ISSUE 01

TE IRA TANGATA

WOMEN, EQUITY AND ACTIVISM IN AOTEAROA

TEU | TE HAUTŪ KAHURANGI
TERTIARY EDUCATION UNION

Cover artwork by Ayla Corner

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CONTENTS

He hakamāramatanga o 'Te Ira Tangata' — 4
Nā Taua Roimata Kirikiri rāua ko Matua Hōne Sadler

Te Ira Tangata: Women, Equity and Activism in Aotearoa — 5

Sky Shards — 6
Ruby Alexander

Getting into Trouble — 8
Sereana Naepi

A Braid Called Home — 10
Manjeet Birk

Vessel — 12
Kim Ireland

An emancipatory critical feminist method of inquiry — 14
Rhonda McKelvie & Rachel Webster

The maternal wall bias and why children are scary — 18
Christine Yiqing Liang

Whaea Kāterina Daniels — 19
Matua Hōne Sadler

HE HAKAMĀRAMATANGA O 'TE IRA TANGATA'

Ko 'Te Ira Tangata' e hakaatu ana i te āhua o te noho o te wāhine me te tāne, otirā, me te tangata hoki ki runga i te mata o Papatūānuku.

I tīmata te ira tangata i te hononga o Tāne-nui-a-Rangi – mai i te ao o te ira Atua – rāo tahi ko Hine-ahu-one, i pokepokea mai – i te uku i Kurawaka – ka puta ko Hine-tītama. Mai i a ia, ko te tīmatanga mai o te ira tangata ki runga i te mata o te whenua.

I tīmata te ira tangata mai i te 'whare tangata' (wāhine) i te hononga o te wāhine me te tāne. Ko te 'whare tangata' ka noho hei āhuru i ngā mea katoa o te ao. I hakatōngia ai te kākano e te tāne ki te kōpū o te wahine ka tīmata te kukunetanga kia puta te ira tangata i te wheiao ki te Ao Mārama, ā, ko te kawenga nui o te ao kei runga i te wāhine. Koia, ko te ingoa o 'Te Ira Tangata' e hakaatu ana i tēnei mana nui a te wāhine.

The title 'Te Ira Tangata' epitomises the relationship between women and men, that is, as mere mortals living as equals on the face of earth mother.

The genesis of human beings began with the joining of the genes of Tāne-nui-a-Rangi – from the divine realm – and Hine-ahu-one, fashioned from the female element – of the earthly realm at Kurawaka – and begat Hine-tītama. From her, derives the origins of humankind on the surface of the earth.

The birth of humans has been through the 'house of humanity' (woman) in the joining of the female and male elements. Within her 'womb' being the sanctuary for all mortals. The seeding of the womb by the male element signals the birthing cycle that propels forth the child from the realm of dim light into full enlightenment, and, thus the greatest responsibility of the world is carried by women. Hence the title 'Te Ira Tangata' is an expression of this immense mana of the female element.

Nā Taua Roimata Kirikiri rāua ko Matua Hōne Sadler

TE IRA TANGATA: WOMEN, EQUITY AND ACTIVISM IN AOTEAROA

Te Ira Tangata is a peer reviewed, biannual, and interdisciplinary journal setting new agendas for feminism, gender equality and activism in Aotearoa. This journal will publish creative writing and celebrations of research, teaching and activism that are supportive of Te Hautū Kahurangi | Tertiary Education Union's (TEU) commitment to progressing gender equality and the empowerment of all women.

The journal is a forum for the exchange of a rich range of ideas, debates and provocations. It aims to reflect the work of our members, highlight the triumphs of women within our sector and beyond, invite creative exploration of empowerment and in/equality, and inspire energy for future feminist activism.

Te Ira Tangata, the name gifted by a group of wāhine toa of the TEU, charts our aspirational course. While it draws from the depths of whakapapa of Aotearoa and the people who thrive upon this whenua, it also points us to a future plane in which all people are free from discriminatory gender roles. It recognises the physical, spiritual, experiential and symbolic weight of female, male, and intersex bodies and guides us to the unleashing of those bodies from the constraints that bind us.

Te Ira Tangata is a name that begins and ends with the mana of women; a name that rejects imported, colonial and political inequalities that have been pressed upon wāhine and tāne in Aotearoa over time. We raise it up as a means to challenge the fixed ways that are commonly used to understand women, womenhood, gender, strength and power. In this journal the words 'wāhine' or 'women' are understood as open and fluid, inclusive of women of all abilities, ages, ethnicities, sexuality and identities including wāhine irawhiti (trans women).

Te Ira Tangata is also a name that guides us to celebrate the 'empowering women' that have come before us and paved the way for our mahi today. It calls us to showcase and rejoice in the commitment, passion and joy which women apply to their work every day in the tertiary education sector and beyond.

The editorial board and contributors have worked collectively on this first offering of Te Ira Tangata: Women, Equity and Activism in Aotearoa. In it you will find poetry, short stories, visual imagery, summaries of academic research and a celebration of one of our TEU leaders. There are common threads woven through the pieces spanning inter-generational relationships, the navigation of maternal and familial roles; the place, language and life of Aotearoa; the heritage of colonialism, and the shaping of social knowledge.

We would like to thank all the contributors to this issue. We intend it to be the first of many and hope you enjoy it.

