" was that of success at Honours or Masters level. For example, on completion of her bachelor's degree, Gina got a letter from the Dean at the School of Education after I graduated

saying, "I hope you're considering post-graduate study." And that was my first consideration of it. Similarly, Dulcie explained –

> It sounds incredibly passive and at the whims of others but personal encouragement had an awful lot to do with it, making you think even of the possibility of going on, that you had the potential to do something like a PhD. I got a postgraduate scholarship from the university and this took the issue of finances out of the equation. They paid my fees and also gave me living allowances and so it seemed like a good idea at the time.

Mentoring – coupled with financial support – was described as crucial by nearly all of my informants.

As with many of the others interviewed, Rachel's family and school background had not provided her with the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1971a, 1971b) that made academic study feel "natural" to her –

> Honestly, PhD! I didn't think of that at all even when I'd finished my Masters. Except that after I got the results, one of the lecturers said to me, 'Did you know you can get a scholarship to do a PhD?' He said, 'A scholarship for a PhD is $12000, not $5000 or $6000. I thought, 'Shit!' Then he said, 'It's not taxed!' I just thought, ' WOW – that's fantastic!' To do what you wanted to do! I really liked it. But I don't think I ever really thought I'd finish a PhD 'cause I thought bright people did that.

For others, such friendly mentoring was less forthcoming. Fiona was also working-class, and studied in a department, and at a time (the early 1980s), in which nearly all the academic staff were male. She had experienced little encouragement to proceed from her undergraduate work –

> Not one of those people ever – and this is my bitch about women in education – no, working class people in education that is what it is. It is not women, it's working class people – although there was a gender thing there too at that stage. Not one of those men that I was getting A++ in their classes ever said to me, 'You must do a Masterate.' Not one – ever. So I thought, 'I'm not good enough,' because no one ever talked to me about that ...

Similarly, at the end of her honours year, "I had gone through first class honours with those guys in that department and not one of them had ever said, "You should be applying for UGC Scholarships." Her application for a doctoral scholarship had come about as a result of a chance meeting with a junior lecturer, who had taught her previously in one course in another department –

> She said, 'Come with me,' and she took me – it's like depending on the kindness of strangers, it is incredible really. She took me to the registry and got the form that was an application for the scholarship – no one had ever said to me, 'You should apply for a UGC.' It is incredible. Myra – she was a junior lecturer ...

A chance meeting had also influenced Amy –

> It was actually a friend's husband who was a Professor in a different subject at that time. We were just walking through the streets of our suburb and he said, 'You know, you're doing so well, your academic record is going really well, and what's your topic going to be for your PhD?' And did I know that I could do a doctorate and did I know that I could probably apply for a scholarship *etc., etc.*? This was an absolute bolt out of the blue, I hadn't got it in my sight, my mind, at all.

For some, experiencing the heady pleasure of success was, in and of itself, the main spur to carry on to do a doctorate. Lisa had entered university as a mature student –

> Well, because they kept offering me, would you like a scholarship? ... I was really successful. I was enjoying success frankly. I hadn't had any really. Not that I'd been bad at what I'd done [before university] but no one had said to me, 'Yeah you're great.' At university they said, 'You're wonderful,' you know, and it felt really good, really affirming. So I suppose it gave me something that I hadn't had.

Similarly, Emma (a late-1990s student) ranked success as a primary motivator for doing her doctorate. "I guess," she said, "I did it because I found I could succeed. I had not believed that I could succeed. I'm a person who likes challenges and it was just amazing to find that I could pass. You pass once and you want to pass again – you want to just keep going for those goals and so I did."

Many of the doctoral graduates used the metaphor of a journey or a pathway. The following comment by Maurice exemplified this image: "it was a long *rite de passage* I guess for me. I saw it in those terms as a sort of journey, personal journey, that had two sides, the academic side and the biographical side." As Janet said, "You keep following on." Lionel explained: "I like to finish things and it wasn't finished till I had a doctorate." And, for Harold, "Having finished my Masters, I was driven to do this thing. It was there. A little bit like Ed Hillary – it was Everest and by gosh I was going to knock it off." Audrey had felt that "there was no strong other direction to take ... A lot of it was just falling into – it wasn't a rut, but a pathway." And for Andrea, "It just seemed the next thing to do, just like going from school to university, going from MPhil to a PhD. It's just the next thing to do."

Several had felt daunted by the length of time it would take to do a Masters followed by a doctorate. For some, this pressure of time was exacerbated by the threat of financial indebtedness or by health or family concerns. Some had therefore bypassed the Masters thesis and entered a doctorate straight from honours. Felicity had already developed a passion for research at honours level and upgraded her Masters to a PhD thesis: "It was just that I wanted to do research ... That's really important because I would never have seen myself as a person who would do a PhD. So the only way I could do a PhD would have been to be doing a Masters that turned itself into a PhD" Similarly, Douglas's planned research was "too big" to fit into the confines of a Masters thesis:

> I didn't trust myself to just satisfy the requirements of a Masters thesis. I thought, 'If I start writing a thesis I'll end up wanting to write the definitive work on it and I won't finish it in a year.' I suppose I'd also been conscious, and talked to people, about the dangers of doing that and then ending up with a Masters degree for something that, with a bit more effort, I could have got a PhD for. I wasn't daunted

by the prospect of a big writing project. I felt I was capable enough of getting my head around a big thing, big enough for a PhD.

While, for many – particularly the younger students – the decision to "do research" or to "do a PhD" had preceded any full-time or tenurable academic employment, those who had done their doctorates in the period from the 1950s to the mid-1980s were often already holding university lectureships. In total, 21 of those interviewed (17 men and four women) had done their doctorates while holding full-time university teaching and research positions. Another 12 (nine men and three women) had held various limited term appointments (junior lectureships, teaching assistantships *etc.*) that were designed to offer doctoral candidates work experience, financial support, and (at least in theory) the time and space to complete their theses within the allocated time-frame. Ten of those interviewed (four men and six women) had done their theses while employed full-time in teachers' colleges or polytechnics; two of the candidates had held other full-time employment; and 11 (all women) had depended on scholarships and casual work to sustain them.

Those who had won tenurable, or tenured positions during the years of rapid expansion in universities and in teacher education during the 1970s and early 1980s sometimes expressed a pragmatic approach to their doctoral studies. James decided to do his "when I was appointed to the lectureship. It seemed pretty obvious that getting a doctorate was going to be important if I was going to have an academic career, so I saw that as something I needed to get onto as soon as possible." Similarly, another explained that for him –

> It was a sort of a – not exactly a meal ticket – but it puts the seal on your qualifications as an academic I suppose. I was always fairly instrumental about it because a lot of the more interesting research that I wanted to get on with wouldn't have been very suitable for this PhD topic anyway. And the next ten years after my PhD were really getting my head around all of the more interesting stuff, the theory and things that I was really interested in.

Teachers' college staff considering a doctorate often found encouragement and information difficult to access. Mark – a college lecturer with a passion for research – explained how, in his college in the 1970s, PhD study –

> ... was a darkness – we didn't know what it involved. I didn't know what a PhD involved. I knew it was a long slog that people went through. And I thought now what happens? Does someone give you an idea of, 'Here is a project that we are working on in a team, come on board and do your PhD with it?' Or was it just up to you to dream up a topic?

The change in government tertiary education policy in the 1990s meant that those colleges that began to offer their own degrees, and those that amalgamated with universities, needed more of their staff to hold higher degrees. As Harold explained, this meant that for at least some staff, the workplace climate became more encouraging –

> Once we became amalgamated I guess I had this idea in the back of my mind that to work in a tertiary institution you needed to be suitably qualified. And now that

we were no longer a teachers' college, but part of a university, it became more imperative that, as university staff, the former teachers' college staff should be better qualified. I saw too that, certainly if I wanted any promotion or to move through the system, that the teachers' college days were over and that we were in a new world which meant that you had to do research, you had to publish, and you had to have better qualifications.

A similarly pragmatic, career-oriented, approach was adopted by some of the younger interviewees, who had embarked on doctorates in the 1990s and were dependent on scholarships and casualised academic work in a contracting academic labour market. Kate and Emma were both in their 30s when they graduated with their PhDs. Both had decided, before they enrolled, that they wanted to become academics. Describing herself as "ambitious," Kate – a former secondary school teacher with young children at the time – explained that she had decided on a doctorate –

> Before I embarked on the Masters, because in fact I was scheming to see if I could get into a university position even with a good Masters degree. That was my first notion because I couldn't envisage the five or seven years. It was a seven-year process as it turned out for me for Masters and PhD, but I couldn't conceive of that. I think if I'd had to plan for that and have no income or no decent income for that length of time I probably wouldn't have embarked on it. But because it was considered incrementally, it became achievable. So even then I wanted to be a university teacher because I loved research, I loved teaching, and that was the forum in which I could do both.

Similarly, Emma had set her sights on an academic career in her late twenties –

> I had laid my life out to do a PhD before I started the Masters. I knew that there was no point in doing a Masters if I wasn't going to do a PhD; that there would be no salary difference and career opportunities wouldn't be any different for me in teaching if I did a Masters versus just a Bachelors degree; and that you only did a Masters if you wanted to go on in those days. And so, in doing a Masters, I knew then that I wanted to do – that I had to do – a PhD. There was almost no turning back. And I enjoyed research.

Her consuming desire to become an academic had meant resigning from a senior position in teaching, and to undergo a steep drop in income in exchange for a scholarship and casual work –

> I wasn't sure then as to where it would head. I was just focussed on learning to become a scholar, someone who had a critical mind and could articulate issues. At that time I actively sought out information about what academic life was like to see if I could be an academic – but I didn't believe that I *could* be an academic ... In those days I thought that an academic was a scholar, someone who produced, someone who was focused on research and putting out brilliant ideas – and also someone who provided a conscience for society, and who could safely speak up. I thought, 'Hey that would be a neat role to do! We need more people in my area to

do that!' I've since found it's not that easy, not as possible as the ideals that I held up. But in those days, I guess, I saw a very rosy side of being an academic.

The stories told in this chapter have charted some psychological, cultural, historical, intellectual, and institutional landscapes in which the "will to scholarship" begins. The following chapter will explore where their curiosity took these students – the theses they produced. What kinds of research did they engage in? What were their topics, methods, and theoretical influences? How did they come across, or develop these? With what disciplines, theories, and methodologies did these theses engage? Addressing this requires me first to look more generally at the complex, and changing, discursive field of the subject Education.

FOOTNOTES

1. Use of an instrument like the Elley and Irving scale was considered. However, this proved too complex because of the changing status over the years of occupations like "bank manager" or "railway worker."

   Of the 57 interviewed, only one came from an "academic" family (with a parent employed in a university). Sixteen described their father's occupation as a trade. Trades included a train driver, a roofing contractor, a boilermaker and a builder. Four fathers owned and operated small businesses such as shops. There were 12 with fathers in professional or managerial positions. These included one school principal, one doctor, two bank managers and a number of accountants. Many of the accountants, however, did not have any or much secondary education and may have been "book-keepers". There were six public servants, one of whom was a post-master, and most of whom were clerks. Two interviewees described their fathers as "railway workers". Only three had fathers who were teachers or in social services. Two described their fathers as unemployed and two described them as unskilled labourers. Six of the fathers were farmers.

   Three interviewees had been brought up by solo mothers. Mothers had usually – particularly in the case of older interviewees – been "housewives" at the time the interviewees were growing up. However, eight of the mothers had at some stage qualified and/or worked as teachers, four had been nurses, seven were in retail or sales, six had done office work and some shared the work on family farms.

2. The vast majority had attended state schools throughout their secondary school years. Two had attended single-sex public schools, 17 had been to co-educational high schools (seven of which were rural), eight had been to secondary school overseas, seven had attended Catholic high schools and four had attended New Zealand private (other than Catholic) secondary schools (one of these was a Maori boarding school). Some had attended more than one school.

3. *Studies in Education & Teaching* (SET) is a magazine produced by NZCER and sent out to schools. In SET educational researchers summarise their main findings for an audience of education practitioners.

CHAPTER 3

THESES: TOPICS AND METHODS

Academic conventions require writers to locate work in theoretical or disciplinary traditions – for example, doctoral theses situate research projects by reviewing the literature. This demands engagement with what Ellsworth (1998, p. 188) referred to as "the problem of conceptual space in academic writing" – and it is with this activity that this chapter engages. Its task is to chart tides and currents – major trends in topics, theories and methods – of New Zealand doctoral research in Education from 1948-1998. At the same time, I raise questions about the process of "mapping knowledge" – even as I go about doing it myself.

The metaphors I have used – locating, situating, charting and mapping – are geographical. Geographical metaphors abound in classifications of knowledge – researchers map or survey intellectual territories, domains of knowledge, landscapes of learning, areas of study or fields of inquiry. Chapter One introduced this problem of mapping in terms of difficulties encountered when drawing boundaries around what were to count as *Education* PhD theses. Citing Bernstein and other sociologists of knowledge, it identified complex relationships between disciplinary classifications, organisational categories and administrative practices. For the purposes of this chapter, however, a more fine-grained set of categories is needed. For, in order to overview trends in Education PhD theses over the years, I need to conceptualise the *internal* configurations – the discursive field – of Education in its dual locations as both university subject and body of professional knowledge.

Chapter One argued that the subject Education serves academic, professional and political interests. Educational research questions, then, can usefully be studied together with the intellectual, professional and political contexts in which they were raised and addressed. As David McKenzie has expressed it,

> Our concept of what is important or what is worth exploring is...very much determined by the kind of people we are, by the social climate in which we live, by the insights and interests we have gained from educationists generally, by the challenges confronting the educational enterprise and above all by our estimation of the extent or otherwise to which past ... interpretations satisfy current questioning (McKenzie, 1980, p. 195).

Chapter Two focussed on "the kinds of people" the PhD candidates were. This chapter begins by discussing the activity of mapping "the insights and interests of educationists." It then outlines some of the typologies of "Education," and of educational research, that have been drawn for academic, administrative and political purposes. These are then drawn upon in an overview of the PhD candidates' accounts of how they engaged with "past interpretations", formulated topics and questions and carried out research.

MAPPING EDUCATION

A conventional literature review is a conceptual map. The map has been defined as "a technology of knowledge that professes to capture the truth about a place in pure,

scientific form, operating under the guise of scientific exactitude and promising to retrieve and reproduce nature exactly as it is" (McClintock, 1995, p. 27). The territory to be mapped is assumed to be "out there" and something apart from the map maker. The persona of the cartographer is rendered invisible and irrelevant – scientific, disembodied and objective, the map-maker merely draws what is there. Social theorists, however, have argued that such assumptions are misleading – maps bear traces of the scientific, economic, political and historical settings in which they were produced (Haraway, 1997; Harvey, 1990, 1996).

With respect to metaphorical maps of Education as a field of study – such as literature reviews in academic writing – it has been argued that:

> The geometry of prevailing academic analysis and argumentation is like rational, cartographical space. It attempts to unfold lucidly and unmistakably and apparently allows the reader to move freely about within it – with an illusion of mastery and access. But a Cartesian grid misses the way that history and power inscribe multiple, moving, enfolded and conflicting social positionings onto the same conceptual space (Ellsworth, 1998, p. 188).

In other words, it is important to explore the circumstances in which "knowledge maps" are made. Maps do not merely attempt to describe, but are used – among other things – to lay claim to territory, to set and to maintain boundaries. In other words, they "shape worlds in particular ways for various purposes" (Haraway, 1997, p. 132). Like geographical maps of places, metaphorical maps of academic spaces are drawn from particular positions on the landscape. The instruments of the map maker and the positioning of the map reader, allow "only a partial view of things" – partial in both senses of the word; as incomplete and as perspectival (Greene, 1995, p. 26).

"Educational knowledge" has been mapped from numerous perspectives for a range of purposes – intellectual, organisational, political and economic. Intellectual maps include the epistemological schemas of philosophers of education. For example, during the late 1960s and 1970s, British analytic philosophers such as Paul Hirst (1975), RS Peters (1966) and others, conceptualised all academic knowledge as falling into distinct conceptual "domains" and education as a process of initiating students into these. Similarly, within some Education degrees, students were initiated into the sub-disciplines that were seen as making up Education – educational psychology, philosophy, history and sociology. However, the epistemological categories that are identified by intellectuals *within* a discipline (as is also the case *between* disciplines) are not always those that are mapped on the ground in the allocations of conceptual or physical spaces within institutions.

For example, within a university or teachers' college, the mapping, or classification, of the sub-fields within the subject Education may both reflect and determine how physical spaces and financial resources, are configured (Bernstein, 1971). An epistemological demarcation between, say, "social foundations of education" and "educational psychology" may be a rationale for dividing a large Education Department into two. Similarly, a conceptual split between "theoretical" and "professional" courses within a teacher education qualification may determine the location, allocation and status of its teaching staff. The delineation of the "intellectual territory" a department is to teach often corresponds with the demarcation of the architectural spaces its staff and students occupy. The groupings and physical locations of a faculty's staff and post-

graduate students create social environments in which ideas are formulated and exchanged, inter-personal loyalties and disciplinary allegiances form, research teams coalesce and PhD projects are designed and carried out. In other words, "maps are both instruments and signifiers of spatialisation" (Haraway, 1997, p. 135).

The boundaries within and between academic disciplines also change over time. In addition to a delineation of "fields" or "spaces", then, temporal classification – an historical dimension – is important. A local example of a chronological typology is Beeby's study of "educational myths" from the 1900s to the early 1980s (Beeby, 1986; 1992). From the point of view of a top-level education policy-maker, Beeby defined "educational myths" as the moral, intellectual and political imperatives that – successively and concurrently – had informed the education system since its establishment. Contemporary social theorists might not use the term myth and – depending on disciplinary affiliation – prefer terms like "official discourse", or "dominant ideology", or "hegemony." Regardless of terminology, Beeby's typology reveals interconnections – conceptual, organisational and inter-personal – between education policies, education systems, academic theories, institutional structures, political ideals, public sentiments, professional knowledge and research funding practices. In other words, it can help us explore the settings in which PhD students developed their topics, were allocated supervisors, carried out and wrote up their research.

Beeby (1986, 1992) identified four broad "educational myths." The first – characteristic of late nineteenth and early twentieth century thought – he termed "the survival of the fittest." The second, which he termed "equality of opportunity," was seeded in the 1920s-30s and flourished in the immediate post-war years through into the 1970s. By the late 1960s, a "new myth" clustered around more pluralistic notions of society was beginning to coalesce (Beeby, 1986; Renwick, 1986). The period from the immediate post-war years to the end of the 1970s was the time in which the PhD in general and the Education PhD in particular, became established and is the timeframe in which I have conceptualised the first wave of thesis research. While Beeby's classification ended with the early 1980s, many others have identified a subsequent "myth" in the neo-liberal or "new right" ideas that gained ascendency in the mid to late 1980s and continued into the 1990s (Olssen and Matthews, 1997; Peters, 1997c; Thrupp, 2000). I shall use the 1980s and the 1990s as my second broad timeframe for discussion of the interviewees' theses.

While providing a useful scaffold for analysis, such "myths" are too broad to make visible the range of debates and differences within them. While ideas, scholarly traditions and groupings of researchers flow and accommodate to change, over time, they also coalesce – in particular times and places – into multiple "areas" or "subject identities." Academic subjects both constitute – and are constituted within – "spatio-temporal worlds" (Haraway, 1997, p. 135). Any analysis of PhD theses, then, needs both a "horizontal" (spatial) and a "vertical" (chronological) dimension. There have been many "maps" of the "conceptual spaces" of Education as a field of inquiry in New Zealand. These have been drawn by academics, by organisations and by government and other funding agencies, such as the Department/ Ministry of Education and the NZCER. The remainder of this section reviews these existing typologies and explores their usefulness as tools for classifiying and analysing New Zealand PhD theses in education.

When it was set up in 1934, the NZCER set its research priorities. Although the first education doctoral students would not enrol for another 20 years, many of those who were to study for, or supervise, or write works that would be read for, the first PhDs in Education were at school or studying at undergraduate level at this time. In other words,

the discursive field – the sets of available ideas and the corpus of research that would be available for the first students to work with – was then being developed.

The 1930s were a period of political, intellectual and educational ferment, as older Social Darwinist assumptions about the nature of "Man" – and the child to be educated – were challenged by newer "progressivist" ideas in the social sciences. Social Darwinists, eugenicists and other scientific models of the time, had conceptualised the broad social divisions between empires, nations, races, classes and genders as largely "natural" (Haraway, 1997; McClintock, 1995; Selden, 1999). The impact of these theories on New Zealand politics, medicine, child rearing and schooling in the 1920s has been well documented (E. Olssen, 1981; Tolerton, 1992). However, despite such scientific assertions of innate inequalites between groups, there coexisted at this time a strong egalitarian ethic – coupled with an economic demand for "social efficiency" – that demanded that the individual talents of children of all backgrounds be identified and enhanced. Maori children's "cultural deficit" could be eliminated through a Pakeha education (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974; Smith, 1999). Among other things, such beliefs had encouraged the expansion of secondary and technical schooling, experiments with intelligence testing in schools and research into its effectiveness as a means of extending educational opportunities (Beeby, 1986, 1992; M. Olssen, 1988).

During the 1920s and 1930s, Social Darwinism was increasingly challenged by the psychological, philosophical, sociological and political discourses that – together – became known as "progressivism." International psychological (and psychoanalytic) theories of human development took root in the minds of key policy-makers and some teachers, especially in early childhood and infant rooms (May, 1997; Walkerdine, 1984). While progressivism's "child-centred" strand was psychologically based, it also had a "sociological"/ philosophical component – a Deweyan focus on education as a foundation for a democratic society. The 1937 New Education Fellowship Conference was important in disseminating such ideas amongst teachers, parents, academics and researchers (Middleton and May, 1997). Progressive focus on the "needs" of children were also extended into "Native" schools; the "cultural deficit" model was challenged by those arguing that Maori culture had a place in educational and national life (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). It was in this context that NZCER and the first university Education Departments, were founded.

The twin concerns of the time – economic demands for social efficiency and a focus on the psychological needs of developing children (Walkerdine, 1984) – were reflected in NZCER's founding research priorities. The NZCER "perceived its first major task to be a review of the organisation of the education system to see if it was capable of responding to the needs of national life" (Watson, 1979, p. 5). Its second was "to discover how and in what form, the education system influenced, if at all, the knowledge, attitudes and skills required by children, youth, or adults" (Watson, 1979, p. 5). The research it undertook reflected these priorities and George Parkyn's 1948 Litt D degree (Chapter One) was awarded for publications he had produced for NZCER over this period.

During and immediately after World War Two, progressive ideas gained ascendency in policy-making, academic and professional educational language and practice (Beeby, 1986; Middleton and May, 1997; Openshaw, Lee and Lee, 1993). Fascism could be prevented and democracy fostered, if children could develop "naturally" and healthily. Post-war school curricula were designed to facilitate healthy individual intellectual and social development and to teach the values, rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy. Concerns that Maori were not sharing fully in national prosperity fuelled

increasing demands for "cultural pluralism"; and the Maori Education Foundation was established. A "deficit model", however, lay deep in the national psyche (Harker, 1980). The work of the Education academic was profoundly affected by this environment, since it constituted the "discursive field" – the available ideas and methods for research, writing and teaching – during the post-war expansion of Education as a university subject..

Chapter One outlined the growth in the number of university education department staff across all campuses over the years. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, each university Education Department consisted of two or three staff at the most and Education academics were "general practitioners" rather than disciplinary specialists (Beeby, 1973). During the three post-war decades, growing numbers of staff, students and increasingly complex combinations of academic and professional degrees and diplomas to be taught, resulted in the demise of the academic "general practitioner" and the emergence of the "specialist" Education academic. Beeby described this process: "the decades since the war have seen the emergence of the disciplinary specialist within Education Departments: the educational psychologist, the educational historian, the educational philosopher and the educational sociologist" (Beeby, 1973, p. xvii). Increasingly, Education degrees required students to cover courses in a number of "education sub-disciplines." Because of the political and professional emphases on "child development", psychology of education increasingly gained a distinct identity and status. While, by the 1970s at least, it became possible to specialise in philosophy, history or sociology of education at advanced undergraduate or graduate level, in some programmes these fields were combined under titles like "social foundations of education", "education and society", "issues in education" (Moss, 1989; Middleton, 1989).

Looking back at these developments in 1978, John Watson (1979, p. 12) described them as "fragmentation": "As in other countries, a series of developments since 1945 have fragmented our field of endeavour." This, he said, had implications for academic life, since, within the discipline there were "increasingly separate worlds with their own professional identities, journals, conferences and vocabularies" (Watson, 1979, p. 12). These "separate worlds", however, were not always "discipline based," although the "-ologies" were some of the territories delineated by the specialisation process. Sometimes a community of scholars coalesced around an object of investigation – for example, an issue of political or social concern, such as the 1950s phenomenon of "juvenile delinquency", which supported a broader field called "adolescent psychology." Sometimes a curriculum subject, such as reading, became a specialised field of inquiry. To take a more recent example, in the 1980s, government priorities and associated funding opportunities, enabled specialists to develop "science education" as a distinct field of study (Osborne, 1980). In this responsiveness to problems outside the academy, educational research – and the organisation of it as a university subject – bears some of the defining marks of "Mode 2" knowledge production (as subsequent chapters will describe).

