Kathryn A. Sutherland

Early Career Academics in New Zealand: Challenges and Prospects in Comparative Perspective

≜ Springer

The Changing Academy – The Changing Academic Profession in International Comparative Perspective 20

Scope of the series

The landscape of higher education has in recent years undergone significant change. This has been particular the case for research training, academic life, employment, working conditions and entrepreneurial activities of universities around the globe.

The academy is expected to be more professional in teaching, more productive in research and more entrepreneurial in everything. Some of the changes involved have raised questions about the attractiveness of an academic career for today's graduates. At the same time, knowledge has come to be identified as the most vital resource of contemporary societies.

The Changing Academy series examines the nature and extent of the changes experienced by the academic profession. It aims to address these changes from an international comparative perspective, focusing at both the higher education system level as well as the STEM fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics in particular. It explores both the reasons for and the consequences of these changes.

The series considers the implications of the changes for the attractiveness of the academic profession as a career and for the ability of the academic community to contribute to the further development of knowledge societies and the attainment of national goals. It provides analyses on these matters drawing initially on available data-sets and qualitative research studies with special emphasis on the international studies of the Changing Academic Profession and the national surveys in STEM fields. Among the themes featured will be:

• Relevance of the academy's work
• Enrolment, graduation and the institutional setting of STEM
• Research, development and technology policies with regards to STEM
• Internationalization of the academy governance and management
• The new generation in the academic profession – the doctoral graduates

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/8668

Kathryn A. Sutherland

Early Career Academics in New Zealand: Challenges and Prospects in Comparative Perspective

Kathryn A. Sutherland
Victoria University of Wellington
Wellington, New Zealand

Acknowledgements

Contents

About the Author and Contributors

Author

Dr. Kathryn A. Sutherland is a senior academic developer in the Centre for Academic Development at Victoria University of Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand. She recently served as Associate Dean (Students, Learning and Teaching) in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences for 6 years. An award-winning teacher and researcher, Kathryn's research and teaching interests focus on the experiences of early-career academics. She is coeditor of the *International Journal for Academic Development*, serves on the editorial board for the *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, and is a member of the editorial committee for the *Higher Education Research and Development Society of Australasia* (*HERDSA*) guide series. kathryn.sutherland@vuw.ac.nz

Contributors

Dr. Meegan Hall (Ngāti Ranginui) is the co-author of Chap. 7. Meegan works in the Centre for Academic Development and the Office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Māori) at Victoria University of Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand. She is also a principal investigator for Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence, an executive member of the Māori Association of Social Science, and an associate editor for the *International Journal for Academic Development* and on the editorial board for the newly established journal, *SOTL in the South*. Her research specialty is Māori academic development, which combines her interest in higher education learning and teaching with her disciplinary background in Māori studies and her academic development work supporting Māori academic staff.

Prof. Marc Wilson is the co-author of Chap. 5. Marc is a social psychologist and Associate Dean (Academic Development) for the Faculty of Science at Victoria University of Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand. He is interested in the application of social psychological theory to important social issues, and his main research programme in the last 5 years has focused on understanding why some people (particularly young people) deliberately hurt themselves, without suicidal intent. Marc has received both the Victoria University of Wellington (2005) and National (2008) Teaching Excellence Awards, and his science communication endeavours have been recognised by the New Zealand Association of Scientists Science Communicator Award (2010) and VUW's Public Contribution Award (2011).

List of Abbreviations

Ako Aotearoa	National Centre for Tertiary Teaching Excellence
AUS	Association of University Staff
AUT	Auckland University of Technology
CAP	Changing Academic Profession
DMA	Doctor of Musical Arts
DIY	Do-it-yourself
ECA	Early-career academic
EdD	Doctor of Education
EFTSs	Equivalent full-time students
ERA	Excellence in Research for Australia
FTE	Full-time equivalent
Go8	Group of Eight research-intensive universities in Australia
HEI	Higher Education Institute
HoD	Head of Department
HR	Human resources
ITOs	Industry training organisations
ITPs	Institutes of technology and polytechnics
LittD	Doctor of Literature
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment
NZAS	New Zealand Association of Scientists
PBRF	Performance Based Research Fund
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy degree
Post-docs	Post-doctoral fellows/positions
PD	Professional development
PTEs	Private training establishments
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise (UK)
REF	Research Excellence Framework (UK)
STEM	Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics
TEC	Tertiary Education Commission

TEOs	Tertiary education organisations
TES	Tertiary Education Strategy
TEU	Tertiary Education Union
UGC	University Grants Committee
UK	United Kingdom
UNZ	Universities New Zealand
US	United States
WIL	Women in Leadership

Chapter 1
Introduction

Setting the Scene

New Zealand is not a big country. A nation of just four and a half million people, we are geographically a long way from all other countries (even Australia – with whom we are commonly mistaken or conflated – is a minimum three-hour flight away). Sometimes this geographical distance can leave us feeling a little neglected, especially when we get left off maps, as seems to happen regularly.[1] So when I was asked to contribute a volume to this series on the Changing Academic Profession, I wondered what the New Zealand perspective could possibly add to an already impressive collection of international studies. It turns out that, in comparison with what is happening elsewhere, this little country might have a few useful ideas about the academic profession, especially from the perspective of those just starting out on their academic careers.

As well as being a small country, we are a young country – the 'new' in our English name hints at that. We haven't had a lot of time to make a big entrance on the world stage. But we are proud of our accomplishments, in all arenas of life. Sir Edmund Hillary, the great mountaineer, was a New Zealander. The splitting of the atom couldn't have happened without the scientific work of Ernest Rutherford. One of the world's great opera singers, Dame Kiri Te Kanawa, is a New Zealander, and we boast some of the world's finest authors – Katherine Mansfield back in the early twentieth-century and Man Booker prize winner in 2013, Eleanor Catton, to name just two. World-famous movie director Sir Peter Jackson is one of ours, and we're well known for our nuclear-free stance. We were the first country in the world to allow women to vote in 1893, and the first country in the then British Empire to award a Bachelor of Arts degree to a woman (in 1877, to Kate Edger). You could say

---

[1] There is even a website dedicated to identifying maps without New Zealand: http://worldmapswithout.nz/

that we 'punch above our weight'. As many of my colleagues will tell you, I am not a fan of violent imagery – impact is one of my least favourite words (see Sutherland 2015) – but this boxing metaphor fits the story this book will tell in more ways than one.

The twenty-first century has ushered in an era of global competition for higher education, with universities jostling for students against one another on various world ranking systems. Much like the sport of boxing, which awards "World Champion" titles through at least four sanctioning bodies,[2] universities are fighting in a global ring in several different competitions: the QS World University Rankings, the Times Higher Education World University Rankings, U-Multirank, and SCImago Institutions Rankings, to name a few. In this global ring, New Zealand is a bantam-weight battling against heavyweights. Yet, we hold our own. We pack a mean punch, in fact. We are the only country in the world with all its universities in the top 500 (that is, the top 3%) in the world (Universities New Zealand 2016a). We are one of the most 'international' higher education systems in the world (Universities New Zealand 2016b). We have high participation rates in tertiary education (Crossan 2015). We rank second among Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries for total public expenditure on tertiary education (Joyce and Parata 2015), although statistics are open to interpretation. Another view is that we spend US$1000 less per student on tertiary education than the OECD average, and US$3000 less per student on tertiary education than Australia (Grey 2016).

All of this is information you can find in any quick Google search or glance at OECD statistics (see for example, OECD 2016). What you'll find in this book is, instead, the insiders' take on being an academic in this system. What does it mean to be starting an academic career in New Zealand in the twenty-first century? And, in a globalised world, how does that career look in comparison to what others are experiencing elsewhere? This book will offer some examples of how New Zealand academics and universities 'punch above their weight' even though some may often feel they're 'against the ropes'.

Challenges for Academia

New Zealand universities have come a long way since the establishment of the four colonial university colleges of the University of New Zealand in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Staffed by imported Professors, attended by (mostly) young, wealthy men, and sending examination scripts back to the UK for marking, these university colleges fought against an anti-intellectualism that pervaded the new colony. Eventually, though, New Zealand ended up with a dynamic, growing, and integrated tertiary sector that now includes eight universities, three *wānanga* (Māori

---

[2] The most notable of these are the IBF (International Boxing Federation), the WBA (World Boxing Association), the WBC (World Boxing Council), and the WBO (World Boxing Organisation).

tertiary organisations), 16 institutes of technology and polytechnics, and many industry training organisations and private training establishments. Vast changes have been occurring in the New Zealand higher education system over the last three decades (described in more detail in Chap. 2). Like many higher education systems around the world, New Zealand universities face mounting pressures and challenges, all of which filter down to affect the lives of academic staff already within or contemplating becoming a part of the academy.

Key trends in higher education around the English-speaking world that are also evident in the New Zealand context include: a diverse and growing student population; changing technologies; internationalisation of the student body and the curriculum (all encouraged and exacerbated by the more and more prominent aforementioned international ranking schemes); and increasing government intervention with accompanying calls for accountability and competition. In their volume on the future of the university, Shin and Teichler (2014) identify the modern university as moving through three phases, from an elite system, to massification, and now to post-massification. In the elite system, they argue, knowledge production held sway and students did not require much effort to teach (coming as they did from similar backgrounds as their professors). With massification, teaching became more important in light of the need to teach a broader range of people who were less well-prepared for university study. Now, in what Shin and Teichler describe as the post-massification era, academics must be good at both research and teaching, in order to respond to increasing government expectations *and* changing student populations.

New Zealand universities are not immune to these changes on the global scene, even if we are comparatively well-protected from the worst of what some countries are undergoing in higher education. For example, New Zealand universities have not encountered the kinds of terror attacks experienced in Kenya in 2015 and Pakistan in 2016.[3] Nor is individual and institutional academic freedom severely curtailed in New Zealand in the way it has been in places like Turkey.[4] Women are able to participate as students and staff in New Zealand higher education in ways they are not elsewhere (Morley and Crossouard 2014). Still, our staff: student ratio is bad (see Chap. 3), attrition among both staff and students is troubling, overall funding is decreasing, and women are still not well represented at senior levels in New Zealand universities.

Furthermore, academic staff worldwide are reported to suffer significantly higher levels of stress than other workers (Bentley et al. 2014; Winefield et al. 2008) and New Zealand academics, it seems, are also at risk. Wilf Malcolm, a former Vice Chancellor of Waikato University and Nicholas Tarling, a Professor of History, declare that they detect "among staff, academic as well as general, a feeling of helplessness, of alienation, even at times of fear, that seems to us utterly alien to the proper spirit of a university, and utterly incompatible with its proper aspirations"

---

[3] These terror attacks occurred at Garissa University College in Kenya, where 148 people lost their lives in April 2015, and at Bacha Khan University in Pakistan in January 2016 that left 21 dead.

[4] http://monitoring.academicfreedom.info/reports/2016-01-11-various-institutions

(Malcolm and Tarling 2007, p. 219). Similarly, a group of researchers at Lincoln University discovered that the breakdown of what they refer to as academics' "psychological contracts" with the universities in which they work, is causing problems due to "'changes and pressures associated with marketization and creeping managerialism" (Tipples et al. 2007, p. 32).

Such changes and stressors are both global and local. In New Zealand, for example, the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) has shifted the focus of many institutions, and individual academics, to a more intense concentration on research output and performance than ever before. This has brought with it varying responses from academics, and a different environment into which early career academics are being socialised than the system their academic managers and leaders came through. As changes such as massification and marketisation happen globally, it is important to consider how they affect academics locally. In their important work on the early career paths and employment conditions of academics in 17 countries, Bennion and Locke (2010) remind us that national perspectives are important in an expanding and globalising world: we must "begin to assess the balance of national particularities and global trends, of similarities and differences as experienced by academics in these systems and, in some cases, when moving between them" (p. S27). Therefore, in this book I look at early career academics in one national system (New Zealand) but draw comparisons with other similar systems. I focus on the experiences of early career academics and the challenges and prospects they face as they are socialised into the academic profession.

While this book will not address *all* of the changes and challenges facing New Zealand higher education, I pick up on several that affect early career academics directly. In particular, I look at academic staff activities in terms of the core teaching and research missions of the university, as well as at work-life balance, the influence of performance-based funding, and the internationalisation of the academic profession in New Zealand, a phenomenon that has a longer history than elsewhere. I also demonstrate how New Zealand was one of the first countries in the world to implement a broad sweeping system change to higher education modelled on neoliberal principles of competition, marketisation and managerialism, in the 1980s, and how those changes continued through into the twenty-first century with deep effect.

Why Concentrate on *Early Career* Academics?

Newcomers entering the academic workforce in twenty-first century New Zealand clearly face a different environment from the one in which their academic leaders trained and served. It is important, then, to find out just what has changed and how these changes are being experienced. Investigating satisfaction levels and job experiences will help us determine what will be needed to attract new academics to an aging profession from which many workers are likely to retire in the coming decade (Nana et al. 2010). Moreover, uncovering the developmental paths, career aspirations, and socialisation experiences of *early career* academics, in particular, will

enable us to discover how and why they choose to stay or leave, what keeps them engaged in their work, and what support they need to get up to speed as quickly as possible (Hemmings 2012). Such research may also reveal how we might attract more academics to the profession who come from similar backgrounds and experiences as the diverse and historically underrepresented students that are increasingly joining our institutions (Austin 2003; Lindholm 2004).

With often limited power, fewer resources, and widely varying expectations in regard to teaching, research, and service activities, early career academics require both our attention and our support. As Teichler et al. (2013) have noted in their research on the changing academic profession worldwide, studies of those they label "junior academics" are vitally important because they help us to understand how academics learn about their profession and what we can do to support them in their double functions of learning and productive work during the formative years of their careers. Furthermore, if, as much of the research on doctoral student socialisation suggests (Austin 2002; Weidman and Stein 2003), academic staff are instrumental in the adequate preparation of doctoral students for a future academic career, we need to make sure that those academic staff have themselves been well supported, socialised and prepared.

Socialisation and the Interaction of Structure and Agency

In theoretical terms, this book is framed by the idea that socialisation happens in the interaction between structure and agency (Archer 2007, 2008; Bandura 2001; Billett 2006; Edwards 2005; Kahn 2009; Neumann et al. 2006; Trowler 1998), and that we need to recognise structure and agency as relationally interdependent. Below, I give explanations for how I view these three key terms: structure, agency, and socialisation.

Structure relates to "the properties which give coherence and relative permanence to social practices in different times and locales" (Trowler and Knight 1999, p. 182). In academia, such structures include but are not confined to disciplines, departments, and universities. Some have ventured that the discipline represents the first community "in which individual academics engage in the project of identity building" (Henkel 2002, p. 138), followed by the university. Others argue that too much weight has been given to the structural influences of academic disciplines, and that more consideration needs to be given to the wider cultural practices and preferences that shape academic professional communities (Trowler 1998). Either way, in this book I subscribe to a social theory approach, which acknowledges that individuals both learn from *and* influence the various academic communities with which they identify, and that structure and agency are "interdependent and mutually causative" (Trowler 1998, p. 137).

Agency refers to the capacity that individuals have for acting on and changing the world around them: "To be an agent is to intentionally make things happen by one's actions" (Bandura 2001, p. 2). Central to this agentic action are intentionality

(Bandura 2001; Archer 2007; Neumann et al. 2006) and reflexivity (Archer 2007; Luckett and Luckett 2009). That is, individual agency requires a person to act with intention and to develop the capability of reflecting on the success or otherwise of that action, particularly in relation to the structure in which the action occurred. In terms of being socialised into the academic career, we can argue that individual academics work, and exert their agency, within the context of structures over which they may have limited or no control, and which present various opportunities and constraints (Austin 2003; Henkel 2002, 2005; Neumann et al. 2006; Reybold 2008; Tierney 1997). These interactions therefore strongly influence the socialisation process.

Socialisation involves newcomers to an organisation (or discipline, or department) learning about and interacting with structural norms, values and cultures in both agentic and passive ways. Academics learn how to be academics by observing and being involved in the "microscopic aspects of the culture of their organizations" (Tierney 1997, p. 12). A norm might be, for example, that everyone in the new academic's department works long hours and over the weekend. A value might be that research is given more prominence than teaching in the promotions system within the university. A culture might be that peer reviews of research submissions to scholarly journals are always anonymous. All of these examples have counterparts, of course: where long hours are the norm in one department, there will be no such expectation in another; where one university privileges research, another will favour teaching; and where one discipline expects anonymous reviews, another encourages the nomination of potential reviewers by the authors themselves. These are aspects of academia that new academics encounter, absorb, and in some instances, resist, during their graduate school or doctoral degree experience (Austin 2002; Gardner 2010) in what has been described as an apprenticeship-type model (Reybold 2008) or "anticipatory socialisation" (Tierney 1997). New academics then move on to an "organisational socialisation" process provided from within their institution (Reybold 2008; Tierney 1997) in their first years in a postdoctoral or academic position. For many, however, as Chap. 3 will show, this anticipatory and organisational socialisation happens simultaneously, as people complete their graduate degrees on the job, or a long time apart, because many academics enter the profession from other careers.

Tierney (1997) outlines two views of this socialisation experience. One view posits that new recruits are expected to assimilate the organisational norms and cultures with little room for diverse responses or for the possibility of the newcomer themselves influencing or changing the culture. Another perspective involves a more reciprocal relationship between individual agency and the cultures, norms, and values encountered during the socialisation process. This view holds that academics are influenced by and make sense of their institution/career at the same time as actively participating in "the re-creation rather than merely the discovery of a culture" (Tierney 1997, p. 16). As various researchers have argued, the ability of individuals to exert their agency and reflect upon their developing identity/ies as they experience the socialisation process can lead to the potential transformation of both the individual *and* the workplace (Billett et al. 2005; Kahn 2009; McAlpine

et al. 2013). So, it is important for us to consider both the perspectives of the early career academics themselves, as well as looking at the structures in which they are working, and the expectations (their own and those of their universities) under which they operate.

Some researchers have argued that too much research on higher education in the twentieth century privileges the views and experiences of "high-status" academics and disciplines (Trowler 1998) and that more diverse voices are needed in research on academia. It is therefore important that we listen to the voices of those early in their academic careers. Furthermore, recent research on academic staff has focused on the loss of an idealised collegial past (Mathieson 2011; Tight 2010), highlighting the effect of work intensification and degradation (Trowler 1998) and pointing out the encroaching expectations of accountability to government and relevance to industry (Leišytė and Dee 2012). Yet, for early career academics beginning their careers in the twenty-first century, theirs is not an environment experienced through the "lens of loss" but the "only reality they know" (Mathieson 2011, p. 243). We must not assume that our memories and experiences of entering the academic profession will necessarily resonate with what our new colleagues are experiencing, nor that we will be able to anticipate what they need. The new generation of academics is diverse, with varying prior experiences, "biographies, expectations, self-image and dispositions" (Knight 2002, p. 13), and is working within dynamic structures. The socialisation processes that earlier generations experienced may not be relevant, appropriate, or sufficient for twenty-first century academics.

The Research Itself

In light of these differences between generations, disciplines, contexts, and countries, this book offers the voices of early career academics from New Zealand to the conversation. The project on which this book is based investigated the work experiences and socialisation of early career academics at all eight New Zealand universities in the year following the completion of the most recent national Performance Based Research Fund assessment exercise. In 2012, I conducted a survey on the experiences of early career academics in all New Zealand universities, with funding from Ako Aotearoa: the National Centre for Tertiary Teaching Excellence (Sutherland et al. 2013). Many of the questions in the survey followed the phrasing of questions used in the international Changing Academic Profession (CAP) questionnaire.[5] The research reported in this book offers a comparative perspective, from the New Zealand context, of the experiences of early career academics.

---

[5] Readers can find out more about the overall CAP project in Teichler et al. (2013). The most recent iteration of the CAP questionnaire was conducted in 18 countries in 2007 and has been reported on in Springer's series of books on the changing academic profession, of which this volume now forms a part. New Zealand was not one of the countries included in the CAP survey in 2007, but will be included (along with at least nine other new countries) from 2017.

The research included two questionnaires and follow-up focus groups. The first questionnaire was sent to all early career academics (those within the first 7 years of their first permanent academic appointment) in all eight New Zealand universities. This choice was made on the basis that the literature identifies early career academics as anywhere from 5 years in the role (Bazeley 2003; Gonzales and LaPointe Terosky 2016) to 6 years (Bland et al. 2006) to 8 years since receiving a PhD (Laudel and Gläser 2008). In New Zealand, our academic scale mirrors the UK model and has four key positions: Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor, and Professor. There are also positions (such as Assistant Lecturer, Teaching Fellow, and Post-Doctoral Fellow) that people may occupy before being appointed on the full academic scale. Some end up in recurring fixed-term contracts without moving into permanent employment, but if a new academic started on the bottom rung of the Lecturer scale in New Zealand (at my university, at least) it would take 7 years (without applying for an accelerated promotion) to move through the steps on the Lecturer scale before that person could apply to be promoted to Senior Lecturer. Consequently, I chose 7 years as the cut-off for defining "early career".

The early career questionnaire generated 538 responses (a healthy 47% response rate). A second questionnaire surveyed academic leaders and managers at all eight universities, and generated 104 responses (representing a good spread across all universities and all levels of senior leadership). Follow-up focus groups were held at four universities with 26 academics and academic managers. I provide more detail on the questionnaire method and data analysis in the appendix.

The questionnaire for early career academics was based on my earlier research (Sutherland and Petersen 2010) and aligned closely with other international surveys on the academic profession, including the CAP survey (Teichler et al. 2013), the Collaborative on Academic Careers in Higher Education (COACHE 2010) survey on Tenure-Track Faculty Job Satisfaction, and Bryson's survey on the UK academic workforce (Bryson 2004). The questionnaire included statements to which participants responded using four- and five-point Likert Scales, as well as demographic and open-ended questions, and included the following sections (the full questionnaire is available upon request):

- *Demographics, Qualifications, and Job Information* – including nationality, age, job title, discipline, highest qualification, length of time in job, promotion success, home situation (i.e. raising children or not, spouse working or not), etc.
- *Research and Teaching Activity* – including number of publications, awards, conferences attended, students supervised, etc.
- *Institutional Policies, Support, and Services for New Academics* – including ratings of different policies, support mechanisms and services for new academics in terms of their importance to a new academic's success and the effectiveness of each at their own university
- *Work-Life Balance and Satisfaction* – including questions on intent to stay in academia, satisfaction with time spent at work and with family, finding time for exercise, and recommending one's department and institution as places to work.

These questionnaire sections represent an attempt to uncover some of the structural influences on the socialisation of new academics (resources, policies, workload, etc) and to identify where and how new academics experience and exercise their agency and encounter structural supports and constraints. Underpinning the book, then, is the question of how early career academics are being socialised into the academic profession in the twenty-first century, and the interaction of structure and agency within those socialisation processes.

What to Expect in the Following Pages

The inclusion of this book now, in the Springer series on the Changing Academic Profession, is an attempt to give voice to a country that has not been included in many international studies on higher education. My intention is to lay out a sense of what has been occurring in New Zealand higher education over the last century and a half, to map the changes that have taken place both historically and more recently, and to highlight the experiences of a particular cohort of academics – those early in their careers. I outline below the order of the book and what readers will encounter in each chapter. Each chapter is separately downloadable and can be read as a stand-alone document, but some cross-referral to other chapters is inevitable and readers may wish to dip in and out of the various chapters and sections of chapters that interest them, or to read through the whole book in progression.