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Ruby Alexander is a post-graduate student studying at the University of Sydney. She is interested in political economy, sociology, feminism, poetry and plenty more. She an avid bird watcher, self-appointed augur and lover of native birds. The tūī is a widespread passerine which is endemic to Aotearoa. For Ruby, there is a connection between what the feminist movement embodies and represents, and the qualities of the tūī. The tūī is rebellious, raucous and forceful. Their song defies the normative portrayal of birdsong: a sweet melody is interspersed with violent wheezes and abrasive coughs, creating a racket in the bush canopy. The action of racket-making has similarly been shared by the feminist movement across history, in the face of oppressive patriarchal social structures, behavioural norms and dominant ideology.

The night sky has shattered
shards have fallen down to earth
& now
perch in native bush, caught by the canopy.

Native limbs weighed down by dark matter,
but the branches show no signs of strain;
these celestial fragments are lighter than one might presume.

The stars look so soft up close,
a ball of fluff to fill the corner of your palm,
furled & buoyant
suspended in a damp swallow of dark.

These stars are knotted closely at the night-shard's throat,
a kerchief like no other
sky-pieces dressed to impress
night-shards dressed to ignore you, honey...

They present a black so deep,
I can see the colours which compound it
lined with aquamarine and piping-hot purple;
flashes of turquoise shock when light
hits.
The Tūī!
I can hear their unravelling...
the noise of their rupture fills the air
with a song of gurgling electricity.

They scream as if it's their last
as if they see death & seek to ward him off
noises erupt from their beak like sweet metal.

Molten and gooey
metallic and molasses
voltaic and marshmallow.
Heavenly, winged-things here
hallowed tui

we are graced by their
fractured divinity.

GETTING INTO TROUBLE

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Dr Sereana Naepi's work uses multiple approaches to explore how universities and wider research sectors can become places that embrace all learners, esteem all knowledges and serve all communities. She draws on qualitative and quantitative methods, works collaboratively internationally and nationally and her research branches out into multiple disciplines in order to maximize impact across the academy.

I spend a lot of time thinking about the spaces that I work in; the large lecture theatres, the small meeting rooms and the temporary four walls where I do my writing. It seems that no matter which four walls I am in, it is an impossible task to think about universities without acknowledging that sexism and racism is embedded within their walls. However, as Ahmed notes "even to describe something as sexist or racist as here and now can get you into trouble" (Ahmed, 2016, p. 6). Nevertheless, it becomes unfathomable not to speak about the intersection of racism and sexism that Pacific women face when we know we are under-represented, under-paid, under-promoted and our knowledges and communities are under-valued. So it is with all of this in mind, that I commit to getting into trouble and I invite you to get into trouble with me.

Why we should get into trouble

If we refuse to get in trouble we are unable to serve our communities in ways that they envisioned for us as they witnessed us cross the stage at graduation. Their investment of time, love, stories and resources was because they saw greater things not just for us as individuals but for our whole community. It becomes necessary for us to repay their kindness with our skills in ways that advance our whole community not just our individual research careers (Naepi, 2020b). If Pacific research is fundamentally about service then it is more than remiss, it is negligent for us not to use our relatively privileged positions to advance our communities. One way we can do this is by ensuring that the universities our community send our families to in order to progress us all is a space in which they will be valued, esteemed and served in turn. This means that much of our time will be spent naming the racism and sexism that takes place within these walls in an effort to displace it. Simply put:

> "so much feminist and anti-racist work is the work of trying to convince others that sexism and racism have not ended; that sexism and racism are fundamental to the injustices of late capitalism; that they matter" (Ahmed, 2016, p. 6).

As exhausting as this work is, it is necessary work as it will change the spaces that our communities come to in search of a better future.

Often in Pacific higher education circles we use navigation metaphors to articulate our desire to move beyond our current shores; a university where our people, knowledges and community are not valued to a shore in which "embrace all learners, esteem all knowledges and serve all communities" (Naepi, 2019, p. 230). With this metaphor in mind, it is possible to understand the things that slow our journey to the next shores as storms; things external to our drua which we can both predict, map, utilise, respond to and also be caught off guard by but ultimately find our journey slowed down by.

Recording storms

Recording storms enables us to share stories of the storms and how we experience them; giving us a rich qualitative data set that allows us to see that we are not alone in experiencing these storms and provides some possible survival skills for getting through storms. Recording the storms that Pacific women have faced in Aotearoa New Zealand universities means we now understand that Pacific women experience a masculine imprint that rewards masculine behaviours (Alvesson, 2012) and perform excessive labour which is dictated by gender norms that is neither recognised nor rewarded by universities (Acker, 2012, 2014; Fisher, 2007). The other storm that Pacific women experience is the structural whiteness that is embedded in universities (Ahmed, 2012, 2016; Antonio, 2002; Grosfoguel, 2012, 2013; Kidman, 2020; Kidman & Chu, 2017, 2019; Kidman, Chu, Fernandez, & Abella, 2015). At the intersection of the masculine imprint and embedded structural whiteness is where Pacific women face a cyclone of institutional habits (Ahmed, 2012) that slow our progress. Naepi (2020b, in press) has shown that Pacific women experience being space invaders (Puwar, 2004) through disorientation, infantilisation, hyper-surveillance and institutional habits (Ahmed, 2012) such as desirable diversity, expectations of intelligibility, and politics of stranger making (Ahenakew & Naepi, 2015). The excess labour these experiences produce is captured nicely within this quote:

> "I was talking, again, to my lovely colleague, who's a good-looking white man. And he was talking about, something or other about, "Yes, it's just great in the department. We can all just have such collegial relationships." And I was thinking, "Do you know how many filters I'm running right now, to sit in this room with you?" But I can't- What do I say? I can't say, "Actually, it's quite stressful for me to go to morning tea," because people say stupid, ignorant stuff about poor people, and then look to me to confirm this is what brown people think... ...It's exhausting to manage all of these perceptions in a way that people feel safe around me, because it's easy to make people scared. If I lost my temper, even once. Fifteen years in this department, I've never really given someone the swerve, as my mother-in-law would say. I've never done that, despite being mightily provoked. So, the energy that goes into presenting a face that people are

> comfortable with, the kind Pacific lady, is something that I don't think - my male colleagues - it ever occurs to them that they would need to do that. It's about whatever they think, no matter how rude it is" (Naepi, 2020b, p. 58).

Stories like the one above usually evoke a knowing nodding of heads when shared, we all know this story, we have all been this story. Hearing this story provides an odd comfort of knowing that others experience it too; but our stories can also provide survival skills such as the ones identified by Naepi (2020b) where Pacific women shared that the things that nourished and protected them in their current roles. The more that we record storms the more we will understand the everyday lived experiences of being a Pacific woman working in Aotearoa New Zealand universities and can begin the work of dismantling the habits/walls/storms that cause these experiences.

Mapping Storms

Mapping storms enables those who do not experience the storms to acknowledge they exist by providing quantitative evidence of their existence; similar to how we may not experience snow in Otago but we know it happens. Mapping of storms has meant that we are able to communicate to those for which our stories are not enough that racism and sexism exist in our universities. Our maps show us that Pacific academics are under-represented across the country making up 1.7% of all academics (Naepi, 2019; Naepi, Theodore, Kidman, McAllister, & Kokaua, 2020). Our maps show us that Pacific are under-represented in fields (Naepi et al., in press), disciplines (Barber & Naepi, 2020) and that our pakaru pipeline needs to be fixed (Naepi, McAllister, et al., 2020). Our maps show us that Pacific women are under-paid at $.85 to every $1 that a non-Māori/Pacific man makes and under-promoted at 25% rate of promotion to Professor compared to 39% for non-Māori/Pacific men.

Mapping and tracking storms is not without it risks as noted by Dale Husband when interviewing Naepi about Glass Ceilings "will you still have a job tomorrow?" (Naepi, 2020a). In response to this I draw on Audre Lorde's reflections on her work after receiving her cancer diagnosis

> "My silences had not protected me. Your silence will not protect you. But for every real word spoken, for every attempt I had ever made to speak those truths for which I am still seeking I had made contact with other women while we examined the words to fit a world in which we all believed, bridging our differences" (Lorde, 2017, p. 2).

In order to map and record storms we must not remain silent. When we map and record our storms we provide an opportunity for us to come together collectively and direct our drua in ways that will speed our journey to the distant shore.

Come get into trouble with me

It becomes necessary for us to produce research that bites the hand that feeds us if we are going to disrupt universities from becoming anything other than what they are in the future (Tuck, 2018). I have been fortunate enough to be part of a collective of Māori and Pacific scholars who see getting in trouble as part of the job – and more of us need to embrace the trouble maker as a position. Very few jobs come with a legal clause that enables us to speak freely in the same way in which academic freedom allows (Education and Training Act 2020, 2020); let us use that freedom to make trouble. Make trouble that is research informed and undeniable in our requests for universities that "embrace all learners, esteem all knowledges and serve all communities" (Naepi, 2019, p. 230). A network of troublemakers can cause enough of a disruption for change; if our silence will not protect us and our work is in changing systems then let us come together and make dynamic connections that will challenge our universities to live up to the future we aspire for them. So, come along, get into trouble with me.

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A BRAID CALLED HOME

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Dr Manjeet Birk is a Canadian post doctoral research fellow currently residing in Aotearoa at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT). Her interests are grounded in her two decades of community activism experience working with women's organizations. With a lifetime of experience organising, troubling and challenging systems, she is always looking for new ways to re-conceptualise a more beautiful world.

A braid. The epitome of structure and discipline, a braid is the tight and restricting confinement of free and natural hair. My hair—desperate to be free to fly through the wind, in harmony with the rest of my body, but more importantly my spirit. "Manjeet!" my mother would shout when I was a child. "Bhar bayae." She commands.