The increasing and changing, fragmentation of the subject Education made the work of bibliographic classification of research output increasingly complex. Roth's (1964) bibliography of unpublished university research on education listed works according to their object of study: educational aims and policy; control and administration of education; organisation and provision of education; process of education; child development. Since its original (1956) *Union list of theses*, the New Zealand Library Association (NZLA) has regularly altered its set of classificatory headings for "education" in the 11 supplements it has added to the original list over the years.

In 1978, the government Department of Education held a Ministerial Conference on Educational Research, the proceedings of which were published in 1979 in the Supplement to Volume 14 of the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*. In his contribution to this conference, the Director of NZCER offered a content analysis of articles in the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* as his basis for categorising the fields of educational writing. In five years of publication of *NZJES* articles,

> ... about 20% have dealt with some aspect of New Zealand's educational history, another 20% has been concerned with learning, behaviour modification or the analysis of classroom environments. Maori studies and the curriculum, predominantly reading, are each the topics for another 10% of the articles published. At the other end of the scale, articles on early childhood education or studies of teachers and many other topics are represented by only one or two articles in this particular journal (Watson, 1979, p. 11).

One year later, another, overlapping, set of categories was developed by the organisers of the inaugural conference of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education. Fifteen "State-of-the-Art" papers were commissioned for this event and published in the conference proceedings (McDonald, 1980). These included three that were "discipline-based" – child development; sociology of education and history of education. Interestingly, philosophy of education was not included (McDonald, 1982). A philosopher writing at this time explained that: "the traditional and, perhaps, still dominant view of the relationship of philosophy to science has it that philosophical and scientific inquiry are different in nature and are therefore to be sharply separated" (Haigh, 1978, p. 52). Many philosophers seldom attended NZARE in its early years, preferring to go to more specialised conferences such as PESA (Philosophy of Education Society of Australasia) (Marshall, 1982).

Like Watson's set of categories, NZARE's also included some that were curriculum based – reading, science education and mathematics education. Another three were centred on groups conceptualised as having some sort of "special needs" – Maori children, women and students requiring "special education." Three focussed on educational sectors or settings – early childhood; continuing education; and "classroom studies." The remaining three focused on specific activities or techniques – guidance and counselling, measurement and testing and behaviour analysis.

In 1988, a special conference on education was organised to commemorate 40 years of the Fulbright programme in New Zealand. One of the contributions included an analysis of articles published over the 22 years since the first issue of the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* in May 1966. There had been 44 issues from that date up until the analysis was written in 1988 – a total of 274 articles. Of these, 48 (17%) "were sociological in theory and/or topic" (Middleton, 1989, p. 57). The others were classified as follows: "curriculum 29 (10%); psychology 77 (28%); papers written from within the "testing" paradigm 31 (11%); history 58 (21%); philosophy 12 (4%); administration 7 (2%) and others 12 (4%)" (Middleton, 1989, p. 57 # 4).

As Chapter One explained, in Fig 4, my categorisation of the 183 Education PhD theses is based on a combination of existing bibliographic classifications, published resources that refer to these works and further information provided in the interviewees. As in Watson's (1979) and Middleton's (1989) classifications, "curriculum" is the largest category and totals 51 theses. Within this broad "curriculum" category, 18 (35% of the

curriculum theses) were on reading or literacy, 16 (31%) were on science or technology education and 9 (18%) were on mathematics education (Fig 5). Because of the tendency amongst Education Departments to dichotomise psychology and "social foundations", it is interesting to assess the balance between these across the total number of PhD theses. After curriculum, "social foundations" is the second largest category – 45 theses, if we aggregate history (17 theses), sociology (18 theses) and philosophy (10 theses). The third largest category is psychology – the titles or existing bibliographic classifications of 34 of the 183 theses indicating that their focus was primarily psychological.[1]

As Chapter One indicated, these figures are a rough guide only and should be seen as "fuzzy round the edges." To illustrate, let us consider the category of psychology. The total of 34 psychology theses should not be taken as a summation of psychology's overall influence, because of the interdisciplinary nature of educational research. Most studies of educational testing and measurement (nine theses) draw heavily on psychological resources; many studies of curriculum areas (51 theses) draw on psychological theories of learning. This is particularly true of the 1980s and 1990s "constructivist" studies, some of which have used the teaching of a subject such as mathematics as a exemplar of, or site for, exploration of broad psychological questions about children's learning. The title and bibliographic classification may not, then, indicate the major focus of the project. Suffice it to say that psychology is a major influence in a high percentage of research projects. Furthermore, within psychology are multiple sub-allegiances – *e.g.* applied behaviour analysis, developmental psychology (Piagetian, Vygotskian etc), cognitive psychology, discourse psychology, etc.

The review that follows attempts a cross-hatching of spatial and temporal analyses. I have explained that its temporal dimension is organised into two very broad chronological periods. Within each of these, I shall delineate equally broad conceptual fields or methodological traditions of inquiry. In this, my focus "zooms out" from the multiple and more specialised, categorisations discussed above. Such a standpoint can be compared with that of the astronaut in a space-station, who watches clouds, sunshine and storms swirling and sweeping across continents and countries. My objects of analysis are discursive, or paradigmatic, movements within, between and across the knowledge boundaries drawn by bibliographers, literature reviewers and administrators. As David Harvey points out,

> Setting boundaries with respect to space, time, scale and environment ... becomes a major strategic consideration in the development of concepts, abstractions and theories. It is usually the case that any substantial change in these boundaries will radically change the nature of the concepts, abstractions and theories (Harvey, 1996, p. 53).

GAINING CREDIBILITY: 1950s-1970s

When Clive McGee enrolled for his PhD in Education at Waikato University in 1974, he had a Masters degree in geography. This, he said, had given him a " very good grounding in experimental techniques and statistical analyses ... a thing I was grateful for." It therefore:

> ... seemed only natural to me that I would do an experimental study, because that was the prevailing view. At that time Education was struggling for respectability

as a discipline, so researchers were encouraged to pick up what the social sciences had garnered earlier from the sciences in terms of research methods.

Experimental studies – based on a natural science model – were dominant in social scientific research (including educational psychology and educational sociology) throughout the 1950s, 1960s and into the 1970s. Interviewees described experimental studies on a variety of topics. These included a project on the effects of feedback and prompts in the teaching of reading; an analysis of the effects of counsellors' body movement during counselling sessions; and a study of how "at-risk" student teachers could be supported at a teachers' college.

An example characteristic of this approach is John Church's thesis on science teaching, done at Canterbury in the early 1970s:

> I did nine experimental treatments, three measuring the effects of differences in content coverage and six measuring the effects of different things that a teacher could do during the course of a lesson. The lessons were all scripted. I learnt off the whole lesson before I went into the class because I had to do it across four separate classes. There were three replications built into every experiment so in the end I visited actually 42 Standard Four classrooms – classrooms with ten year olds in them – around Christchurch.

He did "a nested analysis of co-variance" on "the university's new IBM" punch-card computer, for which he had to teach himself how write a program in Fortran. This enabled him to arrive at multiple conclusions. Some of these were: "that kids remembered more if they were more actively involved; that they remembered less if you asked them open questions because they got much more confused; that they remembered more if there was lots of feedback and if the feedback was restrictive." Projects like this one were designed to provide teachers with information that could help improve practice.

The psychological techniques of behaviourism proved useful to many experimental researchers. Ted Glynn brought such techniques from the United States to Auckland University, where he and his PhD students modified them for local conditions (Glynn; 1989; Glynn and McNaughton, 1980). Applied behavioural analysis was seen as useful in the quest for equality of opportunity: it "placed the responsibility for the limited progress of children and adults with behavioural and learning difficulties on the quality of their instructional contexts rather than on their disabilities or on perceived deficiencies of the families or their culture or ethnic groups" (Glynn, 1989, p. 131). One of Glynn's students, Stuart McNaughton, used applied behavioural analysis in his experimental work: "I did one study in the States, brought the data back with me and then did another study here. And the thesis is essentially these two bits of research – experimental studies of teacher/reader interactions." The behaviourist component in the American experiment involved training mothers and grandmothers –

> ... to use certain sorts of prompts and reinforcers in a sort of tutoring programme with kids who were making no progress in reading. This involved some sort of prompts to use meaning and various things and descriptive praise as feedback. Then when I came back here the research that I entered into was much more precise in terms of the particular question I was pursuing which was the effect of the timing of feedback during oral reading interactions on children's self corrections and the accuracy of their reading.

However, like many Education theses, the theoretical underpinnings of this one were eclectic. Supervised by Ted Glynn and by Marie Clay (whose own thesis was described in Chapter One), McNaughton argued that it was "possible to synthesize at some level behavioural approaches to understanding literacy instruction and, simply put, cognitive approaches to the acquisition of reading in particular. That's the central argument."

A cognitive developmental theory of learning was employed in Clive McGee's experimental project. This "involved providing some in-service education for several groups of teachers in an experimental model. I had a control group that got no in-service work and two other groups that were each given a different type of in-service work." In order to assess the impact of the experimental treatments on his groups of teachers, he "had to make up achievement tests for the students, the curriculum packages and the in-service packages":

> That is where people like Guilford came with their theory of intellect. I based my packages mainly on Guilford's theory of intellect and I developed a classroom interaction questioning system on that basis. I tried as part of the skills teaching to encourage the teachers to go into other forms of thinking operations that they may not be currently be using. For example divergent thinking – evaluative type thinking as Guilford calls it – rather than just memory recall, low-level comprehension.

Another, slightly earlier, example was Bruce McMillan's experimental study of parent education (Otago University). How, he asked, " does one provide parent education to parents whose first child was just about the toddler age?"

> I had a sample of 50 families from Dunedin and used, what was then almost the only paradigm (it wasn't of course the only paradigm but it was the primary one) and a positivist framework. So I grouped those families into three. A control group and two different intervention groups – one of which came to me for a parent education programme across ten weeks, so it was a university-based seminar group. And a home visitor group for which I engaged senior play centre people as parent educators that went out into families. I was able to do a contrast between those two styles.

While social science conventions of that time required the experimenter/researcher to adopt a position of scientific detachment, McMillan's project also employed some unstructured conversations with the parents: "We worked on the programme collectively the group of us. I took the initiative in designing that but the implementation of it was very much the group."

While most experimental projects sought to act upon or treat a situation, others were centred on understanding how members of a designated group made sense of the world. The most influential body of work with this focus was developmental psychology (Morss and Linzey, 1991). Throughout the 1950s-70s, the teaching and writing of educationists in developmental psychology was dominated by the work of Piaget. In the 1950s, Philip Lawrence (Canterbury) was one of the first in New Zealand to study Piaget's works, which were "just becoming available in translation. I started reading them and they fascinated me. So I became more and more interested in the processes of development, in all the aspects of cognition, judgement and all those things that he was writing about."

Piaget's work helped address his fascination with:

> ... the development of intelligence in very young children and infants. How does it even begin? How is it conceivable that it can emerge? Although I'm not a Piagetian in the sense that I think everything opens and shuts with him, I found that his was the first big analysis I'd ever struck which could begin to account for how intelligence even begins to arise in young infants.

What, asked Professor Lawrence, were children doing when they tried to answer questions in an intelligence test? This required him to interview children "about how were they approaching this question, what were they thinking about when they answered the question. Why did they answer the question the way they did?"

Piagetian analysis also influenced interdisciplinary studies. Geraldine McDonald's thesis at Victoria University was on *The language and thought of four year old Maori children*. She was concerned about two things. The first was to provide an alternative to the deficit theories that were current at the time about why Maori children "failed" at school – "the prevailing ideas that somehow you teach the children grammar or their language is deprived. There were a lot of ideas around at the time I certainly didn't believe in. " Her second was to bridge the disciplinary divide that relegated "language studies to one department" and "psychological studies to another." Her study explored how children learned and used spatial adjectives:

> I could see that you couldn't make sense of language unless you knew how the concepts, how cognitive structures were developed. I knew Piaget, I was very interested in Piaget. I thought that the whole idea that somehow you learned a layer of language ... and a layer of cognition and then somehow the things sort of matched up was wrong. So I had a look at word meaning. The theory that I was using applied to a set of words ... you could do a developmental study so that you could see how they learned the words and how it related to their understanding of the world.

McDonald's focus on the cultural context of learning was suggested and supported by the Maori Education Foundation. While her challenge to the "deficit" model drew on developmental psychology, other studies of "cultural difference" drew on traditions such as social psychology (Harker, 1980). Richard Harker researcher described how he

> ... went to a social psychological explanation – about cognitive style. One of the reasons for kids not doing well at school is that different cultures have characteristically different modes of learning, different concepts of teaching and learning and so on – and that this might have something to do with it. So I just set out to try and track that down in relation to Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand.

While McDonald's tests of statistical significance were done "by hand", this later study by Harker study used multiple regression to analyse the data on a punch-card computer.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the Piagetian interview was accepted as a data-gathering technique, although a purely qualitative record and analysis of the interviews was not regarded as scientific. But, by the late 1970s a few supervisors began to tolerate or allow qualitative methods in doctoral scholarship. John Codd did a qualitative analysis of his

Piagetian interviews at Massey University. A former English teacher, Codd formulated an inter-disciplinary study out of his "interest in philosophy and aesthetics." These had attracted him to Kohlberg's psychological model of stages of moral development. Very few people, said Codd, had looked at "the way in which children develop an understanding of metaphor and response to imagery and so on." Local scholars could help him with this developmental approach:

> I'd read quite a lot on Piaget and how he conducted clinical interviews with children but I hadn't seen anyone do it, so that was all new. My main supervisor was Don McAlpine ... He was very interested in art, he's an artist. He was a psychologist and he had an enthusiasm for the topic. He liked poetry. He knew a lot about Piaget – he was one of the leading people in the country. At that time there were only a few. There was he and Philip Lawrence at Canterbury, Peter Freyberg [at Waikato] and a few others who had any real understanding of Piaget's work at that time.

Codd's thesis was essentially concerned with explorations of "meaning" – what did the world look like from the point of view of a child? He described how he:

> ...interviewed groups of children at three age levels, presented the poem *[The Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner]* to them (exerpts from it) and then asked them questions in a kind of Piagetian interview way probing their understanding of the poems, images and so on. I recorded this, produced transcripts of the recorded interviews and then set about analysing those – classifying them in terms of their understanding of the metaphors and the images and responding to the language. I then looked at progression across the three age levels in a qualitative way.

Others described having struggled to be "allowed" to do qualitative analysis at this time. Social psychologists, interpretive sociologists and existentialist philosophers were bringing a Continental phenomenological focus on "everyday meaning" into educational philosophy and social scientific research (Berger and Luckmann, 1971; Greene, 1995; Schutz, 1970). Lauran Massey described reading Maxine Greene and other phenomenological writers. His desire to do a qualitative, observational, ethnographic study worried his supervisor: "I had to be careful because qualitative studies were brand new. [My supervisor] was terribly frightened that I didn't have enough quantitative sort of data gathering. So I did a lot of frequency counts." His participant observation analysis of how the new 1970s English syllabus was "enacted" in schools also involved curriculum history: "I did a general history, which I enjoyed doing – tracing the history is where I began. Then the theory was all dramaturgical, naturalistic generalisations ... so it's a reportage type thing."

While phenomenologists disseminated these "naturalistic" approaches to academics, there was, at the same time, a corresponding popular literature on how teachers and students made sense of everyday life in educational settings. Paper-back books such as John Holt's *How children fail* and Postman and Weingartner's *Teaching as a subversive activity*, expressed the frustration of "progressive" American and British teachers, who were struggling to work in student-centred ways in urban conditions of poverty and civil unrest. Such books gained a ready market among New Zealand teachers (Middleton and May, 1997). Neil Haigh had a social psychological orientation and described how

Philip Jackson's *Life in classrooms* had helped shape his research. Jackson's book showed him that: "it is the hidden life of a teacher that is the most important to know and understand because all you are looking at is the expression of the hidden dimension of teaching." This shaped his methodology:

> Where it was going to take me was more towards qualitative research. This was new territory and obviously there were relatively few studies simply that were descriptive and interpretive in character. I wanted to understand – simply to be able to describe – the character, the nature of the thoughts that teachers might have.

His supervisor, however, "was a bit equivocal about such research and unsure about how it would be regarded." Such suspicion was widespread amongst supervisors across the fields that together made up Education. Stuart McNaughton's quantitative thesis on reading used "very little qualitative data ... apart from transcriptions of particular interactions to illustrate the quantitative data." A historian "had some interviews. But I didn't do very many interviews because it wasn't done in those days."

The quantitative/ qualitative debate was not confined to academic circles and research groups. Questions about what should count as data carried over into professional debates on how school achievement should be assessed (Olssen, 1988; Reid, 1980) and these, in turn, became the object of research inquiry. Internal assessment of School Certificate was mooted as a way of allowing schools to draw on their knowledge, understanding and appreciation of students' work over a whole year. But how could comparability between schools' assessments be ensured? Alison Glimore, who "had always been interested in mathematics", did her PhD on this question:

> It followed in my area of interest in assessment and measurement and qualifications in New Zealand so I started looking at that. It was around the time there was a big debate about whether School Certificate should be internally assessed and if that was to be internally assessed we would need certain ways of moderating teacher assessments. There were no solutions at that stage.

She developed a multiple matrix sampling procedure to be used in the moderation of School Certificate. Her research "used regression analyses to see if from this battery of a general scholastic test plus some more generic type tests in English, maths, science, what were the strongest predictors of class performance in School Certificate for a range of subjects?" This project is a useful example of the interface between historical/ political priorities, professional concerns and individual curiosity – and, in this, bears traces of Mode 2 knowledge production.

A similar interface was evident in some of the more sociological theses over this period. During the 1970s, sociology of education was still in its infancy in New Zealand (Bates, 1980; Middleton, 1989). Richard Harker described how:

> When I enrolled for the PhD, there had to be a theoretical model ... what was taught in New Zealand as the sociology of education at the time was basically the American functionalist model. And classroom observation stuff was all the rage then amongst the sociologists of education.

Ray Adams was one of the pioneers of classroom interaction research (Archer and Wilson, 1980). While enrolled for his PhD at Otago, he had also had the opportunity to visit and work as a full staff member in, a research team led by Bruce Biddle at the University of Missouri. Archer and Wilson (1980, p. 243) describe this as pioneering work and Adams and Biddle as "amongst the first researchers to introduce the use of videotape in the classroom." These studies carried out complex statistical analyses of different categories of classroom communications. For example, how much time was spent in "controlling" behaviour, how much time in intellectual communications, etc?

The other major sociological tradition – functionalism – explored whole "systems." Anne Mead's thesis had been supervised in Victoria University's Sociology department, although it is included because she had supervisory input from Education as well. Her project was on whether or not existing early childhood organisations could take the embryonic childcare movement under their "umbrella." For this, she used "a systems model ... Probably Weber would be the closest." Pat Nolan used Talcott Parsons's functionalism as his conceptual framework in a case study of the Hawkes Bay Community College – a project suggested and supported by the government Department of Education. Nolan acknowledged multiple influences on his work, including his interactions with Fulbright Scholars and other visitors to Massey (Renwick, 1989):

> Some of the stuff of Parsons's that I was into at the time triggered me to go on – Parsons was making reference to some of the symbolic interactionist theorists at the time. So I went over into that. At the same time Lou Smith from the US was here and he'd written that little book called *Anatomy of an educational innovation*, Smith and Jeffrey. It was Lou who started to influence me a bit. There was another fellow, Hanson, a sociologist from California who was visiting as well so there were a few people around.

Nolan's field-work was ethnographic:

> I had formal interviews with staff. In effect I became a staff member almost de facto. I'd read *Boys in white; street corner society*, that sort of stuff, so I was right into ethnographic process. I had access to classrooms. I could walk into anyone's classroom any time; attend any meetings.

Studies of systems were not confined to sociology. As already noted, the NZCER's first priorities throughout the 1930s-1950s had been to study "the education system" and, from the beginning, had employed historians to do this work. Historical studies of education policies and provisions laid the groundwork for what have today become specialised fields such as policy studies, educational administration or educational leadership. David McKenzie described the main argument of his thesis:

> The thesis – essentially what I was saying is that the role of the Regional Authority (which was the Education Board) in educational development was indeed very profound. It had the job of employing teachers, it was also really the group that fought for change, not the central group. The central group in those days didn't fight for any change at all

New Zealand's educational historians – like social psychologists and sociologists – became increasingly interested in the history of everyday life. Historians also addressed the questions of values and social equality that, in the social turmoil of the 1970s, were preoccupying many community groups, politicians and educators. Colin McGeorge described how, at Canterbury:

> I started collecting school textbooks, to see what kids actually had in front of them. And so it all coalesced into a study of the values presented to kids in schools and that's what it's about. So the thesis is really an interlinked series of studies. It's about the religious issue and about military training and sex roles and attempts to teach temperance and all that stuff.

Other histories of the time explored the nature of the citizen that the "powers that be" in education had sought to create in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Similar questions – about power, values and systems – were raised in the interdisciplinary field of comparative education. This field was supported by post-war concerns with New Zealand's role in the Pacific. John Barrington's project at Victoria University in the 1960s drew together these themes:

> I was now really interested in the whole area of comparative education, cross-cultural education, development education as it was then called, or third world education – a combination of the influences of Dr Maiaia, Colin Bailey and Ian McLaren. I had really become very fascinated by third world education which arose out of the Maori education interest as well. I thought would it be possible to do a PhD in the area? Is there some way that I can do a PhD in New Zealand but also do field work somewhere else?

The period from the 1950s to the end of the 1970s laid the foundations for some of the more fine-grained specialisations of the 1980s and 1990s. However, across the disciplinary fields – psychology, philosophy, sociology, history of education *etc.* – were issues of common concern. These included studies of the commonsense understandings of children, parents and teachers and of the history and structure of the institutions and systems in which these occurred. Increasingly, institutions were challenged as deficit analyses of variations in children's understanding were re-conceptualised in terms of "difference" and pluralist models began to be developed. Researchers evaluated – and often helped design or implement – new curricula, modes of assessment and institutions designed to cater for pluralism. Funding bodies such as the Department of Education, the NZCER and the Maori Education Foundation (MEF) suggested and supported such investigations by PhD students. The foundational work of the generations born before and during, World War Two had set the scene for the explosion of new theories, methods and fields of inquiry in the 1980s and 1990s.

SHAKING THE FOUNDATIONS

By the end of the 1970s, an increasing number of the post-war baby-boom cohort were moving out of school teaching to take up the increasing number of positions in university

and teachers' college lecturing. These younger academics had been university and college undergraduates in the 1960s and 1970s. Many had been influenced by the liberal/ progressive ideas of that time – and some by its more radical critiques and movements. Chapter Two explored how some of those who had been among the first in their families to enter higher education had described their sense of alienation or marginality from what counted as "academic." This was particularly the case for some students from working-class or rural backgrounds, Maori students, women students or those who were "multiply marginal" (Middleton, 1993; Middleton and May, 1997). Radical political movements gave voice to such experiences – Nga Tamatoa, women's liberation, leftist student groups, etc. By the 1980s, increasing numbers of this cohort of younger academics were enrolling in PhDs. The "critical popular mood" of the late 1960s to early 1970s had also influenced many of the academic staff who were teaching them at the time. The popular social movements – feminism and Black consciousness *etc.* – extended into formal intellectual life and older radical theories, such as Marxism, assumed new forms within the disciplines.

Michael Peters described how, in his thesis in the philosophy of education, he constructed:

> ... a Hegelian interpretation of Wittgenstein. What I was trying to do was to politicise Wittgenstein by adopting a Hegelian view – particularly towards questions of knowledge and in relation to sociology of knowledge questions. And in particular, work in the philosophy of science that was really current at that point and what they called 'the Marxist knowledge as production thesis' there. I thought that I could get a kind of position which was different, more productive, less structuralist if I went for a kind of Hegelianised Wittgenstein. And that's the line of argument that I followed – an historicist approach to philosophy.

In this thesis, Peters drew upon the phenomenologists (those who explored commonsense understanding), the debates between them and the analytic philosophers (those who studied domains of knowledge) and Marxist criticisms of both of these (because they under-emphasised questions of power). The political focus to his work encapsulates the core themes in much thesis work of the 1980s – questions of history and power; how "what counts as knowledge" (Young, 1971) comes to be this way and whose interests it serves:

> I came to think of Wittgenstein as grappling with questions that Continental Philosophy found absolutely central. One of the questions here was the centrality of history to philosophy. The historicist interpretation began to allow politics to enter into philosophy in a very interesting way. Analytic philosophy debarred politics because it never admitted anything from context. It always wanted to philosophise at the level of the universal and that's the way I saw it. And I guess I was strongly influenced at that time by the Australian Marxists.