New Zealand academics and historians have recorded the history of higher education in New Zealand in some excellent monographs and edited collections over the years. In Chap. 2, I draw on these, my own PhD research, and statistical information from government departments, and from universities' own websites, to provide an overview of the changing academic profession in New Zealand universities. This chapter identifies the current and historic structural influences – some dramatically changed, and some still pervasively powerful – that both inspire and constrain early career academics in New Zealand.

I follow this chapter with a detailed description of the people working in New Zealand universities, and some information on students, too. Chapter 3 outlines the kinds of data collected previously about New Zealand academics, and sets out the key demographic findings from my own survey. In particular, I describe their age, nationality, ethnicity, and gender, and compare some of this with international data. I also provide information about their academic roles, appointment and contract types, qualifications, and training. This chapter is heavy on tables, but it is important to lay out these descriptive data here to provide a comprehensive overview from which comparisons can be made with other countries, and with which future New Zealand research can be compared. The tables in this chapter also lend demographic data to analyses later in Chaps. 5, 6, and 7, in particular. They help us to understand the wide diversity of the people undergoing socialisation into the academic profession, and reveal the varying structures in which they have been previously socialised.

Chapter 4 follows on from the demographic focus of the preceding chapter with an extensive overview of the kinds of activities early career academics in New Zealand universities engage in on a daily basis. It outlines their preferences in relation to teaching and research and compares these findings with what is happening elsewhere in the world. The chapter provides detailed summaries of the teaching, research, service, and supervision activities of early career academics within the structures of the eight New Zealand universities. It also considers these activities from a disciplinary perspective, and in comparison with academics elsewhere in the world. The chapter also provides information on early career academics' confidence levels in relation to these activities. It concludes with a consideration of the influence of the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) on early career academics in New Zealand. The PBRF is a particular structural influence not encountered in quite the same way by academics anywhere else in the world because of the individualistic nature of its assessment process. This chapter unravels some of the structural complexities that inflect early career academics' responses to the PBRF. This chapter is data-laden and the longest in the book, and it may take some navigating for readers to uncover the information of most interest to them (for which the subheadings should be useful). The chapter as a whole will be of particular interest to researchers interested in the role preferences and daily activities of early career academics.

As structural influences from within institutions are widely reported to affect academic satisfaction, and, potentially, retention within the profession, Chap. 5 investigates the satisfaction levels of early career academics in New Zealand universities. With the help of my colleague, Marc Wilson, who served as a statistical consultant during the data-gathering phase of this project, I apply Hagedorn's model of academic satisfaction to the New Zealand context. We find that, encouragingly, New Zealand academics appear to be generally more satisfied than academics elsewhere.

Despite the mostly positive findings in Chap. 5, satisfaction does not automatically equate to a good balance between all the work activities outlined in Chap. 4 and the home lives and family expectations of early career academics. Therefore, Chap. 6 looks more deeply into the home and work experiences of early career academics to find out how well, if at all, they are managing to balance their working and family lives. The chapter outlines key differences in men's and women's experience in this regard, and notes that agency may not be equally exerted by all early career academics, depending on the domestic and institutional structures that constrain them. The chapter also calls for new perspectives on how we socialise people into the academic profession and its sometimes debilitating expectations around commitment.

Chapter 7 is written with Meegan Hall, a colleague at my university, who wrote her PhD on the experiences of Māori academics in New Zealand. Māori are the Indigenous people of New Zealand and make up 15% of the national population. In Chap. 7, we aim to give clear and loud voice to Māori academics at the beginning of their academic careers in New Zealand universities. The chapter draws on the findings from Māori respondents to my survey, as well as findings from Meegan's own

PhD, and some other excellent research that has been conducted around New Zealand over the last couple of decades. Like other chapters, it identifies some structural constraints but emphasises also how Māori academics are working positively against these constraints and exerting their agency in powerful ways. It also identifies that Māori academics often have to juggle more interactions, with more people, in more structures than other academics because of their concomitant commitments to their discipline, university, and also – and often most significantly – their *iwi* (tribe).

Chapter 8 emphasises the project's theoretical framework, highlighting the interaction of structure and agency to demonstrate how important it is that we consult with and include early career academics in decision-making processes, and find out more about their actual needs. It outlines what early career academics say they need to do their jobs well, identifies their own desires around socialisation into the profession and the institution, and presents data from both early career academics and academic managers that show a troubling gap in expectations.

Chapter 9 offers some concluding thoughts on the early career academic experience in New Zealand universities and suggestions for improving the ways that we socialise and support our new colleagues. It argues for more story-telling, different metaphors, and more listening.

In an effort to allow the voices of the participants in my project to be heard in a slightly different way, many chapters in this book finish with a short poem. I have composed each poem solely from the words of respondents to the survey. The poems are intended to follow the themes of the chapter in which they appear, and serve as a lead in to the following chapter, all the while reminding readers of the voices of early career academics.

A Personal Perspective on Academic Socialisation

I began my own university education in New Zealand in a year (1990) that turned out to be the cusp of massive change in the university system. In my first year as a student, I paid a very small amount of money for my annual course fees and received a generous bursary (student allowance) every week. That year, I also marched in protest, with my fellow students and many concerned staff and members of the public, against the proposed introduction of changes to the funding of tertiary education, but to no avail. The following year, thanks to the implementation of changes stemming from the Education Amendment Act 1989, I had to pay more than four times as much in fees and I no longer received an allowance, instead being forced to draw on the newly introduced student loan scheme for my living and course expenses. This student loan scheme charged me interest on my loan at a rate that at times was higher than the interest banks were charging. Meanwhile, the student fees I had to pay increased every year on average around 13% (Healey and Gunby 2012, p. 35) until the end of the decade when I finished my tertiary studies. So, as a student I lived through some of the most wide-ranging changes ever affecting students in the

New Zealand higher education system, but with little sense of agency over those massively significant structural shifts.

Then, I became an academic staff member at the turn of the century, and was confronted by a system that was changing the way that academic staff experienced higher education. In my first year as a university lecturer, academics – at my university at least – were striking against what they perceived to be poor working conditions and an unresponsive management. Outside the university, but directly affecting the working lives of academics, the Tertiary Education Commission was being established, Centres for Research Excellence were introduced, Colleges of Education were being merged with universities, and at least one polytechnic became a university. The PBRF was in development and represented a new shift in how research is funded and also how academics viewed their time. Ako Aotearoa (the National Centre for Tertiary Teaching Excellence), a grassroots-led but eventually government-funded commitment to ensuring the quality of the student learning experience, was also just around the corner. Once again, I was starting out a time of immense change, not all of it bad, of course.

These moments engendered a fascination with the student and academic experience that saw me make higher education my area of research focus, and prepared me to be in an ideal position to research the experiences of early career academics in New Zealand universities and contribute to this series of books on the changing academic profession worldwide. As a young, female academic starting out in a time of upheaval, I encountered many moments of challenge, questioning, and limited agency. This book is not about that – many others have written more eloquent, autobiographical accounts (see, for example, Misiaszek 2014) – but these experiences have greatly influenced my perspective on and desire to support the socialisation process for new academics. I hope that this book will give voice to some of the concerns, challenges, and prospects facing early career academics and will make a contribution not just to the research on what we know of the academic profession in New Zealand, but also to our practice around supporting our new colleagues. I am hopeful that, despite its focus on the New Zealand context, international readers will also benefit from reading about the experiences of people starting out in academia in the twenty-first century.

Appendix: Research Methods

Early Career Questionnaire

As mentioned in the chapter itself, the questionnaire for early career academics was based on the CAP survey from 2007 and included many of the same questions, as well as some adaptations and additions for the New Zealand context. I piloted the questionnaire with 47 early career academics, whom I also interviewed, at all eight New Zealand universities in 2011. As a result of this pilot, and issues that were

raised during the interviews, I added questions to the demographic section on early career academics' living situations, and to the institutional policies, support, and services section, in particular. The questionnaire was then sent to all early career academics (those within the first 7 years of their first permanent academic appointment) at all eight New Zealand universities in early- to mid-2012.

Identifying the Research Population

My reference group comprised one local contact at each university (usually working in the university's teaching and learning centre or equivalent), who helped me to liaise with Human Resources (HR) staff at each university to identify the early career academic population at each university. As explained in the chapter, I defined 'early career' as academics within the first 7 years of their first permanent academic appointment. For ease of sampling, because such a population had already been identified by each university for Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) reporting purposes, I asked each university's HR contact for the email addresses of academic staff in the first 7 years of their academic career. In most cases, this meant they had been appointed at their current university since the beginning of 2005 (or just before the 2006 PBRF round). Some of those appointees had transferred from academic positions at other institutions and were quite senior and thus not considered 'early career', so my HR and reference group contacts had to do some culling before sending through their lists.

Early Career Responses

The eventual list numbered 1216 potential participants. I then sent all early career academics at all eight universities a personalised email inviting them to answer the questionnaire online (using the Qualtrics survey software) and to let me know if they did not fit the criteria. Several replied, telling me they had been in academia for longer than 7 years (but at their institution for fewer years, which is why they would have appeared on the original list). Once I removed those outside the criteria, my population was 1151. I received 538 responses, giving a very respectable response rate of 47%. Table 1.1 outlines the responses by university and overall.

Academic Manager Questionnaire

I also sent a much shorter questionnaire, with several of the same questions from the Institutional Policies, Services, and Resources section of the early career questionnaire, to a variety of academic managers and senior people who support early career

Table 1.1 Responses to ECA questionnaire

University	Population (n)	Percentage of population	Responses (n)	Response Rate (%)	Percentage of all responses
Auckland	249	21.6	120	48.2	22.3
Otago	239	20.8	124	51.9	23.0
AUT	168	14.6	53	31.5	9.8
Canterbury	164	14.2	58	35.4	10.8
Massey	130	11.3	71	54.6	13.2
Victoria	115	10.0	74	64.3	13.8
Waikato	54	4.7	23	42.6	4.3
Lincoln	32	2.8	15	46.9	2.8
Total	1151	100%	538	46.8%	100%

Table 1.2 Responses to academic manager questionnaire

University	Responses (n)	% of all university responses	% of ECA survey responses (for comparison)
Otago	27	26.0	23.0
Auckland	23	22.1	22.3
Victoria	14	13.5	13.8
AUT	11	10.6	9.8
Canterbury	10	9.6	10.8
Massey	8	7.7	13.2
Waikato	5	4.8	4.3
Lincoln	6	5.7	2.8
Total	104	100%	100%

academics at all eight New Zealand universities. An email request to participate was forwarded by contacts at each New Zealand university to Heads of Department, Deans, Associate Deans, Pro/Assistant/Deputy Vice-Chancellors, and anyone involved in managing or directly supporting early career academics. This questionnaire included the following sections:

- Institutional policies, support, and services for new academics
- Professional and career development
- Job information
- Advice for new academics.

I hoped to receive eight to ten responses from each of the larger universities, and perhaps five or six from smaller universities, as I thought this would give a sense of the perspectives of some academic managers and enable me (or someone else) to identify issues to follow up on in later research. I was very pleased to receive 104 replies, with a good spread of responses from all eight universities. Table 1.2 shows the responses to the Academic Manager Questionnaire received from each university. As invitations to complete this survey were not sent individually, I do not know the population size for each university, so no overall response rate is listed for the Academic Manager Questionnaire. However, as Table 1.2 shows, a good spread of responses was received

Table 1.3 Positions of academic manager questionnaire respondents

Role	Responses (n)
Deputy Vice-Chancellor	1
Pro Vice-Chancellor	6
Dean	7
Associate Dean	9
Head of Department or equivalent	39
Director of a research centre or central service unit	10
Other	11
Total	83[a]

[a]Not all respondents identified their position, so this total is not the same as the overall number of responses

from across all eight universities, corresponding well with the response rates for the early career questionnaire from each university (see the fourth column).

Academic managers in a variety of different positions replied to the questionnaire, from a Deputy Vice-Chancellor to several Deans, Associate Deans, and Directors. The majority of responses came from Heads of Department or equivalent.[6] As noted earlier, Heads of Department are usually the people with direct line management responsibility for early career academics and the managers upon whom the early career academics rely most for support and information at the outset of their academic career or upon arrival at a new university. Table 1.3 provides more detailed information on the respondents to the academic manager survey.

The results for the Academic Manager Questionnaire are found predominantly in Chap. 8, whereas the Early Career Questionnaire provides the data in Chaps. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, and also contributes to Chap. 8.

Focus Groups

Following the collection of the questionnaire data, I conducted focus groups at four universities, with a sample of early career academics from different disciplines, and one focus group with managers at my own institution. Respondents were asked at the end of the questionnaire if they were interested in receiving a copy of the findings, and I used this list to email people to ask if they would be interested in participating in a focus group at their university. The focus groups considered the results of the national questionnaire and probed further the experiences of early career academics, and the support and resources needed for successful socialisation into the academic career in New Zealand. Seventeen early career academics and nine managers were involved in the focus groups (Table 1.4).

---

[6]At my own university, for example, this title is Head of School.

Table 1.4 Focus group participants

University	Male	Female	Disciplinary area	Total
Auckland	4	6	Health x2, Science x4, Social Sciences x3, Humanities x 1	10
AUT	1	3	Science x2, Humanities x1, Social Sciences x1	4
Otago	1	2	Science x1, Commerce x1, Humanities x 1	3
Victoria	4	5	Central service unit x4, Science x1, Commerce x1, Social Sciences x2, Humanities x1	9
Total	10	16		26

Data Analysis

Statistical Analyses Questionnaire response comparisons in Chaps. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 were conducted using correlations, t-tests, Chi-Squares, ANOVAs, and regression analyses. All statistical analyses excluded cases pairwise, which ensured each analysis only used the data that was available for that analysis. Preliminary analyses were conducted on all the variables to assess their relative distribution in order to inform the subsequent analyses. Subscale items were grouped together based on conducting Primary Component Analyses and then assessing the reliability of the scales (only alpha scores above 0.7 were accepted). Chapter 5 on academic satisfaction includes more detail on the analyses undertaken for that particular modelling exercise.

Questionnaire and Focus Group Comments I allowed space after three sections in the questionnaire (institutional policies and support, working relationships, and work-life balance) and at the end of the questionnaire for respondents to make open-ended comments. More than 160 respondents made comments. The thematic analysis of these comments involved my first reading through all the comments, identifying codes for analysis, then ordering those codes into a series of key themes, and attributing each comment to a theme (some comments fit more than one theme). Two colleagues then also went through the comments and assigned them to the key themes. More than 90% of the time comments were coded into the same themes by both me and the other researchers. I conducted a similar process for my analysis of the focus group transcripts.

I include comments from the questionnaire and the focus groups throughout the book to support the statistical findings and the suggestions I make for supporting early career academics. These comments are not intended to be representative of all respondents; rather, they shed further light on the findings and go some way to explaining how some early career academics feel about their circumstances. They also give voice to the participants, as do the poems at the end of each chapter. Comments are indented, and respondents' academic level, discipline, sex, and age group are provided.

Limitations

It is important to acknowledge that this research represents only a snapshot in time. It does not investigate how views of individuals might have changed or be changing, nor does it look into how recent changes in circumstances (employing institution, type of contract, family situation, etc.) might affect the perceptions of early career academics. It will thus be important to investigate the perceptions of New Zealand early career academics longitudinally and also include voices of academics from all levels, for comparison and context, hence the New Zealand involvement in the next phase of the CAP project.

References

Archer, M. (2007). *Making our way through the world: Human reflexivity and social mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, L. (2008). Younger academics' constructions of 'authenticity', 'success' and professional identity. *Studies in Higher Education, 33*(4), 385–403.

Austin, A. (2002). Preparing the next generation of faculty: Graduate school as socialization to the academic career. *The Journal of Higher Education, 73*(1), 94–122.

Austin, A. (2003). Creating a bridge to the future: Preparing new faculty to face changing expectations in a shifting context. *The Review of Higher Education, 26*(2), 119–144.

Bandura, A. (2001). Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology, 52*, 1–26. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.52.1.1.

Bazeley, P. (2003). Defining 'early career' in research. *Higher Education, 45*(3), 257–279.

Bennion, A., & Locke, W. (2010). The early career paths and employment conditions of the academic profession in 17 countries. *European Review, 18*(S1), S7–S33.

Bentley, T., McLeod, L., & Teo, S. (2014). *The state of the tertiary education sector in New Zealand – 2013: Final report of findings from the survey of work and wellbeing in the tertiary education secto*r. Tertiary Education Union and the NZ Work Research Institute, AUT University. http://teu.ac.nz/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/TEU-Final-Report.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Billett, S. (2006). Relational interdependence between social and individual agency in work and working life. *Mind, Culture and Activity, 13*(1), 53–69.

Billett, S., Smith, R., & Barker, M. (2005). Understanding work, learning and the remaking of cultural practices. *Studies in Continuing Education, 27*(3), 219–237.

Bland, C. J., Center, B. A., Finstead, D. A., Risbey, K. R., & Staples, J. (2006). The impact of appointment type on the productivity and commitment of full-time faculty in research and doctoral institutions. *Journal of Higher Education, 77*(1), 89–123.

Bryson, C. (2004). What about the workers? The expansion of higher education and the transformation of academic work. *Industrial Relations Journal, 35*(1), 38–57.

COACHE. (2010). *Selected results from the COACHE Tenure-Track Faculty Job Satisfaction Survey. The experience of tenure-track faculty at research universities: Analysis of COACHE survey results by academic area and gender*. The Collaborative on Academic Careers in Higher Education. Harvard Graduate School of Education. http://coache.gse.harvard.edu/files/gse-coache/files/coache_analysisbyacademicareaandgender_report.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Crossan, S. (2015). *How does New Zealand's education system compare? OECD's education at a glance 2015*. Report. Ministry of Education. http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0012/170004/Education-at-a-Glance-2015-New-Zealand-Summary-Report.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Edwards, A. (2005). Relational agency: Learning to be a resourceful practitioner. *International Journal of Educational Research, 43*(3), 168–182.

Gardner, S. K. (2010). Faculty perspectives on doctoral student socialization in five disciplines. *International Journal of Doctoral Studies, 5,* 39–53.

Gonzales, L. D., & LaPointe Terosky, A. (2016). Aspirations and inclinations among emerging and early-career faculty members. In A. Kezar & D. Maxey (Eds.), *Envisioning the faculty for the twenty-first century* (pp. 192–203). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Grey, S. (2016). *Tertiary education cuts are the important stat.* Tertiary Education Union. Press release. http://teu.ac.nz/2015/11/tertiary-education-important/. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Healey, N., & Gunby, P. (2012). The impact of recent government tertiary education policies on access to higher education in New Zealand. *Journal of Educational Leadership, Policy and Practice, 27*(1), 29–45.

Hemmings, B. (2012). Sources of research confidence for early career academics: A qualitative study. *Higher Education Research & Development, 31*(2), 171–184.

Henkel, M. (2002). Academic identity in transformation? *Higher Education Management and Policy, 14*(3), 137–147.

Henkel, M. (2005). Academic identity and autonomy in a changing policy environment. *Higher Education, 49*(1–2), 155–176.

Joyce, S., & Parata, H. (2015). *Study confirms NZ's commitment to education.* Press Release. New Zealand Government. http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1511/S00471/study-confirms-nzs-commitment-to-education.htm. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Kahn, P. (2009). Contexts for teaching and the exercise of agency in early-career academics: Perspectives from realist social theory. *International Journal for Academic Development, 14*(3), 197–207.

Knight, P. (2002). *Being a teacher in higher education.* Maidenhead: Society for Research in Higher Education and the Open University Press.

Laudel, G., & Gläser, J. (2008). From apprentice to colleague: The metamorphosis of early career researchers. *Higher Education, 55,* 387–406.

Leišytė, L., & Dee, J. R. (2012). Understanding academic work in a changing institutional environment. In J. C. Smart & M. B. Paulsen (Eds.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 123–206). Dordrecht: Springer.

Lindholm, J. A. (2004). Pathways to the professoriate: The role of self, others, and environment in shaping academic career aspirations. *The Journal of Higher Education, 75*(6), 603–635.

Luckett, K., & Luckett, T. (2009). The development of agency in first generation learners in higher education: A social realist analysis. *Teaching in Higher Education, 14*(5), 469–481.

Malcolm, W., & Tarling, N. (2007). *Crisis of identity? The mission and management of universities in New Zealand.* Wellington: Dunmore.

Mathieson, S. (2011). Developing academic agency through critical reflection: A sociocultural approach to academic induction programmes. *International Journal for Academic Development, 17*(3), 243–256.

McAlpine, L., Amundsen, C., & Turner, G. (2013). Constructing post-PhD careers: Negotiating opportunities and personal goals. *International Journal for Researcher Development, 4*(1), 39–54.

Misiaszek, L. I. (2014). 'You're not able to breathe': Conceptualizing the intersectionality of early career, gender and crisis. *Teaching in Higher Education, 20*(1), 64–77.

Morley, L., & Crossouard, B. (2014). *Women in higher education leadership in South Asia: Rejection, refusal, reluctance, revisioning.* Centre for Higher Education and Equity Research, University of Sussex. https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/morley_crossouard_final_report_22_dec2014.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Nana, G., Stokes, F., & Lynn, A. (2010). *Academic workforce planning: Towards 2020.* Wellington: Universities NZ Human Resources Committee Steering Group.

Neumann, A., LaPointe Terosky, A., & Schell, J. (2006). Agents of learning: Strategies for assuming agency, for learning, in tenured faculty careers. In S. J. Bracken, J. K. Allen, & D. R. Dean (Eds.), *The balancing act: Gendered perspectives in faculty roles and work lives* (pp. 91–120). Sterling: Stylus.

OECD. (2016). *Education at a Glance 2016: OECD Indicators*. Paris: OECD Publishing. Doi http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2016-en.

Reybold, L. E. (2008). The social and political structuring of faculty ethicality in education. *Innovative Higher Education, 32*(5), 279–295.

Shin, J., & Teichler, U. (2014). *The future of the post-massified university at the crossroads*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Sutherland, K. A. (2015). Language: A Poem. *Teaching and Learning Inquiry: The ISSOTL Journal, 3*(2), 109–110.

Sutherland, K.A., & Petersen, L. (2010). *The success and impact of early career academics in two New Zealand tertiary institutions*. Report. Ako Aotearoa. http://akoaotearoa.ac.nz/ako-hub/ako-aotearoa-central-hub/resources/pages/success-and-impact-early-career-academics-two-new-z. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Sutherland, K. A., Wilson, M., & Williams, P. (2013). *Success in academia? The experiences of early career academics in New Zealand universities*. Wellington: Ako Aotearoa.

Teichler, U., Arimoto, A., & Cummings, W. K. (2013). *The changing academic profession*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Tierney, W. G. (1997). Organizational socialization in higher education. *Journal of Higher Education, 68*(1), 1–16.

Tight, M. (2010). The golden age of academe: Myth or memory? *British Journal of Educational Studies, 58*(1), 105–116.