I know there is no point in fighting it. Years of experience have taught me that this argument will not end in my favour. I run to the bathroom, pick up the deeply pronged comb, and run back out in the same breath. I flop onto my mom's feet and sit cross-legged on the carpeted floor. She has just pulled her long, black hair, still ripe with the smell of the Indian stores, up into a bun. The smell triggers the memory of every family vacation we had ever been on. We would spend what felt like hours in the car heading to the Indian stores to stock up on all the supplies my parents needed from home. The rides felt hot and long—a childhood eternity. We drove a sedan of some kind—it changed over the years, but the makeup of the passengers was always the same. My dad would be driving, my mom in the front seat, and the three of us kids sandwiched in the back. I was the youngest, by almost ten years, so I always got the middle seat. It was all a hot, sweaty, carsick haze that meshed one trip into another, with a constant negotiation of elbows in ribs, overly long legs jutted into thighs, and steamy, hot sweat from the vinyl seat. I would sigh a deep breath and attempt to negotiate my space, but one stern look from my older sister and I knew my complaints would not be executed in any favourable way. We would have to take the ferry from our home in Victoria, Canada on Vancouver Island, and drive into mainland Vancouver, British Columbia to pick up all of our supplies. An experience I know resonates with small town Indian diaspora communities globally. Things have changed now, but back in those days there were not enough Indian people in Victoria to warrant Indian stores. We would drive hours to finally get to the Indian stores on Main Street. Today this part of Vancouver has been gentrified overtaken by hipsters and cannabis clinics. There are very few reminders here of how it used to be: the colourful Indian diaspora that would offer small slices of home within the two blocks at Main and 49th. I remember our family stepping into Fruiticana, the tenseness of my parents' bodies immediately relaxing at the sweet and savoury smells of freshly ground garam masala and coconut oil. Now that I have travelled across the globe I can recognize this familiar smell of my childhood wafting to the sidewalks from Indian grocers bringing comfort to the Indian diaspora everywhere. My parents immediately felt at ease, but my siblings and I would always turn our noses at the overpowering smell. We would fake gagging sounds silently at each other as we laughed at the cultural clash of being "home" a symptom of navigating the complicated realities of second generation identity in a white settler country. My parents never noticed. They were blissfully adrift in memories of childhood, comforted by the smells of family and belonging. Culture and connection filled the cart: Vicco Ayurvedic toothpaste, coconut oil, hair pins, garlic pickle, perfectly ripe mangoes. My parents were home.

I feel my mom's toes readjust under my butt cheeks and I am thrust back into reality. Mom has just finished applying the hair oil and now she's attempting to navigate the endless knots in my hair. Her brow furrows as I wince in pain. After combing a part down the center, Mom divides my hair in three and interweaves the strands into a braid, pulling tightly with each individual knot. Not only did the braid pull together my hair for the day, it brought together cultures, communities, and generations. My mom was passing down her heritage, her life, her love. While at the time it felt like just a braid, today I understand. That braid took me home also.

“NOT ONLY DID THE BRAID PULL TOGETHER MY HAIR FOR THE DAY, IT BROUGHT TOGETHER CULTURES, COMMUNITIES, AND GENERATIONS.”

VESSEL

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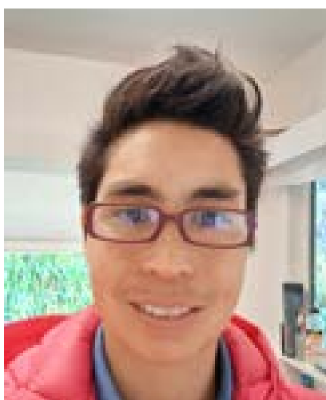

Kim Ireland works at NMIT as a Learning Support Advisor. She has a Bachelor in Arts and Media and is pursuing a Masters in Māori Visual Arts. Ireland has exhibited since 2016 in galleries and national competitions with works founded upon research, historical narratives and the medium of charcoal.

Vessel is a work that has arisen from my need to understand the shifting landscape of Aotearoa's mother tongue, te reo Māori. How did a language come back from the brink of extinction? How did it get there in the first place? Only by observing memory, time and the archive is it possible to gain insight into the language's resurgence.

The landscapes and descent histories were enmeshed within stories that were recounted over time. The Māori ancestors' feats of memory and the metamorphosis of a language has ensured the success of te reo Māori as the "primary conceptual receptacle of Māori" (Keenan, 2012, xxv). Te Maire Tau believes that Māori ancestors did not narrate these stories in a linear or historical form but looked to recasting, reordering and even projecting "their stories upon their immediate present …[and] engaged with [te reo Māori] as a living entity" (Te Maire Tau, 2012, p. 27).

In essence Vessel is a reconstruction of archival material, a fragmentary narrative that spans from the arrival of the waka from Hawaiki to the present day.

The act of drawing and drawing in movement is an arduous task, for every frame must be drawn slightly differently from the last, yet it appears the same. I imagine this effort as a hīkoi, to step, stride or march as Whina Cooper and Titewhai Harawira did in The Land March of 1975, or like Pania Newton who currently fights for the protection of Ihumātao under the slogan "Not one more acre of Māori land" (Taonui, 2012, p. 239).

These wāhine (women) can be understood within the term rangatira; 'ranga' means shoal, 'raranga' weave or plait and 'tira' group.

> "Tirohia tō mata ki te moana, he ika e ranga ana. Tirohia tō mata ki uta, he tira tangata e haere ana. Mā wai e raranga kia kotahi ai?" (Mutu, 2012, p. 103)

> "Look to the sea where fish shoal, swimming as one body. Look to the shore, where a group of people wander about. Who will bind them in unity?" (Mutu, 2012, p. 103)

Unfortunately, the meaning behind this whakataukī (proverb) is lost in English, but in te reo Māori the words are a powerful symbol. Yet they have been silenced, only heard within the sanctum of the wharenui (meeting house) or marae (courtyard). Let us listen carefully to the wāhine, to the words of Aotearoa's history and the ever-changing tone, vowels and perceptions. The stories we tell our tamariki (children) will guide future generations; just as our Māori ancestors projected and engaged with their ancestors' stories, so can we.