From the early 1980s, groups of scholars within New Zealand Education Departments were strongly influenced by neo-Marxist scholarship. This offered useful theoretical tools with which to analysis growing inequalities in New Zealand – especially at a time of growing unemployment. Local interest was further fuelled as several leading British sociologists of education took up employment in New Zealand. British neo-Marxist

ethnographic work in "cultural studies" had a particularly powerful impact locally. Alison Jones's ethnography of social reproduction in a metropolitan all-girls school was an early example. Jones described how in the early 1980s: "I read Paul Willis, I read Bowles and Gintis, I read Althusser, I read all of the stuff that was kind of "sexy" in terms of Marxist stuff at the time." Her study set out to:

> ... map the details of social reproduction of a certain kind in a New Zealand secondary school. I did manage to use 'symbolic violence' and 'habitus' and 'cultural capital,' all those kind of key theoretical ideas from Bourdieu to make sense of the experience of working-class and middle-class – working class Pacific Island girls and middle- class Pakeha girls – at school.

Similarly, Liz Gordon described the impact of Paul Willis's book, *Learning to labour*, which seemed at the time "to be the core book on education." As " Willis put it – how do working class kids get working class jobs?" Why, she asked, did "some working class people manage to become socially mobile and others don't – the vast majority don't." Martin Thrupp named key sociological writers on social class reproduction of the 1980s:

> I have always had a lot of time for Steven Ball's work...Bob Connell – *Making the difference*. Mary Metz in the States has written on class differences ... There have been others subsequently ... Annette Lareau, Mary Metz, Jean Anyon, Alison Jones's book, *At school I've got a chance*. Home Advantage, that kind of stuff. All the stuff that was pointing to the importance of cultural capital and working within a Bourdieuian framework

Thrupp's ethnographic exploration of the "school mix effect" challenged the "school effectiveness" literature that was strongly shaping policy-making during New Zealand's era of neo-liberal reform:

> ... a lot of school policies and practices are not as independent of social class as the school effectiveness literature has been assuming. There has been a view that you can just cancel this stuff out statistically and what teachers do and so on is really not that affected by student backgrounds

From the time of the "Picot Report" (1987), New Zealand educational researchers engaged with educational restructuring in multiple ways – they had input into the policies and their implementation; they engaged in critique; and they theorised. A burgeoning local literature resulted (Olssen and Matthews, 1997; Thrupp, 2000). Such analyses required researchers to study the state and a new specialisation – described by Liz Gordan as "policy theory" – resulted. As a field of educational inquiry, policy studies had begun to delineate itself as Marxist and "left-liberal" critiques engaged with government educational reforms. The ascendancy of "New Right" – or neo-liberal – ideas and resulting policies of cutting back the size of the state, engaged a number of doctoral students across the Education sub-disciplines. Theories of the state in contexts of economic globalisation – previously confined to political science departments – became increasingly influential in Education (Dale and Robertson, 1997; Urry, 1998). Diane Pearce at Canterbury focussed on "state theory" and found the writing of Jessop useful: "He was, I suppose, an accessible Marxist. He was trying to deal with all of the difficulties of

Marxist state theorising and trying to make it applicable to looking at politics and policy."

Eve Coxon's thesis on education policy was a study of and carried out in, Western Samoa. She challenged the dominant emphasis on globalisation and argued that:

> ... in terms of developing policy in a small island state, a third world, under-developed state, that the focus had been too much on global influences. There hadn't really been much done on education policy development in a small island state, in fact nothing. My argument was that policy is shaped as much by local cultural influences as it is by global economistic influences.

Joce Jesson's thesis also focussed on the state. She studied the history and politics of teachers' unions:

> The argument was that the education was a function of the state and that that the changes in education create changes in the structures of the state itself. The education unions' role was both as the guardians of the profession and also as the defenders of their own working conditions. They were constantly in a battle on two fronts – the educational front and the labour relations front. *Tomorrows Schools* was pivotal because that battle was being fought out in the context of the Board of Trustees.

Like several other sociological theses on the state, Jesson's relied heavily on the analysis of archival documents – traditionally the preserve of historians. Contrary to common assumptions that the study of policy and the state are recent innovations in Education, in the 1930s-70s these had been the core concerns of educational historians. While sociologists of the 1980s and 1990s incorporated historical methods into their projects, at the same time sociological concepts "crossed over" into educational history. Howard Lee described how, during research for his thesis at Otago on the history of school examinations, his topic had drawn him to "The Australian writers of the 1980s. I was looking at Connell, the sociologists. I was quite interested in their work." His project on examinations explored how –

> The types of qualifications achieved and their length of time at school very much correlated with changes in labour market. It was a huge task looking at what was happening in the labour market in New Zealand over the last 120 years – to follow where kids were going through school, how long they stayed, differences between males and females, differences between the different types of schools attended.

Lee's attention to "differences between males and females" as well as to questions of class is indicative of the widespread influence of feminist scholarship. As students in the 1960s and 1970s, many women had experienced "invisibility" in academic subjects – feelings that were given voice through the Women's Liberation Movement. As feminists moved through post-graduate research and into academic jobs, they developed more formal analyses within humanities and social science subjects such as Education. While some (such as socialist feminists) studied gender in relation to "other" inequalities (of race and class) (Jones, 1991; Middleton, 1993), others made gender their central focus.

Tanya Fitzgerald's thesis was in the history of women's education. Her study of women who had taught in nineteenth century mission schools had developed from her discovery in the archives that:

... the missionary story had been told from a male perspective, that all missionaries were assumed to be men; that women were simply their wives; and that missionary work was a male activity. I had started to argue that these women were actually appointed as missionaries.

Jane Strachan's feminist thesis was concerned with leadership – a new field that demarcated its approach from, although intersected with, the older specialisms of educational administration and policy studies. Strachan did case studies of women who identified themselves as feminists and who were principals of coeducational schools in the context of "new right managerialism." She described doing ethnographic field-work:

I loved it! Absolutely loved it. I just felt it was a privilege to be part of these women's lives. There were three women whom I did case studies on, all of whom had expressed that their feminism was an important driver in their leadership agenda. And so I spent a considerable amount of time in their company – interviewing them, observing them and interviewing staff about them. They were incredibly open, which I found a privilege.

Feminist interest in gender also influenced a few male scholars and recent years have seen several projects on "Men and masculinity. In the late 1990s, Shane Town completed the first local Education PhD on young homosexual men. In his interviews, he found that the dilemmas for young gay men –

... were not so much to do with their being gay; they had to do with their being male. I didn't realise. I thought my thesis was going to be about young homosexual men – and, in fact, it turned out to be about young men. And so there was that journey into all of those ideas about masculinity. Masculinities could be evident in lots of different ways – lots of different performative ways and lots of different – really very challenging – ways for all of the young men and how they worked with that.

Town paid tribute to feminist writers, post-structuralists and "queer theorists" as influencing this work. These all raised questions of "embodiment" – in particular, they offered theoretical and methodological resources for researching sexuality.

One interviewee described discovering "post-modernist stuff and I found that accessible ... stuff about bodies. Kathy Davis and her book *Embodied practices* was quite influential and Bronwyn Davies' stuff on agency ... I got quite sparked by the debate that went on between Alison Jones and Bronwyn Davies over that." Post-structuralist notions such as embodiment, subjectivity and "the productivity of language" (or discourse) are, at the time of writing, hugely influential across the humanities and social sciences. The impact of Foucault and other post-structuralist writers is similarly being felt across the education disciplines – from educational sociology (Jones, 1991; Middleton, 1993), to "discourse psychology" (Drewery and Bird, 2000). This has provided a common language to the various "critical theories." Feminism, "queer theory", neo-Marxism, post-colonialism etc – all have been influenced, to varying extents, by post-structuralist ideas.

Post-colonial theory is a recent hybrid. The Civil Rights and nationalist movements of the 1960s and 1970s had spawned the poetic and academic literatures of "Black Consciousness" (Fanon, 1986). By the 1980s, post-structuralist and Black consciousness

theories had been woven together into a new theoretical strand (*e.g.* Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1993a). The post-colonial writers often work in fields such as literary criticism. Within Education, their analyses have been blended with the more anthropological/ sociological theories, such as works by Bourdieu, Bernstein, Gramsci and various feminists and had a strong influence on the "new wave" of Maori PhD students. Graeme Hingangaroa Smith explained how his work wove such theorists and Maori traditions. This enabled him to develop a critique of "Gramsci and the critical theorists ... Freire." His resulting critique –

> ... basically argued that embedded inside the Western transformative theorists is ... the lineal progression of an implicit hierarchy which moves from: First you needed to develop a sense of conscientisation or politicisation. Then you take aboard these politics to the extent that you want to make change, you want resistance, develop the politics of resistance. Then the third phase is you actually make change. And that kind of sequence I felt, which was embedded in a lot of the Western critical pedagogy in particular, was very exclusive, it privileged people.

Russell Bishop described his excitement at reading the work of Graeme Hingangaroa Smith and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. Their new theoretical/ methodological perspective was, he said: "not anything else – it is not post structuralism; it is not post modernism ... it is kaupapa Maori. " Bishop explained how his research methods had also been influenced by his whanau –

> ... the idea of working 'with' people instead of 'on' them came from my family, from some kaumatua in the family, from the other people that I worked with when I was doing research in my family. If they were not happy to work with me then I would take the material away and go back to my office and work on it.

Graeme Hingangaroa Smith elaborated on this theme of Maori knowledge:

> What I was trying to argue was around the notion of the validity and the legitimacy of Maori knowledge – the Maori ways of doing things – understanding, knowledge and pedagogy and so on. The space needed to be struggled for in the New Zealand education scene. But more than that I wanted to suggest that theory itself was in fact a site of struggle that had been largely taken as unproblematic in that Maori needed to also argue for their own theoretical position and space. So that's why I sort of co-opted the word theory and 'put it on' the kaupapa Maori and said, 'Well this is a theory and that's exactly what theories do for everyone else,' for Maori.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Maori educationists have been involved in the development of Maori pre-schools (kohanga reo) and schools (kura kaupapa Maori). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) spoke of how this involvement had shaped her thesis, which had explored –

> ... the intersection between curriculum and pedagogy. Especially in what was happening in the kura, where we were making up a curriculum, quite literally. Not just inventing the curriculum, but inventing the pedagogy to go with the curriculum. There's not that many theorists who deal with that space between and around curriculum and pedagogy.

The studies I have cited in this section have explored "macro-level" questions. Their principle objects of analysis have been power-relations within or between societies, nation-states or systems. While a substantial proportion of theses focused directly on – or alluded to – these "social foundations" of education, many were pitched at a more micro-level of analysis. While the more sociological/ political studies explored educational policies at the theoretical or systemic levels, the more psychologically-oriented analyses explored them in relation to specific children and teachers in settings such as classrooms and families.

CONSTRUCTING LEARNING AND TEACHING

In a previous section, I described experimental approaches to classroom interaction research. Although a few of those who had done their theses in the 1980s and 1990s had done experimental research, by this time there had developed alternative approaches to effecting change in school practice. Adrienne Alton-Lee's thesis in the early 1980s challenged the natural science model that up to that time had dominated fields related to "learning and teaching" –

> My actual research question broke the rules...It was what facilitates student learning in classrooms and what inhibits student learning in classrooms? I wasn't going to be hypothesis testing ... we needed an exploratory phase in classroom research – to find out exactly what might be going on amongst a whole set of variables rather than coming in with the high ground ... And my third research question is what is the nature of student learning in classrooms?

She did case studies of three children whom she "followed every half minute through a whole unit, 52 hours." Alton-Lee explained that:

> I wanted to ask a question that would lead to theory not correlation. I wanted to be explaining and I wanted to be exploratory. I wanted to be quantitative and qualitative so that you could check patterns but you could understand processes and I wanted to be attending to the socio-cultural stuff as well as the cognitive stuff. So I had open research questions.

Alton-Lee's analysis was "genuinely exploratory and wasn't theoretically influenced to begin with by anybody." She described herself as "a real empiricist really...not dust bowl empiricism but a real exploratory kind of empiricism." She had then searched the literature for explanatory concepts and "got stuck into the sociology of education to try and help me understand cultural capital."

This work paved the way for phenomenologically-oriented explorations of relations between official curriculum knowledge and children's (and/or teachers') commonsense understanding. Many of these studies drew on the blend of theories that became popularly known as "constructivism." At Waikato, Alister Jones described his constructivist model as based on Piaget and also on Roger Osborne's (his supervisor's) "generative learning model that he did with Merle Wittrock" (Osborne, 1980). Jones explained –

> It was a very individualistic notion ... there were all these things going on around us and we only engage in those things where we have some prior knowledge or

that our senses attend to for some reason, so there is always something there that requires in our heads. If we take for example, all the hundreds of events that are occurring around us now, we only attend to a few of those and we only construct from a few of those.

Jones was a former physics teacher and his project fell within the new territory of "science education." His thesis used multiple, quantitative and qualitative, methodologies – surveys, interviews and curriculum trials with seventh form physics students. He asked, "What will actually engage the students? What will help them to construct meaning from really boring physics?" He designed "applications" – examples from everyday life – to "connect" the abstractions of physics with students' commonsense understandings:

> For example, I would take cot deaths ... We would look at apnoea mattresses. So it was getting children to actually attend to a situation, basing it on something they already knew. You couldn't look at their prior knowledge in physics at the 7th form because it was 'stuff all,' or they had actually opted out. In fact most of the girls, apart from the high fliers, had actually opted out. It was really boring and they were turned off. So this was a way of actually attending getting them to attend to the situation – relating it to prior knowledge.

Constructivism was not confined to academia, but – through the flow of ideas and personnel between university Education Departments and state agencies – also shaped the new school curricula of the 1980s. Designed according to Piagetian, Brunerian and other developmentalist, principles, new syllabi such as Beginning School Mathematics (or B.S.M.) were in some respects direct descendants of the progressive, or "learning by doing," innovations of the immediate post-war years. During the 1990s, the National Government further reviewed and reformed the school curriculum and, during the design and implementation phases of these reforms, Ministry funding was made available for research and for teacher development projects (Bell and Gilbert, 1996). The PhD thesis data for several curriculum theses were gathered in the course of such Ministry-funded projects – an example of "Mode 2" knowledge production (Chapter One; see also Chapters Four and Six).

By the 1990s questions were being raised about the extent to which some teachers over-simplified constructivism in their teaching practice. Joanna Higgins's thesis explored what happens when children are doing group work away from the teacher. Higgins found that some teachers –

> ... weren't willing to give up on their strong belief in learning by doing, 'let's get kids working together' – all of those general phrases that are parroted out all the time. And hands on. They weren't willing to give up on those things. If the maths happened as a result – if that learning happened as a result of that sort of structure – well and good. But if it didn't, it was more important that the kids had a good feeling about school ...

A similar criticism was offered by a behaviourist. As a teachers' college lecturer, he had been teased: "People used to make jokes about conditioning chambers and mice and rats and things." He saw behaviourism as offering strategies and tools to help teachers manage children with problem behaviour. However, a teacher's constructivist convictions could

get in the way. He explained that it was "difficult for one or two of the teachers that we started with to realise that kids in our view weren't little flowers that magically grew up towards the light; that there were things happening in their environment that were actually making that [problem behaviour] happen."

'Ana Koloto had drawn on constructivism in her PhD in mathematics education at Waikato. She went to Tonga to do her fieldwork and had adapted constructivism to local conditions –

> ... at the time ... constructivism was the theoretical framework – the whole idea that you allow students to construct for themselves ideas. That didn't quite work out for me because I think the students were so used to having a teacher right in front to teach them specific teaching strategies. I tried that and then I had to use a combination of the two – allow students to explore and at the same times I sort of pointed out exactly what could be teachings. It was very effective, it was a way to help students increase their repertoire of strategies that they could use in mathematics so it was an effective way. The implication was that we could perhaps teach estimation skills and that way they were to increase their mathematical thinking particularly in terms of number sense on what looked to be a reasonable answer. So that was really good.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, educational psychology – like sociology, history and philosophy – increasingly acknowledged its own "embeddedness" in the social, cultural, historical and political world. Theories of child development were seen as bearing the traces of the circumstances in which they were produced (Drewery and Bird, 2000; Morss and Linzey, 1991). Piaget's theory of universal stages in human development was seen as descriptive of the developmental sequence of *Western* children, rather than as a universal progression. As John Morss expressed this, "being an adult, for Piaget, means being able to think like a Western scientist" (Morss, 1991, p. 9). Similarly, the foundations of Kohlberg's stages of moral development were critiqued as based on the "norms" characteristic of white American middle-class boys (Gilligan, 1982). Gender, class and cultural differences, these critics argued, were not necessarily deficits (Drewery and Bird, 2000). By the late 1980s, the translated works of the Soviet developmental psychologist, Lev Vygotsky, offered developmental psychologists theoretical resources with which to study "the unavoidably social nature of all human activity" (Morss, 1991, p. 27).

Fay Panckhurst explained how Geraldine McDonald had brought back these ideas from Teachers' College, Columbia University and introduced her to them at Victoria University –

> The exposure that [Geraldine] had to Vygotskyan theory was very influential. This was a new theoretical approach, which didn't separate individuals from their historical and socio-cultural backgrounds. It treated cognitive development as a process of acquiring culture and it all made such good sense to me.

Her study was on how pre-schoolers acquired knowledge of maps in their everyday settings:

> There was particular emphasis on understanding the sign systems that mediate human interaction. Sign systems such as language and number and print or writing.

Vygotsky included mapping as a sign system too. The idea was that children appropriate these through their interaction with adults. In other words, they grow into the intellectual life of the people around them.

Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, the borders around the various psychologically-oriented specialised areas became increasingly porous. The field known as "special education" had been dominated by psychological research, but by the 1980s, ethnographic techniques were crossing over into it from sociology. Libby Limbrick did "a longitudinal cross-sectional study, in which I worked with the entire population of severely and profoundly deaf children in Auckland." Her topic was literacy in deaf children. The New Zealand "communication environment" was unique for its "pattern of English being developed through sign, which is not a sign language, which has its own language structures. " She wanted to know whether literacy among the deaf was "dependent on the language development, or was there a reciprocal relationship between reading and language development and just what were the relationships?" Her study employed both quantitative and qualitative forms of data-gathering and analysis:

> It was very much a descriptive normative study. I also did some in-depth case studies with some of the children who appeared to be high achievers, high progress children and children who were low progress children. I interviewed both parents and teachers in terms of what were the characteristics of these children. So there was that sort of qualitative element as well as the more quantitative normative stuff.

Jude McArthur (Otago) researched in a special school. Her project "began as a quantitative study of what we called data-based decision-making and teaching programmes for kids with severe disabilities. My task was to introduce to the teachers a fairly complex mathematical procedure for dealing with the data." Through her general reading, she encountered qualitative research work, such as Bogdan and Biklen's (1992) methodology text. She then discovered ethnographic and qualitative work in special education:

> At that time there were a few people working in the special education area who were starting to question the very pseudo scientific model in special ed and we just used that work. Sally Tomlinson is another person, sociology of special education. Luce Heshusius would be one of the most significant people.

McArthur described her change in orientation during the project –

> It was a gut instinct in some ways. I changed paradigms ... It started off as a quantitative study and then it changed in the middle into something that was qualitative. It represented a leap in paradigm there's no doubt about that. And yet it wasn't like jumping off a cliff – it was the most appropriate thing that could have happened. It was absolutely the right thing and it was an extremely comfortable thing for me to be able to do.

McArthur's thesis at Otago was one of many recent projects that combined the activities of research and professional development. While researchers of the 1960s and 1970s, had used the "scientific experiment" to generate data to feed to teachers, the action researchers

of the late 1980s and 1990s saw themselves "working with" rather than "on or for" the teachers. Gill Thomas's action research project explored Beginning School Mathematics (BSM) –

> It was an action research type model – a kind of variation. I worked with seven or eight teachers in three different schools having fortnightly meetings in the lunch hours and just looking at what was going on in their classrooms. What we were really doing was just giving them information to reflect on. The information was video with transcript of what a targeted group in their classroom were doing away from them in their maths programme and just seeing if it – not making any judgement about whether it was good or bad. The teachers reflected on it, so there was quite a bit of professional development in there, but that arose out of the project. It wasn't a thing that I thought about to start with 'cause it was early days in terms of teacher development.

Although influenced by the action research model of Kemmis and McTaggart, McArthur distinguished her work from "true" action research "because I wasn't purely part of the group and you can't really do action research unless you're there. And I wasn't in the classroom; I wasn't alongside these teachers. I did have a facilitatory role which doesn't completely mesh with that theory."

Action research became particularly popular amongst those working in the field of "educational leadership" that was developed during the educational reforms of the late 1980s-1990s. At Waikato, Jan Robertson worked with pairs of school principals, in order to address the question, "can partnerships, professional partnerships be an effective professional development tool for educational leaders?" In Auckland, Carol Cardno, a former school principal, worked in two schools on how best to set up the systems of staff appraisal Ministry regulations required them to devise:

> The research was investigating how, in a very complex educational context, the leader deals with this dilemma of introducing a system that has both accountability demands and development demands. I worked in a primary school and a secondary school – first of all to carry out an in-depth case study of the status quo in those schools. Each one was quite different as to the point at which they were at introducing appraisal. The reconnaissance phase was actual research that I was doing and established quite clearly that neither of these principals would be able to move forward without some sort of intervention.

She acknowledged the theoretical, methodological and supervisory influences on her model of intervention:

> The intervention that I carried out with both principals together was teaching them the skills of a productive approach to solving complex problems which in very simple terms is the Argyris and Shon model two dialogue approach. Vivianne Robinson's, [supervisor] problem-based methodology – which is a description of Argyris's work in a more practical way was the background that I used. The intervention itself gave me the chance to develop more user-friendly ways of teaching principals these techniques for solving complex problems.

Such work was often described as "professional problem-solving." Its theories, methods and programmes develop in their contexts of application (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994). Researchers work alongside, rather than "on" professional practitioners. Such work exemplifies "Mode 2" knowledge production (Scott, 1995, 1998).

This chapter began by delineating "boundaries with respect to space, time, scale and environment" (Harvey, 1996, p. 53) in the classification of educational theory and research, the allocation of Education staff and students to departments and programmes and the division of Education scholars into professional organisations. The focus then "zoomed out" from such fine-grained disciplinary and thematic classifications in order to conduct an overview of some major tides and currents that have swept across and around the "atolls" of scholars who – at particular times and in particular places – have been identified as specialists. Such an overview inevitably glosses over details, anomalies and exemplars. The view from my "space station" casts part of the knowledge landscape in shadow. But, despite its partiality, a broad cartographic exercise such as this one can sketch peaks and troughs – ebbs and flows – of topics, modes of inquiry, theorists and concepts over time and across academic, political, organisational and pedagogical settings.

How, then, did the students learn to do their research? The formal, or organisational, dimension of doctoral pedagogy includes supervision, formal support groups and financial resources. These are the subject of the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. Some theses whose titles clearly located them within two domains have been classified twice in Fig 4 – for example, a thesis in the "sociology of women's education" appears under "women and gender" and under "sociology." However, a careful reading of other theses would suggest that they, likewise, should be multiply classified.

CHAPTER 4

SUPERVISION AND SUPPORT

In Chapter Two, candidates spoke of coming to be seen and to see themselves as, "doctoral material." They told stories of their "evolution of curiosity and attention" from childhood up to the point at which they enrolled as doctoral students. But, once enrolled, how did these students learn what was and what was not, appropriate as doctoral level research and writing? How did they learn what a doctoral thesis was? Chapter Three located their theses – their research questions, topics and methods – in the discursive fields or webs of conceptual resources, available to them at their time and place. But how did they learn how to speak and write in these coded academic languages? How did they master the craft of thesis writing? "Academics, " writes David Harvey, " surely will ... recognise that how we learn is very different from what we write" (1996, p. 60). Doctoral students learn their craft through both formal and informal means. The private or domestic, dimensions of thesis work will be addressed in the following chapter. This one focuses on the formal pedagogy or official dimension to thesis study.

The formal teacher-student relationship in thesis pedagogy is known as "supervision." As Green and Lee have pointed out (1999, p. 218), this term "carries powerful overtones of "overseeing" (of "looking over" and "looking after") production and development." It epitomises what Foucault called "a relation of surveillance, defined and regulated", which he saw as "inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching." (Foucault, 1977, p. 141). In the supervisor-student relationship,

> ... both the student (the 'candidate') and the dissertation are to be constructed under the authorised and authorising gaze of an already-established, hopefully active researcher-academic, as it were standing in for the field of study in question and for the Academy more generally (Green and Lee, 1999, pp. 218-9).