Tipples, R., Krivokapic-Skoko, B., & O'Neill, G. (2007). University academics' psychological contracts in Australia and New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations, 32*(2), 32–52.

Trowler, P. (1998). *Academics responding to change: New higher education frameworks and academic cultures*. Buckingham: Society for Research into Higher Education and the Open University Press.

Trowler, P., & Knight, P. (1999). Organizational socialization and induction in universities: Reconceptualizing theory and practice. *Higher Education, 37*, 177–195.

Universities New Zealand. (2016a, September 6). *NZ universities confirmed as world-class*. Press release. http://www.universitiesnz.ac.nz/node/899. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Universities New Zealand. (2016b, December). *Briefing for the incoming minister*. Resource document. http://www.universitiesnz.ac.nz/files/BIM%20-%20Universities%20New%20Zealand%20December%202016.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Weidman, J. C., & Stein, E. L. (2003). Socialization of doctoral students to academic norms. *Research in Higher Education, 44*(6), 641–656.

Winefield, A. H., Boyd, C., Saebel, J., & Pignata, S. (2008). *Job stress in university staff: An Australian research study*. Bowen Hills: Australian Academic Press.

Chapter 2
The Changing Academic Profession in New Zealand Universities

History of the University in New Zealand: Influences from Afar

New Zealand's higher education system has a comparatively short history. While the roots of modern universities were being established in Europe around the beginning of the twelfth century (Boyd and King 1975), New Zealand had yet to be settled, by anyone. Māori arrived in the thirteenth century, and it was more than half a century later that European settlement began in earnest. Back in England and Scotland, where many of New Zealand's early settlers came from, universities had been on a roller coaster ride of rising popularity to waning enrolments.

Glenys Patterson, in her excellent book on the history of the university, argues that "most of the major scientific and technological discoveries and the new philosophical, social and political ideologies, were spawned beyond the walls of the university" (1997, p. 128). Eventually, however, new universities in England in the 1800s began to show signs of innovation and reform, encouraging Oxford and Cambridge to acknowledge competition, and also to admit non-Anglican students. In 1828, the University of London opened as a secular university college, aiming "to provide an education in the arts and sciences for the 'youth of our middling rich people'" (Lawson and Silver 1973, p. 257) that is "all between mechanics and the enormously rich" (Thomas Campbell, cited in Patterson 1997, p. 163).

Rivalry for the University College of London came in the form of the Anglican King's College in 1831, until the two colleges were incorporated under the examining body of the University of London in 1836, establishing a model for the eventual development of the University of New Zealand and its four affiliated teaching colleges later in the century. The University of London paved the way for the establishment of more 'redbrick' civic universities (in contrast to the ancient stone of Oxford and Cambridge) in England, and university education became more accessible as a

result. The new institutions relaxed entrance requirements as well as curricula, opening their doors to lower classes, the less-educated, and, eventually, to women.

The Scottish university system made the most significant strides towards "education-for-all" in the nineteenth century and later strongly influenced the New Zealand situation. Scotland (its first university, St Andrews, having been founded in 1411) drew its university students from all classes – John Macmillan Brown, first Professor of English at Canterbury College in New Zealand, for example, was the son of an Ayrshire shipmaster, and he supported himself through the University of Edinburgh and later Glasgow by giving private tuition (Hankin 1993, p. 58). As Patterson notes, in Scotland, "there was no entrance examination, fees were low and costs were minimal…[and] the university terms were arranged to fit around the agricultural year" (1997, p. 170). Furthermore, curricula in the Scottish universities were quick to change in line with their increasingly diverse student populations. While a Scottish university education did not offer as much freedom as a German one, where the concepts of *lernfreiheit* (freedom of choice and movement for the student) and *lehrfreiheit* (freedom of teaching expression) dominated, it was not as rigid as an Oxbridge one, where the emphasis still lay on turning out 'cultivated' men, steeped in Classical learning. It was from the Scottish atmosphere of egalitarianism and innovation that many of New Zealand's early professors came.

The Needs of a New Colony

In New Zealand, the purposes of a university education differed quite significantly from those in Britain. The issue of higher education for the new settlers was raised by the Otago Association in Scotland as early as 8 years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and 2 years later by the English Canterbury Association, but not until 1854 did university education warrant public discussion and attention in New Zealand. Prior to that, many Māori (the indigenous people of New Zealand) were arguably more educated than some recent settlers. Joanna Kidman (1999) explains that Māori – particularly those of chief or noble descent (*rangatira*) – engaged in advanced learning of esoteric and theoretical knowledge at various educational institutions (some in permanently established tribal buildings and others in various physical settings). This learning also included:

> religious and ceremonial rites concerning the well being, enlightenment, history, and geneology of the tribe as well as the secret arts of magic, healing, and science. There were also schools of a more vocational nature which were open to all members of the tribe which taught skills such as boat building, weapon making and carving. (Kidman 1999, p. 77)

"Most Māori," Kidman argues, thus "had more formal education than the majority of the new settlers" (1999, p. 78) in the mid-1800s. It was to these perceived deficiencies in the education of the new settlers that attention turned in the new colony.

As W.P. Morrell writes in his history of the University of Otago, "the Rector of the 'High School', who arrived in October 1856, found little use for his qualifications in classics and mathematics and had to teach elementary subjects" (1969, p. 2). The Rector, Reverend F. C. Simmons, thought a system whereby scholarships enabled New Zealand students to attend universities in Great Britain would be more appropriate for a new and growing colony than the immediate establishment of a university. Many agreed with him. Judge Richmond "feared that all New Zealand could produce by way of a university was a 'stunted tree': far better to remain 'a healthy branch'" (Sinclair 1983, p. 3). And, Lord Lyttleton, on an 1868 visit to Canterbury, "somewhat repelled by the raw colonial scene…renounced one of his old dreams in these words '…a young colony cannot have a university'" (Gardner 1973, p. 21).

Just a year later, however, the University of Otago was established by ordinance of the Otago Provincial Council, followed within 4 years by Canterbury University College. In the meantime, an Act of Parliament in September 1870 established the University of New Zealand to act as an examining body, along the lines of the University of London, with affiliated colleges in the provinces acting as teaching institutions. It would be a university "moulded to suit the state of society in the colony. We must strike out a line of our own. We must adapt the scheme of university education to the peculiar requirements of our own case. We cannot reproduce Oxford, Cambridge, or Edinburgh in New Zealand" (Veel, editor of the Christchurch Press in the 1870s, cited in Gardner 1973, pp. 34–35).

By the turn of the century, as the "Story of New Zealand Universities" tells, on Universities New Zealand's website,[1] there were four colleges: Otago in Dunedin (1869), Canterbury College in Christchurch (1873), Auckland (1883), and Victoria University College in Wellington (1899). While Auckland and Victoria were determined to provide an accessible and utilitarian university education, along the lines of the University of London, the Oxbridge influence was strong in the south – at Canterbury, especially, where the requirement to wear a cap and gown and attend chapel twice a day, and the proximity of Christ's College and the cathedral, stood as testimony to the Christchurch settlers' attempts to replicate English traditions. But the resemblance was superficial. A more substantive influence came from the Scottish universities, where, Chris Worth reports, "supplying the deficiencies of secondary education…[was] part of normal Scottish practice" (Worth 1998, p. 212). As Gardner writes, one of the first requirements of the University of New Zealand was the "training of a generation of teachers who would have to turn their hands, particularly in the new secondary schools, to almost any subject demanded of them" (Gardner 1973, p. 96).

---

[1] Source: http://www.universitiesnz.ac.nz/why-universities-matter/story

Education for All?

New Zealand's universities were founded on egalitarian principles – offering open access, part-time opportunities, evening classes, and distance education so that many different types of student could participate – and New Zealand was the "first Commonwealth country to award a degree to a woman" (Kidman 1999, p. 8). Access to university for those who desired it, and those who may never even have considered it possible, was always a concern for New Zealand universities, as outlined by Governor Jervois in his opening address for the Auckland University College of the University of New Zealand in 1885:

> No greater mistake can be made than to suppose that universities are intended only for people of private means and learned desire. The true function of a modern university I take to be, to give to all – men and women alike – who wish to avail themselves of it every facility for higher education in whatever branch they choose for themselves [cheers] (cited in Malcolm and Tarling 2007, p. 84).

Not all were as convinced of the necessity for higher education at a time when the new country needed to address issues of more practical concern. The general public – the majority of whom were lower-class British settlers – saw the University as "an unnecessary expense at a time when money was needed for many other things" (Kidman 1999, p. 79). One of the early professors opined in a Centennial lecture in 1940 that the university's founding fathers might have paid more attention to the "problems of the new land: agriculture, mining, forestry" and predicted that, had there been more focus on local concerns and less on teaching the "traditional subjects" being taught back in England and Scotland, there would likely "have been a fully developed School of Polynesian Studies" (Professor Sir Thomas Hunter in 1940, cited in Kidman 1999, p. 83).

As it was, however, the early New Zealand settlers battled to imbue their new country with a sense of culture, a refinement of manners and attitude that would belie their rough existence. Applicants for the Chair of Classics, English, and History at Canterbury University College were warned, "the object of the College is to create a demand for culture, which does not exist at present in any perceptible degree" (Gardner 1973, p. 86). The curricula were thus strongly influenced by what was happening in British universities, and the University of New Zealand set rigid specifications to which the four colleges were expected to adhere. In the discipline of English, for example, to "introduce a new set book…required the agreement of the four professors of English, and the approval of the Senate, and the signature of the Governor General" (Thomson 1994, p. 13). These tight ties to "home" were further reinforced by the reality that, until the 1940s, most examination scripts were sent back to England for marking (Currie and Kedgley 1959, p. 5).

The 1940s saw a shift in several respects, however. Examination scripts were no longer sent on their long journey across the seas for marking, and, where the colleges had previously been thought of primarily as teaching institutions rather than centres for research (Gardner 1973; Sinclair 1983), academics began to call for a greater emphasis on research. In Christchurch in 1945, a pamphlet was produced,

Research and the University, which pleaded for a dual role for the University as both a teaching and a research institution (University of New Zealand 1945). A year later, Dr. Beeby, the then Director of Education, included "a modest sum for university research ($20,000) in his departmental budget, and it was this grant which the University Research Committee was established to distribute" (Gould 1988, p. 150). Then, in 1948, a Grants Committee was set up by the Senate of the University of New Zealand, in recognition of the "desperate need for greater financial support for the country's universities" (Gould 1988, p. 17) following a flood of returning ex-servicemen seeking university education. This Grants Committee served as the precursor to the University Grants Committee, established in 1961, which included funds for research and graduate study in its quinquennial grants.

New Zealand was at this time, according to some, "a nation 'devoid of theory'" (British Liberal MP David Goldblatt on a visit in the middle of the twentieth century, cited in Brown 2005, p. 8) and there was an abiding sense of anti-intellectualism, where pragmatism and the Kiwi "do-it-yourself" (DIY) attitude was, and arguably still is, prided over thinking and reading (Jesson 1997, p. 12). Todd Bridgman, in an article on the academic role of "critic and conscience" explains this further:

> The term public intellectuals rests uncomfortably with me…largely because of what is regarded as the anti-intellectualism of New Zealanders…Prevailing colonial attitudes are blamed for the suppression of Māori intellectual activity while puritanism and egalitarianism have…created a fear of difference. Another significant factor is New Zealand's pioneer culture, which privileges Kiwi ingenuity and undervalues academic achievement (Bridgman 2007, p. 139).

Increasing Demand for Higher Education

Despite this apparent undervaluing of higher education, by the 1960s demand for university education in New Zealand was increasing. In 1962, the University of New Zealand was disestablished, the four university colleges became full universities in their own right, and two other universities were established 2 years later (the University of Waikato and Massey University). At the same time as the disestablishment of the University of New Zealand, the University Grants Committee (UGC) was "set up as a buffer body" (Savage 2000, p. 46) between the government and the universities. During the mid-twentieth century, universities maintained a considerable amount of autonomy from government intervention in their affairs. The UGC granted bulk funding to each university on a five-yearly basis that university councils made decisions about how to spend, and government (apart from having one or two appointees on each university's council) largely let universities decide their own direction and course offerings. It had taken some time to gain this autonomy, however, as evidenced by a pamphlet written by three of the professors at Victoria University College in 1911, calling for the reform of university education in New Zealand and allowing more room for professorial staff in the governance of universities:

"A University's task", it was declared, "is to combine higher and professional instruction with the advancement of knowledge." A university teacher "will be repelled unless he can make his personal influence and ideas felt in shaping the general policy of his University, and in serving the community not only as an investigator, but through his share in the administration of University education. This principle is recognised throughout the civilised world, but not in New Zealand…Research and teaching must co-exist…and teacher and pupils must be partners." The state must not "meddle": it must "supply the wherewithal and select the right men". The University Senate and the college councils ought to include professors as well as lay persons, and there should be a conjoint professorial board, responsible for curriculum and examining. (Thomas Hunter, George William von Zedlitz, and Thomas Laby, 1911, cited in Malcolm and Tarling 2007, p. 88).

The UGC appeared to fulfil this mission sufficiently well for many years. The government provided funding to universities in the form of bulk grants that the university Councils (which included professors and lay people as Hunter and his colleagues had hoped) decided how to spend, and on what, through until the 1980s when major reforms occurred to the entire tertiary education sector.

Reforms in the 1980s and 1990s: Neoliberalism, Marketisation, and a New Education Act

In the mid-late 1980s, New Zealand underwent what has been described as "one of the most aggressive and extensive applications of neo-liberal market policies in the English-speaking world" (Robinson 2006, p. 42). Various commentators argue that this period of reform was one of the most ambitious attempts at "constructing the free market as a social institution to be implemented anywhere this century – and hailed by the World Bank, the Economist, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as a model for the rest of the world to follow" (Shore and McLauchlan 2012, p. 269). The 1980s and early 1990s saw a period of reform to almost all areas of the public sector through the introduction of various acts of Parliament that demanded more accountability from state-funded institutions, such as universities and hospitals, and in many instances increased state regulatory control. For example, the State Sector Act of 1988 "brought academics under a similar employment relations system to the private sector" (Tipples and Krivokapic-Skoko 1997, p. 105) and "made the vice-chancellors of each university the employer rather than the university councils" (Robinson 2006, p. 39). Salary negotiations also became the responsibility of the Vice Chancellor as employer rather than being decided by the Higher Salaries Commission.

At the same time as the introduction of this "management culture" (Malcolm and Tarling 2007), the government also encouraged a competitive ethos in the university sector, leading to what many commentators have labelled the "marketisation" (Larner and Le Heron 2005) of higher education. Higher education became a com-

modity that could be sold and traded (Roberts 2009), with growing numbers of "customers" (students) able to choose their "product" (degree) from the eight "providers" (universities), or from "competitors" (polytechnics and private training establishments) who began to aggressively brand themselves and market their offerings beyond their local regions. As student numbers increased through the 1980s and 1990s, the expectation also grew that students should contribute towards the cost of their own education, with a university degree now seen as a private benefit – accruing better wages, opportunities, and standard of living for the individual – rather than as a public good (Curtis 2008; Roberts 2009).

Consequently, in 1991, the student bursary (where all students attending university were eligible to receive a weekly allowance to support their living costs) was abolished and replaced by a student loan scheme (with interest accumulating from the first drawdown). Students also had to start contributing towards the cost of their education, with the introduction of fees that averaged around $1250 for a full year of study in 1991, and increased every year on average around 13% (Healey and Gunby 2012, p. 35) through the 1990s.

The same Education Act (and associated amendments in 1990) that saw the introduction of student fees, the abolishment of the universal allowance, and the naming of Vice Chancellors as employers, also delineated the roles of all tertiary institutions. Encouragingly, universities were asked to accept a role as "critic and conscience of society", and were provided legislative protection for autonomy and academic freedom (Boston 1997; Kelsey 2000; Robinson 2006).

However, the Education Act also wrought vast changes to the relationship between universities, the government, and individual academics. The UGC was abolished and replaced "by a direct system of accountability between each tertiary institution and the Ministry of Education through the system of charters, plans and objectives, and by more direct control over funding based on student numbers" (Olssen 2002, p. 79). Wilf Malcolm, formerly Vice Chancellor of Waikato University, and Professor of History, Nicholas Tarling, wrote in 1997 that the Hawke Report of 1988, which outlined many of the reforms that would be implemented in the tertiary sector was noted by many as being full of contradictions:

> It advocated devolution, but gave the Ministry control; advocated simplicity, but abolished the UGC; advocated equity and efficiency, but ignored the current cheapness of the system; said research and teaching were interdependent, but funded them separately; advocated a policy-oriented Ministry, but gave it the task of approving charters and funding (Malcolm and Tarling 2007, p. 165).

Others have acknowledged that while the Act protected the academic freedom of *institutions*, it threatened to undermine the academic freedom of individual academics (Sullivan 1997), and the key support structures that enable academic freedom, such as collegial governance (Boston 1997; Robinson 2006). These concerns carried through into the new century, when even more neoliberal reforms found their way into New Zealand's university sector.

Changes in the Early 2000s: The Tertiary Education Commission and the PBRF

A new Labour government, elected at the end of 1999, carried through several reforms that the National government had begun, as well as introducing many new initiatives. Some key changes focused on increasing participation in university education by students from low socio-economic groups, introducing fees maxima, making student loans interest-free while students were studying (Strathdee 2006), and imposing a fees freeze from 2001 to 2003. They also established Centres for Research Excellence to increase collaboration and cooperation between researchers and institutes (Opie 2004).

Following a series of four reports from the Tertiary Education Advisory Commission (2000, 2001a, b, c) in the early 2000s,[2] the twenty-first century also saw the introduction of the "Tertiary Education Strategy" (TES) approach. Through these strategies, the government lays out its expectations for the tertiary sector; universities (and other tertiary education institutions) must then align their plans and priorities with those of the TES. We have so far seen four Tertiary Education Strategies, and their themes and priorities are summarised in Table 2.1.

It is clear that all four Tertiary Education Strategies do not differ very much from each other, despite different governments; they are all concerned with aligning higher education more directly with the needs of the New Zealand economy and workforce. Such shifts in educational policy are also evident elsewhere in the world (Henkel 2005; Leišytė and Dee 2012). A good example is provided by Jongbloed et al., in their report on the funding of higher education in 33 different European countries. They note that that there is a prevailing policy belief that "universities in Europe should be freed from over-regulation and micro-management, while accepting in return fuller institutional accountability to their host societies for their results" (2010, p. 21).

Expectations of such accountability inevitably produce strategies that focus on economic outcomes, success rates, and business models, arguably at the expense of disinterested knowledge about the humanities, arts, and society (Opie 2004). This "New Public Management" (Barry et al. 2003; Henkel 2000; Leišytė and Dee 2012; Marginson and Considine 2000;) approach to the development of the tertiary strategies, many argue, puts neoliberal values of entrepreneurialism, competition and market forces, fiscal responsibility and accountability, managerialism, performance measurement, and productivity, ahead of the traditional academic values of collegiality, investigation of truth and critical inquiry, academic freedom, openness, and contribution to knowledge (Bansel and Davies 2010; Harland et al. 2010; Leišytė 2016; Levin and Aliyeva 2015; Olssen 2002; Roberts 1999; Tight 2014).

Critics of the neoliberal reforms to higher education in New Zealand in the last two decades identify the surveillance of institutions and individual academics as one of the most troubling aspects of the reforms. Funding for New Zealand universi-

---

[2] This advisory body eventually became the Tertiary Education Commission.

Table 2.1 Tertiary Education Strategies (TES) in New Zealand 2002–2019

TES	Years	Instigating government	Themes
1	2002–2007	Labour	Six strategies: 　System capability 　Māori development 　Foundation skills 　Skills for a knowledge society 　Pacific success 　Research
2	2006–2012	Labour	Three themes: 　Economic transformation 　Families young and old 　National identity
3	2010–2015	National	Seven priorities: 　Increasing participation in tertiary education 　Increasing degree level participation 　Increasing the level of Māori student success 　Increasing Pasifika student achievement 　Improving literacy and numeracy 　Strengthening research outcomes 　Improving the educational and financial 　performance of providers
4	2014–2019	National	Six priorities: 　Delivering skills for industry 　Getting at-risk young people into a career 　Boosting achievement of Māori and Pasifika 　Improving adult literacy and numeracy 　Strengthening research-based institutions 　Growing international linkages

ties is now dependent on institutions meeting the targets they set and on matching their priorities with those identified in the relevant TES, as laid out in the "System expectations and delivery" section of the document:

> TEC [the Tertiary Education Commission] will use this strategy to set performance expectations for the sector, and to shape its investment in TEOs [Tertiary Education Organisations] in a way that reflects the strategy's priorities, shifting funding over time to those TEOs that demonstrate they can make the best contribution to the outcomes sought by the Government (Ministry of Education 2014)

The introduction of performance-based research funding is also cited as evidence of this growing panoptic culture (Ashcroft and Nairn 2004; Roberts 2014). Funding for teaching and research was gradually separated (and, many argue, reduced) through the 2000s, first with the introduction of the Tertiary Education Strategies and then the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF), which reallocated funding for research to a competitive pool. Tertiary institutions now compete for research funding from a pool that represents around 11.4% (Wright et al. 2014) of all tertiary funding, or as the government argues, "20% of the government's total research and development investment" each year (Joyce 2014, p. 3).

To win a share of this research money, institutions must submit individual evidence portfolios from all their researchers, which are assigned a quality score on the basis of research outputs and examples of peer esteem and contributions to the research environment. Alongside the individual portfolio scores (which are aggregated to give departmental and then institutional quality scores), institutions must also report their postgraduate completion rates and the amount of external research funding they have secured.

Many commentators, from New Zealand and abroad, have noted that, as a performance-based assessment scheme, New Zealand's PBRF is fundamentally sound, more robust and less problematic than other systems elsewhere (Roberts 2013a; Wright et al. 2014). Indeed, the minister responsible for tertiary education in 2014 lauded it for supporting a significant increase in research performance and productivity in New Zealand (Joyce 2014). However, the PBRF has been widely criticised for concentrating unevenly on quantity and output over quality and process (Harland et al. 2010; Roberts 2013b) and many regard the PBRF as a managerial surveillance mechanism (Ashcroft 2007; Cupples and Pawson 2012; Curtis 2007; Shore 2010; Waitere et al. 2011) that risks alienating and exhausting academic staff. Chapter 4 provides more insights on the effects of the PBRF on early career academics.

Recent Happenings: Economic Outlooks and Grassroots Initiatives

The PBRF is just one among many higher education polices from successive New Zealand governments that focus on ensuring that money spent on higher education is well accounted for. Institutions are now also expected to report on student retention and completion rates, and run the risk of having to pay back government tuition funding if more than half of enrolled students fail a course/qualification.