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AN EMANCIPATORY CRITICAL FEMINIST METHOD OF INQUIRY

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Dr Rhonda McKelvie is a registered nurse who for 18 years specialised in the care of children in acute care settings in three different countries. She is currently a Senior Lecturer at Massey University. In her doctoral research Dr McKelvie investigated nurse safe staffing, something she was part of developing strategy and tools for over seven years, in an effort to understand why Aotearoa New Zealand's staffing strategies have yet to widely and consistently acheive the outcomes hoped for. A self described (sometimes stroppy) feminist, Dr McKelvie's post doctoral research and publications focus on uncovering the deeply contextualised knowledge and critical invisible work of nurses that hold together patient safety, fractured care processes and hospital performance. Dr McKelvie is a wife and mother with a minor obsession with covering every flat surface with plants.

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Rachel Webster is a registered nurse with 10 years of acute care nursing experience. She holds an MN and a near completed doctoral degree, which interrogates the social organisation of patient and clinician experiences in primary care. Webster is passionate about nursing, and the potential of nurses to overcome challenges in health service delivery, to improve health outcomes for all communities.

In this article McKelvie and Webster introduce an emancipatory critical feminist method of inquiry which provides analytical help to challenge socially constructed knowledge and actions orchestrating and perpetuating inequality, subordination and marginalisation.

Introduction

The authors are registered nurses now working in tertiary education where we see similar socially constructed knowledge and discourses, fiscal and managerial priorities and political machinery as that of the health care sector. In our doctoral research, we both employed an emancipatory critical feminist methodology to bring forward people's voices, knowledge, work and experiences obscured by taken for granted assumptions and the perpetuation of the status quo. Employing Institutional Ethnography (IE), researchers seek to map out a social terrain, illuminate how people's experiences are orchestrated and identify opportunities for change. Here we offer an introduction to this critical sociology covering background, intentions, and methods, with examples woven throughout. We propose that the approach has powerful potential for bringing into view how subordination, marginalisation, discrimination, inequity and inequality are constructed and perpetuated, and for identifying opportunities for emancipatory change.

Background

At the height of second-wave feminism[1], feminist activist Dorothy Smith was both a mother and a sociologist (Campbell, 2003; Carroll, 2011). At the time sociology reflected the Comte tradition (Gottfried, 2018). Comte was the first to attempt a "complete systematisation, and the scientific extension [...] to all objects of human knowledge" (Mill, 1865, p. 1) objectifying both what and who was being studied, and, consistent with the time in history during which his work was generated, devoid of any attention to the experience of women (Smith, 1990a). Smith came to realise that her everyday experience of mothering was invisible to this type of sociology (Griffith & Smith, 2005). Her knowledge, experiences and work of being a mother did not require training or education; further, it was unpaid work, therefore of little value or interest to the sociology of that time. Taking up the insights of second-wave feminism, that women "had been living in an intellectual, cultural, and political world, from whose making we had been almost entirely excluded" (1987, p. 1), Smith began anew. Over the ensuing several decades, Smith developed a sociology for women (Smith, 1987, 1990a), which, if conceived as a tapestry, wove in threads influenced by the political economy and materiality; (Marx and Engels, 1970), looking at what people actually do (Goffman, 1959); power and discourse (Foucault, 1972), how language carries the social (Bakhtin, 2010 ; Mead, 1934) and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1984). Institutional ethnography (Smith, 1987, 1990a, 1990b, 2005, 2006b) is used to describe both the sociology and

[1] A period (1960s and 1970s) of critique of patriarchial institutional and practices, broadening the debate to challenge issues of womens recognition in the workplace, in reproductive rights, health and domestic violence, among others (Baxandall & Gordon, 2002; Evans, 1995).

its method of inquiry. IE arises from the critical feminist tradition and is deeply rooted in the overarching ontology that knowledge is socially constructed and that, in material ways, this knowledge organises people's everyday lives and work (for deeper reading see Campbell & Gregor, 2004; Smith, 1990a, 1999, 2005).

In the years following the conception of this sociology for women, Smith saw its potential to serve a broader population. The standpoint of women, from which Smith learned to see just how their experience was put together, held useful capacity as a location from which to examine the experiences of all people (Smith, 2005). In recognition that people, located across diverse institutions, academies and organisations can all be subject to, marginalised by (and thus benefit from a way to see) the relations that organise and rule their everyday experiences; a sociology for people evolved.

Globally, researchers have taken up IE, employing it to see how their experience is constructed and organised by the institution in which they participate. Deveau, for example, an employee categorised as having a disability, applied the tools of IE to see how his experience of exclusion came about (Deveau, 2016). Through explication of the procedures of workplace accommodation, Deveau came to see how workplace accommodation rules were constructed socially, and reinforced textually, to locate him as the problem, when (from his position) it was the workplace that was problematic. Elsewhere, Pence (2001), applied the lens of IE to trace the constructed textual journey of domestic violence from a 911 call to court appearance. Pence revealed that the experience of the battered woman is rendered invisible by the textual institutional processes purported to act in her interest. These examples are a taste of IE's potential to make visible rules, practices and procedures that oppress, obfuscate, marginalise, and perpetuate the dominant practices of the institution.