To graduate as a Doctor is to be licensed or authorised to speak for the discipline. The process of *becoming* a Doctor involves the mastery of knowledge (as evidenced by the production of an intellectually acceptable text) and the development of a scholarly identity through a certain "mastery of the self" (Foucault, 1985, 1986). These twin dimensions – epistemological and psychological – are summarised by Lee and Green: "the process of doctoral supervision is with regard to academic knowledge and identity" (1999, p. 218). This chapter begins by discussing how the students acquired doctoral level academic knowledge. It discusses the students' accounts of how they learned what a doctoral thesis was and their impressions of their supervision. Its final sections explore the process of identification – how the students spoke about coming to identify themselves as scholars.

CRACKING THE CODE

Doctoral study is inherently contradictory. On the one hand, degree regulations require candidates to produce an original contribution to knowledge. A doctoral thesis must demonstrate a student's independence in thinking and in research capability. On the other hand, a doctoral thesis has to comply with regulatory criteria and disciplinary

conventions. The subject (or author) of his or her own behaviour, the doctoral candidate is also subject to university regulations and "the procedural rules of his science" (Schutz, 1970, p. 12). Sue Johnston summarises international debates on this tension between originality and normalisation –

> ... debates have centred around whether the PhD is a form of supervised research training in which skills are the product or whether the focus is on the outcomes of the research in the form of the production of new knowledge or whether the whole exercise is a form of initiation into 'the fraternity of master researchers' (Johnston, 1999, p. 19).

The doctorate authorises or licenses, one to speak as a full member of the academic profession. The doctoral credential signals that its bearer has mastered the conceptual apparatus, codes and conventions of the subject (or discipline). Through practices such as referencing, the academic "cites the conventions of authority" (Butler, 1993, p. 13). Like the judge, the researcher/writer "does not originate the law or its authority; rather, he "cites" the law, consults and reinvokes the law and, in that reinvocation, reconstitutes the law" (Butler, 1993, p. 107). In other words, by engaging with a discipline (or subject), we (re)produce that discipline. How do students learn what it is to think, research and write according to disciplinary norms? How do they "crack the code" of what it means to write a doctoral thesis?

Many of the interviewees had begun to "crack the code" by reading completed doctoral theses. Jean – a 1980s student – said that she "read lots of them, that was a little bit of a help in some ways – to say that there are lots of different ways of what a PhD might look like. I did do that and I thought that was helpful. I teased out what is a PhD or what's a thesis." Barbara – a 1990s student – had " read a lot, I just read a lot in terms of looking at other people's in terms of the structure of the thesis". Owen, an historian whose thesis had been done much earlier than these, described how few exemplars were available to him at the time:

> I inter-loaned some theses. There weren't very many PhDs in the history of education to look at, at all. And most of the Education theses were sort of hands-on type, you know, more professionally-oriented studies even at that stage. So there was very little in sort of history of education.

Gina had spent time –

> ... looking in the library at a couple. That's all I'd done though. I had gone to the Education Department library and had looked at a couple that were finished and that looked like they were in similar areas to mine to get some sense of how big this thing might be and what the scope was. But no-one had told me.

And Roy had "read papers derived from them, obviously, but I'd never sat down with one and read it cover to cover. I had in the library from time to time pulled one off a shelf and thumbed through it – but to actually say that I'd sat down and read one in detail, no I hadn't". Others, such as Rachel, said that they had never read anyone else's PhD thesis, "Even at this stage I still haven't read any other one. I must read somebody's!"

Most of the candidates, however, had already written a thesis at masters level. A few of the more recent students had also had a sound research methods training as a part of their Masters course-work:

> When I went through the Masters programme, a staff member was very supportive in terms of directing me to different sources of information for how to write a thesis. I think based on my experience doing a Masters thesis I thought to myself, 'Maybe I'll acquire the skills to be able to pursue a PhD thesis.'

However, some said that their Masters had not adequately prepared them for doctoral level research. Nigel felt unsure about the difference between a Masters and a doctoral thesis. He explained that, when he enrolled for his PhD,

> Nobody had talked to me about a thesis or research questions. But I had done my Masters research and I had obviously done it well. Now here I was moving on into doctoral level research. I had absolutely no conception of what this might mean, apart from somehow there is some increase somewhere in the nature of what you are doing. But I had no idea of what that actually represented. I had no understanding of what a finished PhD might be that was going to pass – no conception whatsoever. And right through the entire project, I never had any sense apart from what I could glean from reading through successful doctoral studies.

Judith had also done a masters thesis and knew that her PhD "had to be bigger than my Masters thesis, which I've subsequently discovered was far too big for a Masters thesis." She said that she didn't understand the format and requirements of a PhD thesis "until I got to the end and my supervisor told me that it was three times too big 'cause each one of the three parts could have been a thesis in its own right. I never found that out till the end." And Jean said: "I don't think I really did know what a thesis was when I did my Masters one – that it's an argument about something. I don't think I actually knew that at that point."

Several of those interviewed had gone straight from honours into the PhD, so had never done a Masters thesis. Fiona was one of these. It seemed to her that other PhD students –

> ... did actually know how to do research. I had actually no idea whatsoever. I had never been taught how to do research. So the HOD was right about the masterate process being an apprenticeship in a sense. I just knew that if I did my masterate I would never ever go on and do a PhD ...

Douglas was another student who had continued on to his PhD straight from honours. Although he had never written a thesis before, he conceptualised it as just a larger form of the kind of academic writing he had done for his honours papers:

> I'd had a lot of experience writing essays and some smaller research papers. So I guess what I was trying to do was to ensure that this big body of work was as internally coherent as a shorter essay. So I was constantly aware of needing to – for the reader to be aware of what the overall point of it is; how this contributes to the overall point of it and how far along the track we've got.

Others commented that they had learned what a thesis was by doing it. Anna learned "in the process of doing it. I don't even think I looked at anybody else's thesis. I didn't have a sense of it." And Roy had learned "From my supervisor ... You kind of go in cold. You know that it's going to be a research project, you know it's going to be difficult and demanding but you don't know much more."

Chapter One described the pragmatic attitude of some of the younger students who had done their theses in the 1990s as full-time students on scholarships. For them, the doctorate was a qualification and they sought strategies to complete it in the minimum time: "at that stage I thought you got a scholarship for three years; I've got to finish it in the scholarship time or I wouldn't be able to do it. And I just did that actually." Some of these more recent students also had access to formal guidance in how to write a doctoral thesis. Emma explained how "at the time that I was considering enrolling I purchased a book on how to do a PhD." The work of Phillips and Pugh (1987) was the most frequently cited of these manuals. Jean had "read Estelle Phillips' book on how to get your PhD. That was really interesting because that actually then made me realise a lot about process – the process of being a student and also a process of being a supervisor as well. So that was good."

Other formalised support systems described by a few of the 1990s candidates included courses and group meetings set up within faculties or the campus-wide ones run by university staff and student development units. A Waikato student "went to a course – Neil Haigh [the Director of the Teaching and Learning Development Unit] ran a course on what's a thesis so I made sure I got over to that." And an Auckland student had –

> ... joined a network that Barbara Grant and Adele Graham had set up, that was for Ph.D. students. We used to meet the first Friday of every month at the Higher Education Research Office, which was right next door to the Fisher Building where the Education Department was.

Those who had attended campus-wide meetings with other students sometimes had mixed reactions, such as the following: "The first couple of meetings we had, I was just appalled at all these horror stories people well down the track of their PhD were talking about, these horror stories with their supervisors. I thought oh gosh, this is going to be awful!"

Students' experiences of decoding what was expected of a doctoral thesis were encapsulated by Tina, who said that: "Somebody had said to me it was like a detective story – so I just approached it like a detective story." How, then, did these students regard their supervisors in helping them find the clues they needed to solve the mysteries of thesis scholarship?

SUPERVISING KNOWLEDGE

From the 1950s through the 1970s, postgraduate supervision in New Zealand, as in Australia, followed the British model and involved "the matching of a postgraduate student primarily with one supervisor" (Johnston, 1999, p. 23). In the 1950s and 1960s it was rare for any Education staff to have PhDs, so those who supervised the early doctorates often had only Masters level qualifications themselves. Jack explained that his supervisor in the 1960s "had an MA – never done a doctorate. He was extremely well

read, very knowledgeable but, from a 1990s perspective, in terms of theory and so on, I don't think that he would have been strong." As "general practitioners", the early supervisors sometimes had to supervise topics outside their own areas of expertise. Some were also described as lacking in the skills of supervision. Taken together, these gaps in supervisory skills left some of the pioneer Education PhD students struggling on their own.

For example, Jim said, "I didn't have a supervisor. I just went ahead. In fact, my thesis was being typed finally when [the professor] said to me, "We really must talk about your thesis. You should be getting on with it." And I said, "Yes, well [the secretary] is typing it right now." Craig described how in the early 1970s –

> I had one supervisor. In those days it didn't seem necessary to have two – although I don't know what the rules were, quite frankly. But he was the supervisor. I rarely saw him. He was so desperately busy that to achieve more than about a quarter of an hour time with him was very difficult. Our meetings were quite spasmodic. I developed a technique of sending him material that I'd say I wanted him to comment on and then we would meet briefly to get his reactions. I would have to say that largely I did it on my own, which may sound pretty scary now. But I just fought and battled my way through that thing very independently.

Such isolation was not uncommon in the 1950s-70s and Craig had been fortunate in coming to his doctorate with a social science Masters degree that had included a sound research methods training. Within Education, formal training in research methods was often haphazard or non-existent at this time. Some, who had been well supervised for their Masters theses in education, said that: "effectively the real experience I had with research and a research topic at a postgraduate level actually was the Masters thesis, not the PhD. For the PhD, I really was my own supervisor." Donald described the informality of historical research at this time –

> ... nobody gave us a course on how to write a thesis. Nobody said, 'Well now – to get into the library you need to go down and fill in forms and things.' It was terribly, terribly casual. You bowled into the archives ... But after a while they said to us, 'Well look, go and look for yourself, they didn't have time to go.' So all the stuff was there in paper bags, could you believe it? We used to just rustle around the archives and help ourselves to what we wanted and it was terribly, terribly casual. Then round the corner amongst all the shelves at morning tea time, people would gather and have coffee!

A 1970s student described his isolation in the early stages of research design. Supervision, he said,

> ... was relatively minimal ... there weren't discussions in particular associated with conceptualising the research and then conceiving of the design. I think there was an expectation that I should know how to do that or, if I didn't, I would take responsibility for doing that – by proactively going and reading some books or something like that. There were no discussions of that type. It seemed to be contingent on my having written something and handed something over and invited a bit of response on it.

Chapter Three explained how, during these early years, all empirical studies required statistical analysis. However, access to formal statistical training was minimal and most students were self-taught. As Ralph explained, his supervisor "left me to my own devices. At that time there was very little statistical training within the Department. The highest level of statistics available was really working out correlation coefficients manually. There weren't even calculators, let alone computers!" A few had found statistical support from supervisors, from other academics or from other students. For example, Mavis explained that –

> I didn't have very close supervision for this [thesis]. I think poor old Ross[1] and Alan [supervisors] felt the whole thing might be a bit beyond them. But when it got onto the statistical stuff Ross came into his own, very helpful indeed. And so we got through in the end. And then of course they were very good about seeing that the manuscript was clean and in good shape.

While some supervisors were not always helpful in terms of design and content, some of these were invaluable in later stages of the thesis – in helping with formatting, structure and writing style. For Judith, supervision "was appalling! Mine would be the world's worst supervisor until it came to the end and then he was wonderful."

Supervisors who were described as "hopeless" in terms of academic guidance, sometimes helped with more practical support. Paul, who was enrolled in the 1990s, said that at first his supervision had been –

> Hopeless. Not until I went to see [an outside researcher who later became a supervisor] and then she started to give me some feedback on a whole lot of things I had done. I think supervisors can act in all kinds of different ways. Some are really good on the fine-grained detail. That was not Hector's [chief supervisor's] area. Hector was good at seeing the big picture, he was good at tapping into the existing literature. He organised for me to go to Australia to go to a conference and meet some people there – all sorts of things. He wasn't particularly interested in the fine-grained detail of going into a school and how to do the field work.

Help with attending conferences or other mentoring that helped students enter professional networks, was appreciated as an important way of accessing knowledge, of making contact with like-minded scholars and with learning "the tricks of the trade." One young man had been helped by his supervisor to present a paper at the American Educational Research Association conference –

> It's the last thing that you expect as a you know a boy from a country town to be presenting at the Hilton. I can remember standing up there and thinking, 'This is just unbelievable, this just can't be the same planet.' And that to me is one of the most amazing things that Anne [supervisor] has done for me is to really stress the international community. I guess it's also the global village type thing really.

James's supervisor had taken him to another campus to link up with experts in his field. He explained how –

On the way back in the plane we were talking about it and he said, 'What you should do is write this into a paper.' So he showed me how to do it. He showed me how to write a paper, so we wrote our first paper together. He was a very good editor and he was a very good person to help with ideas.

Owen's supervisor had helped him find contract money to support his studies –

My supervisor didn't know an awful lot about what I was doing. He basically left me to it and I wrote it up. I had plenty of other colleagues that I used to work with – one of these did a lot of work in my area as well, so I talked with him a lot. My supervisor just organised the logistics of the thing and helped me apply for money to various outfits in Wellington to pay for the research, which I did.

For some, a clash of personalities or differences in opinion, created tensions between themselves and their sole supervisor. Lionel had experienced this: "We did have meetings and we talked, we argued terribly 'cause I didn't accept his points of view. I was doing the bloody reading! ... He would suggest some things *etc.* but I must say I don't think I academically trusted him – that's how I felt." Margaret described her chief supervisor as–

... a very linear person in the way that she operates. Even though now I see the real advantages in the way that she operated in that it helped me to produce a thesis that had no problem in the examination process. But initially I found that very, very difficult to work with because she wanted me to have lots of i's dotted and t's crossed before I was able to move on to the next thing.

Fiona's supervisor had been erratic in terms of meetings and somewhat remote in his pedagogic style. She described how he –

... had a particular style of supervision, which in many ways suited me, but may not have been the best for me ... I would meet him once every month – or two months or three months or six months. Whenever these reports were required that fell like snowflakes out of the sky, we would suddenly have a meeting ... His style was the style used in England. You sat there while he threw a book at you and said, 'Oh, you could read this,' and then talked at me for an hour or two hours or whatever. And I said, 'Thank you,' and walked out again.

Failure by a supervisor to keep up with the student was a common complaint. A very highly organised student, Christopher found his supervisors did not match his pace:

The supervision was such that I started getting frustrated very early on ... You can imagine the student who in three months had done a hundred readings; had worked out what he wanted to do; had designed his pilot study; submitted his pilot study to the supervisor – who didn't comment on it until it was being carried out.

Another student – who, even in the 1990s, had only one supervisor – said how his commitment to her project had seemed erratic:

I used to grizzle about bloody Jed – what a terrible supervisor! He'd never turn up to meetings – and if he did he didn't read what you had sent him or he didn't set any goals. Where I was working I hadn't actually worked out what the role of a supervisor was and there was nothing there [to guide me with that]. So that was for about a year. And then I thought, 'This is ridiculous. I want to get this thing out of my hair.' So I just worked like a slave and just raced off and did it.

In contrast, Felicity had frequent and regular face-to-face supervision, with meetings "every week and that was his doing." As the mother of a young child, she sometimes had weeks when study was impossible for her. She "would ring him up and say, "I've got nothing to say this week." He'd say, "Come anyway. It doesn't matter." So it was incontrovertible that we would meet for an hour a week at least and have a conversation about it."

By the 1980s, there was a sufficient pool of available supervisors to enable students to be allocated more than one. By the mid-1980s, usually a student had two, but occasionally a student had more than two, supervisors. One student had a panel of four for her interdisciplinary thesis in the 1990s –

I ended up having four supervisors. I think [my chief supervisor] was very good at the beginning. Right at the beginning she wanted me to set an agenda for a group meeting. So I set the agenda and I took my agenda to the meeting. When I got there she turned round and she said, 'Well, you chair the meeting, it's your meeting.' And for me to grow up always looking at people with PhDs – you know high status – that really sort of threw me! But I handled the situation and I think in a way she gave me the chance to be in control right from the beginning. In that meeting we decided that I would call a monthly meeting with them. I'd be quite open to go to any one of them for whatever help I would need in a specific area.

The 1990s students were more pro-active than their predecessors in relation to their supervisory meetings. For example, Jean explained how –

I met them very often. I would never leave one meeting without making the next appointment. Basically I would average monthly, but sometimes even fortnightly. It depended where we were with the research. They were really good with their time. We would have only an hour each time we met, but always once a month and sometimes more regularly than that.

The regularity, duration and nature of supervisory meetings varied greatly – between students and in the work of individual students over time. Most students had times when at least one of their supervisors was off campus on study leave. This had happened to Emma, whose chief supervisor –

... took a year's sabbatical. She gave me her e-mail address and she said, 'Just e-mail me whenever anything happens or you want to discuss something.' I was e-mailing her just about every two weeks with some little thing, because this was near the end of the data collection phase.

Like several of the others interviewed, Emma had found that e-mail contact had some distinct advantages –

> I found the feedback was just so quick and fairly lengthy. It was good to get written feedback versus just feedback within the context of a monthly meeting because within the monthly meeting you can only take in so much at one time as a student and it's often hard to explain. But over an e-mail you can sit there and ponder, 'Now, how do I explain this?' And you put it into sometimes better English in written form than you can in verbal form where it might take a while to put the meaning across. So I actually found e-mail supervision worked very well. She had the time to respond because that's the other issue too with your supervisor. She was a very busy person. I often felt awful going in at times when it wasn't our monthly meeting, although she always did make time. But you do as a student – you're taking up your supervisor's time –

Students with two or more supervisors sometimes spoke of differences amongst them in temperament, style and availability. One of the more outspoken students explained how:

> The meetings themselves were interesting. Joel had a 'let me run approach,' and Tim had a 'niggly, argue the point' approach, which was quite a useful combination. We used to have screaming matches sometimes – me and Tim in Joel's office. You could hear them all the way down the corridor, but it was good!

Anna had to deal with contradictory written comments from her two supervisors –

> My chief supervisor always gave me a lot of detailed feedback. He was good in his written feedback. The second was not so good. They often said things that were opposite to each other, so one would say, 'This bit's fine and that bit's not' and the other one would say the opposite. So that sent me into a bit of a spin at times. But I didn't see them very often.

Others found that "The two styles of supervision were different but complementary". Or that "one was initiating, more directing and the other was more responsive." Lois, who was employed as a lecturer, had two supervisors and said –

> I think I was very fortunate in my supervision. With one of my supervisors, I saw him on a relatively regular basis, because I was teaching alongside him. He was a very committed supervisor and he was a very good supervisor in that he and my other supervisor were able to … ask really nasty questions in the very best way. Neither of them ever once told me what to do, but they were able to question in such a way that I had to come up with the solutions and find out what to do. I think that was a most superb learning experience.

Several had met frequently with one of their supervisors, but only spasmodically with the other, "it was much more sort of haphazard, simply because she was overseas such a lot. But when we did have supervision times and interviews, they usually lasted two to three hours; they were very much in depth and they were very constructive."

For some, supervision took place only at the student's initiative: "I guess there wasn't a structure to it so it was left largely to me to say I want one. We pretty well always met as a threesome. I didn't meet with each of them individually." And for others, it was only when – as one student put it – the six-monthly reports required by university administrators "fell like snowflakes out of the sky", that meetings were held. For James, supervision –

> ... was pretty spasmodic really. At my university they had six-monthly reviews of doctoral candidates so I tended to have a meeting before the six-monthly review and bring him up to date with where I was at. I would usually submit something to him in the way of a report that indicated what I was doing and then we'd have a talk about it.

The regularity and duration of supervision meetings also varied for some students over time – according to the stage the research and writing were at. For example,

> They set the meetings initially and how often. Then somewhere like half way through I started to set the meetings and the agenda. Probably for the first half they drove it and the second half I drove it – and that seemed to be quite a natural progression. None of us discussed that explicitly. They did not say, 'Well, in a year's time, you should be ... dah, dah, dah.' I didn't say to them that I wanted to take more control. It just happened. It just evolved and it evolved in a way that was pretty comfortable for all of us.

Some of those who had done their theses in the 1990s said that they were required to or at their own initiative decided, to keep formal records of their supervision sessions. Dee described her experiments with this: "I tried taping our meetings. I tried various things I had read about and found tapings weren't a terrific idea after all for me. I did take notes and I would send e-mail summaries of our meetings back to them each time."

As has been described in British research, student perspectives were strongly shaped by "whether the student was registered full-time or part-time and if the latter, on what basis" (Acker, 1999, p. 82). Thirty-two of the 57 interviewed for this project did their doctorates while employed full-time or part-time within the same institutions and departments in which they were studying (see also Chapters Two and Five). How did these students experience the supervisory relationship?

SUPERVISING COLLEAGUES

Those who were employed in university Education Departments gave many examples of the tensions between collegial and teacher-student dimensions in their relationships with supervisors. As Harold put it, "Working with colleagues was in some respects difficult." Those who were employed in untenured positions – junior lecturers, tutors, research assistants, etc. – often described feelings of "marginality in both the student world and the faculty one. Their progress on dissertations was impeded by their work responsibilities; yet they were not accepted as equals to faculty members and many expressed discontent with their ambiguous positions" (Acker, 1999, p. 83). Fiona was a scholarship student, but also did some teaching for the department. She described feeling

multiply marginal – as a mature, "second chance" student and as a working-class woman at a time when the vast majority of teaching staff and postgraduate students were male. In the early 1980s, she had participated in a departmental reading group in her subject area, but found this –

> ... appalling, absolutely appalling. It was mainly young junior lecturers with some sprinkling of senior lecturers ... What happened, of course, was that you got these male academics that were really bouncing their macho, showing off stuff against each other, their egos off against each other. And it was very difficult for someone like me.

Her chief supervisor held a senior position – in the department and in the university more generally – and Fiona described his response to her insecurities as follows –

> I talked to him about this ... His view would have been, 'Oh well, education is a gate keeping process and if you can't make it through the gates that is your problem.' He would say these things quite bluntly – 'If you sit there and feel abashed and diminished and unable to put forward your views because people talk over you, that is the gate-keeping process. You have to get so you can do that.'

Another young woman – around the same time and working in similar circumstances on another campus – experienced –

> ... a kind of funny sexual tension between me and my chief supervisor, which I found difficult. It meant that I was quite neurotic about going to see him. I used to spend most of the supervisory time together with other things going on in my head other than concentrating on what was going on intellectually. And it wasn't a very satisfying relationship really.

"Falling out" with a supervisor who was senior and more powerful in a departmental hierarchy, created huge tension. One young tutor had difficulties with her supervisor, who was Dean and Head of Department. "I felt I had no recourse. I had no one." At that time her other supervisor was overseas on leave. Another senior colleague had helped out informally: "What happened was that Sean at that point realised what was happening with me and he took up what was an almost third supervisory role."

Conversely, becoming too friendly with one's supervisor could also become problematic. One young woman explained that her supervisor –

> ... very quickly became a friend as opposed to a supervisor. It made life difficult in some ways, but a lot easier in others. Initially we were meeting not terribly frequently – mostly initiated by me so there was nothing organised. There were no two weekly sort of 'Have something organised for two weeks and we'll see what you've been doing.' It was mostly if I just saw her in the staff-room or something and said, 'I need to talk to you.'

Some supervisors who had become personal friends with their students did not always draw the line between formal and casual contacts. For example, "My supervisor yet

again was talking on the telephone while you should have been having supervision and you kind of left the room thinking, "Well that was a waste of time." I just kind of muddled along with a combination of supervision and friends basically."

Tina was tutoring in the same department as her supervisor, who –

> ... had the office next to me anyway so we often used to talk informally about what was happening ... Some of the time she initiated the conversation but she'd know because I was absent that I was working on something. I tried to write a couple of conference papers a year. So she knew what I was up to most of the time simply because of our geographical location.

However, this supervisor drew boundaries between such informal contact and a formal supervisory session –

> We then would have meetings where I would say, 'Can I see you for a time to talk about my research?' And they were different in so far as she would close the door and take her phone off the hook. That was hugely important to me because – even if it was twenty minutes or half an hour or whatever it was – I just saw it as being hugely important, the importance that she'd placed on it.

For some student/staff members, formal supervision sessions seldom occurred. For example, Brian's supervisory meetings usually occurred or were initiated in the corridor–

> Because I was in the department as a staff member at the time I was doing it and he was there from time to time, we would chat about it in the corridor. But we didn't have regular meetings that were scheduled. They tended to be just opportunistic. Whenever the occasion arose or when I was planning to do something – especially at the time that I was starting to set up the interviews. But there were long periods when we didn't have much contact.