Tellingly, the Minister responsible for tertiary education is now called the Minister of Tertiary Education, Skills and Employment. Until recently, this Minister also held the ministerial portfolios for Science and Innovation, and for Economic Development, emphasising an orientation that privileges *economic* benefits to New Zealand. In 2012, the then Minister announced a new scheme that would publish average incomes for each qualification so that students could make choices about their study based on earning potential. By early 2016, this scheme had become the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) "Occupation Outlook App", where students can search for tertiary study options based on potential income, job prospects, and costs of the qualifications required for particular careers. Rather than encouraging young people to choose a course of study based on passion for, interest in, or love of learning, the government is steering them towards choices made on economic grounds: how much can you earn? what's the likelihood you'll get a job? and what will it cost you to get there? MBIE now regularly publishes a

report that outlines the earning power of various qualifications, sending the message through such reports and with increased funding for STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) subjects that learning is best attached to some sort of economic or productive outcome. Further reinforcing this focus, in November 2015, the then Finance Minister, Bill English, and Tertiary Education Minister, Steven Joyce, asked the Productivity Commission to review tertiary education "to consider how changes, in technology, costs, and internationalisation, might change the way we fund, organise and deliver tertiary education and training in the future" (English and Joyce 2015). In this environment, academics must demonstrate that they themselves are productive, entrepreneurial citizens who can generate commercially exploitable research and attract sponsorship, external research funding, more and more students, and a global following.

Other recent initiatives are less about productivity and more concerned with support. Chief among these is the establishment of Ako Aotearoa, the National Centre for Tertiary Teaching Excellence, introduced in 2006 as part of a government initiative to improve the quality of teaching in tertiary education, and started by a consortium of six tertiary institutions. Located in the capital city, Wellington, it has regional hub branches in Auckland, Palmerston North, and Christchurch and is funded by the Tertiary Education Commission. Serving the entire tertiary sector, Ako Aotearoa's vision is to produce the "best possible educational outcomes for all learners" (Ako Aotearoa n.d.). Ako Aotearoa sponsors and administers the national tertiary teaching excellence awards and supports an academy of award winners. They also support and sponsor conferences, symposia, and professional development workshops on tertiary education, as well as funding research into tertiary learning and teaching.[3]

Women in Leadership (WIL) is another support initiative also introduced in 2006. WIL is working to increase the percentage of women in senior academic and leadership roles in New Zealand universities and to "promote women's self-belief… and challenge women to think beyond gender biases and the deficit focus of women's leadership" (McGregor and McCarthy 2015). Developed by and for women, the programme is endorsed by Universities New Zealand-Te Pōkai Tara, and was initially funded by the Kate Edger Educational Charitable Trust, named in recognition of Kate Milligan Edger (1857–1935), the first woman in the British Empire to graduate, in 1877, with a Bachelor of Arts degree.[4] Women who participate in the week-long residential programme (there are programmes for academic and professional staff) are funded by their universities to attend. Since the introduction of the WIL programme, New Zealand has seen a slight but significant shift in the percentage of women at senior levels (Associate Professor or Professor) in New Zealand universities: from 19.19% in 2007 to 24.38% in 2012 (McGregor 2012).

All of these initiatives – those coming from economically-driven government edicts and those more grassroots programmes like WIL – have had and will con-

---

[3] Ako Aotearoa funded the research on which this book is based.

[4] More information on WIL can be found on the Universities New Zealand website: http://www.universitiesnz.ac.nz/aboutus/sc/hr/women-in-leadership

tinue to have an influence on the lives of early career academics in New Zealand universities. Externally imposed structures such as the PBRF mean that new academics in New Zealand universities are socialised into a different academic environment from that experienced by previous generations. It is important that we take stock of where this new generation of academics has come from, what drives and motivates them, what concerns them, and how they exercise their agency in this dynamic higher education environment. The following chapters therefore describe who New Zealand's early career academics are, what they are doing, and the support they need to do it well, comparing their experiences, where appropriate, to those of other academics around the world.

References

Ako Aotearoa (n.d.). *Ako Aotearoa. Our vision: The best possible educational outcomes for all learners*. https://akoaotearoa.ac.nz/ako-aotearoa. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Ashcroft, C. (2007). Constituting academics as neo-liberal subjects: Research assessment in a New Zealand context. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 42*(1/2), 77–93.

Ashcroft, C., & Nairn, K. (2004). Critiquing the Tertiary Education Commission's role in New Zealand's tertiary education system: Policy, practice and panopticism. *ACCESS: Critical Perspectives on Communication, Cultural & Policy Studies, 23*(2), 43–54.

Bansel, P., & Davies, B. (2010). Governmentality and academic work: Shaping the hearts and minds of academic workers. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 26*(3), 5–20.

Barry, J., Berg, E., & Chandler, J. (2003). Managing intellectual labour in Sweden and England. *Cross Cultural Management, 10*(3), 3–22.

Boston, J. (1997). The ownership, governance and accountability of tertiary institutions in New Zealand. *The New Zealand Annual Review of Education, 6*, 5–28.

Boyd, W., & King, E. J. (1975). *The history of western education* (11th ed.). London: A and C Black.

Bridgman, T. (2007). Assassins in academia? New Zealand academics as "critic and conscience of society". *New Zealand Sociology, 22*(1), 126–144.

Brown, R. (2005). *Great New Zealand argument: Ideas about ourselves*. Auckland: Activity Press.

Cupples, J., & Pawson, E. (2012). Giving an account of oneself: The PBRF and the neoliberal university. *New Zealand Geographer, 68*(1), 14–23.

Currie, G. A., & Kedgley, E. G. (1959). *The university in New Zealand: Facts and figures*. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs.

Curtis, B. (2007). Academic life: Commodification, continuity, collegiality, confusion and the performance based research fund. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations, 32*(2), 2–17.

Curtis, B. (2008). The performance-based research fund: Research assessment and funding in New Zealand. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 6*(2), 179–194.

English, B., & Joyce, S. (2015). *Productivity commission to examine new models of tertiary education*. Press Release. New Zealand Government. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/productivity-commission-examine-new-models-tertiary-education. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Gardner, W. J. (1973). The formative years. 1873–1918. In N. C. Phillips (Ed.), *A history of the University of Canterbury 1873–1973* (pp. 17–170). Christchurch: University of Canterbury.

Gould, J. (1988). *The university grants committee, 1961–1986: A history*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Hankin, C. (1993). John Macmillan Brown: University professor and administrator. In *Dictionary of New Zealand biography: Volume two, 1870–1900* (pp. 57–59). Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs.

Harland, T., Tidswell, T., Everett, D., Hale, L., & Pickering, N. (2010). Neoliberalism and the academic as critic and conscience of society. *Teaching in Higher Education, 15*(1), 85–96.

Healey, N., & Gunby, P. (2012). The impact of recent government tertiary education policies on access to higher education in New Zealand. *Journal of Educational Leadership, Policy and Practice, 27*(1), 29–45.

Henkel, M. (2000). *Academic identities and policy change in higher education*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Henkel, M. (2005). Academic identity and autonomy revisited. In I. Bleiklie & M. Henkel (Eds.), *Governing knowledge* (pp. 145–165). Dordrecht: Springer.

Jesson, B. (1997). Foreword: The role of the intellectual is to defend the role of the intellectual. In M. Peters (Ed.), *Cultural politics and the university in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 9–14). Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press.

Jongbloed, B., de Boer, H., Enders, J., & File, J. (2010). Progress in higher education reform across Europe: Funding reform. In *Volume 1: Executive summary and main report*. Center for: Higher Education Policy Studies. http://doc.utwente.nl/88695/1/GOV%20vol%201%20 Executive%20Summary%20main%20report.pdf. Accessed 6 April 2017.

Joyce, S. (2014). *Improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the performance based research fund: Report to the cabinet social policy committee from the office of the minister of tertiary education, skills and employment*. Ministry of Education. http://www.education.govt.nz/assets/ Documents/Further-education/Policies-and-strategies/Performance-based-researchfund/ PBRFCabinetPaper.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Kelsey, J. (2000). Academic freedom: Needed now more than ever. In R. Crozier (Ed.), *Troubled times: Academic freedom in New Zealand* (pp. 227–245). Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press.

Kidman, J. (1999). A people torn in twain: Colonial and indigenous contexts of university education in New Zealand. *Interchange, 30*(1), 73–91.

Larner, W., & Le Heron, R. (2005). Neo-liberalizing spaces and subjectivities: Reinventing New Zealand universities. *Organization, 12*(6), 843–862.

Lawson, J., & Silver, H. (1973). *A social history of education in England*. London: Methuen.

Leišytė, L. (2016). New public management and research productivity – A precarious state of affairs of academic work in the Netherlands. *Studies in Higher Education, 45*(5), 828–846.

Leišytė, L., & Dee, J. R. (2012). Understanding academic work in a changing institutional environment. In J. C. Smart & M. B. Paulsen (Eds.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 123–206). Dordrecht: Springer.

Levin, J., & Aliyeva, A. (2015). Embedded neoliberalism within faculty behaviors. *The Review of Higher Education, 38*(4), 537–563.

Malcolm, W., & Tarling, N. (2007). *Crisis of identity? The mission and management of universities in New Zealand*. Wellington: Dunmore.

Marginson, S., & Considine, M. (2000). *The enterprise university: Power, governance and reinvention in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McGregor, J. (2012). *New Zealand census of women's participation*. Wellington: New Zealand Human Rights Commission. http://www.hrc.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/web-census. pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

McGregor, J., & McCarthy, D. (2015). *New Zealand Women in Leadership Programme: Diversity in leadership, promoting better sector performance*. http://www.universitiesnz.ac.nz/files/ NZWiL%20Booklet%20-%20Published%2031%20July%202015.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Ministry of Education. (2014). *Tertiary education strategy 2014–2019*. http://www.education.govt. nz/further-education/policies-and-strategies/tertiary-education-strategy/. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Morrell, W. P. (1969). *The University of Otago: A centennial history*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Olssen, M. (2002). The restructuring of tertiary education in New Zealand: Governmentality, neoliberalism, democracy. *McGill Journal of Education, 37*(1), 57–87.

Opie, B. (2004). Tertiary education and research in New Zealand. *Minerva: A Review of Science, Learning & Policy, 42*(3), 299–307.

Patterson, G. (1997). *The university: From ancient Greece to the 20th century*. Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press.

Roberts, P. (1999). The future of the university: Reflections from New Zealand. *International Review of Education, 45*(1), 65–86.

Roberts, P. (2009). A new patriotism? Neoliberalism, citizenship and tertiary education in New Zealand. *Educational Philosophy & Theory, 41*(4), 410–423.

Roberts, P. (2013a). Reconfiguring research in New Zealand: Education, politics and performativity. *The Australian Educational Researcher, 40*(4), 509–512.

Roberts, P. (2013b). Academic dystopia: Knowledge, performativity, and tertiary education. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies, 35*(1), 27–43.

Roberts, P. (2014). Changing scholarly lives: Neoliberalism, discipline(s) and educational research. In P. Roberts, A. D. Reid, E. P. Hart, & M. A. Peters (Eds.), *A companion to research in education* (pp. 41–45). Dordrecht: Springer.

Robinson, D. (2006). *The status of higher education teaching personnel in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States*. Report prepared for Educational International. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela. http://firgoa.usc.es/drupal/files/ei_study_final.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Savage, D. (2000). Academic freedom and institutional autonomy in New Zealand universities. In R. Crozier (Ed.), *Troubled times: Academic freedom in New Zealand* (pp. 1–225). Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press.

Shore, C. (2010). Beyond the multiversity: Neoliberalism and the rise of the schizophrenic university. *Social Anthropology, 18*(1), 15–29.

Shore, C., & McLauchlan, L. (2012). 'Third mission' activities, commercialisation and academic entrepreneurs. *Social Anthropology, 20*(3), 267–286.

Sinclair, K. (1983). *A history of the University of Auckland: 1883–1983*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Strathdee, R. (2006). The labour government, networks, and the creation of elite tertiary institutions in New Zealand. *New Zealand Annual Review of Education, 15*, 5–21.

Sullivan, K. (1997). *What should count as work in the ivory tower? Determining academic workloads in tertiary institutions, a university case study*. Wellington: NZARE.

Tertiary Education Advisory Commission. (2000). *Shaping a shared vision*. Initial report. Wellington: TEAC.

Tertiary Education Advisory Commission. (2001a). *Shaping the system.* Second report. Wellington: TEAC.

Tertiary Education Advisory Commission. (2001b). *Shaping the strategy*. Third report. Wellington: TEAC.

Tertiary Education Advisory Commission. (2001c). *Shaping the funding framework*. Fourth report. Wellington: TEAC.

Thomson, J. (1994, December). New Zealand literature at Victoria. *Kite, 7: Newsletter of the New Zealand literature association*. pp. 13–16.

Tight, M. (2014). Collegiality and managerialism: A false dichotomy? Evidence from the higher education literature. *Tertiary Education and Management, 20*(4), 294–306.

Tipples, R., & Krivokapic-Skoko, B. (1997). New Zealand academics and performance management. *International Journal of Employment Studies, 5*(2), 103–116.

University of New Zealand. (1945). *Research and the university: A statement by a group of teachers in the University of New Zealand*. Christchurch: Caxton Press.

Waitere, H. J., Wright, J., Tremaine, M., Brown, S., & Pausé, C. J. (2011). Choosing whether to resist or reinforce the new managerialism: The impact of performance-based research funding on academic identity. *Higher Education Research & Development, 30*(2), 205–217.

Worth, C. (1998). "A centre at the edge": Scotland and the early teaching of literature in Australia and New Zealand. In R. Crawford (Ed.), *The Scottish invention of English literature* (pp. 207–224). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, S., Curtis, B., Lucas, L., & Robinson, S. (2014). *Research assessment systems and their impacts on academic work in New Zealand, the UK and Denmark: Summative working paper for URGE work package 5*. Copenhagen: Department of Education, Aarhus University.

Chapter 3
Who Are New Zealand's Early Career Academics?

Introduction

In order to consider the interaction of various academic structures with the agency of the academics themselves, and how these interactions affect academic socialisation, we first have to know who the individuals are. Are New Zealand early career academics a homogenous group? Have they had similar prior experiences? Do they have the same qualifications? While there are various places to view current student and staffing numbers in New Zealand universities (the Universities New Zealand website, for example, and the Ministry of Education's annual Profile and Trends reports), no comprehensive investigation of the demographics and perceptions of academics in New Zealand universities has been undertaken in at least the last 8 years. The most recent projects have relied on census data – which includes academics outside the university sector, from polytechnics, wānanga, research institutes, and so on – or on a specialised subset of academics, for example, scientists. Therefore, this chapter offers insights into who New Zealand university academics are (early career academics in particular), where they come from, and what they do.

Previous Studies on New Zealand Academics

Studies on the academic profession in New Zealand over the past few decades have used a wide variety of methodological approaches, from ethnographic studies to sociological critiques to case studies and interview/participant observer research (see Table 3.1). The topics are also broad, including workload and stress, gender issues, and the impact of the PBRF. Table 3.1 provides a sample list, definitely not exhaustive, of previous studies.

Table 3.1 Previous studies on New Zealand academics

National studies	Examples
Surveys on workload commissioned by staff unions	Bentley et al. (2014), Boyd and Wylie (1994) and Chalmers (1998)
Workforce planning commissioned by Universities New Zealand	Nana et al. (2010)
Research capabilities among social scientists, commissioned by the Tertiary Education Commission	Wall et al. (2009) and Witten et al. (2006)
Science policy and working experience, commissioned by the New Zealand Association of Scientists	Sommer and Sommer (1997) and Sommer (2010)
Smaller-scale studies	**Examples**
The impact of the PBRF	Ashcroft (2007), Billot (2010), Middleton (2005), Waitere et al. (2011) (see Chap. 4 for more)
Academic experiences	Gilbert and Cameron (2002) and Sutherland and Petersen (2010)
Comparative data on salaries and status	Robinson (2006)
Gender and family issues in academia	Airini et al. (2011), Baker (2010, 2012), Doyle et al. (2004), Harris et al. (2013), Nasrudin and O'Donnell (2011) and Smith (2011)
Workload, stress, psychological contracts	Allan et al. (2007), Houston et al. (2006), Paewai et al. (2007), Sullivan (1997) and Tipples and Krivokapic-Skoko (1997)
Ethnographic studies and sociological critiques on tertiary education reform	Curtis (2008, 2016), Olssen and Peters (2005), Roberts (2007, 2012, 2013) and Shore (2010)

Several excellent books have also traced the changes in New Zealand's higher education system, and contributed to a sense of who academics in New Zealand universities are and what matters to them, including *A shakeup anyway: Government and the universities in New Zealand in a decade of reform,* by Ruth Butterworth & Nicholas Tarling (Butterworth and Tarling 1994); Michael Peters's edited collection on *Cultural politics and the university in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (1997); Donald Savage's (2000) report on academic freedom for the Association of University Staff (AUS), and accompanying collection of essays edited by Rob Crozier (2000); former Waikato Vice Chancellor Wilf Malcolm and History Professor Nicholas Tarling's *Crisis of Identity* (Malcolm and Tarling 2007); as well as books on the experiences of people within those systems, *Ara mai he tetekura* (Whitinui et al. 2013), and recent book chapters charting New Zealand's higher education history (Stefani 2015). The Ministry of Education and the Tertiary Education Commission also periodically provide reports on tertiary education facts and figures, sourced from the data sets that tertiary education institutions provide to the Ministry each year. One such report, 'The Changing Structure of Public Tertiary Education Workforce,' summarised changes in staffing in universities, polytechnics, and wānanga from 2001 to 2011 (Wensvoort 2012).

As far as I have been able to ascertain, however, there have been few large-scale projects on the academic workforce in New Zealand in recent years that have included surveys of a significant sample of the New Zealand university academic staff population. The New Zealand Association of Scientists conducted three surveys of New Zealand scientists in 1996, 2000, and 2008 and the most recent and comparative results were published in the *New Zealand Science Review* (Sommer 2010). That survey attracted a 38.6% response rate ($n = 361$) and comprised 74 questions, the majority using a five-point response scale ranging from emphatic agreement to emphatic disagreement. More than half of the respondents were scientists based in universities, and the survey sought their views on science policy and their working experiences.

Another project was initiated by the Universities New Zealand (UNZ) Human Resources Committee Steering Group, who commissioned a report from Business and Economic Research Limited (BERL) that "quantified the supply and demand for academic staff within New Zealand's universities between 2008 and 2020, and identified strategies to address the issues that may arise during this period" (Nana et al. 2010, p. 5). Nana et al. (2010, p. 9) found that the "New Zealand university sector is facing a future with caps to funded domestic student numbers, a significantly older than average academic workforce and increasingly intense global competition for academics." They argued that these conditions mean that the sector faces a challenge to make an academic career an attractive opportunity.

Both the Sommer (2010) and Nana et al. (2010) reports include demographic data on academics in New Zealand universities, but the overall population and the general focus of each of their reports are different from the focus of this book. The NZAS project (Sommer 2010) focussed on *scientists* across New Zealand, employed in universities, polytechnics, Crown Research Institutes, Research Associations, and museums. University staff made up just over two-thirds of the research population and just under half of the respondents. By contrast, the UNZ Human Resources project (Nana et al. 2010) was aimed at identifying strategies for dealing with the economic and workforce planning realities of New Zealand's changing academic workforce and included data collected from all eight New Zealand universities' HR departments. A snapshot was taken of the academic workforce at each New Zealand university in 2008 and included such information as position and employment category, discipline or business unit, age and sex, length of service, and turnover. The project compared some of this information with 2006 New Zealand Census data, particularly on ethnicity, nationality, age, and sex. The views and opinions of the academic staff themselves were not sought in the UNZ project, in contrast with my survey which sought to canvas the experiences and opinions of early career academics, as well as the demographics of that population in New Zealand universities. These two surveys provide useful points of comparison, however, as do surveys conducted internationally by countries involved in the Changing Academic Profession (CAP) project. At different points in this chapter, I draw on data from both the New Zealand surveys, and from the CAP international surveys.

Table 3.2 Staff and student numbers at New Zealand universities in 2015

University	Students (EFTS)	Total Staff (FTE)	Academic Staff (FTE)	Staff:Student Ratio
Auckland	33,489	5075	2183	1:15
AUT	19,798	2349	1135	1:17
Waikato	10,018	1510	647	1:15
Massey	18,688	3115	1109	1:17
Victoria	16,978	3041	968	1:18
Canterbury	11,931	1866	708	1:17
Lincoln	2934	682	236	1:12
Otago	18,421	3803	1619	1:11
Total	**132,257**	**21,441**	**8605**	**1:15**

Sources: The Universities New Zealand website at http://www.universitiesnz.ac.nz/nz-university-system and the eight universities' 2015 annual reports

Academic Staff and Students in New Zealand Universities

At the time of writing, the most recent data available on academic staff employed at universities in New Zealand on the Universities New Zealand website were for the academic year 2015, and show that in 2015 there were more than 21,000 full-time equivalent staff – just over 8600 of whom were academics – and approximately 133,000 equivalent full-time students (EFTS) in New Zealand's eight universities (see Table 3.2).

As reported in Chap. 2, New Zealand, like many other countries around the world (Cummings 2015), moved from an elite to a mass system of tertiary education in the 1990s, with the number of people participating in tertiary education in New Zealand doubling between 1985 and 2001 (Crawford 2016) and increasing a further 25% since then to grow to one of the highest participation rates in the developed world. It is not easy to work out participation rates in university education in New Zealand because statistics are reported for the whole tertiary sector, and some polytechnics and wānanga have degree-granting status, but the most recent data suggests that 24.9% of 18–24 year olds in New Zealand are participating in degree-level education (Bachelor's degrees and beyond) (Ministry of Education 2015, p. 10). The proportion of 18–20 year olds participating in tertiary education in New Zealand is above the OECD average, and there is comparatively very high participation of students over the age of 30 years (Crossan 2015).

New Zealand also has a very high percentage of part-time students, which leads to longer completion rates (Scott 2009). While New Zealand, since the 1990s, had one of the most open systems in terms of allowing all school leavers who met university entrance standards, and anyone else 20 years of age or over, the opportunity to study at university, we also had one of the worst qualification completion rates in the OECD. In 2005, less than 60% of New Zealand students left university having completed a first degree; the OECD average was 69% (Healey and Gunby 2012). We were fourth last, only just ahead of Hungary, the US, and Italy. That appears to

have improved recently, with Universities New Zealand (2016) claiming that New Zealand now has some of the "best degree completion rates in the world – 17% who start at a university in NZ do not have a qualification within 8 years compared with 18% in the UK, 27% in Australia, 42% in the US, ~50–55% in South America and Asia". The Tertiary Education Strategy 2010–2015 had seen a shift from guaranteeing open access to ensuring fewer failures and incomplete qualifications, by imposing financial penalties on universities for low completion and progression rates, and by making access to student loans and allowances conditional on passing at least half the credits undertaken in two successive years (Healey and Gunby 2012, p. 40). Simultaneously, the government prioritised attention on the low participation and completion rates of Māori[1] students. In 2015, just 10% of New Zealand university students identified as Māori, which is lower than the percentage of international students at New Zealand universities (16%), and significantly lower than the percentage of Māori (15%) in the general New Zealand population. Nevertheless, Māori participation in university education is slowly increasing.