Intentions

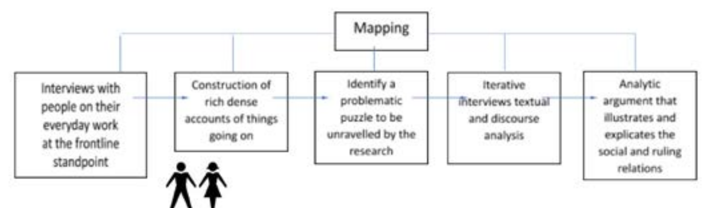
Institutional ethnography intends to map a social institutional terrain (e.g. healthcare, education, global trade, policing, social media and so on) to contribute to achieving the goals of an emancipatory feminist research endeavour (Campbell, 2006; Smith, 2008). One such goal is to bring into view the extent of the terrain, to see beyond the local world, exploring the way that people are connected by textually mediated practices and dominant discourses that organise their everyday experiences (see Adams (2017) and McKelvie (2019) for Aotearoa New Zealand healthcare examples). From the outset, the entirety of the terrain is beyond the view of any single individual. Such as when buying coffee, you cannot see how, through social, textual and organisational means, you might be connected in tangible and traceable ways to exploited coffee bean pickers in Brazil. Once in view, the orchestration of people's experiences can be better understood - uncovering how power, politics, regulation, fiscal and gendered practices shape what happens in people's everyday lives and work, and how people are connected across time and place by these orchestrations (Smith, 2003). The map and critical argument of an IE investigation can then achieve one of the primary purposes of emancipatory feminist research; to realise the underpinning tenet of social justice and to raise the consciousness of research participants and readers. This is accomplished by bringing into view the nature and contribution of their knowledge and work to their profession, students, patients, customers, employers, organisations, and society (Allen & Pilnick, 2005; Smith, 1996).

Methods: Doing IE

Conducting and analysing activist and consciousness-raising research requires a unique positioning in relation to the investigation and a specific researcher toolbelt. Institutional ethnographers stand alongside the people who are subject to the rules, practices and procedures of the institution. From the commitment to this alongside location, the researcher looks up into the institution, starting from troubling everyday experiences of people on whose behalf the researcher is working, to make sense of what is happening within the many layers that exist above their standpoint (Smith, 2006b). Following clues into the social world (such as texts, talk, meetings and processes), the ethnographer can trace and unravel the hidden and mysterious aspects of control, coordination and organisation which determine what can be said and done (Campbell & Gregor, 2004). These forms of governance exist in texts (documents, guidelines, policies, images, dashboards and so on), which can be replicated, reproduced and shared, enabling institutional forms of knowledge and institutional priorities to be inserted into people's thinking and discourse and carried across and between settings (Smith, 2006a). Institutional ethnographers have come to know of these aspects as ruling relations (Smith, 1996, 2005).

Figure 1 below illustrates the methodological techniques employed in the construction of the analytic argument of an IE investigation. This figure shows the research process, beginning from the starting place of interviews (or observations). The arrows show the researcher progressing through analytical steps of account

Figure 1. Institutional ethnography's methodological techniques



production, the evolution of a problematic, and the iterative gathering of more information from people, places and texts. Mapping, either figuratively or literally, takes shape over the research project's duration, revealing the social landscape of the investigation. The research product (both map and analytical write up) ultimately illuminates the social and ruling relations orchestrating people's experiences, knowledge, discourse and work.

Institutional ethnography's methodical techniques are resoundingly pragmatic and material. The reader should be able to follow the path of the analytic argument, understanding what each stone contributes to the charting of the social path into the territory under investigation. The final explication of the social and ruling relations should be recognisable and familiar to the participants the ethnographer has stood alongside. Seeing how social organisation occurs enables the potential to disrupt the ruling relations from within (Smith, 2008).

Powerful potential of IE to support women, equity and activism in Aotearoa New Zealand

Although people's experiences may differ, sometimes markedly, all are organised to some extent by ruling relations. As in healthcare, measurement, quantification, targets, monitoring, and quality are features of contemporary western tertiary education driven by New Public Management (NPM) ideologies (Griffith & Smith, 2014; Hood, 1995). In hospitals, targets like 6 hours in emergency department[2] (a text) must be met to assist the hospital to achieve a measurable performance against central government health targets. Hospital performance is ranked in publicly available scorecards (more texts). In tertiary education, teachers and researchers engage in the production of quantifiable evidence of their research and publications to assist the University in obtaining performance-based research funding[3]. This contributes to publicly available rankings and may influence student choice of tertiary provider. Proponents of NPM and neoliberal ideologies emphasise improvements in quality, but target and performance-driven priorities arising in central policy are not neutral in effect or outcome. An IE investigation can uncover how these types of targets and performance priorities can drive institutional behaviours that do not always serve minority groups or the institutionally subordinated (see McKelvie (2019) for examples in Aotearoa New Zealand hospitals).