Anna was also a tutor/ student. She explained that her supervision mainly involved getting written feedback on drafts, which she would give to her two supervisors and then wait –

> ... for maybe two weeks. They were pretty good at turning stuff around. They didn't keep me waiting for a long time and they would just put it back in my pigeon-hole. I had a pigeon-hole there because I was doing some tutoring and assistant lecturing and so on, so I would wait with baited breath, of course and I'd see it in my pigeon-hole and my little heart would be beating to see what would be the reaction.

Some of the more mature students described close collegial relationships – as equals – with their supervisors. At the time of his enrolment, Maurice and his chief supervisor "already had at the level of supervisor and student, a pretty kind of healthy collaborative and dialogical sort of relationship. I mean teaching together on MA papers is somewhat unusual I guess and so we had a pretty good relationship to start with." Similarly, Barry described his supervision as "a collegial thing" and his two supervisors as –

... both colleagues. They had both done their PhD's in North America but we were teaching together so they were enormously supportive as colleagues. I guess I was fairly hot on the stuff in terms of where I had come from as somebody involved in [their field] and so on. I had no quibbles about their supervision at all.

George – a senior lecturer – had an enjoyable intellectual engagement with his supervisor, who –

... was a great supervisor from my point of view in the sense that he gave me lots of space, took for granted that I knew what I was doing and basically just engaged at the level of ideas. That's exactly what I wanted – to be challenged on the conceptual stuff and I found that very good. I had no problem. I was very experienced by this stage at being able to just write. I'd very few re-drafts – I just put it together.

Some of those who had attained senior positions before embarking on their doctorates socialised with their supervisors and collegial gatherings often blurred the boundaries between formal and informal interchange. George explained that –

We had sort of regular meetings. Sometimes we'd talk about the thesis and sometimes we had a few drinks and so on. My chief supervisor was very responsive to the written stuff. It was basically once the written stuff was in, he was able to assist. But other than that we'd interacted a lot anyway as colleagues. We had a group of three of us – I guess they also [helped] in a sense because we worked together; we liked to socialise together as well; and there's a lot of stuff that we were talking about. So there's an informal level of supervision. I'm probably lucky and privileged from the position of being a staff member when doing it.

While some of the more senior academics who were simultaneously enrolled in doctorates felt supported in their collegial networks, many of the more junior colleagues who were also students, expressed feelings of isolation, lack of confidence and continuing self-doubts – matters that will be more fully addressed in Chapter Five. Such feelings have often been described in the literature as intrinsic to the PhD experience (Christian-Smith and Kellor, 1999; Holbrook and Johnston, 1999). Others have identified "a possible mismatch in expectations held by supervisors and postgraduate students. Supervisors tend to emphasise the intellectual aspects of postgraduate research while students emphasise the interpersonal and support aspects of the supervisory relationship" (Johnston, 1999, p. 24). One young man described his supervisor's most valued contribution as the emotional support she had given him –

We used to have lots of discussions but in the end it would come down to her just bolstering my confidence – that I could actually go away and do what I had to do without having my hand held all the time. And so she would just tell me basically to just go away and do it and in the end I did. It was interesting – sometimes it didn't feel very satisfactory but then at other times I quite liked the distance that we had in the supervision.

In addition to their formal supervision, many had participated in student support groups in their departments or on campus more widely.

SUPPORT AND MENTORING

The financial support these students received will be reviewed in the following chapter. However, here it is important to look at the informal supervision some students received as a result of their involvement in research contracts and teams. At least 11 (around 20%) of those interviewed had participated in a research contract during their PhD and had linked their contract research work and their thesis. Contractors included several government departments, research institutes such as NZCER and advisory bodies like the Maori Education Foundation. This pattern bears some of the hallmarks of Mode 2 knowledge production: "The research agenda is formed and funds are attracted in a different way" from the Mode 1 pattern of "disciplinary research" in universities (Gibbons, 1998, p. 77). In Mode 2, "Researchers work in teams on problems that are set in a very complex social process and are relatively transient and move about according to the dictates of problem interest. Participation in these problem contexts is necessary to keep up with what is going on" (Gibbons, 1998, p. 77).

While enrolled for his New Zealand PhD, Albert had the opportunity to take leave from his lectureship and work overseas –

> I was actually a 'visiting lecturer' collaborating with a research team and with responsibility for leading one of the (quite large) projects. At the time [the overseas project director] knew I would be submitting my work for a [New Zealand] PhD, but the question of supervision as such was never raised. To all intents and purposes I was part of the team.

He said that, "I doubt that I even referred to my 'supervisor' in NZ. I just got on with it and eventually produced what was the written study that was then presented and marked. There might have been one or two corrections to make but by and large there was no objection."

Others had joined team projects that were led by their supervisors. At the time Perry was beginning his thesis, his "supervisor said, "Well do you want to do some work on this?" I actually ended up being a regional manager for that and then it kind of made sense to tie that into my PhD – use the same skills that the project used and also the sample." Another student who was part of a larger project had quarrelled with the project director, who was also the chief supervisor. This conflict led to the withdrawal of the second supervisor: "... when all this blew up, my second supervisor was my chief supervisor's mate ... He felt quite uncomfortable and backed out and said, "Look, I am a [specialist in another methodology]. I am not any good at this sort of stuff anyway."

Several of those interviewed had won contracts from the Department/ Ministry of Education. These had enabled them to gather data that was used in the formal reports to the Ministry as well as in the thesis. Gina was employed as a lecturer and also won a Ministry research contract, for which she was required to write regular "milestone" reports:

> I did have a full position, so I worked fairly solidly and hard. But also once I knew where I was going I had some other deadlines along the way such as the reporting

I needed to do to the Ministry in terms of milestones and reports. And that does keep you going, because you've got to produce something there and show what's going on, have advisory group meetings and so on.

The formal advisory group set up by the Ministry to support her project had been useful and had informally "filled in gaps" when her supervisors had sabbatical leave –

I was very new. I'd never participated in any contract like that so there was a fair bit of learning. But in fact that was very useful and some of the advisory group members ended up acting – and asking questions – like some supervisors would. My supervisors were both on my advisory group. There were also Ministry people and other people who had been placed on it. They gave me quite a big group – it was quite surprising – and just sent them all here two or three times during the project.

Students' general relationships with colleagues who were not involved in their supervision will be discussed in the following chapter. Important to their supervision, however, were the student support groups and courses organised by or for PhD students on campus. Grant, a lecturer, had "initiated a support group" with two of his departmental colleagues who were doing their PhDs at the same time –

We got together and talked about what we did a bit. There were a couple of other students who were full-time PhD students at the time as well. We got together and just met and talked about our common concerns really – more like a support group than anything else. It wasn't a discipline group – we weren't talking about our own studies, I don't think we even talked about them to each other very much. It was just like, 'How are we going, what's happening?' We talked about the support that the department gave us -and things of that sort. So that was another motivation – three of us were all moving on together. We finished in the same year. And we were all pretty close to each other in terms of finishing at the same time.

Others had not succeeded in establishing such student groups. Delwyn described how, in her department –

There was nothing formal. There were always noises about getting something organised – meeting every couple of weeks or once a month or something and basically just having a whinge about what was going on or how you were doing and things. It would quite often take shape on the initiative maybe of one person who would get a few people together, but it would quickly fall by the wayside.

However, while more formal student group support was not forthcoming, Delwyn was close to several other scholarship students who had office space in her department at the time –

There were three or four of us who were either sharing offices or in rooms next door to each other. You'd just see them at morning tea or go and pay a visit for a bit of a gossip. And you would invariably talk about what you were doing. Those

sorts of sessions were much more nurturing in terms of helping you through your difficulties and so on than anything that was formalised or anything that actually came out of the supervision process.

Others had initiated contact with academics from other places. For example, Delwyn had "relied a bit on sending stuff to other academics at other universities. There was one in particular ... he was somebody I'd come across in doing my reading." Similarly, Anna had sought academic support overseas at a time when her main supervisor –

> ... was into all sorts of other things. I felt that I was off on my own little track, so I was very isolated and I didn't have a lot of confidence because I didn't really know what I was doing. I was working with books, you know. At one stage I actually took myself off to Australia to visit [an authority in my field] because I'd read her book and enjoyed it very much. That was a self-motivated little thing to do, which was quite surprising given that I was not, you know, highly confident. But I went over there and visited her and she was enormously supportive and pleasant. I did a seminar in her department and she was great. I found her very helpful but I still wasn't taking myself particularly seriously. I still was just a babe in the woods in lots of ways. I suppose I remained that, but that's where I got most of my encouragement really – from people like her and from just reading.

IDENTIFYING SCHOLARS

This chapter has so far explored how students experienced supervision in relation to learning how to write at doctoral level. "Hailed" or addressed as doctoral material at the time of enrolment, the student struggles to produce something original and to meet the requirements of supervisors, examiners, disciplinary conventions and university regulations. Even a ground-breakingly original thesis must acknowledge and engage with the conventions, while challenging or attempting to alter them. In citing the law of the discipline or field, by speaking its language and engaging with its stylistic conventions, a researcher/writer not only *produces*, but is also *produced* – as an educational psychologist or curriculum theorist or leadership authority, *etc.* (Butler, 1993, 1997; Johannesson, 1998).

As Green and Lee express this, "what is at stake in doctoral work and postgraduate supervision, over and above the much-vaunted contribution to knowledge, is precisely the (re)production of an intelligible academic identity – a certain kind of (licensed) personage" (Green and Lee, 1999, p. 219). Becoming a "Dr" involves the psychological process of coming to identify – and be identified – as (a specific type of) scholar. As one graduate put it, her doctorate had been a "validation of myself and a validation of my thoughts. You know, "She's always got an opinion about something but she's also got a PhD!" You're allowed to have an opinion if you've got a PhD." Now that she had her PhD, she said, her opinions counted – she could speak as an academic authority in her discipline or subject.

Many have written of their sense of alienation from the language of "citation" and their struggles for permission to write or speak with a "natural" voice in doctoral writing. Christian-Smith wrote of this as a "loss of self" that was "mirrored in a loss of voice during class discussions and in the awkward style of my writing. For the longest time, it was as if some other person were writing the essays and dissertation" (1999, p. 50). Similarly, Comber described how "new words hung on me like someone else's clothes"

(Comber, 1999, p. 133). Even after graduating as Dr, to maintain an academic identity, scholars need continual and repeated, recognition of their work. Luke (1997) describes the "reputational capital" needed to sustain an academic career. While this is formally sustained through publications, informal measures are also significant in this. He discusses the "reputational trading pits" of international conferences, where "gossips gauge the merits of the "emerging star", the "has been" or the "never was ..." (Luke, 1997, p. 56).

As Butler explained, academic "identifications are never fully made; they are incessantly reconstituted and, as such, are subject to the volatile logic of iterability" (Butler, 1993, p. 105).

The comments of supervisors, difficulty with understanding academic language or sheer stress and exhaustion, can all undermine a PhD student's shaky sense of competence. One of the interviewees felt as if her supervisor –

> ... didn't realise how much I didn't understand what was going on. I mean I couldn't really read the language most of the time. I really struggled with the jargon of that academic education for so long because it didn't mean anything to me. I was working in an area that was particularly starting to be jargonised ... new ways of talking about these things. I found it very difficult because, while I was a good reader, I had never had to deal with this very academic language before and I found that incredibly difficult.

Some of the students had started their doctoral studies feeling confident in their fluency with academic language. However, even these more confident students sometimes felt humiliated when they encountered difficulties with doctoral level language or received candid feedback from their supervisors. For some, this felt like a "fall" – for example, from the position of an "A+" masters or honours student to one of novice or from a relationship of collegiality to a relation of master and apprentice –

> It was a real confidence rocker for me at the time because I'd gone through a bachelor's degree and a Masters degree and got really good grades. When I was studying [overseas] I had a very high grade point average and then I came back to do a PhD and I was suddenly sitting there thinking, 'I don't know whether I'm up to this!'

This sense of alienation from academic language or loss of voice, was particularly common amongst – although by no means limited to – those from working-class backgrounds. As Jonathon put it, "the self doubting elements were always there. They are still there ... and that's why the PhD mattered." Similarly, Janine said, "I used to lie rigid at night thinking, "I think I'm a fraud!" Lucy commented that: "Only this year [after graduation] I can stand up and talk, feel good. I still feel a hell of a fraud." And Sonia spoke of how she –

> ... didn't believe for most of the process of doing my PhD that I could do it. I went crying around the department one day, saying I couldn't do it. I said, 'I cannot write a PhD, I've been found out!' This is an interesting epistemology: 'I have reached the limits of my ability and now I have been found out and I can't do a PhD.'

This feeling of being out of place, however, while at times painful, could also provide the critical edge that offers the "marginal" identity (the working-class, Maori *etc.* student) an oblique and distinctive, view of the world. As others have noted – and as interviews cited in Chapters Two and Three illustrate – it is through the cracks and fissures in what is normally taken for granted that critical theories and original ideas sometimes emerge. Edward Said, for example, writes of: "the pleasures of exile, those different arrangements of living and eccentric angles of vision that it can sometimes afford, which enliven the intellectual's vocation, without alleviating every last anxiety or feeling of bitter solitude" (Said, 1993b, p. 39). This can serve to "... awaken, to disclose the ordinarily unseen, unheard and unexpected" (Greene, 1995, p. 28).

Dee spoke of the emotional turmoil she experienced in facing what she had felt to be personal inadequacies –

> You have got to strip down to your bones basically and all the things that you don't know and all the things you need to learn and it is a very humbling experience. And, because of that, a painful, but incredible and fruitful, journey. It is both – bitter/sweet; pleasure/pain ambiguity. The whole process is a series of ambiguities. It is learning to relax in that ambiguity. It is learning to go with the roller coaster of emotions knowing that, sure, you might be hurtling downwards at the moment, but you will be hurtling upwards shortly and that will continue that amazing fascination. And that is normal!

She explained that "Learning to take criticism in feedback is the big lesson of the PhD process" and told a story of her process of "learning to take criticism and feed back." Her chief supervisor was a colleague of hers –

> I had to give a class for him one night. We were walking back and discussing how it went and I said to him, 'Oh look, while we're here I would like to talk about what is happening in our PhD process.' And he said, 'Oh sure, what do you want to talk about?' And I just burst into tears and said, 'I am just useless and you think I'm an idiot and I am just not getting anywhere.' I was really upset. And to my surprise, he was astounded and said, 'Well I am shocked. I had no idea that you felt that way and I think the opposite – I think you are doing extremely well.' I said, 'You have given me absolutely no indication of that. I've tried to read and learn from you, but I have had no indication that in fact I was making the slightest bit of progress.' It was a classic culture mismatch – and I mean cultural in the broader sense of the term. He felt he could be really critical because he felt I was making such good progress and I felt he was really critical because I was so useless – we misinterpreted each other – we just had this incredible mis-communication. He thought he was just pushing me and challenging me and guiding me and he was, but in a way that I wasn't necessarily reading as such.

Roy described a similar loss of confidence. By the time he enrolled, he had a senior teaching position in a tertiary institution, had worked collegially with his chief supervisor and had research experience both locally and overseas. However, he found feedback from his chief supervisor difficult to handle –

What would happen and I found it discouraging at times, was I would write 10 or 15 pages – I'd kick out a chapter and my supervisor would give me 10 or 15 pages of closely typed script back going through all the things that weren't right with it. When this process started, there were times during it I have to admit I was nearly in tears. I thought, 'Will I ever get a handle on this, will I ever get it right?' Not get it right but just, 'Is it ever going to be of the standard that he's going to be happy with?' And eventually it was.

Doing such work involves what Foucault called struggles "between oneself and oneself" (Foucault, 1985, p. 66). He argued that this involves ethical work "that one performs on oneself, not only in order to bring one's conduct into compliance with a given rule, but to attempt to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one's behaviour" (Foucault, 1985, p. 27). Perry said that "a PhD teaches you a lot about your own stamina and your ability to keep going with something when it is pretty tough – I think that is probably the major thing. I think a lot of it is that kind of stickability that gets you through it." Gordon described how: "Writing for me is hard work – I really labour over it. I would like to think that I write quite well because I work at it and I am really hard on myself." Similarly, Lionel said –

I don't type ... I like redrafting. I'm not a technological person at all but when I write I have a terrible desire to be a craftsperson. So I'll write and write and rewrite and rewrite forever and that's why I had become quite a good teacher of how to write essays. But it's like playing the piano, I'm never satisfied ... it's a public performance as far as I'm concerned. Obsessive natures!

Several students described their struggles "between oneself and oneself" as obsessive, confining them at home for long periods, isolated from the outside world –

It was actually quite painful – that obsessive compulsive disorder where you'd kind of go to bed sleeping, thinking about it, dreaming about it. And then wake up in the morning, trying to solve what I thought was a logical problem that was absolutely at the centre of the thesis and so on. Of course it wasn't and wasn't particularly important, but I'd get up at these points and scribble down notes madly.

Others spoke of trying to avoid such obsession and described attempts at integrating thesis work with other dimensions of their working and personal lives. With respect to this, Bill's sole supervisor was inspirational. Bill esteemed him for both the quality of his scholarship and the balance and moderation of his general approach to life –

I looked at him and I learnt a lot. I saw somebody who was at work early in the morning, who worked to 6 o'clock and who went home. He made a point of spending time at the weekends with his family – this could not always happen, but it was important to have a balance. He had a balance in his life. I saw the human side of him and the academic. I saw him as a mentor and I thought he was a wonderful model to follow ... I thought he had got things in balance. He was a successful academic, he was not tilting too far one way and, as a workaholic, I needed that kind of warning.

These examples illustrate how thesis writing stretches beyond the struggles of "self with self" – it is a profoundly inter-personal process. This chapter has focused on pedagogical relationships on campus. However, doctoral studies are also woven through the off-campus locations students occupy – their workplaces and homes, for example. A thesis threads its way through all the relational webs in which a student's life is enmeshed – family, friendships, community and wider collegial networks. It is to these that the following chapter turns.

FOOTNOTE

1. Pseudonyms are used for all supervisors in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5

MANAGING TIME AND SPACE

Where and when, did the students read, think and write? The interviews included many accounts of how they managed time and organised space. They spoke of struggles to make time; clear space or create a private place in which to read, think and write. Questions of time and space have already been raised in this monograph. Chapters One and Three discussed problems of mapping knowledge – in both the metaphorical sense of fields of knowledge and in the geographical sense of the architectural places academics occupy. Chapter Four raised questions about students' and supervisors' locations on campuses. However, thesis work takes place in multiple locations. This chapter widens this spatial focus by adding these other locations. How did they reconcile the spatial, temporal and relational demands – simultaneous and competing – of thesis research, work-places and households? How did they handle the physical and emotional stresses of 'mapping' the thesis into their everyday working and personal lives?

THE PLACE OF ACADEMIC WORK

"Space", writes David Harvey (1996, p. 267), "may be forgotten as an analytical category open to questioning, but it is omnipresent as an unquestioned category in everything we do." The concepts of time, space and place have been debated in a vast theoretical literature. Within some fields of inquiry, 'space' refers to a mapped abstraction and 'place' to a lived reality: "in contrast to spaces, which were represented through scientific rational measurements of location, places were full of human interpretations and significance" (Rose, 1993, p. 294). This distinction is difficult to sustain (Haraway, 1997, p. 135) and in this chapter I use 'space and place' somewhat inter-changeably. However, as far as the distinction can be sustained, place will refer to the locations to which individuals are emotionally attached and spiritually grounded (their homes, their rooms, their lands *etc.*); and space will refer to abstractions and metaphors (head-space, theoretical space, *etc.*). To introduce the complexities of space, place and time in the students' lives, some examples are useful.

Dee's description of the early stages of her doctoral research contains such references–

> The first six months were terribly angst driven. I wandered around reading way out, this great breadth of Pacific Ocean reading, in order to try and write something that was fine and focussed and blazing – only to find that I couldn't bridge the gap between the Pacific Ocean of reading to this fine line of academic writing. And that was painful – trying to tame the ocean, trying to pull it into something that was going to be really focussed. That took six months and I felt like I was wasting time. I could hear the clock, "tick, tick, tick." And I could feel my anxiety levels rising 'cause I was on study leave to begin it and I just felt it was going nowhere. I got very fit. I went for lots and lots of runs and after each run I would think, "I've got it now and I know where I am going!" – only to go and do a classroom observation and find that I was more confused than ever.

There is poetry in Dee's account – a "Pacific Ocean of reading" – and metaphors of bridges, gaps and fine lines. There are also images of movement within and between spaces – peripatetic work-habits of wandering around to read and thinking while going on runs. Similarly, Dee speaks of the pressures of institutional time – the timeframe of her allocated weeks of study leave from her university job, the length of time university regulations allow for completion of a doctorate and the minutiae of daily timetables in the schools in which she does her fieldwork. Following Foucault (1997), David Harvey called this "the practical rationalisation of space and time" (1990, p. 259).

My second example is Bill, who was working as a university teaching assistant while doing his PhD –

> Everyone needs a little secret place. When I look back on my thesis I can see when I wrote bits and pieces of it. Much of it was written during long periods of recess when I wasn't teaching. A lot of it was written over December and January – we had three-term years, so we had our two weeks in May and two weeks in August and a lot of the work went on around that time. Physically, as a place in which to work, I did as much of it as I could in my office at the university and would put up a note on Monday saying that's my research day, when I do my writing. I would do work at home, we've got a reasonably large house and I've got my own study so I'd work there. People knew not to disturb me then ...

The spatial and temporal conditions – the constraints and possibilities – for the production of Bill's thesis were contingent on the ebbs and flows of the university timetable. Bill's use of two spaces – an office on campus and a room in his home – involved complex strategies for managing his relationships with colleagues, students and loved ones. "Social relations", writes Harvey (1996, p. 112), "are always spatial and exist within a certain produced framework of spatialities. Put another way, social relations are, in all respects, mappings of some sort, be they symbolic, figurative or material. The organisation of social relations demands a mapping so that people know their place."

Gordon's thesis seeped into his most private domestic places: "I kept a notebook beside my bed and a biro and I used to wake up and think 'Wow I've got this wording,' then I'd scribble it down and read it in the morning. "Oh, my god," I'd think, "what is this load of nonsense?" In contrast, Anna tried, sometimes unsuccessfully, to keep her university work apart from her domestic life. She liked to keep the two –

> ... pretty separate in the sense I didn't ever really talk to Edward [partner] about it. I talked to my friends about it. I didn't talk to Edward about it. I just came home and I became the mother. I enjoyed that, that separation actually. I became more and more depressed while I did the thesis and more and more isolated and more and more confused – that horrible sense of isolation. The mood of the thesis came home with me a lot and it's amazing what Edward put up with. I used to cry in the evenings sometimes, just desperate really. He must have felt that stress that I brought home with me.

Lenore, who was employed as a university lecturer, had a tightly regulated system of organising time and space at work and at home over a 24-hour day –

> I wrote regularly, every day. People soon learnt that if my door [at work] was shut, I'd been working on something; I didn't want interruptions, which was usually

when I was working on new stuff. And if my door was open I didn't mind people coming in, but I usually always had something I was working on on the screen. Then at night I would review what I'd written, I'd edit what I'd written and then in the night while I was asleep, I'd plan my next morning's writing.

Christopher was similarly well organised, but had to make sacrifices in his artistic interests in order to find time for the thesis –

There were trade-offs for me – I had to demarcate in my life and interests and work. I decided that research was my hobby and it wasn't my work. I had to demarcate between my work and my hobby. It's been interesting since I've put the PhD down because my real hobbies have come out. They were obviously repressed at the time. You can't do all that you want to do so you've actually got to prune out things from your life.

In all these examples, the students are "mapping" – they demarcate activities according to location, time and social context. As Harvey has expressed it (1996, p. 111) –

The discursive activity of 'mapping space' is a fundamental prerequisite to the structuring of any kind of knowledge. All talk about 'situatedness', 'location' and 'positionality' is meaningless without a mapping of the space in which those situations, locales and positions occur. And this is equally true no matter whether the space being mapped is metaphorical or real.

The "metaphorical spaces" Harvey refers to were sometimes vividly depicted in the interviews. Fantasies and dreams about academic life often took the form of spatial metaphors – like Dee's Pacific Ocean of reading. Interviewees spoke of their imagined, as well as their experienced, scholarly lives. As a student, Roy compared higher education with what, during his childhood in the 1960s, was a glittering new urban shopping centre–

... when you got right to the top of the escalator you came out on a sort of rarefied floor. There were a few offices there and a beautiful plush carpet ... At that time I felt that maybe education was a bit like that. If you went up all these escalators, finally you'd get to this plush place at the top where everybody knew all the answers and wouldn't that be great? So I sort of just went into doing a PhD.

In the early 1960s, as a schoolboy, a future philosopher had haunted the bohemian quarter of his city, swept up in a fantasised Parisian existentialism –

I do remember when coffee bars were all the rage, sitting in coffee bars, reading this book by Jean-Paul Sartre, his book called *Words*, his little autobiographical book. Well, before I'd even really heard the term 'philosophy', here I was reading this book, smoking my cigarettes and being very attracted to the French kind of intellectual life, I guess. It's really quite odd, because where I got those images, I don't know, where I got those views – television I think to some degree.