Academic staff numbers have also increased, although not in line with the increase in student numbers. From the universities' 2015 annual reports, I identified the numbers of academic staff at each university and then calculated the staff:student ratio by dividing the total EFTS by number of academic staff (see Table 3.2). More than two decades ago, when Boyd and Wylie (1994) surveyed New Zealand academics, they identified a steady deterioration in "the total staff:student ratio from 1:10.5 in 1980 to 1:12.5 in 1987; then a faster deterioration to 1:17.5 in 1991" (p. 10). By 1995, the staff:student ratio was 1:18.5 (Roberts 1999, p. 70). Wensvoort in a 2012 report for the Ministry of Education on the changing structure of the New Zealand tertiary education workforce found that the staff:student ratio in universities fluctuated between 2001 and 2011 but seems to have settled at 1:16, which is close to the 1:15 indicated by my data in Table 3.1 from 2015. This contradicts data in the Ministry of Education's annual profile and trends report which shows that the staff:student ratio at universities in New Zealand was up to 18.7 in 2004 and had settled at 18.4 in 2014 (Ministry of Education 2016). Regardless of the actual figures, Crossan (2015), in an analysis of how New Zealand compares to other OECD countries, notes that "at degree level, New Zealand has more students per teacher on average" (p. 3).

The CAP project tends to differentiate between two levels of academic staff in most countries: junior academics, those who have not yet achieved tenure in the North American context or are on the lecturer or senior lecturer scale in UK universities, for example; and senior academics, who have tenure or are at professorial level. Data available in the year before my survey was conducted show that there has been a significant decrease in the percentage of "junior" academics in New Zealand universities (classified in Table 3.3 as lecturers and senior lecturers) compared with more senior academics at professorial level (including associate professors). Junior academics represented 56% of New Zealand's university academic workforce in 2001 but just 38% in 2011.

---

[1] Māori are the Indigenous people of New Zealand.

Table 3.3 Proportions of academic staff by role in New Zealand, 2001 and 2011

Role	2001	2011
Lecturers (including Senior Lecturers)	56%	38%
Professors (including Associate Professors)	14%	17%
Other academic staff (teaching only or teaching/research)	22%	32%
Research-only staff	8%	13%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Percentages calculated from data in Wensvoort (2012, p. 52)

This decrease is covered in part by a small increase in the percentage of professorial staff, but also by significant increases in the percentages of research-only staff and "other academic staff," a category which includes assistant lecturers, senior tutors, tutors, visiting academics, and teaching fellows, many of whom are often on casual contracts.

Appointment Type and Status

In this book, I concentrate on the findings from a survey of *early career academics* in New Zealand universities ($n = 538$). The survey did not capture the views of *all* academics, and undoubtedly missed the views of some early career academics, particularly those on short-term contracts because, as explained in Chap. 1, it took the research population from those early career academics included in the Performance Based Research Fund census in the last round in 2012. The PBRF guidelines stipulate that all teaching and/or research staff who worked more than the equivalent of 1 day a week (0.2 Full Time Equivalent or FTE) and on contract/s of at least 1 year had to submit a portfolio, regardless of how many contracts it took for them to be considered more than 0.2 FTE. For example, if a person was on two contracts of 0.15 FTE each, and both contracts were for at least a year, then those two contracts were considered together as 0.3 FTE and the person was expected to be included in the PBRF. Therefore, my survey should have captured a good many contractual, as well as permanent, employees (at least those on contracts extending beyond 1 year). What is clear from the survey is that many early career academics *start* their academic careers as part-time and/or contract staff, rather than in full-time, continuing appointments, as demonstrated in Tables 3.4 and 3.5.

Sixty-three per cent of respondents were first appointed on contract, and into full-time roles (73%), but the vast majority are now both permanent (72%) and full-time (86%), as Table 3.5 shows. The percentage of academics in contract positions compares favourably with data from similar countries in the CAP project (Australia in particular, whose percentage of contract academics is higher at 38%) (Bennion and Locke 2010, p. S23).

Table 3.4 Appointment type (first and current)

	First appointment			Current appointment		
Appointment type	% All	% Men	%Women	% All	% Men	% Women
Permanent/continuing	37	41	34	72	75	70
Contract	63	59	66	28	25	30
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3.5 Appointment status (first and current)

	First appointment			Current appointment		
Appointment status	% All	% Men	%Women	% All	% Men	% Women
Full-time	73	84	66	86	95	80
Part-time	27	16	34	14	5	20
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Gappa et al. (2007) identify a trend towards fewer tenure-track and fewer full-time academic appointments between 1987 and 2003 in the US and similar patterns are detected in Europe (Enders and de Weert 2009), while Coates et al. (2009) comment on the increasing "casualisation" of Australian academia. Wensvoort (2012) has noticed a similar, though less pronounced trend in New Zealand, with 41% of all academic staff in New Zealand universities in 2011 apparently employed part-time, compared with 34% in 2001. Significantly, as Tables 3.4 and 3.5 show, women are more likely to be in part-time roles ($\chi2(1) = 21.62$, $p < 0.001$), and more likely to have been originally appointed as part-time ($\chi2(1) = 18.84$, $p < 0.001$). I pick up on this particular finding again in Chaps. 4 and 6.

Academic Discipline Area

The discipline areas in Table 3.6 have been taken from the 2012 Performance Based Research Fund Quality Evaluation Guidelines panels and subject areas.

The biggest groups of respondents to the early career survey came from Health and Medicine, the Biological Sciences, and Social Sciences, which also corresponds with the staff groupings in the PBRF, where we find the biggest numbers of staff in those three areas, and in Business and Economics, who were slightly under-represented in this survey.

Nationality and Ethnicity

New Zealand has recently been recognised as having one of the most international university systems in the world, with seven of its eight universities named in the top 112 "most international universities" according to the Times Higher Education

Table 3.6 Academic discipline area (percentage of respondents)

Discipline	% of early career academics responding to this survey	% of academics in each subject area in 2012 PBRF
Biological sciences	13	11
Business & Economics	6	11
Creative & Performing Arts	3	6
Education	7	8
Engineering, Technology & Architecture	8	9
Health & Medicine	23	18
Humanities & Law	8	10
Māori Knowledge & Development	3	2
Mathematical & Information Sciences & Technology	4	7
Physical Sciences	7	7
Social Sciences & Other Cultural/ Social Sciences	16	11
Multidisciplinary	1	0
Other (please specify)	1	0
Total	100%	100%

university rankings.[2] This international outlook is reflected in the reality that many of our academic staff are foreign-born. More than half of the respondents (56%) to my survey were not born in New Zealand. This contrasts with other systems, such as Europe, where "international hiring is still rather rare in many countries" (Musselin 2013, p. 33), and represents a much higher percentage of foreign-born staff than any of the countries in the CAP survey. Only Australia comes close with 46% of senior academics foreign-born, but only 37% of junior academic staff (Teichler et al. 2013, p. 85).

Hiring international academics is a long-time trend in New Zealand universities. Back in 1995, Joanna Kidman (1999) reported that slightly over half of all new appointments in New Zealand universities were from applicants based overseas, which at first glance would seem to mirror my recent data. However, many of the 1995 "international" appointees were New Zealanders returning home. More were appointed from North America than from Britain in 1995. Kidman argued that this demonstrated a shift away from our British colonial origins, and that argument could be made even more strongly now. The bulk of all appointments in 1995 comprised candidates who applied from New Zealand, North America, Australia, and the United Kingdom or Europe (with a very tiny percentage coming from outside these areas). By contrast, in the recent survey, only 44% of early career academics are New Zealand-born, and the rest were born in countries all around the world,

---

[2]These rankings measure the percentage of international staff and students, and the proportion of research papers published with at least one co-author from another country.

Table 3.7 Region and country of birth for respondents

Region	Percentage	Countries (in descending order)
New Zealand	44%	
United Kingdom	12%	England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales
Europe	10%	Germany, The Netherlands, France, Italy, Spain, Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Ireland, Croatia, Czech Republic, Belgium, Slovakia, Malta
North America	9%	United States, Canada
Asia	8%	India, China, Japan, Taiwan, Korea, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Turkey, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, Vietnam
Australia	4%	Australia
Africa	3%	South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya
Latin America	1%	Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Puerto Rico
Pacific Islands	1%	Fiji, Samoa, Tonga
Unspecified	8%	

representing all regularly inhabited continents. The United Kingdom comprises the highest percentage of respondents from outside New Zealand (12%), followed closely by Europe (10%), North America (9%), Asia (8%), Australia (4%), Africa (3%), and Latin America and the Pacific Islands both at 1%. Table 3.7 identifies their countries and regions of birth, showing that more than half our early career academics are from very diverse national backgrounds.

The high number of international academic staff is also reflected in New Zealand's high percentage of international students, particularly at doctoral level. At 16%, New Zealand has one of the largest proportions of tertiary students who are international (Crossan 2015) compared with the OECD average of 9%. At doctoral level, however, the percentage is even higher, with 43% being international students (PhD students from overseas pay domestic fees in New Zealand, which goes some way to explaining this high proportion).

That more than half (56%) of New Zealand's early career academics were born overseas indicates an acceleration of the trend identified in Nana et al.'s 2010 report of an increase in overseas-born academics from 32% of the tertiary academic population in New Zealand in 1991 to 39% in 2006 and now 56% (of early career academics) in 2012. Furthermore, in the 2006 sample, under half (42%) of those overseas-born academics had been in New Zealand for 9 years or less. By contrast, my responses indicate that the majority (71%) of overseas-born academics in early career positions in New Zealand universities in 2012 have been in New Zealand for fewer than 10 years (see Table 3.8).

These data remind us that hiring internationally brings benefits and challenges. As Enders and de Weert (2009) note, academics have to "increasingly navigate between global concepts and local agendas" (p. 260). Their socialisation is not just to a new profession, but also to a new country. Those responsible for inducting, managing and supporting early career academics need to be mindful of how much newcomers to the country might or might not know about New Zealand's cultures

Table 3.8 Length of time in
New Zealand for respondents
born overseas

Time in New Zealand	%
Most of my life	9
15 years or more	12
10–14 years	8
5–9 years	30
Fewer than 5 years	41
Total	100%

Table 3.9 Ethnicity
(percentage of respondents)

Ethnicity	%
Caucasian	79
Māori	6
Pacific Islander	2
Asian	10
Other[a]	3
Total	100%

[a]Other was self-reported and included
Hispanic, Latin American and African

and education systems (both school and tertiary level). Allowing some time to transition smoothly from one country to another (especially if moving with a family and needing to find a home, schools, and/or daycare for the children, and so on) is important. Furthermore, some support for raising awareness and knowledge of Māori culture and language may be appropriate for new academics from overseas. Of course, such support would likely be welcomed by many other early career academics as well, especially given that so few have Māori heritage themselves. The ethnicity of respondents is outlined in Table 3.9.

Nana et al. (2010) found that "between 1991 and 2006, the proportions of the tertiary teaching workforce identifying themselves as Māori or Pasifika has remained unchanged, while the proportion reporting themselves as Asian has increased noticeably" (p. 80). By contrast, the New Zealand Association of Scientists Survey reported an increase for Māori scientists from 0.7% in 1996 to 1.7% in 2008 (Sommer 2010). The percentage reported by Sommer is still considerably lower than the percentage of Māori in the overall New Zealand population, however. While my findings in terms of ethnicity show a higher proportion of Māori (6%) and Pasifika academics (2%) than in the survey of scientists (Sommer 2010), the percentages of early career academics of Māori and Pasifika descent are significantly lower than in the national population (with 15% Māori and 7% Pasifika reported in the 2013 New Zealand census). My findings indicate that there may be a higher percentage of Māori and Pasifika academics starting to enter the academic workforce in recent years, which is encouraging, but more Māori and Pasifika academic staff will need to be recruited to come close to matching the numbers of students from these priority groups. More data and insights on the experiences of Māori academics in New Zealand universities are provided in Chap. 7.

Table 3.10 Age of respondents

Age group	%
Under 30 years	5
30–34 years	29
35–39 years	30
40–44 years	16
45–49 years	10
50 years or more	10
Total	100%

Age

The majority (64%) of respondents are under 40, which is to be expected given that my criteria sought respondents within the first 7 years of their academic career. Clearly, however, many early career academics in New Zealand have come into academia from another career, with more than a third (36%) of respondents 40 years of age or over, as Table 3.10 shows. This corresponds with Australian research on early career academics, which found that 38% of the 522 respondents to a survey of ECAs at three Australian universities were 36 years old or over (Matthews et al. 2014).

It is important to keep this in mind when designing support programmes and deciding how best to induct, orient and provide information for new academics: not all early career academics will need the same level of input in terms of career planning, for example, but may need more opportunity to refine their research or teaching skills, depending on prior experience, or to find networks of like-minded colleagues. One survey respondent commented that, "as an older early career academic there are a lot of extra barriers to overcome and it can be quite lonely at times" [Postdoc, Education, Female, 50+]. By contrast, other older early career academics may find the transition less daunting and take quite a different attitude towards the career change, as the following comment indicates:

> My situation is quite different than many other early career academics because I was 55 when I was hired here (my first academic job), I am part-time (0.4 FTE), and I had an abundance of teaching experience in a variety of settings before I began academic teaching. I have been astonished at the amount of support available for staff…It appears to me that there is a large quantity of it, which I think is wonderful. [Lecturer, Humanities and Law, Female, 50+]

Early career academics with experience in other industries or professions may also have a lot to offer in terms of mentoring other staff and providing insights from outside the university, as well as possessing leadership or management skills that younger early career academics may not have had the time to develop yet.

Women and Men in Academia in New Zealand

More women (60%) than men (40%) responded to the survey. This contrasts with the UNZHR stocktake data, which showed that 54% of the total academic work-force is made up of men and 46% women (Nana et al. 2010, p. 64). However, given that there are fewer women than men in senior academic positions in New Zealand universities (McGregor 2012, p. 138) and that my target population was *early career* academics, it is not surprising that more women responded. These percentages also correspond with figures in other similar countries, such as Australia, where 63% of junior staff are women, and the UK (52%) (Teichler et al. 2013, p. 78).

Women are slightly over-represented among the older participants in the sample (especially over 50 years) (see Fig. 3.1). This was a non-significant trend ($\chi^2(5) = 9.59$, p = 0.09), and contrasts with Nana et al.'s (2010) finding from the 2006 Census data, which shows that the proportion of female academics in tertiary institutions nationwide declines markedly after the age of 55. It also contrasts with Sommer's (2010) finding that the majority of young scientists are women (women outnumbered men four to one in the under-35 age group in his survey). These differences could be attributed to the fact that my survey sought data from early career academics at universities only, whereas the Nana et al. (2010) finding from the Census data was from across the tertiary workforce (including institutions other than universities), and the New Zealand Association of Scientists survey (Sommer 2010) incorporated all scientific research institutions in New Zealand, including universities, polytechnics, museums, and Crown Research Institutes. Regardless of the difference, the data from all three surveys emphasise the need to work on evening out the representation of women and men in academia.
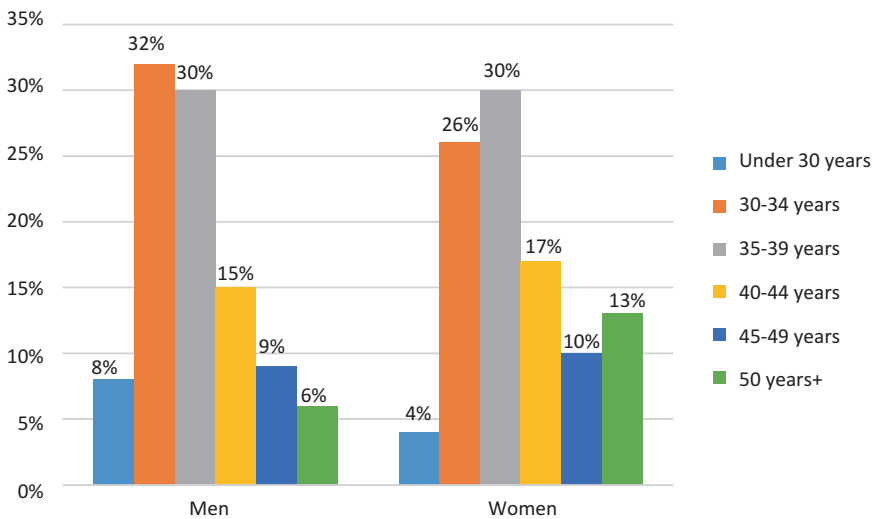
Fig. 3.1 Age group of respondents (by gender)

Table 3.11 Current academic level (percentage of respondents)

Current Academic Level	% All	% Men	% Women
Senior Lecturer[a]	21	29	17
Lecturer	52	50	53
Post Doc/ Research Fellow	23	18	25
Other[b]	4	3	5
Total	100%	100%	100%

[a]Includes two Associate Professors (Two respondents were already Associate Professors, but were still considered early career academics because they earned their doctorates in 2004 and 2005, and were appointed to their first academic jobs in 2009 and 2005, respectively. One started in 2009 as a Senior Lecturer and was promoted to Associate Professor in 2011; the other started in 2005 as a Post-Doc and was promoted to Associate Professor in 2009. I included them in with Senior Lecturers for reporting purposes.)
[b]If respondents chose "Other", they were asked to name their role. Their responses included the following kinds of roles: tutor, field work coordinator, director, professional practice fellow, and programme leader

Table 3.11 shows the spread of men and women across academic levels. The percentage of women in the higher ranks of academia continues to be disturbingly low.

The New Zealand Human Rights Commission *Census of Women's Participation* (McGregor 2012) reports that only 24.38% of Associate Professors and Professors in New Zealand universities are women – a small, but important, 8.56% increase since 2003. However, these data contrast negatively with the situation in Australia and the UK, where women reportedly make up a much higher 39% and 33%, respectively, of senior academics (Teichler et al. 2013, p. 78). My data show that despite a higher percentage of men than women under 30 years of age in academia, men and women are not equally represented in the lower levels of academia ($\chi^2(5) = 13.87$, $p < 0.05$). There is a significantly higher percentage of women than men at the lower ranks (Lecturer and below), and in jobs where contracts are often not permanent (such as Post-Doctoral positions and Tutoring roles). Because of these differences, I consider the gender of respondents as a factor in my investigation of early career academics' experiences at several points in this book.

Academic Qualifications and Training

The experiences that academics have during their graduate training have been referred to as "anticipatory socialization" (van Maanen 1976; Austin 2002) and, if well-structured and supported, can help to prepare doctoral students for an academic life. Even if the doctoral experience is not a positive one, it is still a socialising experience and, good or bad, has significant bearing on future academic success (Austin 2002; Bazeley 2003; Billett et al. 2005; Fairweather 2002; Laudel and Gläser 2008; Lindholm 2004; Williamson and Cable 2003). Life experience in other

Table 3.12 Doctoral qualifications

Qualification	New Zealand Born	Overseas Born	All
New Zealand Doctorate	49%	29%	38%
International doctorate	14%	54%	37%
Working towards NZ doctorate	16%	6%	10%
Working towards Int'l doctorate	2%	2%	2%
None of the above	19%	9%	13%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Table 3.13 Origin of doctoral degree

Qualification	New Zealand Born	Overseas Born	All
New Zealand Doctorate	78%	35%	51%
International doctorate	22%	65%	49%
Total	100%	100%	100%

industries and professions before entering academia can also have a socialising effect, so I investigated various aspects of the prior experiences that New Zealand early career academics might have had before taking on their current academic roles. Table 3.12 shows that 75% of all respondents have a doctoral degree and 12% are working towards a doctorate. This compares favourably with Australia and the United Kingdom, where the percentage of early career academics holding doctoral degrees is 72% and 80% respectively (Bennion and Locke 2010, p. S10).

Emphasising the international nature of New Zealand's universities, of those with doctoral degrees, more than half (51%) earned them in New Zealand, and just under half (49%) from universities overseas (see Table 3.13). Despite a common understanding that many New Zealand academics are "expected to spend time overseas and ideally get one of their postgraduate degrees at a non-New Zealand university before returning home" (Bönisch-Brednich 2014, p. 19), my data show that a significant majority (78%) of the New Zealand-born or New Zealand-raised (those who indicated that they were born overseas but have spent most of their lives in New Zealand) early career academics earned their doctoral degree in New Zealand (see Table 3.13). Among the international academics, just under one third have a New Zealand doctorate. These data compare with data from the CAP project which show that in most countries, a high percentage of academics have earned their doctorates from the country in which they are currently employed (Bennion and Locke 2010, p. S11).

The Nature of Doctoral Degrees in New Zealand

New Zealand offers a few professional doctorates, such as the EdD (Doctor of Education) and the DMA (Doctor of Musical Arts), which tend to be coursework based, with a shorter thesis or exegesis requirement. However, the majority of

doctoral degrees in New Zealand are Doctors of Philosophy (PhD), and the New Zealand PhD experience is, in the main, a thesis-only one. That is, students enrolled for a PhD in New Zealand are usually not expected to attend any classes or courses, or engage in teacher training (although both courses and training may be available to them), nor are they required to sit written examinations. Some students with scholarship funding may have extra expectations placed on them as a condition of their scholarship.[3] However, the main responsibility of PhD students in New Zealand is the completion of a thesis (usually up to 100,000 words long) under the supervision of at least two supervisors. Often there will be a period of provisional registration during which some courses *may* be undertaken to address any deficiencies in research methods or expertise, or language ability, for example, and during which the candidate's thesis proposal is usually considered by a committee before full registration in the degree is confirmed and the thesis itself undertaken. Once complete (and PhD completion times in New Zealand are in the range of three to 5 years), the thesis is then examined by a committee comprised, usually, of an examiner from the university at which they have completed the thesis, another New Zealand examiner, and an examiner from outside New Zealand. Increasingly, there is now also an oral examination process after the examiners' reports have been received.

Training During Doctoral Degrees

Even though New Zealand doctoral degrees tend to be thesis-only, as we have seen, not all early career academics in New Zealand have doctoral degrees from New Zealand (49% earned their doctorate outside New Zealand). Furthermore, not all early career academics now teaching in New Zealand limited their doctoral experience to the thesis alone. Figure 3.2 shows some of the non-thesis-related experiences in relation to teaching, research, and service, that early career academics gained during their time as doctoral students. Bennion and Locke (2010) have noted that doctoral training is often skewed towards research and research-related activities "with virtually no training in pedagogy and … limited opportunities to teach" (p. S14). Similarly, Austin (2002) in her extensive work on graduate students in the United States has noted "the lack of systematic professional development opportunities, minimal feedback and mentoring from faculty, and few opportunities for guided reflection" (p. 104) and indicates that assistantship opportunities differ by discipline, with a research assistantship more common in the sciences and teaching assistantships more common in humanities and social sciences.