New Public Management ideas manifest in 'accounts' of performance such as screens, dashboards, reports, discourses, processes and tests. The accounts make possible a textual version of reality which becomes actionable (Smith, 1974) such as an exam with a grade. The individual student, their experience of learning that may not have been constructed with them in mind (what was occurring for them in their learning and on the day of the exam) can slip from view, eclipsed by a number that stands-in for and becomes a representation of their learning and knowledge. This assumes and privileges knowledge in a certain form, a quantifiable and measurable form, over other types of knowledge. Abstraction and standardisation are attributed to masculinised hegemonic forms of knowledge (Kronsell, 2005) that privilege objectivity and quantification as 'the dominant form of knowledge that counts' over the knowledge, practices and the experiences of people, (women, people of colour, cultural, gender and religious minorities, the disabled and refugees) who are both, rather perversely, organised and obscured by knowledge in this form (Campbell, 2003; Rankin et al., 2010).

Invariably, IE is undertaken to bring into view the experiences of people at the bottom of the institutional hierarchy such as frontline nurses, teachers, social workers, police officers, soldiers and aid workers. Front line workers' abilities to attend to and achieve their intentions in their everyday work can be both aided and confounded by the social, cultural, gendered and inequitable organisation of their knowledge, talk and work accomplished by institutional relations. IE investigations in healthcare (see Rankin & Campbell, 2006) and education settings (see Dent, 2015; Parson, 2018) both reveal how social and institutional expectations and standardised practices impact on the experiences of women and those whose work is framed by the feminine binary. These studies, and many others, identify that female nurses and teachers report a greater struggle to achieve their personal and professional goals due in no small part to often juggling social expectations, household and primary care-giver accountabilities and wage and status inequities in the workplace.

Western colonising societies and masculine and power-based hegemonies commonly profess neoliberal and egalitarian philosophies while simultaneously designing and perpetuating institutional settings and systems that prioritise the interests of coloniser/dominant ideals. Dominant knowledge and approaches to 'how things are done' are grounded in the assumption that all are served equally by the hegemonic status quo. We argue that IE has a powerful potential to bring into the light the experiences of women, the significance of their knowledge and (often) invisible mahi, the contribution their knowledge and work makes to whānau, students, communities, populations and organisations, along with identifying opportunities for emancipatory change. It is from this point, within the ruling relations built on dominant knowledge and taken for granted assumptions such as gender roles, that potential for change exists. Smith conceives that to make change, people must participate "in the ruling relations and [get] them to work for those who organise and act from below" (Smith, 2008, p. 12). In this way, conditions of oppression formulate the basis of a movement, a resistance, akin to that of Smith's in the Women's Movement.

Conclusion

Constructing a map of a social terrain is a collaboration between the researcher and participants, intending to bring the terrain and its organisation into view, and identifying opportunities for emancipatory change. Subordination, discrimination, and inequity are illuminated in action through textually mediated processes activated by people, knowingly and unknowingly in their everyday work. In this way, they are hooked into accomplishing and perpetuating the status quo even though they struggle against it. Invariably the argument of an IE investigation produces a counter-narrative of the experiences of people whose everyday experiences are orchestrated by 'how the system works.'

Our experience in health, and now in the tertiary sector, informs our proposition that IE offers a powerful opportunity to explore, investigate, and provoke change associated with the experiences of women, equity and activism in Aotearoa New Zealand. This paper has offered a brief introduction to a critical feminist emancipatory method of inquiry stemming from a sociology for people developed by activist Dorothy Smith. Although gradually changing, the education sector in Aotearoa New Zealand is still dominated by colonised and gendered assumptions that influence the design, delivery and experience of education for women and for many in marginalised groups (Kēpa & Manu'atu, 2011; Toyibah, 2017). Institutional ethnography holds significant potential for meticulous detailing of invisible work, for material mapping and tracing of how people's work and experiences are put together, for generating powerful counter-narratives and empirical arguments about how dominant assumptions orchestrate and perpetuate inequality for women in their work and lives. Once IE brings institutional politics and relations into view, they cannot be unseen. The illuminated and explicated relations produced identify invisible and consequential orchestration of people's knowledge, thinking, practice and experience. From here, activism and emancipatory change are made possible.

[2] https://www.health.govt.nz/new-zealand-health-system/health-targets/about-health-targets/health-targets-shorter-stays-emergency-departments

[3] https://www.education.govt.nz/further-education/policies-and-strategies/review-of-the-performance-based-research-fund/

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THE MATERNAL WALL BIAS AND WHY CHILDREN ARE SCARY

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Round brilliant cut, 2 carats *at least*, tension set, platinum band. It was the coolest looking engagement ring I'd ever seen and I would always sneak looks when she wasn't paying attention. This was ten years ago – I was sitting in my Master's supervisor's office and the ring probably wasn't a recent addition to her finger but I could see how she would prefer wearing that masterpiece in lieu of her wedding ring. I could tell that she had been married for some time from the artsy black and white photographs of her husband and eight-year-old son, which adorned the walls of her office. She says they live in Germany and that she misses them very much, then goes straight into talking about inductively-coupled plasma spectrometry.