However, the "daily grind" of reading, thinking and writing generally took place in less glamorous surroundings. For Sam the fantasy and the reality of a doctoral environment were very different –

You always imagined that if you actually do a PhD or something, which I guess as a kid must have seemed very grand, that you must be in a big academic house and have walls full of library books and comfortable settees and things. But that hasn't been the case at all. So actually managing the space of the thesis has always been a difficult one for me.

A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN?

In historical texts, the reading and writing scholar has commonly been portrayed as a monadic individual locked away to think and write in seclusion. Scholarly works have been characterised as products of individual, disembodied thinking minds and as grounded in "conceptions of originality and of the bounded individual with property in the self" (Haraway, 1997, p. 72). Historians have described the development of the persona of the "man of letters" and how this was accompanied by the "insertion of truly private and individualised male space – the study – into the house" (Harvey, 1996, p. 228). The territory of the rational autonomous man of Enlightenment print-based culture, the study was "an intellectual space beyond sexuality and the power of the woman, it was the space of an isolated male identity engaged in writing" (Harvey, 1997, p. 228). When, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, intellectual women sought admission to a "rational man's education," a "room of one's own" (Woolf, 1928) became an object of feminist demand. "It was," wrote Harvey, "from this kind of space that a certain kind of 'monadic' discourse became possible" (1996, p. 228). The dedicated study-room in the home signalled "a withdrawal from the 'chaos' of daily life and the shaping of knowledge and identity through the production of texts produced in enclosed, secure and very private spaces" (p. 228).

Max had such a space: "I had split from my wife and was living alone." He said that, for him, "there was a kind of mystique to do with the PhD itself which I saw in quasi sort of monastic religious terms – this kind of process that you entered into with the material that you were dealing with." He used marijuana to intensify his focus, as he found that it enlarged his "inner space" –

> I was smoking quite a lot of dope and various other things. All of that channelled me into almost adopting a sort of reverence to the text and engaging in a kind of idolatry with the [theorists I was studying] and that's really obsessive. It's like a stalker, an academic stalker, stalking his texts, following him around, reading his thoughts, reading their correspondence and letters and that sort of thing. I think it's totally unhealthy.

He explained how he had "very little money" and described his "monastic cell" as improvised –

> I was 'on the bones of my arse', so to speak. I came across this wonderful idea which was to take one of those old doors down and to have a couple of chains at either end and to hang it from a wall. So you had this huge kind of desk and you could anchor it and it was an absolutely brilliant work-space. I had this old villa. It was quiet and it was a great working place and I worked from home basically.

Such monastic seclusion, however, was the exception. Thirty of the interviewees had young children living at home; 13 had no children at the time; others had teenaged or

adult children. Six were single in the sense of never-married; four moved into new relationships during the thesis; five were divorced at the time of the thesis; ten marriages or long-term partnerships broke up during the thesis. Many of those interviewed had done their thinking and writing in a "room of their own" at home. Creating such space usually involved complex negotiations.

Freda and her husband "built a house. I wanted a study and the architect drew the study out of it, eliminated the study from the building plans. I said, 'I need a study,' and he said, 'People just think they need one, but they never really use them.' I fought and I got this tiny little compact space." Harold also sought isolation and, like several others, had "a bach [hut] out the back, a little outside room, so I used to work out there because I could spread my paper round. But it was unheated; it was unbearable. It was not insulated in summer – it was like an oven even with all the windows opened and in winter it was like an icebox. So it was hard to work." Similarly, James had a study at home that was outside: "It was a little sort of detached den outside the house. So I used to retreat out there." He described how his insulation from the family impressed his growing children, who, now adults –

> ... can still remember their mother saying, 'Don't disrupt Daddy, he's working on his PhD.' They never knew what this PhD meant but they can still remember that Daddy was working on his PhD, he was buried away out in his study. I can remember working out there often late at night and so on when the children were in bed. But I didn't do any PhD work in my office [on campus] because I found that I had to keep the two things separate.

Some, whose homes and workplaces did not afford such seclusion, sought it elsewhere. One man, whose wife worked in a profession, said that he had "spent weekends and weekends in my wife's office in town because it was the quietest place I could be." Similarly, a man with a high-powered (non-academic) job as well as young children had worked in a friend's house –

> Every Sunday I would pack up my kit bag and I would go over there. I would try and start work by about 8.30am or 9.00am and I would work through until 5.00pm or 5.30pm every Sunday and every public holiday. One of the difficult things about that and I'd never recommend it, is because you've got to engross yourself when you're writing it up, it's got to become a thing that you become immersed in. But with me it never could be, because I had my job.

The domestic study room – as Harvey and others had argued – had been designed for the rationally autonomous scholarly man. In the 1920s, on the basis of her studies of the lives of women novelists, Virginia Woolf (1978, p. 64) lamented that "if a woman wrote, she would have to write in the common sitting room." For Woolf, the comings and goings of others in the household were distractions and intruded into the writing process. However, some of those interviewed – both women and men – disliked feeling "cut off" and preferred to feel in contact with their families. For example, Mary observed that: "I've got a study now, but I don't use it because I'm attuned to working at the table. I don't mind a bit of noise and music and people coming in and out. But that's probably because I grew up in a big family where you had to work like that." Christine described how she –

... became quite adept ... at managing to write in my study with four or five rather large kids thumping around the rest of the house. I am a person who can write for half an hour and get up and bake a batch of scones and go back and write for another hour and a half – no problem. I can write in a messy situation and I learnt that I had to do that. That was also the way I'd operated as a senior teacher – going into the study to write policies and going out to check the dinner was OK and going back to write more policies. You learn to do that.

A number of the fathers interviewed felt similarly. Noel explained, "I had a little study off the bedroom at home. It was a purpose designed place, although I found it very difficult to work in it because it was too disconnected from that life that was still going on around me. I worked very comfortably with having a lot of things happening around me." Similarly, Craig described how he and his wife "had a fourth bedroom which we allocated as a study for the duration of that project. That was a godsend because it was actually adjacent to the family room so I was always connected still to the family." Nigel, too, had "decided that most people's lives got wrecked by living in libraries, so what I did was I simply went to the library and I photocopied all the articles. I brought them home and I read them there." He explained that –

I never worked at the office and always worked at home. I built a kind of a bedroom/study, which was right adjacent to the dining room. The door was always open so I was always accessible. My children were aged round 18-20 at the time, so they were not young children ... Most of the work was occurring say 7.00pm through to 9.00pm and then some days I'd get up at 4.00am in the morning and do a couple of hours before breakfast.

Not all, however, were able to work at home. Some of the full-time students, who were trying to sustain themselves with scholarships and casual employment, used library space and/or departmental graduate rooms. For example: "I was in a one-bedroom bed-sit. I couldn't afford anything more. I had no space to work at so whatever space the university could provide me with as a PhD student was my space. And so my thesis was largely completed at the university rather than in my living area." Some had acted as hostel wardens – earning free board in exchange for what were often minimal duties. Emma was young and single and had won –

... a total free fellowship, no responsibilities! It was there for me to be basically a role model for the other students without having to do anything – to be a role model. I just had to sit at the high table. It was very formal ... Girls had to be in dresses and boys a shirt and tie ... It was a very safe secure environment. I thrived in that homely environment and I could focus on my PhD. There was a cleaner to clean the room and that was great.

While for some it was a question of making room wherever they could, for others the decision to work on campus rather than at home was a deliberate choice. For example, Gordon said that he had written his thesis "mostly in my office at the university, because I tried to keep a division between work and home. I have had a study at home but it is usually set up with my hobby ... I don't really like being in my study at home for university work – I see a tension between things." Several other men also liked to keep

domestic life and academic work apart. Barry's wife was also a student and needed the use of their domestic study-space. Barry described how he accommodated this: "We never had any difficulty in negotiating the fact that family time was in the early evening. I would often come back to work very late – I would come back on campus at 8.00pm and stay there until well after midnight."

The location of the candidate's work was sometimes influenced by the technology available to them at the time and as appropriate to the stage the research was at. Ralph wrote his thesis at a time when handwriting was the norm –

> I was a family man, struggling on a junior lecturer's salary ... I didn't have a study or anything like that. Most of my thesis writing was done on a card table in whichever room was not being used in the house – lot of it in the bedroom. In other words, I had minimal facilities. I would disappear and work on my thesis and my wife would bring up the children.

In the case of Gary and his family, the clatter of a manual typewriter at night was a concern, so he wrote –

> ... at work, because it's so close. What I did was to finish work, come home and then go over there again. I wrote it all on a mechanical typewriter. I would go back over there at about 8.00pm and set everything up and then get to work. I'd come home and the house would be in darkness. If I was on a roll, if the writing was going nicely, I'd write away till midnight, 1.00am or something. I'd always stop at an easy place, so that you flopped and the next day was just straightforward. I'd do that, come back and I could do that every night. And I'd go and work on it in the weekend.

The introduction of mainframe computer technology in the early 1980s had further implications for the location of students' data-processing work. A student at a provincial university described having to access a mainframe computer at set hours –

> Because my data needed statistical analyses – no mainframe computer here – we used to use the Burroughs computer at a big city university. It was a thing about as big as a room. We used to have a telephone link from 5.00pm to 6.00pm every night – that was my campus's bought time. You would get a telephone link established. We had these punch card machines and a thing like a typewriter. You would put all of the data into these cards by typing them in. And then they would go into big racks and into this machine. You would work out – it was hair raising – the instructions to the computer. It would proceed to analyse data at that end and then masses of paper would pour out onto the floor on the machine at this end.

Freda, a young mother, described how, during the statistical analysis phase of her work, she had spent nights in the campus computer laboratory and had slept only "one hour a night six days a week for six months." With a young baby in the house, "How do you ever get the uninterrupted time to do the kind of theorising I needed to do?" She explained–

I used to love it, it was one of the great privileges of my life. I would be on this mainframe and I would get hours with not a soul. At first you had to get through the barrier of tiredness and I'd take to the coffee. Then I remember the sadness when the birds would start to sing and you'd know that the sunrise was coming and I had to stop ... I'd drive home ... and be there when the baby woke up and set her up for the babysitter. She wasn't missing me more than any other baby was because I was away while she was sleeping ... I must have been manic to do it, but it was just magic. And that's the way I brought all the data together.

This account vividly highlights the intertwining of academic knowledge (the research methods that demanded statistical analysis); the form, ownership and location of the technology she needed; the spatial and temporal partitioning of the university as an institution; and her domestic situation as mother of a young baby. Or, in David Harvey's terms –

Places are constructed and experienced as material ecological artefacts and intimate networks of social relations. They are the focus of the imaginary, of beliefs, longings and desires (most particularly with respect to the psychological pull and push of the idea of 'home'). They are an intense focus of discursive activity, filled with symbolic and representational meanings and they are a distinctive product of institutional, social and political-economic power (Harvey, 1996, p. 316).

Place, then, is a key consideration in any exploration of the crafting and care of the "scholarly self" (Foucault, 1986). How, then, are the reading and writing bodies of PhD students positioned – in the sense of both their physical location and their "head-space" – in relation to families, friends and colleagues?

FAMILY MATTERS

The crafting of the self as scholar does not usually occur in isolation. Interviewees described how various intimate networks of social relations within households and families were stretched to fit around their theses. Even planning for parenthood sometimes took a thesis in the family into account. Ross said that he –

... was fortunate that when I was doing my PhD – perhaps it was planned you might say – we didn't have a family. Shortly after I finished my PhD, we both decided it was time to have a family. I admire people who have family commitments and do a thesis, I really do. It is exceptionally difficult and I don't know whether I could have done that or, had I done that, it would have taken far longer to complete the thesis. We chose not to have a family then. That meant we were older first time parents, which has its advantages but also has its disadvantages in terms of lower energy levels. In that way there was a number of things that the PhD, in terms of your own lifestyle, changed and had to be factored in.

While Ross and his wife had planned their family around the thesis, Felix – already a father of young children – had prioritised getting the thesis done in the minimum time.

His choice of research methodology took this into account and the design of the family home maximised his participation in family life. He explained: "I was determined for my family's sake to do the thing in three or four years or not at all and I thought that if I had gone for three or four or five years and it hadn't been wrapped up I would have thrown it away. It wasn't worth that long ten years sacrifice – it had to be done quickly."

Many of those with children living at home said they had created space through organising their time, as Felix explained –

> I worked incredible hours – crazy hours I suppose, but I must have been young enough and fit enough to take it. I set up an office at home in a bedroom so that I never went away from the house to work apart from my standard work hours. Weekends, late at night, I always worked at home because I wanted to keep the family connection and not always be seen to be away somewhere.

Management of time and space in relation to the schedules and needs of partners and children was complex. One mother – married to another thesis student – explained the family decision to send their child to boarding school: "It was easier just psychologically to know that she was safe, getting a good education and didn't need to worry about what her parents were doing." She told of how "Our daughter used ring up from boarding school saying, 'Have you finished, have you finished, have you finished?'"

Several other couples were both students and/or both holding full-time or part-time jobs. Owen and his wife juggled two jobs, child-care and his thesis. With one car between them in a town with poor public transport, the household's daily organisation was complicated –

> I had the morning shift so I would have a lecture and I timed the notes so that the baby required feeding (we had bottles) – just at the right time. Five minutes later you could have a break and then back into another hour's talk. It all worked quite well really. So it was about half and half ... It was two buses, you see and so I had to decide whether I was going to work at home or work at university.

Simon's life became similarly complicated when his children were little and his wife got a part-time job. He described an arrangement whereby –

> ... one of us would always be at home when the kids came home. In particular I used to do two things. I'd have a meal with the family at night, I'd put the kids down and read them stories. And as they got older I'd have a recreational time with them ... I'd spend a period every day where I would go and hit a ball around with them. I'm also a tramper and a climber and we built those in to our family lifestyle. I just made strenuous efforts to get a balance. I was also a runner. I used to run every day between work, family, recreation and spending time with the kids. It meant burning the midnight oil, but I was a bit younger then and you just did it.

Kate – a full-time doctoral student – and her self-employed husband also shared responsibility for organising the children's schedules and care. They also made use of public child-care facilities –

I had particular days in the week where I would pick them up at 3.00pm. They had an after-school programme some days, but other days they'd come home and be in the house while I worked so that they didn't always have to be at the after-school programme. So there were days when I had those kinds of breaks and I pretty much would stop work about 5.00 pm, 5.30 pm. But then, in the later part of the PhD, I would work every night as well to get through it. But I was really clear about weekends not being part of the deal. I would always have those off.

She devised regular daily routines to structure her working day and explained that –

One of the things that was really important was I walked the kids to school and then would come back and start work. That was a demarcation to the beginning of the day. That worked really well. And I'd find it really hard, if I didn't walk them to school, to actually get started. But it was quite easy for me to leave a state of chaos in the kitchen and start work.

Others – divorced or married to a partner with children from a previous relationship – demarcated their working time on a weekly or fortnightly basis according to the presence or absence of the children. For example, Maureen was a stepmother whose stepdaughter "came every other weekend. This sometimes was tricky in terms of the space because she was in my study." Maureen explained how she and her step-daughter – an academically able high school student – accommodated to each other's spatial requirements: "I put the computer in the kitchen because as a teenager she liked to sleep quite long hours; sleep in in the morning. But it wasn't too bad – it was pretty good. She is very high achieving so she would sit and we would study together." Jeanette, a divorcee, shared custody of the children with her former husband on a week-about basis and this demarcated her "on" and "off" times for her thesis: "in my non-child week I worked hard – I had no children, no relationship and so I could. No social life and that's how I got it done pretty quickly. So I wasn't left with trying to juggle everything all the time. Though the week that I had the children I didn't do any PhD work". However, in the final writing-up phase she had needed to modify this somewhat. She did this by writing a page a day –

I had quite a clinical approach to that ... It got done. I don't think it impacted at all on the quality of it and it made it manageable and I survived! ... The kids would also know 'Have you done your page yet mum?' Because I would start once they had gone to bed at 8.00pm or if I'd managed to have any time during the day. And I was also getting up at 5.00am or 6.00am in the morning.

She explained that, for her, the thesis "wasn't all encompassing, it wasn't my life's work, it wasn't any of those things." She was able, she said, to compartmentalise it in her life –

It was a part of what I was doing. I was passionate about it, but I was equally able to put it aside and treat it quite like any other task that needed to be done. It was just applying myself. When I was writing up, I knew how long it had to be and I divided it by the number of days I had left. I knew it had to grow by that much a day so I wouldn't go to bed at night until it had!

Some of the women interviewed had been solo parents throughout the thesis process. For these women, children's bed-times created working space –

> I was a single mother living in a little two-bedroomed house. My daughter would tootle off to bed … I remember writing on my bed and in the lounge and the dining room in the summer because it was cold in winter and so I wrote it late. It was good. Those hours have always been good for me and they still are.

Another solo mother said that her daughter "used to comment on the fact that she did have to go to bed this early. But she always went to bed early and so basically once she was asleep around 8.30pm I worked. I guess it was a hobby and a passion, because I really loved the research."

Those who lived with partners or spouses told of how their intimate relationships were affected by the thesis work. For some, their partners had been strongly supportive and several commented that they could not have completed without that support and encouragement. A few of the men had wives who were qualified typists and these women had typed thesis drafts for them: "My wife always remembers that she would be typing with one hand and rocking the pram with the other. So it really was a family affair and the thesis dominated family life." Mark – one of those who had to work nights on a campus main-frame computer – regretted that he had been forced to work –

> …at night a lot and every weekend and when it was holidays – it wasn't holidays because it was the only time you got a chance to do anything. For a long slog of five or six years you were asking a lot of your family. And I got a lot of help from my wife. She'd do a moan now and again – it was always that I needed a break. But it was really her that needed the break. It took a lot.

Similarly, a married woman paid tribute to her "wonderful husband," who took their son to school every day and "managed everything to do with him and school." She had additional help from her own mother, who lived nearby and "was very busy being my house manager during the doctoral time. She literally managed a lot of things that gave me freedom and time." A solo mother told of her strongly supportive extended family and friends, including "a great mother – she was wonderful. And also other family – my brother and sister-in-law, taking my daughter for holidays and Mum coming over and looking after her." And for a Pacific Islands student, "it wasn't just my work but it was a family project, because without my brothers' financial support I would never have got a PhD. So on a personal level it was the outcome of the family effort and cooperation."

Some of the interviewees had children who had grown up and left home. However, they continued to experience family pressures as they lived through the changes characteristic of mid-life. For example, Margaret became a grandmother: "Our grandchildren were born during the process of doing the PhD, which raises the issue of maintaining balance with the rest of your life. "Older students might also be faced with the ill-health of their own parents, as in the case of Margaret's "mother's illness – I did feel I was consumed by this study at the time when I might have wanted to give time elsewhere."

Some students were members of broader communities that held high expectations of them, such as one single woman from a Pacific Island community –

Knowing that I didn't have a specific lecture time I think my church community expected me to be there to do things for them – translate, take people to the doctors whenever they needed a translator ... I was also doing some work for the church ... In terms of my own upbringing I was expected to be at church. But I was able to explain to my church leaders that I would not be able to make it to church most Sundays, that I could just come and go to the meeting when they discussed the [job I was doing for them] and all that. I think I had an open communication with my community knowing really well the time that was required for me to do the work.

It was not uncommon for families to be described as under stress. Lola described how "My marriage just about disappeared. My marriage became very, very fragile and there was a time that I thought I was going to collapse myself." She described this as resulting from "the loneliness of the PhD exercise." She said that – "one of the reasons that my marriage became at risk was the depth that I was getting into my topic – my partner couldn't quite keep up with it and actually wasn't interested enough to keep up with it." One of the mothers explained that "I wasn't there ... I was physically there, but my brain wasn't. I'd wander out and talk to people, talk to kids, kids were sick of it." This issue of being physically present, but mentally and emotionally "elsewhere," was not uncommon and, as Zelda explained, "it leads to a lack of understanding. You're in another head-space." Her thesis "was perceived by my ex- husband as being 'a bit of a hobby,' whereas I took it very seriously indeed. And so we started having clashes about use of time and where I should be."

A few of the women described husbands as actively attempting to sabotage their studies. For example, one woman's husband –

> ... didn't want a partner who was doing a doctorate – that was just totally unacceptable to him ... He refused ever to do any child-care if I was working on my doctorate or to support me to work on my doctorate. So I got a half-time job and had to bring somebody into the house to do the child-care while he was at home.

Two of the other women described being forced to choose between the thesis and the husband. Sophie, for example, had young children, including a small baby –

> I had all the struggles of child-care. I had a husband who was unemployed but unwilling to do very much about anything and, until the very last year of my PhD, I was supporting the family. During that last year he finally got a job that was able to support us. It was very interesting. He was finally earning money and he became a different person. I found I just simply couldn't maintain being married to him because he expected me then to be a good housewife because I wasn't earning money. It was very strange. I was in the middle of trying to finish my PhD and so finally said, 'This is just crap!' and we separated.

Similarly, Leslie explained that, when she became a student –

> My husband didn't know at all what to make of this and, to cut a long story short, two things happened. The first one was I knew I'd found my future. I fell absolutely

in love with [university]. I used to touch the stones of the university and say, 'Wow, this is fantastic! I can't believe I'm here!' I felt so lucky and loved the learning so much. I was just invigorated by it and I made lots of friends really quickly. And the second thing is that my husband fell out of love with it and basically he said, 'You have to make a choice,' and I made it like that. No second thoughts. I fell totally out of love with him, as cold as a bloody stone. Then I had a bad feeling about him. I just simply did not want to spend any more of my life with him.

Around 20% of those interviewed had experienced the break-up of a marriage or other long-term primary relationship during the thesis research and writing process. For example, Charles "had a wife who complained that she never saw me and at the end of the process left because she said it wouldn't make any difference to me." However, break-ups during the thesis were not always seen in terms of cause and effect, as Lorraine explained –

My marriage broke up. And it's never to know whether or not the reason I started all this [the PhD] is because things weren't that great at home or that I wasn't maybe that challenged at home in terms of thinking. I wouldn't like to say if either one was the cause of it. It might have been the relationship caused the PhD rather than that causing the breakdown of the relationship I suspect.

For Godfrey, the marriage break-up –

... wasn't connected as much in that I was married to the thesis at all. But it was connected as much as I was under a lot of stress and how the relationship nurturing was put under pressure. I was, I guess, not available as much to give in the relationship. But it also heightened the feeling of wanting things in the relationship.

One of the divorced women still "had big questions about how much the thesis had had to do with muddling up the family life. You know – there's a whole lot of guilt things centred around it. There's always issues anyway, there's no balancing families and children and money and all that kind of thing." However, despite the trauma of a break-up, some of the divorcees who did not have dependent children or who now had days or weeks apart from their children, found that living alone created space for work. One woman described the break-up of her "main partnership" as helping her "in a perverse sort of way". Although it was a "personally devastating time" for her, in compensation, she "just sunk myself into my work to help deal with it. So I became incredibly productive."

WORK-PLACES AND COLLEAGUES

Research work was carried out across multiple sites. Three had done fieldwork in the Pacific; some had visited libraries in Australia and elsewhere; many had travelled away from home in New Zealand. Tina did fieldwork overseas and "was away from home for long periods of time. I had a lap-top and did my writing at nights or the hour and a half it took me on the train every day, it was really good." Gordon loved working in the archives, where "the staff were great, the environment was superb ... I loved the feeling of working with old documents. I liked the idea of thinking about and working with, a

whole selection of things spread across the table and the challenge for me was to put together something and make a set of arguments, a thesis out of that." And Anna was "very much in love with libraries. I love the smell of libraries. I loved having my own office. I liked pens and paper and I liked reading. I liked the whole idea of it and I liked the experience of it at some kind of visceral, sort of almost aesthetic level."

However – other than the home and family environment – the most commonly talked-about working environment was the university or teachers' college campus. For, at the time of producing their theses, the majority of the interviewees were also holding full-time or part-time academic positions or relying on casual academic work to supplement their scholarships. In total, 21 of those interviewed (17 men and 4 women) had done their doctorates while holding full-time university teaching and research positions. Another 12 (9 men and 3 women) had held various limited-term appointments (junior lectureships, teaching assistant-ships *etc.*) that were designed to offer doctoral candidates work experience, financial support and (at least in theory) the time and space to complete their theses within the allocated timeframe. Ten of those interviewed (4 men and 6 women) had done their theses while employed full-time in teachers' colleges or polytechnics; two of the candidates had held other full-time employment; and 11 (all women) had depended on scholarships and casual work to sustain them. Those who were scholarship students and/or casual employees (tutors, markers, research assistants *etc.*) were often in and around their departments and used department offices and computers. How, then, were collegial relationships and thesis work accommodated to each other?