---

[3] For example, at my university, until 2015, PhD students with a university scholarship were expected to provide, each year, 150 h of service (in the form of tutoring, lab work, or research assistance, for example) to the department in which they were enrolled for their thesis. This requirement has recently ended, however, as it was inconsistently applied and too difficult to monitor.
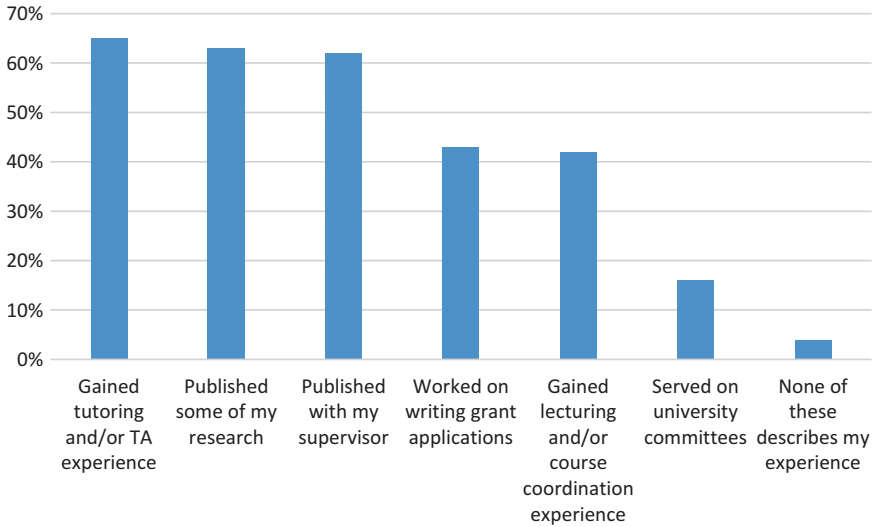
Fig. 3.2 Other experience and training during doctoral degree

Figure 3.2 shows that the majority of respondents were offered both research *and* teaching experiences during their doctoral training, with fewer being given (or taking up) service opportunities. Those who answered that none of these statements described their experience during their doctorate, tended to fall into one of three camps: either they were working full-time as academics during their PhD and did not see the PhD as the training ground implied by these questions, or they were working off campus and/or taking care of children so only had time for their thesis, or they were distance students who were not necessarily able to take advantage of these opportunities even if they were offered.

Nearly two-thirds of respondents indicated that they published some of their research during their doctorate, either with or without their supervisor/s, which appears to be a slightly higher percentage than doctoral students in Europe, 52% of whom indicated that they undertook research projects with faculty (Ates and Brechelmacher 2013, pp. 19–20). Those in my study who did not publish during their doctoral training, either independently or with their supervisor, recorded a lower overall research output across their career to date than those who published during their doctorate (see Chap. 4 for more data on research output and activity).

The experience of serving on university committees is also similar in New Zealand and Europe with 14% of European doctoral students reporting service on a departmental or institutional committee as part of their doctoral training (Ates and Brechelmacher 2013, pp. 19–20) and 16% of respondents in New Zealand reporting university committee service during their doctorates.

Table 3.14 Teaching qualifications of early career academics in New Zealand universities

Type of teaching qualification	Percentage
Higher education teaching qualification	15%
Other teaching qualification	13%
No teaching qualification	70%
Currently studying towards a teaching qualification	2%
Total	100%

Teaching Qualifications

While the majority of early career academics in New Zealand universities appear to have gained teaching *experience* (see Fig. 3.2), they do not, in the main, have actual teaching *qualifications*. Table 3.14 shows that 15% have a higher education teaching qualification and 13% have another teaching qualification, while only 2% report that they are studying towards a higher education teaching qualification at present. This contrasts with 18% of the European doctoral students having received any instructional skills training or learning about teaching methods (Ates and Brechelmacher 2013, pp. 19–20), 14% in Australia and the UK, 20% in Canada, and 34% in the US (Bennion and Locke 2010, p. S14).

The pattern of teaching qualification is not consistent across the eight universities, however, as Table 3.15 shows. AUT (Auckland University of Technology), the newest of New Zealand's eight universities, which converted from an institute of technology to a university in 1999, has a much higher percentage (60%) of early career academics with a teaching qualification, and with a higher education teaching qualification specifically (33%), than any other university. About one third of early career academics at Waikato and Canterbury have a teaching qualification of some description (with a significant percentage of these being overseas qualifications), while the other universities have less than a quarter either holding or studying towards a teaching qualification of any description.

It is clear from these data on respondents' qualifications and postgraduate experiences that early career academics in New Zealand universities have come into academia from a variety of backgrounds and with a diverse array of prior training and experience. Most (75%) have a doctoral degree and of those who do not, more than half are working towards attaining one. During their doctoral (or other higher degree) training, the majority gained both research and teaching experience, in terms of publishing and tutoring, although less than half gained lecturing and/or course coordination experience, and few have actual teaching qualifications.

Table 3.15 Percentage of respondents with teaching qualifications at each university

University	NZ Hi Ed[a]	Overseas Hi Ed[b]	Other NZ[c]	Other overseas[d]	Studying towards[e]	None[f]	Total %
Auckland	5	9	4	6	1	75	100
AUT	33	0	18	9	11	36	107
Waikato	10	10	15	0	5	66	106
Massey	9	7	4	2	2	77	101
Victoria	4	4	9	12	2	74	105
Canterbury	7	11	13	7	0	69	107
Lincoln	8	0	0	0	0	92	100
Otago	3	6	4	4	1	82	100
Men	7	8	3	4	3	75	100
Women	9	6	10	7	1	67	100
All	8%	7%	7%	6%	2%	72%	102

NB: Some respondents have more than one qualification, which is why the totals do not add up to 100%.
[a]New Zealand certificate or diploma in Higher Education Teaching & Learning (or equivalent)
[b]Overseas certificate or diploma in Higher Education Teaching & Learning (equivalent)
[c]Other New Zealand teaching diploma or degree
[d]Other overseas teaching diploma or degree
[e]Currently studying towards a Higher Education Teaching & Learning certificate or diploma
[f]None of these describes my teaching qualifications

Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the demographics of my early career academic respondents. Not surprisingly, given what we know from earlier work (Nana et al. 2010; Sommer 2010) early career academics are predominantly female, Caucasian, and under 40 (although 36% of all respondents are over 40). Early career academics in New Zealand universities are also from a diverse range of national, ethnic, and doctoral backgrounds, with more early career academics born overseas than in New Zealand – a much higher percentage than any of the countries in the CAP survey. Of those born outside New Zealand, the majority (71%) have been in New Zealand for fewer than 10 years, so considerable attention needs to be paid to appropriate socialisation into not just the individual academic's new university, but also New Zealand's cultures and education system.

My data also confirm earlier New Zealand findings (Doyle et al. 2004) that women are over-represented in the lower ranks of academia. It is worrying that, despite the increasing percentage of women joining the academic workforce, they continue to be under-represented in permanent, full-time roles, and at the more senior levels of leadership in New Zealand universities (more so, it appears, than in many other countries). Even in my survey of *early* career academics, this discrepancy was noticeable, with men over-represented at the level of senior lecturer. New Zealand universities will need to continue to support programmes like Women in

Leadership (see Chap. 2), and undertake ongoing research across all disciplines (such as that recently conducted in Political Science (Timperley 2013) and in Science (Gaston 2015)) in order to identify and rectify the issues that allow these discrepancies to remain. Chapter 6 looks more into gender issues for early career academics in New Zealand universities.

Also noticeable in my survey of early career academics in New Zealand universities was that not all are young, despite being fairly new to academia. A significant percentage (36%) are over 40 years of age and inevitably bring considerable experience with them from their previous careers and jobs. We could probably harness this expertise more effectively than we currently do, and we need continually to be aware that not all early career academics will have the same prior experience, training expectations, resource needs, or desires for support. Their socialisation into the academic profession will differ, depending on where they did their doctoral degree and whether they have gained other career experiences outside academia, and we should be creating programmes of support for early career academics that identify and celebrate their differences and enable them to use their strengths.

References

Airini, Collings, S., Conner, L., McPherson, K., Midson, B., & Wilson, C. (2011). Learning to be leaders in higher education: What helps or hinders women's advancement as leaders in universities. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership, 39*(1), 44–62.

Allan, C., Lafferty, G., & Burgess, J. (2007). University restructuring and teaching quality. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations, 32*(2), 87–99.

Ashcroft, C. (2007). Constituting academics as neo-liberal subjects: Research assessment in a New Zealand context. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 42*(1/2), 77–93.

Ates, G., & Brechelmacher, A. (2013). Academic career paths. In U. Teichler & E. A. Hohle (Eds.), *The work situation of the academic profession in Europe: Findings of a survey in twelve countries* (pp. 13–36). Dordrecht: Springer.

Austin, A. (2002). Preparing the next generation of faculty: Graduate school as socialization to the academic career. *The Journal of Higher Education, 73*(1), 94–122.

Baker, M. (2010). Career confidence and gendered expectations of academic promotion. *Journal of Sociology, 46*(3), 317–334.

Baker, M. (2012). Gendered families, academic work and the 'motherhood penalty'. *Women's Studies Journal, 26*(1), 11–24.

Bazeley, P. (2003). Defining 'early career' in research. *Higher Education, 45*(3), 257–279.

Bennion, A., & Locke, W. (2010). The early career paths and employment conditions of the academic profession in 17 countries. *European Review, 18*(S1), S7–S33.

Bentley, T., McLeod, L., & Teo, S. (2014). *The state of the tertiary education sector in New Zealand – 2013: Final reports of findings from the survey of work and wellbeing in the tertiary education sector*. Tertiary Education Union and the New Zealand Work Research Institute. http://teu.ac.nz/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/TEU-Final-Report.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Billett, S., Smith, R., & Barker, M. (2005). Understanding work, learning and the remaking of cultural practices. *Studies in Continuing Education, 27*(3), 219–237.

Billot, J. (2010). The imagined and the real: identifying the tensions for academic identity. *Higher Education Research & Development, 29*(6), 709–721.

Bönisch-Brednich, B. (2014). Cultural transfer in university teaching: Academic migrant perspectives from Aotearoa/New Zealand. In C. Mason & F. Rawlings-Sanaei (Eds.), *Academic migration, discipline knowledge and pedagogical practice* (pp. 13–25). Singapore: Springer Singapore.

Boyd, S., & Wylie, C. (1994). *Workload and stress in New Zealand universities*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research and Association of University Staff of New Zealand.

Butterworth, R., & Tarling, N. (1994). *A shakeup anyway: Government and the universities in New Zealand in a decade of reform*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Chalmers, A. (1998). *Workload and stress in New Zealand universities in 1998: A follow-up to the 1994 study*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research and Association of University Staff of New Zealand.

Coates, H., Dobson, I. R., Goedegebuure, L., & Meek, L. (2009). Australia's casual approach to its academic teaching workforce. *People and Place, 17*(4), 47–54.

Crawford, R. (2016). *History of tertiary education reforms in New Zealand*. Research Note. New Zealand Productivity Commission. http://www.productivity.govt.nz/sites/default/files/nzpc-rn-2016-1-history-of-tertiary-education-reforms.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Crossan, S. (2015). *How does New Zealand's education system compare? OECD's education at a glance 2015*. Report. Ministry of Education. http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0012/170004/Education-at-a-Glance-2015-New-Zealand-Summary-Report.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Crozier, R. (Ed.). (2000). *Troubled times: Academic freedom in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press.

Cummings, W. (2015). The conditions of continuity and the drivers of change. In W. K. Cummings & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The relevance of academic work in comparative perspective* (pp. 17–40). Dordrecht: Springer.

Curtis, B. (2008). The performance-based research fund: Research assessment and funding in New Zealand. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 6*(2), 179–194.

Curtis, B. (2016). The performance-based research fund, gender and a cultural cringe. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 14*(1), 87–109.

Doyle, S., Wylie, C., Hodgen, E., & Else, A. (2004*). Gender and academic promotion: A case study of Massey University*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research. http://www.nzcer.org.nz/system/files/14033.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Enders, J., & de Weert, E. (2009). *The changing face of academic life: Analytical and comparative perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fairweather, J. (2002). The mythologies of faculty productivity: Implications for institutional policy and decision making. *Journal of Higher Education, 73*, 26–48.

Gappa, J. M., Austin, A. E., & Trice, A. G. (2007). *Rethinking faculty work: Higher education's strategic imperative*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gaston, N. (2015). *Why science is sexist*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Gilbert, J., & Cameron, M. (2002). When two cultures collide: Similarities and differences between tertiary teachers in two institutional contexts. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 37*(1), 87–91.

Harris, C., Ravenswood, K., & Myers, B. (2013). Glass slippers, holy grails and ivory towers: Gender and advancement in academia. *Labour & Industry: A Journal of the Social and Economic Relations of Work, 23*(3), 231–244.

Healey, N., & Gunby, P. (2012). The impact of recent government tertiary education policies on access to higher education in New Zealand. *Journal of Educational Leadership, Policy and Practice, 27*(1), 29–45.

Houston, D., Meyer, L. H., & Paewai, S. (2006). Academic staff workloads and job satisfaction: Expectations and values in academe. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 28*(1), 17–30.

Kidman, J. (1999). A people torn in twain: Colonial and indigenous contexts of university education in New Zealand. *Interchange, 30*(1), 73–91.

Laudel, G., & Gläser, J. (2008). From apprentice to colleague: The metamorphosis of Early Career Researchers. *Higher Education, 55*, 387–406.

Lindholm, J. A. (2004). Pathways to the professoriate: The role of self, others, and environment in shaping academic career aspirations. *The Journal of Higher Education, 75*(6), 603–635.

Malcolm, W., & Tarling, N. (2007). *Crisis of identity: The mission and management of universities in New Zealand*. Wellington: Dunmore.

Matthews, K., Lodge, J., & Bosanquet, A. (2014). Early career academic perceptions, attitudes and professional development activities: questioning the teaching and research gap to further academic development. *International Journal for Academic Development, 19*(2), 112–124.

McGregor, J. (2012). *New Zealand census of women's participation*. Wellington: New Zealand Human Rights Commission. http://www.hrc.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/web-census.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Middleton, S. (2005). Disciplining the subject: The impact of PBRF on education academics. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 40*(1), 131–156.

Ministry of Education (2015). *Profile and Trends 2014: New Zealand's Annual Tertiary Education Enrolments [Part 1 of 5]*. Report. Ministry of Education, Education Counts. http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/164364/Profile-and-Trends-2014-NZs--Annual-Tertiary-Education-Enrolments-Part-1.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Ministry of Education (2016). *Profile and Trends 2014: Tertiary Education System and Student Support.* Report. Ministry of Education, Education Counts. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/171611/2014-pt-sector-student-support-funding-update.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Musselin, C. (2013). Redefinition of the relationships between academics and their university. *Higher Education, 65*(1), 25–37.

Nana, G., Stokes, F., & Lynn, A. (2010). *Academic workforce planning: Towards 2020*. Wellington: Universities NZ Human Resources Committee Steering Group.

Nasrudin, A. M., & O'Donnell, M. P. (2011). Work overload, parental demand, perceived organizational support, family support, and work-family conflict among New Zealand and Malaysian academics. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 41*(1), 38–48.

Olssen, M., & Peters, M. A. (2005). Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: From the free market to knowledge capitalism. *Journal of Education Policy, 20*(3), 313–345.

Paewai, S. R., Meyer, L. H., & Houston, D. J. (2007). Problem solving academic workloads management: A university response. *Higher Education Quarterly, 61*(3), 375–390.

Peters, M. (1997). *Cultural politics and the university in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press.

Roberts, P. (1999). The future of the university: Reflections from New Zealand. *International Review of Education, 45*(1), 65–86.

Roberts, P. (2007). Neoliberalism, performativity and research. *International Review of Education, 53*(4), 349–365.

Roberts, P. (2012). Scholars, philosophers or performers? The politics of research in contemporary universities. In R. Openshaw & J. Clark (Eds.), *Critic and conscience: Essays in memory of John Codd and Roy Nash* (pp. 87–104). Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Roberts, P. (2013). Reconfiguring research in New Zealand: Education, politics and performativity. *The Australian Educational Researcher, 40*(4), 509–512.

Robinson, D. (2006). *The status of higher education teaching personnel in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States*. Report prepared for Educational International. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela. http://firgoa.usc.es/drupal/files/ei_study_final.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Savage, D. (2000). Academic freedom and institutional autonomy in New Zealand universities. In R. Crozier (Ed.), *Troubled times: Academic freedom in New Zealand* (pp. 1–225). Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press.

Scott, D. J. (2009). A closer look at completion in higher education in New Zealand. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 31*(2), 101–108.

Shore, C. (2010). Beyond the multiversity: Neoliberalism and the rise of the schizophrenic university. *Social Anthropology, 18*(1), 15–29.

Smith, A. L. (2011). *Gender and workaholism: A study of New Zealand academics. Master's Thesis*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

Sommer, J. (2010). 2008 Survey of New Zealand scientists and technologists. *New Zealand Science Review, 67*(1), 1–40.

Sommer, J., & Sommer, D. (1997). *Profiles: A survey of New Zealand scientists and technologists*. Wellington: Royal Society of New Zealand.

Stefani, L. (2015). Higher education in New Zealand: A case study of the land of the long white cloud. In P. Blessinger & J. P. Anchan (Eds.), *Democratizing higher education: International comparative perspectives* (pp. 111–124). New York and London: Routledge.

Sullivan, K. (1997). *What should count as work in the ivory tower? Determining academic workloads in tertiary institutions, a university case study*. State of the Art Monograph, No. 6. Wellington: New Zealand Association for Research in Education.

Sutherland, K.A., & Petersen, L. (2010). *The success and impact of early career academics in two New Zealand tertiary institutions*. Report. Ako Aotearoa. http://akoaotearoa.ac.nz/ako-hub/ako-aotearoa-central-hub/resources/pages/success-and-impact-early-career-academics-two-new-z. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Teichler, U., Arimoto, A., & Cummings, W. K. (2013). *The changing academic profession*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Timperley, C. (2013). Women in the Academy: Key studies on gender in political science. *Political Science, 65*(1), 84–104.

Tipples, R., & Krivokapic-Skoko, B. (1997). New Zealand academics and performance management. *International Journal of Employment Studies, 5*(2), 103–116.

Universities New Zealand (2016, August 2). *The NZ University System*. http://www.universitiesnz.ac.nz/nz-university-system. Accessed 6 April 2017.

van Maanen, J. (1976). Breaking in: Socialization to work. In R. Dubin (Ed.), *Handbook of work, organization, and society* (pp. 67–130). Chicago: Rand-McNally.

Waitere, H. J., Wright, J., Tremaine, M., Brown, S., & Pausé, C. J. (2011). Choosing whether to resist or reinforce the new managerialism: The impact of performance-based research funding on academic identity. *Higher Education Research & Development, 30*(2), 205–217.

Wall, M., Witten, K., & Sweetsur, P. (2009). Building research capability in the social sciences: (BRCSS) National survey of university-based social scientists. In *Auckland: Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation (SHORE)*. Massey: University.

Wensvoort, M. (2012). *The changing structure of the public tertiary education workforce*. Ministry of Education, Education Counts. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/80898/the-changing-structure-of-the-public-tertiary-education-workforce. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Whitinui, P., Glover, M., & Hikuroa, D. (2013). *Ara mai he tētēkura: Visioning our futures. New and emerging pathways of Māori academic leadership*. Dunedin: Otago University Press.

Williamson, I. O., & Cable, D. M. (2003). Predicting early career research productivity: The case of management faculty. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour, 24*, 25–44.

Witten, K., Rose, E., Sweetsur, P., Huckle, T., & Huakau, J. (2006). *BRCSS: National Survey of Social Scientists 2006*. Auckland: Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation (SHORE), Massey University.

Chapter 4
Teaching, Research, and Service Activities and Preferences in the Work Lives of New Zealand Early Career Academics

Introduction: The Activities of Academics in New Zealand

New Zealand universities and academic staff have had a tumultuous ride through various phases in the country's history, as Chap. 2 demonstrated. The 1800s saw the need for higher education to produce, among other things, all of the following: people who could farm, mine, engineer, and settle a rugged, bush-covered land; graduates with a refined sense of culture and appreciation for the motherland, *and* an ability to help build a sense of national identity and nationhood in the new colony; politicians and law-makers who could learn to live genially with the indigenous inhabitants, many of whose own learning was advanced; and civil servants and teachers who could staff our government departments, schools, hospitals, and other social institutions. Much learning happened part-time, at a distance, and over a long period, and both teaching and research were constrained by the need to refer back to what was happening in Britain. The University of New Zealand was a "colonial hybrid," a "national institution before a clear sense of nationhood had been formed" (Kidman 1999, p. 79) and an "outward looking system [that appropriated] techniques developed elsewhere for local application" (Larner and Le Heron 2005, p. 844). New Zealand's university system could be described as "semi-core" (Cummings and Shin 2014), a system that derives its existence and imports many of its ideas from a "core" system (in this case, the United Kingdom).

From the reforms to the University of New Zealand in the 1960s, to the neoliberal marketisation of New Zealand universities in the 1990s, through to the performance-based funding era of the 2000s, New Zealand academics have increased both their teaching and research activity *and* productivity, as I will show in this chapter. This is very much in line with other semi-core university systems, such as Canada, Australia, and Korea, who show higher research orientation, productivity, and output than many of the core systems. Cummings and Shin argue that this may be because of a desire to "catch up" to core systems (Cummings and Shin

2014, p. 5). Coupled with this increased productivity, however, is a questioning of the effects of this marketised, managerial, performative culture on the academic workforce, and particularly on the socialisation of new academics. This chapter provides the context for the activities undertaken by academic staff in New Zealand universities; the subsequent two chapters question the effects of these activities on their satisfaction and work-life balance.

First, I identify the preferences New Zealand academics express for research, teaching, and service, and compare these findings with other semi-core and core countries from the CAP project. Then, I provide an insight into the activities that make up each of these areas of work, and how research, teaching, and service activities are undertaken in a New Zealand context. I also provide details on the confidence levels of New Zealand academics in engaging with the teaching and research aspects of their roles, and share how confidence affects and is affected by various activities. Finally, I look at how the introduction of performance-based funding has influenced the work of early career academics in New Zealand universities. Let's start by considering, first of all, what early career academics in New Zealand express as their preferences in regard to research, teaching, and service.

Research, Teaching, and Service Preferences

Over the years, researchers from various countries have demonstrated that academics' preferences for research over teaching, or vice versa, have vacillated depending on context, funding, training, and government priorities and policies. In the US, for example, Schuster and Finkelstein (2006) compared national US survey data over nearly 30 years (from 1969 to 1997) and identified a significant increase in interest in undergraduate education. They also identified a growing recognition of research performance as a vital tenure criterion, as well as teaching effectiveness becoming increasingly important in tenure and promotion decisions. In sum, "faculty are expected to do more – of everything" (p. 129). In Australia, the "late 1970s saw an overall preference for research, followed by an increased preference for teaching culminating to a relatively balanced preference during the 1990s, followed by a sharp drop in 2007 with only 7% indicating a clear preference for teaching" (Coates et al. 2009, p. 21). The international Changing Academic Profession (CAP) survey in 2007 asked respondents to indicate where their preferences lay in terms of research and teaching, and results varied greatly across countries, and across academic levels (Coates et al. 2009). In Norway, for example, research was preferred by many more academics than teaching, especially by junior academics. At the other end of the scale, in the United States, teaching was more preferred to research by all categories of academics, but particularly junior academics.