That moment in time has stayed with me to this day – although I see it as less of a moment and more a strand, slowly converging with the pathway of my own life: one day, I will make the decision to put my career before my children. It's an anxiety that has gnawed a bit deeper into my being – each time my parents ask when I will bring their grandchild into the world, each time I move farther from my partner to pursue a better opportunity in academia, even each time I need to text my flatmates to feed my cat because I'll be working late – until this bug has burrowed so far within me that having kids is now one of my biggest fears in life.

At a coastal science and engineering conference I attended a few years ago, a network called WICGE (Women in Coastal Geoscience and Engineering) was launched with the distribution of a survey investigating perceptions and experiences of gender representation in these fields. Two years later, when the results of the survey from the conference were published in *Nature*, I saw that so many of my thoughts and concerns were shared by other women in my field. In a way, it felt good to be validated and to know that I was not alone, while at the same time it was heart-breaking to realise that these experiences were so pervasive.

Among the many manifestations of inequality reported by the authors, the one that resonated with me and my anxieties the most was the 'maternal wall bias' – the perception that a woman's job performance is negatively correlated to her having children. Any inkling in my mind that I was capable of having a family while working in academia was dispelled by survey responses like "my (female, childless) supervisor told the phone interviewer that I might not be a good choice because I was planning to start a family" or "I recently made the awful decision to have an abortion (...) I knew that I would be unable to get back into academia again if it coincided with a period of unemployment, and that I wouldn't be competitive for jobs if I was pregnant, and I would be risking my career". Given our limited time and resources, these perceptions force on us an impossible choice, between career and family.

I am guilty of projecting the maternal wall bias onto myself. I know my current lifestyle and situation and I am certain that my job performance will be impacted by motherhood. I know that if I had a tiny human being that depended on me, I wouldn't be able to stay late in the office whenever I fall behind (asking my flatmates to fill the kibble bowl won't cut it). I know that I would most likely be raising a child on my own because my partner is also pursuing a career in academia and we'd be lucky to find posts on the same island, let alone same city. What I don't know is how I would live with the feeling that the joy of my life is holding me back from reaching my full potential, or the fear that I will come to resent their existence altogether. On the other hand, I could converge onto that parallel pathway and pursue my academic career, leaving my whānau behind – the ghosts of their smiles and laughter haunting the photos on the walls of my office, as the grad student across the desk sees right through my technobabble mask to the profound sadness hidden behind.

I realise that last part was probably a bit overdramatic, and I know that women are capable of balancing an academic career with family life. At a national conference I helped organise last year, an associate professor brought her daughter along – a small action that I found empowering and reassuring. When I confided this to her, she admitted that it was difficult having her daughter at the conference, but she hoped that it would inspire others to bring their kids and that a "family room" could even be set up for future conferences. She told me that the family-career juggle was the biggest challenge in her life and the one she continues to feel most guilty about, but that we must "keep on trying, as that is all we can do." From where I am on the path today, the notion of having an academic career and a family life just seems impossible – but the anxiety lies in knowing that one day I will need to face the challenge like any other. The hope is that when the time comes, I'll just naturally know how to face it...the maternal wall traded for maternal instinct. If things don't play out that way, until the day that family rooms at conferences and other initiatives to support families in academia are commonplace, I guess all I can do is keep on trying, and to try my best.

WHAEA KĀTERINA DANIELS

In 2020, Te Hautū Kahurangi (TEU) mourned the loss of our esteemed and venerated kaumātua, Whaea Kāterina Daniels (Te Arawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa) and Dr Te Huirangi Waikerepuru (Taranaki, Ngāpuhi). The first issue of Te Mātūī, the journal celebrating the vision, mahi and voices of Māori TEU members, acknowledged their great contribution and leadership. As we launch the beginning of Te Ira Tangata it is right to give space and place to remember Whaea Kā as a guiding matriarch for our union. We have reproduced the words from Te Mātūī here.

E moe mārie – teacher, guide, mentor, peacemaker, staunch unionist, and te reo Māori advocate.

Whaea Kāterina Daniels (Te Arawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa) affectionately known as Whaea Kā of Te Arawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, was Kuia of ASTE Te Hau Takitini o Aotearoa in the mid-1980s, the TEU from 2009-2018, and the CTU from 2014-2018. In the 1990s, Whaea Kā was made a life member of ASTE.

During her almost four decades with the union she has served on numerous branches and national committees and represented the organisation nationally and internationally at union and indigenous education forums.

Born at Whakarewarewa Pā, she was a penny diver, and spent part of her childhood living with her Koro who spoke only Māori. She taught te reo Māori for decades in kōhanga reo, the compulsory and tertiary sectors, as well as community night classes.

Her academic work has been at Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology, Tai Poutini Polytechnic, and Waiariki Polytechnic.

She was a TEU member at Waiariki Polytechnic and represented her iwi, Tūhourangi-Ngāti Wāhiao, on Te Mana Mātauranga (the rōpū Māori in the Tiriti-relationship co-governance of the institution).

"ALL WHO HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF SPENDING TIME WITH WHAEA KĀ ARE RICHER FOR THAT EXPERIENCE. WE WERE SO GRATEFUL OF THE TIME SHE GAVE TO US AND WILLINGNESS OF HER WHĀNAU TO SHARE THEIR IMPORTANT TAONGA FOR THE MANY YEARS SHE WAS OUR KUIA."

Matua Hōne Sadler, TEU Kaumātua

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