Nearly all of those who had done their PhDs in times of labour shortages in higher education (1950s-early 1980s) had done them while employed as full-time staff in universities or teachers' colleges. Donald was a tenured university lecturer at the time he did his PhD and explained that this situation brought particular personal pressures: "The expectations that one has of one's self rise and your PhD has to *be something*, because after all you're a staff member of some years standing. Your PhD has to be so good – it's got to be twice as good as any other person's."

University staff described the demands of teaching and the thesis as coming into conflict. As has been found in British research, my interviewees often found that "their progress on dissertations was impeded by their work responsibilities" (Acker, 1999, p. 83). Barry's account was typical. He explained that in the first few years of his teaching, "the PhD – officially I was registered, but I was not active. I was just too busy teaching and doing community things and finding time to be a parent and so on. It wasn't until I had my first period of sabbatical leave that I really had time and space to develop what I wanted to do." Many – having come into academic work from a school teaching background (Chapter Two) – were already highly dedicated teachers. For example, Noel found it difficult to make progress on his thesis: "Part of the slowness was because I wanted to be a good teacher – I always have. So that always had the upper hand in terms of priorities. I wasn't really prepared to compromise that for the purpose of the research." Sometimes, however, high-pressured teaching-related tasks could be used to advantage in the thesis-writing process, as a teaching assistant explained –

> I got so stuck I just had to leave it for a while. Fortunately both those times when I got stuck were when a huge marking load came in. I would spend the next three to four weeks solidly marking student assignments then know that I had a clear space to get back to my thesis. And in that time I'd been wrestling with my problem

over and over and I had more of an idea about how to tackle it. It was one good thing about being able to separate for some time from my PhD studies, by doing something different – marking undergraduate essays, tutoring, preparing lectures – not having the time to work on the PhD. That happened twice for me. I was perhaps lucky, but it told me that I was getting a bit stale. It was time to have a break and to do something else.

While most described having had at least some supportive colleagues in universities, several had felt almost completely isolated in their departments. A few described the climate in their departments with respect to them and their work as hostile. One junior lecturer had "fallen out" with the department he was in and had been given a light teaching load: "I could have died in my office and my body rotted and once they'd smelt the smell they might have found me! I had very few lectures for which I was grateful because I got on with my work." One scholarship student, whose theoretical perspective went against the grain of what was fashionable in the department, found it a very isolating place: "because nobody else seemed to be interested in my work. I was always on the wrong side because everyone in Education was a socialist or post-modern. So in some ways it was very lonely. I didn't find anyone to talk to."

Some of those employed in tenured or tenurable, lecturing positions found that their ambivalent status as both staff member and student within a department meant that "they were not accepted as equals to faculty members and many expressed discontent with their ambiguous situations" (Acker, 1999, p. 83). For example, Ross – an experienced teacher – explained that, when he had taken up a lecturing position, he had "got the very clear impression that I was second rate when I arrived there because I only had an Honours degree and it wasn't much of an honours degree. They all knew that I didn't have a PhD – 'pretty second rate character but we will tolerate you' kind of thing." Fortunately for Ross, he had a close rapport with his supervisor.

The importance of academic mentors in doctoral students' lives is described in the literature as crucial. For example, Deborah Lee has argued that "a close relationship with an academic sponsor fosters the development of an appropriate academic self-image and is an essential element in the socialisation of a career academic" (1998, p. 302). Holding an unpopular theoretical or political position or being a member of a minority ethnic and/or gender can accentuate the sense of isolation commonly experienced by junior academics (Irwin, 1992). For example, before the mid-1980s, there were few women staff in university Education Departments (Middleton, 1989). Female academics have written numerous accounts of awkward collegial situations in relation to male colleagues (Christian-Smith and Kellor, 1999; Lee, 1998) and interviews for this study also included many examples – especially from those who had completed theses in the 1970s and early 1980s. One female interviewee described how, in a predominantly male department, a senior married male colleague had remarked, "If you were a male student, I'd invite you back for supper." As Lee describes it (1998, p. 303), "if male supervisors and female students socialise together, this can be misinterpreted as sexual interaction – to the detriment of the woman rather than the man."

Before the 1990s, when some colleges of education became degree-granting institutions or amalgamated with universities, it was very difficult for their staff to create space to do doctoral study. Christopher was pragmatic in designing a project that could fit into the limited time available –

The research design was really interesting. I had a full-time job. I was consulting nationally. We didn't have access through the College of Education to significant research grants. We had no sabbatical and no time allowance so we had full-time commitments. Even before I found a topic, I'd decided on a basic research design. It was basically going to be a pre- and post-construct methodology with some kind of repeated measures in it and groupings that differed on different variables so that the study could be done in a quantitative way. The primary reason for that was largely practical and fitted my lifestyle. So I'd worked out the design before I had the topic. Fortunately the topic fitted in nicely, so that was that!

College staff who had done their doctorates "on the job" between the 1970s and the early 1990s spoke of lack of support from their institutions and negative attitudes in the workplace culture. Mark explained that in his college, "there was absolutely nothing in the way of any encouragement from anybody. You were on your own." Like several of the other lecturers in colleges right up to the mid-1990s, Mark had experienced "an anti academic feeling about the place." Like Mark, Christopher had experienced a work-place in which the "social custom or the culture pattern was reflected in views such as "Oh, he's got nothing else to do." Or, "His work load's not big enough and so on." At a different college again, Craig had "had the impression that if you were doing something like a doctorate at the same time as you are supposed to be doing a full-time load people thought you could not possibly have been doing your work properly. You must have been short-changing, you must have been swinging the lead somehow." For all of these men, as Christopher expressed it, "You had to keep quiet about the fact that you were doing a PhD ... It's kind of the wharfie syndrome: don't appear to be doing something well that no one else is doing." They said that "you did it on the quiet and other people were obviously doing it on the quiet as well. Nobody asked how were you doing, do you need any help?" A typical comment from this group was: "Very few people knew I was even doing it right to the end and then when I was awarded the thing I think there was quite a bit of surprise that I had even been doing one."

However, from the early to mid-1990s, with the advent of college degrees and amalgamations with universities, the attitude in some colleges and former colleges had changed. Some of the more recent graduates interviewed worked in stand-alone colleges that awarded NZQA-approved degrees.[1] Several offered comments like "the college has always been extremely supportive of me, this college I think is very supportive of any individual." Others commented that, although the attitude was encouraging, work conditions and lack of resources made finding the time a struggle:

It's an encouragement on one level – they're really supportive emotionally about it – but the resourcing isn't there. They try to find the resourcing and we've now got it so that you can get half a term [off teaching] ... I used part of that for collecting data and then I suddenly realised that if I did that I wouldn't have it for the write up. And it's the writing up – that's when you need it. But the college actually at that time was very good, they were really supportive.

Another recent graduate, who worked in a college, found, that in a work-culture that included very few people with doctorates, "people didn't know what it was I was doing. They couldn't understand how big it was, didn't have any idea. So I think there was, if I

was frank with you, the suspicion and some jealousy. And I certainly think there's some jealousy now that I've finished."

BODIES OF KNOWLEDGE

With respect to her own doctoral studies, a graduate wrote of "the splitting I felt taking place between my mind and body ... and my belief that spirituality and non-cognitive ways of knowing were taboo in the academy" (Kellor, 1999, p. 29). She explained how her doctoral experience had helped her to "appreciate ways in which dominant educational discourses and practices work to keep minds and bodies disassociated in the processes involved in the construction of theory" (Kellor, 1999, p. 40). Yet accounts of bodily aches and pains, tears and illnesses punctuated the interviewees' stories about their doctoral writing processes. Rick remembered "one Saturday actually being sick 'cause I didn't know what to do with the data I had in front of me. I got up and vomited everywhere."

Jean used bodily pleasures to reward herself for making progress. These rewards included –

> Buying myself stuff. Going out with friends to the movies. Sometimes I'd say, 'Right! If I've done two hours work I'll go down to the local cafe and have my favourite coffee and my favourite piece of food.' I'd reward myself sometimes with food or I would go to the gym. I always had something that sort of patted me on the back for doing some stuff.

Foucault has drawn attention to the "embodiment" of scholars (1985, 1986). He described struggles to craft the self as scholar as more than a matter of intellect –

> There is the care of the body to consider, health regimens, physical exercises without over-exertion, the carefully measured satisfaction of needs. There are the meditations, the readings, the notes that one takes on books or on the conversations one has heard, notes that one reads again later, the recollection of truths that one knows already, but that need to be more fully adapted to one's own life. ... There are also the talks that one has with a confidant, with friends, with a guide or director. Add to this the correspondence in which one reveals the state of one's soul, solicits advice, gives advice ... (Foucault, 1985, p. 51).

Interviewees' daily routines often included physical exercise. Emma, a competitive athlete, described how: "Usually in the morning I'd wake up about 6.00am or so and do a warm-up run for the day. I'd train properly later that evening. I'd do a couple of hours just before dinner. I'd go and have dinner and then do a little bit more thinking work."

A number created thinking space while exercising. Margaret described how she "had a lot of thinking time when I was out walking in the early morning." In James's case, running led to a break-through –

> I knew I had to get it finished that year and at Easter I still hadn't written anything. I can remember going for a run. I couldn't get a structure for it. I couldn't work out how I was going to put it all together. I remember going for this run and suddenly

I got an image in my mind of how I was going to structure the thing and what the chapter headings would be. I came rushing in and went straight into my study dripping with sweat and wrote it down. And that turned out to be the structure. Then I started writing. I just wrote solidly for about six to eight weeks and wrote it in that time. And very little of it had to go through second or third drafts – other than just editing.

Descriptions of break-throughs or insights or flashes of imagination often included vivid accounts of the unusual places in which they occurred. Owen described how –

I didn't know quite what I was trying to argue and then one day, believe it or not! We had a willow tree outside our first home. My wife was working. We were paying off a second mortgage and I was the cook. I'd just put on dinner; we had this willow tree, it was a beautiful day and I just climbed up into it and sat back, a clear day ... And suddenly the whole thing came to me like a five-minute flash! I had to dash down, get some felt-tips and write it all out.

This chapter has explored how New Zealand Education PhD students engaged in "the practical rationalisation of space and time" (Harvey 1990, p. 259) in the multiple settings in which they lived, loved and worked up to the time they completed their theses and submitted them for examination. What happened to them during the examination process? How did they feel about their doctoral experiences after graduation? What does it mean to them to be authorised or licensed speakers for the discipline? What is it like to be subject-ed to Education? And, as we move into the 21st Century, what is the nature of the subject of Education?

FOOTNOTES

1. The 1990s tertiary education reforms were briefly introduced in Chapter One. The New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) has, since the mid-1990s, had the authority to grant degree status to qualifications taught in non-university tertiary education institutions. Unlike university degrees (which are granted by particular institutions), NZQA remains the credentialling and moderating authority for non-university degrees (Peters, 1997a; Woodhouse, 1998). Regulations and templates for NZQA-accredited doctorates have been put in place, so it is now possible for a college of education, polytechnic or private training provider to apply for accreditation of doctoral programmes.

CHAPTER SIX:

LIFE THEREAFTER

For doctoral students, the process of being "subject-ed to Education" (Green and Lee, 1999), is multifaceted – epistemological organisational and psychological. Becoming identified with the discipline in an epistemological sense involves mastering its content and methods. In its organisational or administrative sense, it requires negotiation of collegial relationships, departmental resources and professional networks since, "to understand knowledge, it is necessary to understand the institutions in which it is produced" (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994, p. 82). And, in the psychological sense, the process of coming to identify as an educationist is both active and passive, since scholars are (autonomous) "subjects of" their own behaviour and, simultaneously, "subject to" surveillance and regulation. As Butler phrases it (1997, p. 1), "as a form of power, subjection is paradoxical. To be dominated by a power external to oneself is a familiar and agonising form power takes. To find, however, that what "one" is, one's very formation as a subject, is in some sense dependent upon that very power is quite another."

Writing of her "decade-long encounter with Education as an academic field", Elizabeth Ellsworth (1998, p. 21) mourned the "absence of pleasure, plot, moving and being moved, metaphor, cultural artefacts, audience engagement and interaction" in much educational writing. My aim has been to present what Fanon referred to as the "drama" of Education as a "human science" (1986, p. 22). The penultimate act of the drama of doctoral research is the examination process and it is with this that this chapter begins. The final act explores interviewees' accounts of their sense of scholarly identity after graduation. The curtain falls with brief comments on Education as an academic subject at the beginning of the new millennium, with particular reference to the professional degree of Doctor of Education (EdD).

SUBJECT TO EXAMINATION

The final stage in the formation of the credentialled or licensed, academic educationist is the doctoral examination. Foucault pointed out that –

> The examination that places individuals in a field of surveillance also situates them in a network of writing; it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them. The procedures of examination [are] accompanied ... by a system of intense registration and of documentary accumulation. A 'power of writing' [is] constituted as an essential part in the mechanism of discipline. (Foucault, 1977, p. 189)

The "field of surveillance" is the academic subject Education. The "network of writing" includes examination regulations, correspondence between university administrators and examiners, examiners' and supervisors' written reports and the paper and electronic files and records compiled as a student's "case record." How students feel – how they assess their own worth as scholars – is powerfully influenced by the comments they receive in the examination process as well as by the verdict of "pass" or "fail." The PhD

examination process, then, is a powerful example of "the power of writing" in modern institutions.

The examination processes described by the students varied between the various campuses. Within each campus these also have changed over time. The majority of those interviewed underwent an oral examination. Daniel's oral examination " was pretty nerve-racking in terms of the preparation, but I enjoyed it. It was great." He spoke highly of the process –

> What we had adopted in those days was obviously a modification of the European system where in fact you defend your thesis in public. I think probably it was right – you should have the opportunity to be really questioned about things that you've written in there. And I was pretty concerned about how I'd go, that kind of thing ... I suppose the interview might have gone on for about an hour but in fact it felt like about five minutes to me. And then it was the kind of culminating point.

However, for a few others, the oral had not left much of an impression. Dan, for example, was left with –

> ... very vague memories of that. The only thing I remember about my oral – I was very nervous and I had come down from [out of town] for the oral. We had the oral in an old office in the middle of the university so that there was lots of buzzing around the building. All I can remember about the oral is looking out the window!

Students' sense of involvement in the examination process ranged widely. Amy described her examination as something that was "done to" her: "It was a sense that it was a system that they managed – you know, the university managed and I was part of being managed." Conversely, Frank felt "at the centre" of his. As a "public defense', his examination process permitted observers to be present –

> ... they actually told me at the beginning to enjoy talking about the thesis. I really enjoyed the oral because I had the top person in my field there as examiner. I had a few other friends and family who came. I had people there who'd actually read it and thought about it and had questions to ask. I could actually discuss it in all its glory. So the oral exam was good.

For others the oral was a traumatic event. Cora – from a working-class background – had spoken throughout her interview of a lack of "cultural capital." She had never read a PhD thesis and had no contact with other doctoral students. Furthermore, as a survivor of domestic violence, she was often nervous around groups of men –

> It was the most awful thing – it was just horrible. I just about fell apart and thought, 'I don't even know I want a PhD!' My supervisors were very 'old school' and didn't believe the choice of examiners was a student's business so I didn't know who they were in advance. The New Zealand examiner hated my thesis – didn't like what I argued. I'm shut in this room with all these guys and I'm expected to talk. I can't talk in front of academic guys like that. The process itself I just found excruciating – it was a wonder I could get a word out. I went in with prepared answers and sometimes I had to read them and I felt my voice was shaking. I felt

terrible through it. I came away thinking, 'They've just given it to me and I don't deserve it'.

While such an extreme reaction was rare, a high degree of trepidation beforehand was normal. Reactions such as "is that all?" were commonly expressed at the completion of a thesis, as James explained –

> When I was about at the point of submitting it, particularly in relation to the overseas external, I got major confidence wobbles. I thought, 'I'm stating the bleeding obvious really'. I've found that subsequently supervising students and I've said, 'Don't worry – that's a common thing. You're so immersed in it and so familiar with it that it seems obvious. But it is actually new, even though it seems obvious to you.'

While many students had passed without having to do any substantial revisions to the thesis, others had been required by their examiners to do major revisions before or sometimes as a result of, the oral examination. Jenny's external examiners had been somewhat polarised over whether or not any revisions should be required and, if so, whether these would be major revisions or minor corrections. At her oral, the dissenting examiner "still didn't budge and we knew he wasn't going to. And so under negotiation the other two examiners negotiated" the required additional work she had to do. Like a number of the 1990s New Zealand orals with polarised examiners, this one included the overseas external examiner on a tele-conference link –

> We did the oral with the external examiner on conference phone so he was 'in the room' as well. It was actually a really good experience, I felt it went really well, I came out of it feeling really good about it and basically I felt that I had challenged the external examiner. I had my notes really well written out because I'd prepared and over prepared and prepared with colleagues and with supervisors for this oral on every point that we knew he would raise.

The importance of the oral examination process in general was sometimes mentioned in the interviews. Daniel believed that the oral defense helped universities to maintain international standards –

> I deplore the loss of the oral by many universities now, mostly for economic reasons … It has degraded the experience. The oral examination I actually regard as being the critical part of the PhD because you should be being examined on the contributions that you've made to knowledge. I think if you're offering yourself as a person who has made a significant contribution to scholarship, it should be something more than just a 'letter.' So I have always strongly supported the oral exam.

In contrast, James "… didn't do one. They brought in a system there where they say that if it is up to scratch you don't have an oral." However, this meant that the conclusion of the thesis was something of an anti-climax: " It is a bit of a shame really because I wouldn't have minded an oral – a good opportunity to have a bit of a go."

As Comber has noted (1999, p. 35), "metaphors abound about the thesis experience." The completion of the thesis was sometimes described in spatial metaphors, "at the end

of it you've reached the Zenith, you've reached a plateau. I don't know that I've come to touch that again." Like Comber, some of my interviewees compared the completion of the thesis "with giving birth" (1999, p. 135). Emma used this metaphor –

> The oral was a highlight in my life. When I look back on it, the only other time that I felt the way that I have with the orals is when I found out that I was pregnant for the first time. Apart from the pregnancy and orals I've never experienced the same feeling of total exhilaration and self amazement that I'd managed to achieve such a thing. I did the orals and I realised that 'Hey! I do know something about this subject and I can defend it!' And I knew when I left that I had passed. I remember walking down the street and it was like I was looking at everybody down the main street, but I wasn't seeing them because I was just thinking, 'I don't believe it! I don't believe I've passed! All these years of work – I just don't believe it. And yet I've done it, I've got to believe it!' ... That moment of total exhilaration. It was lovely – I don't know if I'll ever get that experience again.

AUTHORISED TO SPEAK

In a much-quoted passage, Foucault describes academic and professional "knowledges" (such as Education) as web-like and those who work within these webs as "vehicles" of power –

> Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application (Foucault, 1977, p. 98).

As "vehicles of power," fully qualified Education academics have been granted permission to speak as authorities in their field. They are also licensed to pass judgment on others – to review for prestigious academic journals, to supervise and to examine doctoral students, in short, to act as gatekeepers for the discipline. In performing these acts, Educationists "cite" or "reiterate" the discipline's conventions or norms. In citing, referencing, authorising, examining, *etc.* – we are (re)produced as academics. In Butler's terms, "power that first appears as external, pressed upon the subject, pressing the subject into subordination, assumes a psychic form that constitutes the subject's self-identity" (Butler, 1997, p. 3). How, then, did those who were interviewed for this project describe their experience of coming to identify with and of being identifed as authorised speakers for, the discipline? "Education," said Christopher, "changes people" and –

> ... it's changed me quite dramatically because it's opened up new ways of thinking and new forms of independent thinking about topics. Being prepared to stand out on a limb and be accused of being wrong but knowing, 'Well there is a body of research that is emerging or has emerged, there that would suggest that there might be some truth in what you're saying.' So in that sense it does give you an academic independence which is valuable. For myself it's given me an area that I love to explore and it helps explain much of life so in that sense that's good too. So it's had those kinds of influences on me as a professional academic.

While some spoke of elation, reaching zeniths and the like, others described a kind of "post-partem depression." As one interviewee described this, she had felt: "quite depressed for about three months. I thought, 'Oh well, so what, who cares?'"

The receipt of the doctoral qualification in and of itself elicited a range of responses. Some worked in amalgamated institutions and found that the doctorate was a benefit to the new university faculty or school, as well as "opening doors" to promotion within a university career hierarchy –

> Particularly, subsequent to amalgamation, I have been able to use that doctorate to the benefit of other people – to the benefit of students and other staff in a way that is very gratifying to me professionally. I get a lot of satisfaction out of that. And it led to a senior academic position and obviously contributed to that.

Some of the graduates spoke of a continuing sense of ambivalence in relation to their colleagues even after they had completed their doctorates. Several of these explained that a culture of egalitarianism in their work environments had pressured people to hide their achievements – especially during the early to mid-1980s. One teachers' college head of department explained how he resisted this in an attempt to change the culture: "At college they were rather anti. I insisted that people with doctorates use 'Doctor' on their door 'cause I was head of department. I said, 'I'm going to have mine,' and a colleague was going to have hers. I said, 'And it might motivate a few other people to get theirs.'" This was also characteristic of the "leftist faction" of at least one university department, as Anna explained –

> I never graduated and I didn't go to the graduation ceremony because in those days we didn't even put 'Dr' on our doors. My chief supervisor never had Dr, he always had his first name, because he was very egalitarian and democratic and we didn't believe in all this bull-shit about hierarchies of the university and that kind of stuff. So I sort of copied him in a way. I wasn't going to walk around in these elitist gowns and pretend I was better than anybody else. I wasn't going to have Dr on my door and I never used 'Doctor' unless I absolutely had to. I never used it, like some people – the minute they got a doctorate they would go out booking train tickets for Dr so-and-so.

Conversely, others described how, when they had been staff members without doctorates, they had had some colleagues who had treated them as invisible and "when I got my PhD there were some colleagues in this Department who spoke to me for the first time." Others spoke of a sense that, as academics who had achieved doctorates, they were seen as having served their apprenticeship and as new, fully initiated members of the club. For some, however, this attitude was seen as undermining the achievement and quality, of their thesis research. Perry described how his head of department had said to him: "When I finished my thesis – the day I finished it – I told the COD, "It is all there!" *etc.,* *etc..* "Right," he said, "Now you can do some real research!" I think he meant it was an apprenticeship and now you were only a real researcher once you had got past your PhD. It didn't count as real research in itself." Similarly, Felicity said –

> My doctorate was never a pretend piece of research! When I was photocopying the final document the COD came down to the photocopier. He said, 'Oh, is that

your doctorate? Oh, nobody ever reads those!' And I said, 'Well, I don't think of mine that way.' He said, 'They never make a difference. You'll hate it by the time you finish it.' I said, 'I love my doctorate. It's just the beginning!' And I had a vision for these further studies.

As Scott expressed it, departments are "more than administrative units; they also institutionalise the intellectual values, cognitive structures and social practices of academic disciplines" (Scott, 1995, p. 160).

Gaining their doctorates was described by some as leading to "a lot more work." This was especially highlighted by the Maori and Pacific Islands PhD graduates, who found themselves in demand as "ethnic representatives" on multiple committees: "in terms of trying to survive within institutions, being the only one with a PhD was very tough ... We had three Pacific academic staff and there was a high expectation for you to be involved. I was a member of the Academic Board, a member of that because you're Pacific with a PhD." Similarly, a Maori graduate commented that "now everyone wants me to be on their committees and so on. So there's a political dimension to this in the sense of I was very aware of status inside the academy."

Those who did not work in universities, colleges or polytechnics offered additional perspectives on what their PhDs meant in other work places. A school principal commented that his peers had strongly encouraged him to call himself "Dr" –

> They said, 'Look – we don't know of any other primary school principal who's finished a PhD. It's important. It's actually not a bad thing, when you're trying to promote the profession and promote the level of qualifications and the standing of the profession.' They said, 'You must use it.'

A graduate who ran his own consultancy business said of his doctorate: "I need it these days for corporate status. But I have to be very careful that it's not patronising because I lost one job. The woman said to me, "You've got a PhD, therefore you wouldn't be practical!" A young graduate seeking work in a contracting labour market lamented that "At darker moments I see it as a thing that actually shuts off employment possibilities. I have this view that if you say to people that you've got a PhD if you're applying for work outside of universities and so on, then they might see me as being over qualified." Similarly: "I used to believe that it was important but I don't think this is an age where doctoral knowledge counts for anything in teacher education." And, as one university staff member put it, "In terms of how society values PhDs – I don't think they do terribly much. It is certainly not reflected in salaries or other forms of recognition."

Others were more positive about how the title "Dr" was regarded in the wider public arena. Several of the women found the title "always useful being a girl." Is that Ms?", no, you know, "it's Doctor." It enabled them to avoid the "Miss, Mrs or Ms dilemma." More facetiously, several commented that "It has led to me being upgraded from tourist class on airline flights, to first in one case and business class in perhaps a couple more, all because of the "Dr." Another described the status of the title as follows –

> Because you've got a PhD, people do – you may be saying exactly the same thing as somebody else who hasn't got one – but people actually respect it more. It's something that shouldn't really happen, but it is a fact of life. And it's meant that doors have opened in ways that they possibly don't if you don't have a PhD. I

think we live in a society that respects titles, whether or not it's the right thing to do.