As already mentioned, New Zealand was not part of the CAP project, and no systematic data on teaching and research preferences have been collected in New Zealand. However, Boyd and Wylie's 1994 national survey did show that "79% of academics indicated they would prefer more research time" and that "twenty-five

Table 4.1 Research and teaching interests

Interests lie	% All	% Men	% Women
Primarily in research	27	24	29
In both, leaning towards research	40	44	36
Equally in research and teaching	22	23	21
In both, leaning to teaching	8	5	11
Primarily in teaching	3	4	3
Total	100%	100%	100%
Mean	2.22	2.19	2.24

percent of academics indicated that they would prefer less, and 10% more, teaching time" (Boyd and Wylie 1994, p. 32). My own PhD research in the late 1990s found that academics' preferences in New Zealand's six university English departments were fairly evenly spread, with 39% primarily interested in or leaning towards research, 25% in teaching, and 36% equally in both (Sutherland 1999, p. 92). Data from the current survey of early career academics at all New Zealand universities demonstrate that this spread in preferences seems to have shifted significantly over the last two decades to show a much stronger leaning towards research, as outlined in Table 4.1.

More than two-thirds of New Zealand early career academics report that they are primarily interested in or leaning towards research, rather than teaching. The mean overall was 2.22 (where 1 = "Primarily in research" and 5 = "Primarily in teaching"), which represents a strong leaning towards research. There was no statistical significance in this difference in means by gender of respondent.

This apparent shift towards a stronger preference for research appears to coincide with the introduction of the Performance Based Research Fund in 2003 (more on this later in the chapter). The interdependence of research and teaching has long been a desire, if not always achieved, for New Zealand's universities, as evidenced by the 1911 pamphlet that Professors Hunter, von Zedlitz, and Laby, wrote, in which they pleaded for research and teaching to co-exist (see Chap. 2). Later that century, the Hughes Parry Report on the reformation of the university system in New Zealand in the 1960s also recognised the "stimulus which research has given to university life" (Malcolm and Tarling 2007, p. 115). Then, reforms to the Education Act in the early 1990s saw the roles of universities and other tertiary institutions differently articulated, arguably influencing the shift in a preference towards research.

Until 1990, the functions of New Zealand's universities and polytechnics had been clearly demarcated – "universities were academic institutions and could award degrees, while polytechnics taught vocational and trade courses" (Pollock n.d.). However, the Education Act of 1989 placed polytechnics on a potentially more equal footing with universities and saw all tertiary institutions begin to compete for student enrolments. Universities, the 1989 Education Act declared in Section 162, were to be concerned with advanced learning, to engage in closely interdependent research and teaching of international standard, to ensure that teaching is conducted by active researchers, and to be the critic and conscience of society. Polytechnics,

Table 4.2 Research and teaching interests (by university)

	Ota	Auc	Vic	Can	Mas	Wai	Lin	AUT
Primarily research	38	44	18	16	18	24	25	10
Leaning to research	39	32	57	53	47	33	17	30
Equal	14	14	23	22	24	33	42	26
Leaning to teaching	9	7	2	9	5	5	8	19
Primarily teaching	0	3	0	0	6	5	8	15
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean	1.93	1.95	2.09	2.24	2.33	2.33	2.58	2.98

Code: Ota (Otago), Auc (Auckland), Vic (Victoria University of Wellington), Can (Canterbury), Mas (Massey), Wai (Waikato), Lin (Lincoln), AUT (Auckland University of Technology)

by contrast, were expected to have only one (but could have more) of these characteristics. Several polytechnics began to offer degree-level qualifications, and while their focus largely remained on vocational training, they also engaged in applied and technological research. Consequently, universities, to distinguish themselves from other tertiary institutions in New Zealand, embraced the interdependence of teaching and research, and strived to ensure they gained a significant chunk of the funding for research.

The Education Act specifies that *all* New Zealand universities will ensure that teaching is conducted by active researchers, and that research and teaching are closely interdependent. This means that the stratification of the university sector between teaching and research institutions that is evident elsewhere (Enders and de Weert 2009) does not officially exist in New Zealand. The relationship between teaching and research in practice, however, does vary among the eight universities in New Zealand. The difference in focus of the newer and more established universities is evident in responses to the teaching/research preference question in my questionnaire (see Table 4.2). Across the eight New Zealand universities, there was a significant difference ($F(7441) = 5.14$, $p < 0.001$) in responses. At the four older universities, there was a clear leaning towards research, while respondents at the newer universities were more inclined to be equally interested in both research and teaching. A higher percentage of respondents at AUT University were interested primarily in teaching than at any other university ($p < 0.05$). Given that AUT was an institute of technology until 1999, and still teaches several vocationally-oriented courses, this leaning towards teaching amongst its academic staff is not surprising.

These findings also mirror the outcomes of the PBRF quality evaluation rounds in 2003, 2006 and 2012, in which the top four spots have rotated between the four older universities, and AUT has always been ranked lowest of all eight universities. It is not clear whether academics are drawn to universities that provide opportunities for them to work in their areas of preference (researchers to Otago, for example, and teachers to AUT), or whether the cultures at the different universities have socialised academics' towards particular preferences. Even if new academics express preferences that happen to coincide with the culture and norms of their university, some commentators argue that it is becoming more difficult to expect that all staff will be

highly competent at *all* aspects of the academic role without experiencing competing obligations (Austin 2003; Enders and de Weert 2009). The next section lays out the varying dimensions of the academic role, and investigates the activities academics in New Zealand universities engage in on a daily basis and from which they may encounter competing pressures.

Percentage of Time Spent on Research, Teaching, and Service

It is widely acknowledged that there are serious issues with research into academic time-use, including differing measures for a wide variety of activities that could be described as teaching, as well as differing data collection methods (self-report, administrative databases, observation, etc.) that make comparison difficult (Rosser and Tabata 2010; Schuster and Finkelstein 2006). Therefore, in my survey, I asked the same question as in the CAP surveys about the percentage of time that respondents report spending on the three key components of the academic role: research, teaching, and service.

The 40-40-20 model – the expectation that academics will spend 40% of their time on research, 40% on teaching, and 20% on service – is well propagated. Indeed, some promotions handbooks and workload policies in New Zealand universities spell this out explicitly (for example, the University of Waikato's (n.d.) Academic Workloads Guidelines state this very clearly), and academics are expected to account for their time thus. Through the questionnaire, I tested this workload distribution and found that, across the country, the figures nearly fit the 40-40-20 model, although slightly more time is reportedly spent on research than on teaching (see Fig. 4.1).[1]

As the boxplot in Fig. 4.1 shows, the medians for time spent on research, teaching and service/administration are exactly 40-40-20. However, the average percentages are 44% research, 35% teaching, and 21% service/administration. The finding that 44% of early career academics' time in New Zealand is reportedly spent on research contrasts significantly with older New Zealand data, which showed that academics in 1994 spent nearly half their time on teaching and less than a quarter on research (Boyd and Wylie 1994, p. 22). As I have argued with regard to the change in *preferences* for research over teaching, this shift to more *time spent* on research corresponds with changes to New Zealand tertiary education in the 1990s, which tasked universities with being research-led institutions, as well as with the move to a performance-based research funding approach at the turn of the twenty-first century. Structural influences outside the university, embedded in government

---

[1] I asked respondents the following question: "Generally speaking, what percentage of the time you spend on academic work goes to each of the following activities? Please make sure that your three entries add up to 100% overall." Supervision was included under research, while service and administration were either to the institution or the community, but related to their role as academics.
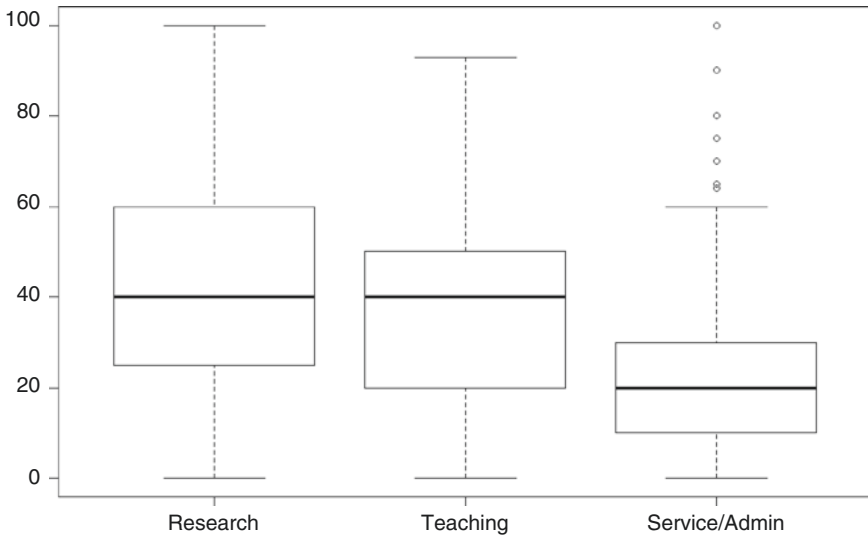
Fig. 4.1 Percentage of time spent on research, teaching, and service/administration

policy and funding mechanisms, appear to have shifted both the preferences towards, and time spent on, various academic activities, and New Zealand academics are now socialised into an academic culture that, in the main, expects more attention to be paid to research activity.

This slight variance on the 40-40-20 model towards a research focus also corresponds with what is happening elsewhere in some parts of the world. For example, Ćulum (2015, p. 145) reports data from junior academics in 12 European countries which shows that junior academics spend 16.73 h per week on research, 14.62 h on teaching, 7.08 h on service and administration, for a percentage time split of 44-38-18 (R-T-S), while in Australia, Bentley, Goedegebuure & Meek (2014) identify a 44-31-25 (R-T-S) split at Go8[2] research-intensive universities. Both the European and Australian findings compare closely with New Zealand's 44-35-21 (R-T-S) split.

By contrast, in the US, Cummings and Finkelstein (2012) report that academics spend more time on their teaching than their research and that in the 15 years between 1992 and 2007, US academics' time on research reduced by 27% while their time on teaching increased by 12%. Austin (2002) notes a move toward the 'unbundling' of academic roles in the US where the traditional full-time tenure-stream faculty position with a balanced expectation towards research, teaching, and service is no longer the norm. What now exists, she argues, is the "complete scholar" who engages in all three of the aforementioned components of the aca-

---

[2] Go8 is a coalition of research-intensive Australian universities: University of Adelaide, Australian National University, University of Melbourne, Monash University, University of New South Wales, University of Queensland, University of Sydney, and University of Western Australia.

Table 4.3 Academic activities by discipline area

Discipline	Research	Teaching	Service/Admin	Total
Biological Sciences	57.3	20.2	19.1	96.6%
Health & Medicine	53.4	27.7	18.0	99.1%
Physical Sciences	45.6	34.5	16.5	96.6%
Engineering, Tech & Arch	44.0	34.8	19.3	98.1%
Maths & info Sciences	41.6	39.0	19.4	100%
Social Sciences, other cultural/social studies	38.0	39.5	22.7	100.2%
Business & Economics	34.3	45.0	17.2	96.5%
Humanities & law	34.0	45.0	21.0	100%
Education	31.8	44.9	23.3	100%
Māori knowledge & Dev	31.4	40.0	28.6	100%
Creative & performing Arts	28.6	42.5	28.9	100%
Other	26.0	45.0	29.0	100%

demic role, and the "differentiated academic" who zeroes in on (either by choice or necessity) one or two of these roles and/or is part-time or on contract, with the particular components distributed among different people (Austin 2003, p. 124). This differentiated academic role is less evident in the New Zealand context, both in terms of what academics say they would prefer to be doing, and in how they say they spend their time. However, with the creeping shift towards more part-time and/or short-term appointments, we will need to be aware that the complete scholar may not be the only version of the academic role in the New Zealand context either, particularly for women who, as Chap. 3 showed, are more likely than men to be part-time.

Despite the difference in appointment type, there was no difference in the percentage of time that men and women reported spending on research, teaching, and service, $F(6908) = 0.57$, p = 0.76. However, the variance among men for proportion of time spent on research ($p < 0.001$) and teaching ($p < 0.005$) was less than that reported by women (i.e., there is more diversity among women in the amount of time they say they spend on research and teaching). That men and women in New Zealand universities do not differ significantly in their allocation of time to research, teaching, and service differs from the CAP survey findings, and also with other international research showing that women tend to teach more than men (Leišytė and Hosch-Dayican 2017). For example, Jung (2015) found that in Australia, Brazil, China, the UK, and the US, men reported more time on research than women. Jung also reported that men in these countries expressed a stronger preference for research than did women. As indicated earlier in this chapter, New Zealand academics did *not* differ significantly by gender in their leanings toward research or teaching.

There was, however, a big difference *across disciplines* in relation to time spent on research, teaching and service in New Zealand universities, as shown in Table 4.3.

Early career academics in the Biological Sciences report spending the most time on research (57.3%), while early career academics in Creative and Performing Arts spend the least time on research (28.6%) and the most on service and administration (28.9%). Humanities/Law, Business/Economics, and Education early career academics spend the most time on teaching. There was a significant difference in proportion of time reportedly spent on research ($F(12,449) = 5.73$, $p < 0.001$), teaching ($F(12,449) = 6.09$, $p < 0.001$) and service ($F(12,449) = 1.84$, $p < 0.05$). These data correspond with French research (Musselin and Becquet 2008) showing a significant difference by discipline in terms of teaching, research, and service/administration (not just in time spent, but also in conceptions of what counts for each activity). For example, biology and physics academics demonstrated a much higher identification with the research aspects of the role than with teaching (Musselin and Becquet 2008).

In New Zealand, respondents in Māori Knowledge and Development and the Creative and Performing Arts report spending significantly more time in service-related activities than ECAs from other disciplines. The comment below, from a Māori academic explains some of this:

> Some of this has to do with management not understanding how being Māori in an institution has an impact; working to support people to understand why we do things the way we do can be very wearying, and doubles our work-load…Last week, last minute, a group came to the marae [Māori meeting place]. I was there from 4.45pm until 7.30pm, unplanned. I do not begrudge that, because it is about the mana [honour and prestige] of our marae, but it is not taken into account when we talk about workload. [Lecturer, Education, Female, 45-49 years]

Chapter 7 provides more insight in to some of these issues.

These data show that the 40-40-20 academic activities split is not quite a near fit for early career academics in New Zealand, who report that they spend slightly more time on research than on teaching or service (44-35-21). This leaning towards research could be partly explained by the fact that I conducted this survey in the first half of 2012, when most of the participants would have recently been immersed in completing their evidence portfolios for the PBRF assessment round. Conducting a similar survey again during another phase of the PBRF cycle may reveal different patterns. Given the significant differences in how time was apportioned depending on discipline (academics in the science disciplines spend much more time on research than on teaching or service, and those in creative disciplines, humanities, law, and business spend more time on teaching), the people supporting early career academics need to make sure that newcomers are appropriately socialised into the expectations of their disciplines, *and* their universities, in terms of how time tends to be spent. Universities would do well to listen to the preferences of early career academics for the varying aspects of the academic role, too. The next sections probe a bit more deeply into just what these research, teaching, and service roles entail in New Zealand universities.

Research Activities, Outputs, and Funding

Much of the literature on academic careers makes clear that the prime criterion for success in academia is performance in research (Enders and de Weert 2009; Enders and Kaulisch 2006; Hemmings and Kay 2010; Henkel 2005; Laudel and Gläser 2008; Leišytė and Dee 2012; Parker 2008; Sutherland 2017). Early career academics in New Zealand universities appear to have been convincingly socialised into such a reality, demonstrating both stronger preferences for and more time spent on research than teaching. The next chapter investigates the effect of this milieu on academic satisfaction, while Chap. 6 probes some of the pressures experienced by academics whose agency is constrained by structural barriers and/or family expectations and desires. (Spoiler alert: not all academics buy into the "research is the most important criterion" reality.) What this section of the book investigates are the intricacies associated with the actual activities relating to research, teaching, and service. Starting with research, I look into research activities, outputs, and funding, followed by supervision responsibilities, teaching (courses and levels taught), and service (disciplinary involvement, in particular) activities.

Increased time spent on research (as outlined in the previous section) appears to have led to an increase in reported research productivity for New Zealand, in terms of contributions to research internationally (Crawford 2016). As outlined in a report for the Ministry of Education on the changing nature of the tertiary education workforce:

> In the five-year period between 1997 and 2001, 0.39 percent of world-indexed journal articles were by authors from New Zealand tertiary education institutions. This has increased to 0.46 percent in the five-year period between 2007 and 2011 (Wensvoort 2012, p. 7).

Early career academics obviously contribute to this New Zealand output, and my questionnaire asked respondents to identify their research outputs over their academic careers. The most popular forms of publication among early career academics in New Zealand universities were conference abstracts and journal articles, with only 9.0% and 9.3% of respondents not having published a conference abstract or journal article respectively. Encouragingly, well more than half (58%) of early career academics in New Zealand report that they have published five or more journal articles over the course of their academic career (remember that respondents had been in academia for 7 years or less). By contrast, and not surprising given the stage of their career, most had not yet published a book or given a keynote address (Table 4.4).

These data compare very favourably with the international CAP data, which shows that 65% of academics (not just junior academics) in 19 countries had published articles in journals and/or chapters in books in the last 3 years, 63% had presented papers at conferences, and, a much higher percentage (20%) than in New Zealand (6%) (see Table 4.5) had not published anything at all (Teichler et al. 2013, p. 146).

I looked into whether men and women in New Zealand published more or less in particular modes and discovered that men are statistically more likely to have

Table 4.4 Research outputs by type

	Percentage reporting such publication (%)					
Output type	None	1–4	5–10	11–15	16+	N/A[a]
Journal article	9	33	31	13	14	<1
Authored book (other than PhD theses)	83	13	<1	0	0	3
Edited book	85	13	1	0	0	1
Chapter in book	40	53	6	<1	<1	<1
Conference paper in published proceedings	32	41	14	3	7	4
Conference presentation/abstract published	9	33	30	9	18	1
Keynote address (published)	87	9	<1	0	0	3
Major creative work (film, play, exhibition, *etc.*)	67	5	1	1	<1	25

[a]I included the Not Applicable option, because some forms of publication output do not occur in some disciplines (major creative works, for example)

Table 4.5 Publication activity: single or multiple authorship

"I publish more…"	% All
By myself	23
With one other author	13
With two or three other authors	26
With multiple authors	14
A combination of the above	18
I have not yet had anything published	6
Total	100%

published more journal articles ($t(321) = 4.34$, $p < 0.001$), more edited books ($t(452) = 2.47$, $p < 0.05$), more chapters in books ($t(455) = 3.60$, $p < 0.001$), and more conference presentations/abstracts ($t(455) = 4.47$, $p < 0.001$) than women. This corresponds with international data from Australia, Brazil, China, the UK, and the US (Jung 2015) as well as with research in the US (Kessler et al. 2014), Norway (Smeby and Try 2005), the Netherlands (Leišytė 2016), and earlier research in Australia (Probert 2005) and New Zealand (Doyle et al. 2004), which shows that men tend to publish more than women.

I also asked respondents to complete the following statement, "I publish more…" with one of six choices, listed in Table 4.5. This revealed that 6% had not yet had anything published (an encouragingly low percentage compared with international data). Furthermore, multiple authorship was more common than sole authorship.

Having identified how many peer-reviewed research outputs each respondent had produced over the course of their academic career to date, I conducted a hierarchical cluster analysis of these data, using Ward's method as the clustering algorithm (Hair et al. 1995). This analysis suggested that there were four 'clusters' or groups of participants with more in common with each other (in terms of the amount and type of typical research outputs) than with members of other clusters (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Cluster analysis of research output by type

Cluster	n	Journal article	Authored book	Edited Book	Creative work	Book Chapter	Paper in conference proceedings	Conference abstract	Published keynote
1	132	0.13	0.02	0.01	0.14	1.11	1.10	1.52	1.01
2	77	3.81	0.16	0.05	0.01	1.68	2.68	1.97	1.06
3	121	3.83	0.19	0.26	0.10	2.35	1.74	6.47	1.18
4	56	4.48	0.14	0.14	0.11	2.46	6.71	7.38	1.21
Total	386[a]	2.66	0.12	0.11	0.10	1.81	2.43	4.01	1.10

[a] n is lower than overall response rate because not all respondents provided information on publication activity

The four clusters were:

1. *Low Overall Output* (characterised by a low number of outputs across all categories of output type) = 34% of respondents
2. *Med/High Journal and Low Conference Output* (characterised by medium to high journal article publications, but low number of published conference abstracts and proceedings) = 20% of respondents
3. *High Conference and Med/High Journal Output* (characterised by medium to high journal article publications, book chapters, and high published conference abstracts) = 31% of respondents
4. *High Overall Output* (characterised by a high number of journal articles, book chapters, published conference proceedings and abstracts, and keynote presentations) = 15% of respondents.

Table 4.6 provides a breakdown for each cluster.

There was a significant difference between overall research output and typical publishing collaborations, $F(5462) = 19.91$, $p < 0.001$, with more publications arising out of collaborative efforts. Those who combine collaborative and independent publications have a greater number of research outputs than those who only publish by themselves (Mean difference = 3.54, SE = 0.88, $p = 0.001$), or with one other person (Mean difference = 3.13, SE = 1.33, $p = 0.031$). There were no significant differences by discipline, most likely due to the range within each category ($p = 0.13$). The finding that collaboration may lead to higher research output is mirrored in international research (Leišytė 2016; Leišytė and Dee 2012). For example, Postiglione and Jung (2015), using CAP data, analysed the influence of "congenial" environments on research productivity and note that "research collaboration, in particular international collaboration, has a positive impact on the number of published articles" (Postiglione and Jung 2015, p. 112).

Collaboration can influence research output, and, not surprisingly, so can time available to conduct research. The four clusters for research output differed by amount of time spent on research, $F(3317) = 5.91$, $p = 0.001$, or teaching $F(3317) = 5.65$, $p = 0.001$. Not surprisingly, and supporting international research that has shown the same results (Hemmings and Kay 2010; Probert 2013; Smeby and Try 2005), spending less time on research results in a significantly lower research output, as does spending more time on teaching. Time spent on administration and service was not statistically associated with any variation in research outputs, however. These issues are picked up again in the next two chapters in relation to satisfaction and work-life balance.

Time is often linked to funding. More research time can be created by receiving external grant funding that enables the recipient to pay someone else to do more of his or her teaching, for example. In this survey, 39% of all respondents indicated that they have gained more than $50,000 in external funding (9% report having managed to secure more than half a million dollars of external funding). On average, men have been more successful at securing funding (both internal and external) than women. This corresponds with international literature showing similar results (Jung 2015).

Supervision of Postgraduate Students

Also included under research activities in this survey was supervision of postgraduate students, and I asked respondents about their involvement in and success with supervision. Less than half of early career academics in New Zealand are currently involved in supervising postgraduate students (see Table 4.7), but for those who are, Masters level is the most common supervision responsibility (41% have supervised one or more Masters students to completion) (Table 4.8). Only 12% have successfully supervised a doctoral student to completion (which is not surprising given that doctorates usually take three or more years to complete and many of my respondents have not yet served 3 years in their academic roles, so could not be expected to have seen any of their doctoral students complete yet). Encouragingly, nearly half (47%) are currently supervising at least one doctoral student (Table 4.7).

Women do less supervision than men, particularly at Masters level, but have supervised similar numbers of Doctoral students to completion. Part of this may be explained by the fact that more women are in part-time positions than men, so may have fewer opportunities to engage in supervision, but there could be other explanations that warrant investigation.