The doctorate was also described by some as a gift to their immediate and extended families: "My parents were both very chuffed ... I'm the first direct line in my family, I think, to have even graduated from university. I sometimes think, "Well there we are – semi-literate Scottish farm labourer to PhD is probably a lot of New Zealand families' stories." And, for another student: "My Mum just cried and cried and I said, 'why are you crying?' She said that she never thought that a daughter would ever get a PhD and be working at university. And my father's response was, 'This is a blessing for the family.'"

The doctoral credential, then, signified multiple meanings – professional, personal, familial and intellectual. Grant summarised what it had meant to him –

> It created career opportunities obviously. That was a major part for me. There is quite a major sense of closure being a person who didn't get School Certificate and feeling quite ordinary and average in the way of academic competency. So having a PhD was a bit like saying, 'I can close that piece of my unfinished business.' And obviously the whole business about completing and the label of being 'Doctor' and all that stuff. At the moment it arrived, that became less important, but, if I look back on it, I would probably still be motivated by it in that way. It is really opportunity, standing, personal completion and satisfaction. It has also given me confidence in the work that I do. I have pushed myself into new areas of theoretical analysis and am able to be much more confident in my criticism, my critique work. So there's that sense of having arrived at the point where it is possible to do that.

THE PROFESSIONAL DOCTORATE

The interviews for this project were organised and carried out in 1998-1999. Students who completed their doctorates after 1998 – including the first local EdD graduates – could not be included and must await a future study. Professional doctorates raise questions about the relevance of the traditional PhD and these suggest future lines of inquiry.

British and Australian writers have conceptualised the move to professional doctorates as a response to globalisation (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994; Scott, 1995, 1998). According to Readings,

> The decline of the nation-state as the primary instance of capitalism's self-reproduction has effectively voided the social mission of the modern university. That mission used to be the production of national subjects under the guise of research into and inculcation of culture, culture that has been thought, since Humboldt, in terms inseparable from national identity. (Readings, 1996, p. 89)

Academic disciplines are global phenomena. As an international epistemological entity, the subject Education is made up of conceptual resources, substantive "information," and "reputational capital" that circulate through the conduits of academic books, scholarly journals, disciplinary conferences, professional organisations and pedagogical practices. Although Education's "content" – its theories, methods and topics – adapt themselves

to local conditions, its broad parameters and specialised languages, cross borders between institutions, regions and nations. As Popkewitz and Brennan have expressed it (1998b, p. 12), Education's "particular rules and standards of truth cross institutional patterns and are not reducible to these patterns," they are "not bound to geographical landscapes and physical points of reference but to discursively constructed practices."

Within contemporary western nation states, cash-starved public universities have become increasingly reliant on the private sector for research funding. As a result, the modern university, argues Readings, is "not just like a corporation; it *is* a corporation" (1996, p. 22). In this environment, less and less is research "curiosity-driven and funded out of general budgets which higher education is free to spend as it likes; more and more it is in the form of specific programmes funded by external agencies for defined purposes" (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994, p. 33). To the extent that they produce and credential, researchers for the private sector, universities have undermined their monopoly of research production. Mode 2 knowledge production takes place across and between both private and public sectors and across educational, scientific, professional and commercial settings. Research teams are web-like and often ephemeral – they coalesce and disperse around the posing and solving of problems *in situ* and according to commercial, professional, political or social demands.

This model has been described as characteristic of the professional doctorates, including the Doctor of Education (Maxwell and Shannahan, 1998). Students' research takes place in and aims to address, practical problems in the workplace. Concepts and methods "float" across disciplines; new problem-centred fields and groupings of scholars form and disperse as needed. Some have conceptualised this in terms of an older dichotomy between "applied" versus "pure" research. However, it is not the same. "Applied" research draws on knowledge produced within an academic discipline and applies it to an outside practical problem. Mode 2 research is different. For "when knowledge is actually produced in the context of application, it is not applied science, because discovery and applications cannot be separated, the relevant science being produced in the very course of providing solutions to problems defined in the context of application" (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994, p. 33).

As this study has indicated, educational research for the PhD degree has often taken this form. While some education doctorates have been and continue to be, discipline based, there is a long tradition of "problem-driven" and trans-disciplinary research in Education. Some Education PhDs have, from the beginning, been initiated, funded and articulated to "other" funding bodies and team projects. If the PhD format has been flexible enough to accommodate this, why, then, the need for a new form of "professional" doctorate in New Zealand?

The post-1984 education reforms, coupled with a series of international trade agreements opened up our universities to competition both within New Zealand (from non-university degree providers) and internationally (Dale and Roberston, 1997; Kelsey, 1997). Some Australian universities began vigorously marketing their EdD degrees in New Zealand and an increasing number of New Zealand education students subsequently enrolled in Australian PhDs or EdDs via the internet (Maxwell and Shanahan, 1998). The introduction of the professional doctorate in New Zealand can therefore be seen as, at least in part, an attempt to stem the rush of local students – bodily or on-line – towards overseas qualifications.

Many of today's EdD students are different from those who have traditionally done the PhD in Education. In its first 50 years, the PhD degree in Education was

overwhelmingly a license to teach at advanced levels in tertiary institutions. However, with "credential inflation" there is a different clientele seeking doctoral credentials – schoolteachers and educational managers with masters degrees and who seek to "upskill." The EdD consists of one year (or part-time equivalent) of coursework and a two year thesis (or part-time equivalent). The coursework enables busy practitioners – some of whom may have been away from academic study for years – to ease themselves into doctoral work. Flexible delivery of coursework and supervision – in weekend or summer block courses and/or via internet delivery – allow them greater flexibility in management of their time and space than university study has traditionally allowed.

Internet doctorates raise huge pedagogical, epistemological and sociological questions, which must await a later project (Middleton, 2001). We are, as Harvey reminds us, experiencing "an intense phase of time-space compression" (1990, p. 286). Is the on-line doctoral student a "monadic individual locked onto a computer screen connected by modem into a vast world of correspondence in cyberspace?" (Harvey, 1996, p. 75). Or are we witnessing new mappings – of knowledge, of the distribution and networking of scholars and of their domestic and working spaces? (Poster, 1995).

Thought, writes Readings, " is necessarily an addiction from which we never get free" (1996, p. 128). This investigation into Education doctorates in New Zealand is, I hope, the first in a series of such inquiries – as we move into the new era of professional doctorates and on-line supervision. It is hoped that there will also be further more general studies on Education as a discipline or subject. This monograph is a contribution to these wider inquiries. Its object has been to help us "to learn to what extent the effort to think one's own history can free thought from what it silently thinks and so enable it to think differently" (Foucault, 1985, p. 9). Those of us who do such work will surely endorse the following sentiments –

> As to those for whom to work hard, to begin and begin again, to attempt and be mistaken, to go back and rework everything from top to bottom and still find reason to hesitate from one step to the next – as to those, in short, for whom to work in the midst of uncertainty and apprehension is tantamount to failure, all I can say is that clearly we are not from the same planet (Foucault, 1985, p. 7).

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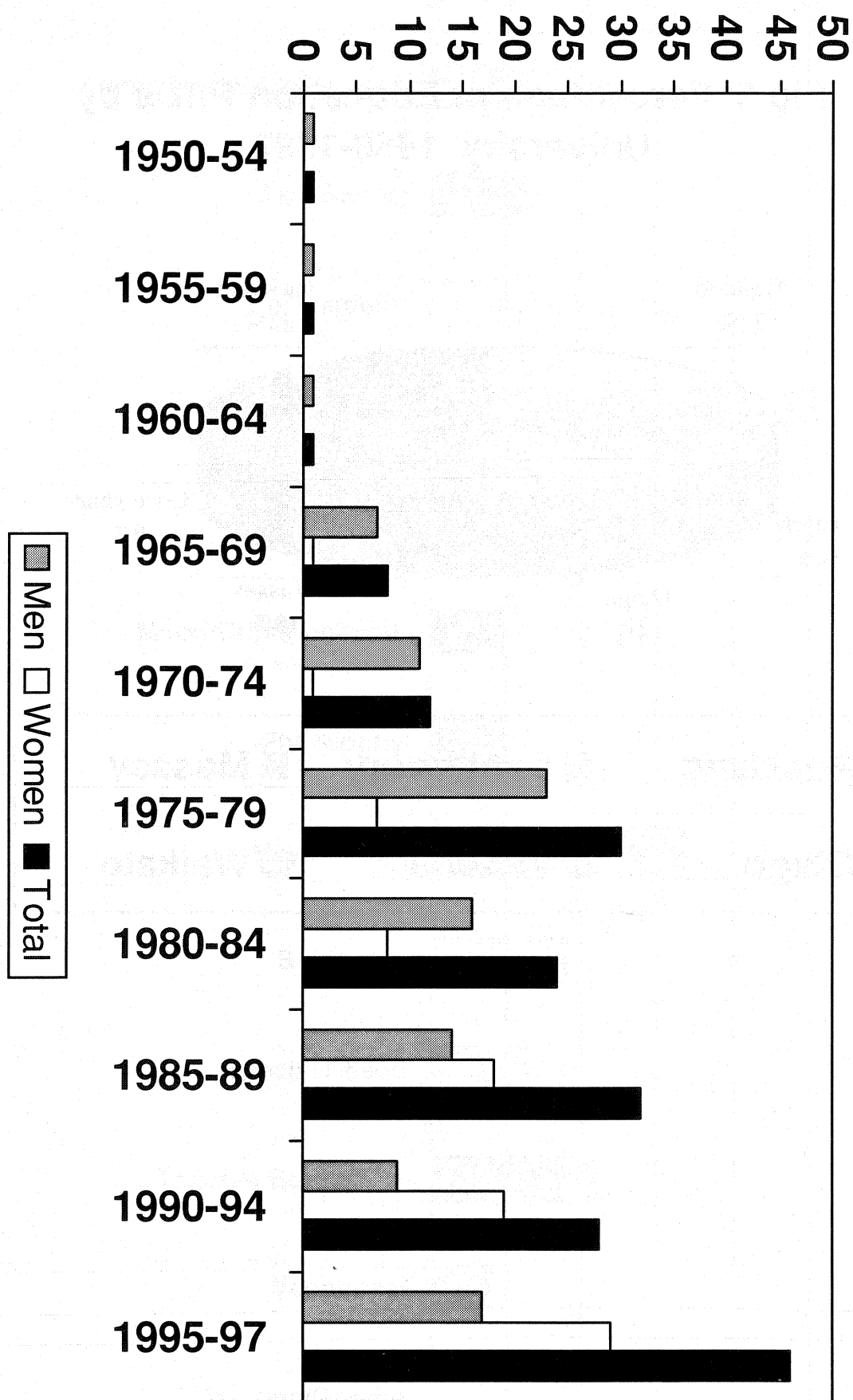Young, M.F.D. (Ed.) (1971). *Knowledge and control*. London: Collier MacMillan.
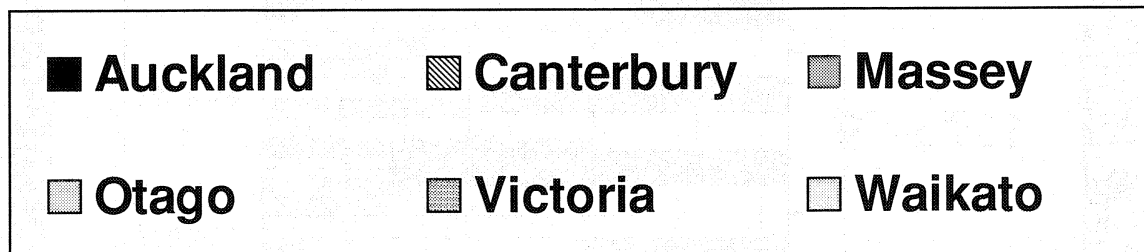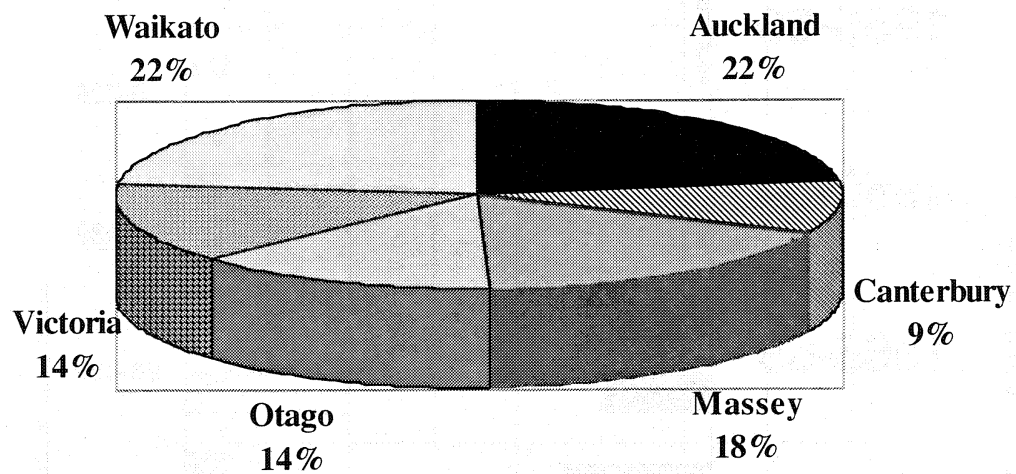
Appendix
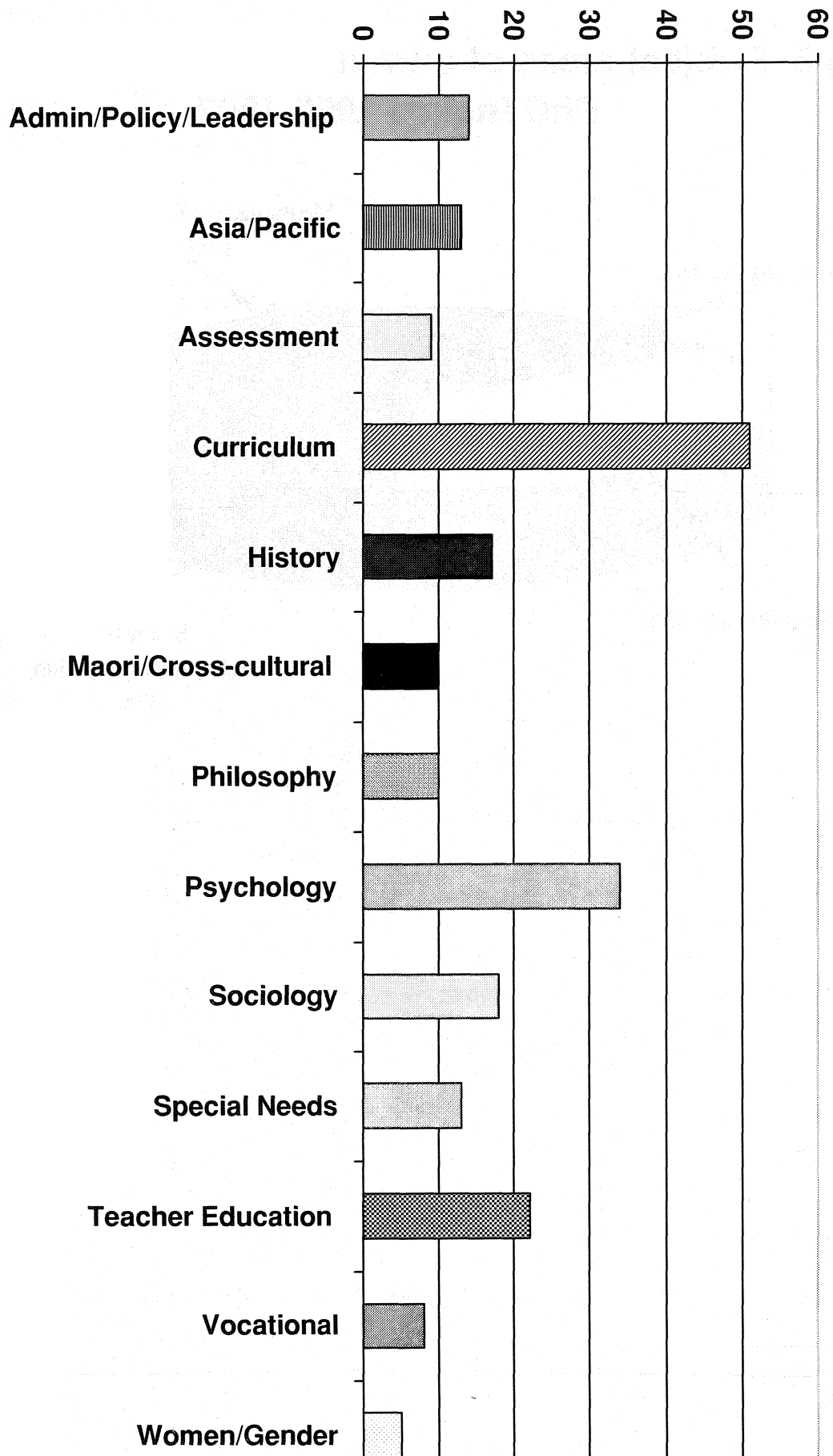# Figures

Fig 1: Education PhDs by university 1950-1997

Legend: Auckland ▨ Canterbury ☐ Massey ▨ Otago ☐ Victoria ■ Waikato
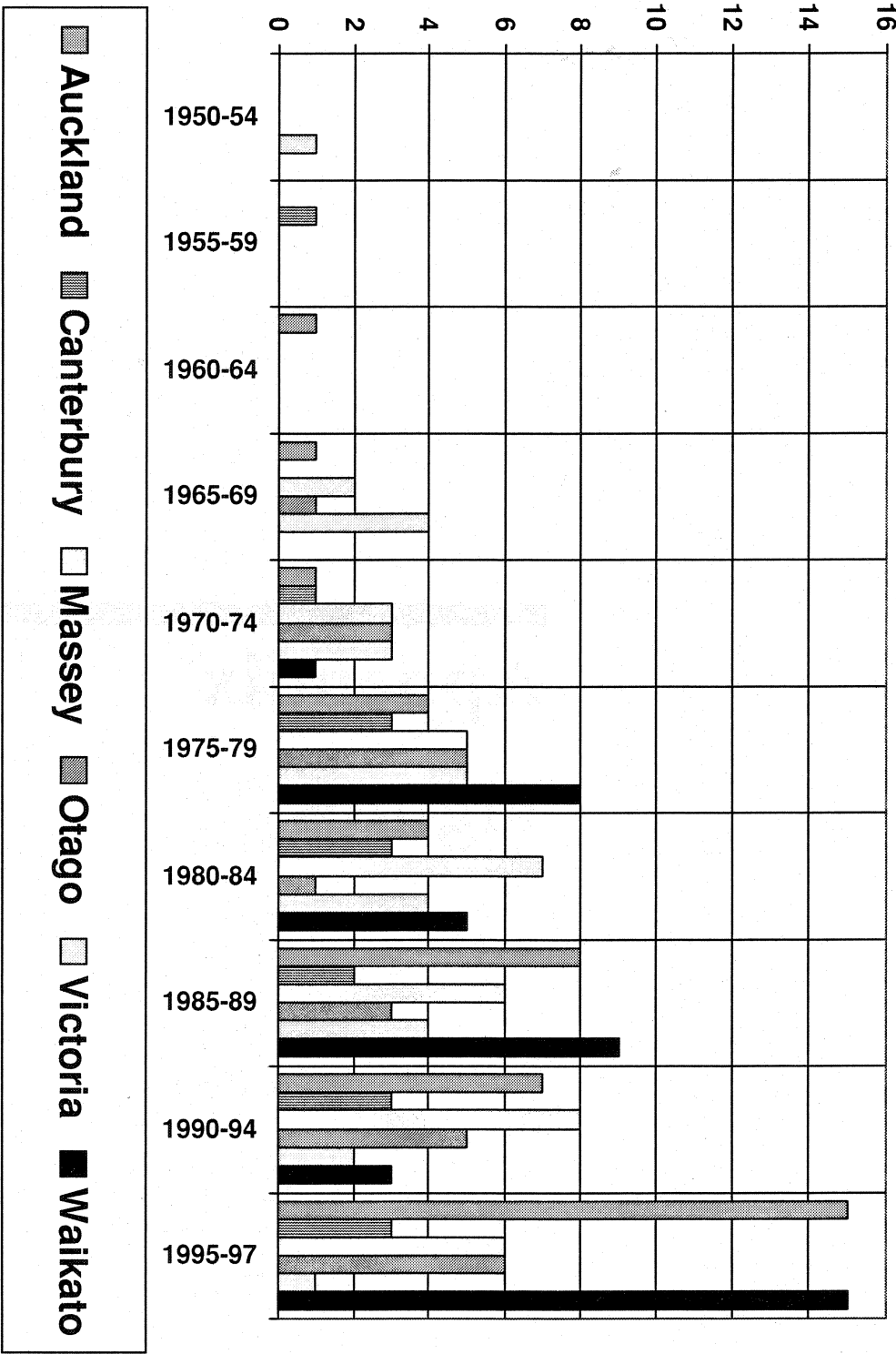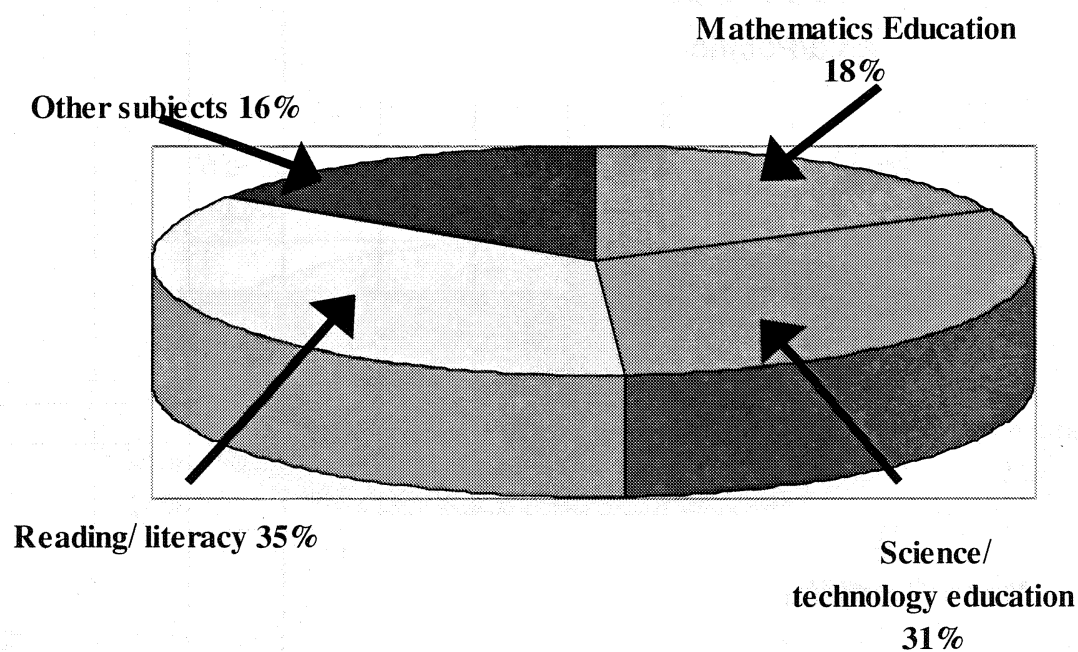
Fig 2. Gender of Education PhD Graduates 1950- 1997

Fig 3. Percentage of Education PhDs by University 1950-1997

Fig 4. Education PhD thesis topics & disciplines 1950-97

Fig 5. Subject areas of curriculum-related Education PhD theses 1950-1997

Mathematics Education 18%

Other subjects 16%

Reading/ literacy 35%

Science/ technology education 31%

The new millennium marked fifty years since the first Education students had enrolled in doctoral studies in New Zealand. Yet we know little about their experiences. This study draws on historical writings, bibliographic resources and data from interviews the author conducted with 57 of the 200 or so who have graduated from New Zealand universities with a PhD in Education.

Sue Middleton is a Professor in the School of Education at the University of Waikato. Herself a New Zealand Education PhD graduate, Sue's interest in this topic also emerges from many years as a supervisor and examiner of doctoral theses and as a manager of postgraduate studies at both faculty and university levels. This project is a further contribution to Sue's use of life-history approaches in the study of educational ideas and practises in New Zealand.

As an extension of this project, Sue has produced a CD-Rom containing nine supervision training workshops. The slide-shows are in comic-strip format. They cover topics such as 'Cracking the code', 'I still feel like a fraud', 'Managing time and space', and 'Oral examinations'. An order form can be obtained from Sue's web site: http://www.waikato.ac.nz/education/edstudies/middleton/sue'shome.html