Table 4.7 Current supervision responsibilities

	Masters			Doctorate		
	% All	% Men	% Women	% All	% Men	% Women
None	49	44	51	53	43	60
One	25	26	25	19	25	15
Two	14	17	13	13	15	11
Three	6	6	6	7	8	6
Four	3	4	2	3	3	3
Five+	3	3	3	5	6	5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4.8 Students supervised to completion

	Masters			Doctorate		
	% All	% Men	% Women	% All	% Men	% Women
None	59	53	64	88	87	89
One	18	20	17	7	5	7
Two	9	9	8	3	4	2
Three	6	9	4	1	1	1
Four	3	4	2	<1	<1	<1
Five+	5	5	5	<1	2	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Teaching Activities

As well as looking into the kinds of research output, funding, and supervision that early career academics engage with, I also asked respondents to indicate across an average academic year how many courses (units/papers) they would usually teach. The most common course load was three to four courses per year, with only 18% teaching more than that (see Table 4.9).

Women reported teaching fewer courses in an average academic year ($t(450) = 2.63$, $p < 0.01$). Further analysis showed that women reported teaching fewer courses regardless of part- or full-time status. This contrasts with international data which has tended to show that women teach more than men (Eagan and Garvey 2015; Leišytė 2016). However, it seems more in line with recent CAP data, at European universities at least, which shows that the difference in the amount of time that men and women at the junior academic level spend on teaching is negligible (14 h for men and 15 h for women – mean across 12 European countries) (Goastellec and Pekari 2013, p. 70).

I also asked at which levels early career academics have taught in the past 12 months, and the most common levels were third year/300-level and Masters/Postgraduate level (61% and 58% had taught at these levels respectively, in the last 12 months). However, there was a good mix across all levels and only 13% who had not done any teaching in the past 12 months (see Table 4.10). These were generally Research Fellows or Post Docs, but also included one Associate Professor and one Senior Lecturer, as well as five Lecturers. The only difference between men and women in teaching levels was for 300- and 400-level, where men were more likely to report teaching at these levels than women ($\chi2(1) = 16.03$ and 9.88, $p < 0.005$).

Service Activities

As well as engaging in the teaching, research, and supervision activities that universities assign to and expect of them, early career academics are also expected to be active members of their university communities and disciplinary societies. Anecdotally, other researchers in New Zealand have expressed concern about early career academics' involvement in service, arguing that accountability demands for

Table 4.9 Number of courses taught per year

Number of courses taught per year	% All	% Men	% Women
I don't do any teaching	18	14	21
I usually teach 1–2 courses per year	21	17	22
I usually teach 3–4 courses per year	43	47	41
I usually teach 5–6 courses per year	13	16	11
I usually teach 7 or more courses per year	5	6	5
Total	100%	100%	100%

Table 4.10 Levels taught in the past 12 months

Level	%
Pre-degree level	4
First year/100-level	40
Second year/100-level	53
Third year/300-level	61
Fourth year/400-level	39
Masters/postgraduate	58
I have not done any teaching in the past 12 months	13
Other[a]	4
Total	100%

[a]Answers to 'Other' included 5th and 6th year medical school, graduate diplomas, clinical teaching, and academic development workshops

Table 4.11 Involvement in disciplinary society

Type of involvement	% All	% Men	% Women
Office bearer or committee member (national)	20	21	19
Office bearer or committee member (international)	10	12	8
Paid-up member	52	48	55
Disciplinary conference or event organiser	22	27	18
Journal editor or advisory board member	19	25	14
None of the above	26	25	26
Other (please specify)[a]	2	3	1

[a]Includes reviewer and life member

teaching and research (Harland et al. 2010), time commitments required to produce PBRF-ible outputs (Larner and Le Heron 2005), and growing levels of bureaucracy (Baker 2010), have seen a decrease in service activity among early career academics. Outside New Zealand, involvement in service and administrative activities also seems to be decreasing (Kezar and Lester 2009). I asked in the survey about respondents' involvement in various service-oriented activities, particularly in their disciplinary societies.

Sommer (2010, p. 14) argues that "[s]cientists contribute to the vigour and stability of their professions by participating in affairs of scientific societies such as meetings of Member Bodies of the Royal Society of New Zealand, programmes sponsored by the New Zealand Association of Scientists, or in organisations specific to disciplines" and goes on to show that more than three quarters of his survey respondents (scientists across New Zealand, not just in universities) attended meetings of, or have otherwise been active in, such societies. By contrast, the early career respondents to our survey do appear to be less actively involved than Sommer's scientists, from a decade before, in their disciplinary societies (see Table 4.11). Less than a third indicate active involvement (being an office bearer or committee mem-

Table 4.12 Average conference attendance per year

	National conferences per year			International conferences per year		
	% All	% Men	% Women	% All	% Men	% Women
None	21	20	21	25	19	30
One	61	62	60	57	53	59
Two	14	12	16	15	22	10
Three	3	4	3	2	3	1
Four	<1	<1	<1	1	2	0
Five or more	1	2	0	<1	1	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

ber, organising a conference or event, or being involved with a journal's editorial board, for example) and only slightly over half (52%) are paid up members.

However, the majority of respondents do report that they attend one national and one international conference per year (with men more likely to attend at least two international conferences yearly than women – see Table 4.12). This corresponds with international literature showing that women tend to participate in fewer conferences than men (Eden 2016). Worryingly, if conferences are as significant a form of professional development and networking as the literature implies they are (Baruch and Hall 2004; Henkel 2017; Hitchcock et al. 1995; Solem and Foote 2004), it is of concern that one fifth of all respondents do not attend any national conferences, and one quarter do not attend any international conferences at all.

There was no significant relationship between conference attendance *within New Zealand* and research outputs. Attending more than one *overseas* conference annually, however, was significantly related to producing a greater amount of research outputs, $F(5437) = 14.77$, p < 0.001. Given these findings, New Zealand universities should be looking more closely at how to encourage (and fund) early career academics to get more involved with conference attendance and service work in their disciplines as early as possible in their careers.

Conferences, particularly those with an international focus, present a perfect opportunity for academics to engage in fruitful networking activities with their peers. This is all the more valuable considering that in order to develop a disciplinary reputation, academics in the twenty-first century need to be mobile and free to build their academic networks. Leeman (2010), for example, discovered that the "ideal type" of mobile academic is "an independent, socially privileged, academically supported, cosmopolitan academic individual…with an academic family background, without children and partner, who had career-oriented support during doctoral studies…and got an approved fellowship from…[a] research funding institution" (p. 619). Leeman claims that transnational academic mobility is now an expected aspect of a young academic's career and that academic success happens more quickly for those who have spent time abroad. It is, indeed, "a normative requirement of a successful academic career" (Leemann 2010, p. 612). Being able to fufill this requirement of mobility depends, however, on the responsibilities one

has domestically and within the institution. Lynch (2010) notes that "the idealized worker is one that is available 24/7 without ties or responsibilities that will hinder her or his productive capacities" (p. 57). She suggests that one needs to be able to renounce one's caring responsibilities (for students, families, children, and departmental/university service) in order to succeed in academia:

> [Y]ou need freedom from necessity to be an academic….those who are in a position to globalise their point of view are generally people who have time to do the promotional work that international academic scholarship requires, not only writing and research time, but care-free travel time, networking time, conferencing time and general self-promotional time (Lynch et al. 2007, pp. 2–3).

These issues are addressed further in Chap. 6.

Confidence

As well as looking at the activities in which early career academics in New Zealand are engaged, I also investigated how confident they are at undertaking those activities. Confidence is an important variable for two particular reasons: (1) it has been recognised as a characteristic of successful academics (Clegg and Rowland 2010) and (2) it has been proven to have a significant effect on research output (Hemmings and Kay 2010). For confidence, I used responses to the questions, "How confident are you as a teacher?" and "How confident are you as a researcher?" The overall means in response to these questions were 1.81 and 1.97 respectively, on a 1–4 scale where 1 is *very confident* and 4 is *not at all confident* (see Table 4.13). Most early career academics report a fairly high level of confidence in both their teaching and research work. (There was no relationship between teaching confidence and research confidence, $r(439) = 0.04$, $p = 0.30$).

Both teaching and research confidence were weakly correlated with overall satisfaction with being an academic: $r(430) = 0.18$, $p < 0.001$; and $r(453) = 0.14$, $p < 0.001$ respectively (see Chap. 5 for more on academic satisfaction). Men are more confident than women at research ($t(452) = -4.88$, $p < 0.001$) but there is no difference between the sexes when it comes to confidence in teaching. Other

Table 4.13 Confidence in teaching and research

	Research			Teaching		
	% All	% Men	% Women	% All	% Men	% Women
Very confident	29	41	20	35	40	32
Fairly confident	49	45	52	52	48	54
Not very confident	19	13	24	10	10	11
Not at all confident	3	1	4	3	2	3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Mean[a]	1.97	1.76	2.11	1.81	1.74	1.86

[a]1 = very confident and 4 = not at all confident

Table 4.14 Confidence by age group

	Research confidence		Teaching confidence	
	Mean*	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
Under 30 years (*n* = 25)	1.76	0.13	2.29	0.17
30–34 years (*n* = 131)	1.81	0.61	1.86	0.61
35–39 years (*n* = 136)	1.88	0.61	1.82	0.07
40–44 years (*n* = 74)	2.14	0.87	1.90	0.09
45–49 years (*n* = 46)	2.22	0.13	1.61	0.11
50 years + (*n* = 46)	2.29	0.14	1.48	0.10

*1 = very confident and 4 = not at all confident

demographic data that appear to affect confidence include where an academic was born and their age. A non-significant trend ($t(454) = 1.79$, $p = 0.07$) indicated that overseas-born early career academics are more confident researchers than New Zealand-born respondents. And, the younger early career academics are, the more confident they are as researchers, but the less confident they are as teachers, as Table 4.14 shows.

While we might expect that younger academics may be less confident than their older counterparts, having had less life experience, I found that older early career academics reported less confidence in research and more confidence in teaching. Younger early career academics commonly enter academia from a PhD and have had several years focused on research, but often little teaching experience or opportunity, especially during a New Zealand PhD (less than half of New Zealand early career academics gained teaching experience during their doctorate, whereas nearly three quarters of early career academics who did their doctorate overseas gained some form of teaching experience). Older early career academics, by contrast with the younger age group, enter academia from years of experience in another industry or profession, but often have little research experience; indeed, many begin their PhD (or even Masters) upon appointment. The following survey comment emphasises how difficult some of these older academics find the career transition:

> I wish I had transferred from industry to academic life earlier, instead of starting at 40 years. Whilst I have considerable support from my HoD regarding a pathway to my PhD, I am still well behind my colleagues in terms of research experience/output. Plus, with a high teaching load, it is hard to 'catch up' on the research side of things even with a strong goal to develop research capacity. [Senior Lecturer, Business, Female, 45-49 years]

As we learned earlier, not all overseas-born academics completed their doctorates abroad, and not all New Zealand academics completed their doctorates in New Zealand, so as well as looking at whether there were differences in confidence based on nationality, I also looked at whether the doctoral experience affected confidence. Based on where the doctorate was completed, there were no significant differences in research confidence if a respondent completed their doctorate abroad or in New Zealand ($p = 0.32$). However, early career academics who completed their doctoral degree abroad produced slightly more research outputs $t(335) = 2.5$, $p = 0.01$. Furthermore, teaching confidence was significantly higher for early career academ-

Table 4.15 Confidence by doctoral experience

	Mean*	
	Research confidence	Teaching confidence
Published some of my research during my doctorate	1.77	1.82
Published with my supervisor during my doctorate	1.78	1.97
Gained tutoring/TA experience	1.85	1.84
Gained lecturing/course coordination experience	1.89	1.70
Worked on writing grant applications	1.79	1.91
Served on university committees	1.78	1.63
None of these	2.07	1.93

*1 = very confident and 4 = not at all confident

ics who completed their doctoral degrees overseas, $t(321) = 3.05$, $p = 0.003$. I speculate that this may be related to the emphasis on teaching experience built into doctoral programmes outside New Zealand (Bennion and Locke 2010).

It is clear from my findings that those who gain teaching experience early in their careers are also more confident all-rounders, than those with less or no teaching experience. Indeed, one of the strongest positive relationships with teaching confidence and experience during the doctorate is found among those who gained some form of lecturing or course coordination experience – interestingly, this also had a positive impact on their *research* confidence. Serving on university committees during the doctorate also had a significant positive impact on both research and teaching confidence (Table 4.15).

The strongest positive relationship between doctoral experience and *research* confidence is found in those who published some of their research, either independently or with their supervisor, during their doctorate. These groups differed significantly in terms of teaching and research confidence (multivariate $F_{\text{Research \& Teaching}}(6460) = 2.44$, $p < 0.05$), but there was no significant univariate effect for research confidence ($F_{\text{Research}}(3230) = 0.75$, $p = 0.52$).

As discussed earlier, I constructed research productivity 'profiles' of participants, using Ward's Method as the clustering algorithm. This aggregated people into four groups: low, low/medium, medium/high, and high volumes of research output, based on similarities in number and type of publications. I wanted to see if there was a correlation between publishing activity during doctoral study and career research output (see Tables 4.16 and 4.17). Respondents who reported not having published some of their research or not having published with their supervisor during their doctorate were more likely to have low overall research output. The results indicate that publishing during a PhD may be indicative of greater than expected future research output. Clearly, PhD supervisors play an important part in socialising future academics into the research aspects of the role and can help positively influence future research productivity.

Some have argued that the status of the institution, not just the supervisor, also influences later research productivity. Research in the US has shown that the aca-

Table 4.16 Research output by publication during doctorate

			Low	Low/Med	Med/High	High
Published some of my research during my doctorate	No	Count	124	39	46	20
		Expected count	78.3	45.7	71.8	33.2
		% within Ward method	93.9%	50.6%	38.0%	35.7%
	Yes	Count	8	38	75	36
		Expected count	53.7	31.3	49.2	22.8
		% within Ward method	6.1%	49.4%	62.0%	64.3%

Table 4.17 Research output by publication with supervisor during doctorate

			Low	Low/Med	Med/High	High
Published with my supervisor during my doctorate	No	Count	126	46	56	15
		Expected count	83.1	48.5	76.2	35.3
		% within Ward method	95.5%	59.7%	46.3%	26.8%
	Yes	Count	6	31	65	41
		Expected count	48.9	28.5	44.8	20.7
		% within Ward method	4.5%	40.3%	53.7%	73.2%

demic's current affiliation (i.e. if they are currently employed at a top-tier university) is more significant than the status of their PhD-granting institution (Valle and Schultz 2010). However, the research also shows that academics with PhDs from higher status universities are more likely to be appointed at higher status universities for their career, creating a Matthew effect ("the rich get richer") (Valle and Schultz 2010). While, I did not collect data on the status of each respondents' PhD-granting university, I do note higher research productivity from the early career academics at the more established New Zealand universities.

Finally, in terms of confidence – and strengthening my recommendation that we should be facilitating more international conference attendance – early career academics who attend one or two overseas conferences per annum are more confident researchers than those who do not attend any overseas conferences, $F(5432) = 7.53$, $p < 0.001$. They also produce more research outputs. Clearly, conference attendance is an important form of both socialisation and professional development, so it is troubling that it is not equally accessible by all early career academics. As mentioned earlier, women attend fewer overseas conferences than men, and, as Chap. 6 shows, they also have more childcare responsibilities and are more likely to be in part-time roles (both of which limit access to overseas travel).

It behoves New Zealand universities to look into how better structures might be put in place to facilitate access to international conferences and/or to provide plausible options for other forms of professional development for those unable to participate in travel. Conferences are places at which ideas are tested, experimented with,

discussed, reworked, and improved for later publication. They also provide opportunities to meet and "network" face-to-face, both academically and socially, with peers and senior colleagues from outside one's own university, city, and country.

Attendance at Professional Development

Some other professional development opportunities that offer similar affordances without having to leave one's university or country include teaching and research workshops and seminars, or overnight/residential professional development such as writing retreats and I asked about the uptake of some of these in the survey. Austin (2002) notes a lack of professional development opportunities and/or uptake by doctoral students, suggesting that academics experience early socialisation that downplays the importance of or need for professional development. Responses to questions about professional development confirm that this lack of uptake continues into the first academic role. Only about two thirds of early career academics in New Zealand universities have taken part in some form of professional development in general within the last 18 months, and Table 4.18 shows respondents' uptake of various professional development activities.

These findings suggest an even, though not high, uptake of both teaching and research professional development opportunities by academics in New Zealand universities, mostly associated with one-off workshops and seminars, rather than more time-intensive professional development options such as overnight or residential writing retreats. Matthews et al. (2014) report that about 40% of early career academics in Australia are not engaging with teaching development at all, and surmise that the emphasis placed on research success and output leads colleagues to prioritise research activities and development. The figures are not quite so stark in New Zealand, with 64% of respondents reporting some form of involvement in teaching development activities in the last 18 months, and 65% in research development. One solution to increase involvement, particularly in teaching development is, as Heinrich (2013) has advocated, to expect more "demanded" rather than "voluntary" participation. She argues, from her research in a New Zealand university, that the intrinsic motivation of academics to be good teachers is overweighed by structural influences (what she calls extrinsic pressures) such as the dominance of research in

Table 4.18 Uptake of professional development (PD) activity in last 18 months

	% All	% Men	% Women
Teaching-related PD workshop or seminar	64	70	60
Research-related PD workshop or seminar	65	65	65
Personal development workshop or seminar	28	25	30
Overnight or residential PD event (*e.g.* writing retreat)	12	4	16
Other PD event	7	3	10

NB: Other professional development included events such as wānanga, te reo training, Running Hot Conference, media training, and the Women in Leadership programme

reward and promotion structures, and a lack of grounding in higher education pedagogy and literature. Mandating involvement in teaching development activities would be one way, she suggests, to overcome some of these structural influences and to socialise academics towards a more balanced approach to academic life that privileges both research *and* teaching activities and development. Chapter 8 picks up on why this approach proves complicated in academia.

Just as they are not socialised to participate in professional development, academics in New Zealand are similarly not compelled to undertake any formal qualifications in tertiary teaching. As Chap. 3 showed, the percentage of early career academics in New Zealand universities with a teaching qualification (28%) is comparatively low. Not surprisingly, then, in a question asking about the importance of 36 resources, services and training items,[3] "The opportunity to gain a tertiary teaching qualification" was ranked lowest and was the only item *not* considered important by early career academics (mean = 2.63 on a scale where 1 = very important and 4 = not at all important). Early career academics in New Zealand universities do not see gaining a teaching qualification as an important part of their professional development. In part this may be simple lack of awareness; nearly 40% answered that they did not know whether their university provided the opportunity to gain a tertiary teaching qualification and 2% said that such qualifications were not offered by their university. In fact, all eight New Zealand universities offer the opportunity to complete a tertiary teaching qualification, either through a programme at their own university or in conjunction with another New Zealand or overseas university by distance. Academic development units and faculties of education in New Zealand that offer these qualifications will need to keep both this ambivalence and lack of awareness in mind as they work out how and to whom to target these qualifications. Ako Aotearoa (the National Centre for Tertiary Teaching Excellence) will also need to be cognisant of this as they work towards any accreditation scheme for tertiary teachers. As my research shows, early career academics in New Zealand universities spend more time on, are more interested in, and are socialised to concentrate on their research rather than their teaching, so any moves to require them to 'professionalise' their teaching may well be met with some resistance.

Encouragingly, however, and a finding that could be used to engender more participation in professional development, those early career academics who have a New Zealand teaching qualification are more confident teachers ($t(439) = 2.29$, $p < 0.01$) than early career academics with any other type of teaching qualification or no teaching qualification at all. Furthermore, attendance at teaching development workshops was positively related with teaching confidence; those who had attended a teaching development workshop in the past year were significantly more confident teachers than those who had not ($t(439) = 2.96$, $p < 0.001$). This is not to say that the workshops or the qualifications *caused* the confidence (participants may well have been more confident teachers before attending the workshops, and their teaching confidence may even have made them more likely to seek out professional development opportunities in teaching). However, if we can identify some of the attributes

---

[3] The full list can be found in the appendix to Chap. 8.

and opportunities that influence teaching confidence, we can perhaps encourage more early career academics to engage with what is on offer.

It is likely that early career academics in New Zealand universities have not engaged in much professional development in teaching or obtaining a teaching qualification because of the emphasis on research in so many of the processes, reward structures and accountability systems. Research elsewhere has shown similar findings, with both national and disciplinary cultures and expectations affecting teaching and research time allocation and the relationship between teaching and research (Leišytė and Dee 2012, p. 158). Academics have also been seen to shape their behaviour to match universities' promotion expectations (Leišytė and Dee 2012 p. 174) and/or to change their preferences for particular aspects of academic work because of the influence of the workplace culture (Enders and de Weert 2009). A particularly significant structural influence beyond the immediate workplace culture in New Zealand can be found in the recent changes to government funding for university research. The following section of the chapter looks into the influence of the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) on the work of early career academics in New Zealand universities.

The PBRF: A "Reign of Terror" or an Incentivising Prompt for Early Career Academics?

All the previous descriptions in this chapter of the teaching, research and service activities of early career academics in New Zealand universities have corresponding data from other countries with which to make comparisons about how academics' time is spent. What differs in the New Zealand context is the performance-based funding environment for research in which individual academics must produce portfolios describing their research output, for assessment by academic experts on external panels. While other countries have performance-based funding schemes for research, such as the Research Excellence Framework (REF) in the United Kingdom and the Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA), not *all* academics are required to take part in those exercises, nor are the assessments based on individual academics' portfolios. The individualised nature of the PBRF and its incentivising of research activity and output from *all* university academics make the New Zealand context somewhat different.

The Introduction of the PBRF in New Zealand

As described in Chap. 2, the PBRF was incrementally introduced over the first decade of the twenty-first century to the point that approximately 20% of the funding that New Zealand universities now receive from the government is distributed

via this fund (and the other 80% from funding for EFTS – equivalent full time students). The PBRF requires individual academics to prepare an evidence portfolio with three sections that describe: (1) their research outputs for the period under review, and narrative descriptions of the impact of four "nominated research outputs", (2) their contributions to the research environment, and (3) the esteem in which they are held by their research peers. These individual portfolios are then assessed by disciplinary panels of expert researchers who assign each portfolio a grade (A for world class standing, B for national standing, C for local standing, and R for research inactive). These individual grades are aggregated to give academic unit scores, which are then combined with postgraduate completion rates and external research funding income from each institution to give overall institutional scores. This is a very simplistic description of a complex scoring and ranking process, and more detail can be found on the Tertiary Education Commission's PBRF website and in earlier research publications about the PBRF (see, for example, Curtis 2008). What the rest of this chapter focuses on is early career academics' responses to working in such an environment.

Various academics in New Zealand have claimed that the PBRF "breaches, at least in spirit, Section 161 of the Education Act guaranteeing academic freedom because of its stated intention to align university activities with Government goals" (Curtis 2007). Indeed, it is clear that successive governments have expressed a desire for the PBRF to produce research that directly benefits the economy:

> *Michael Cullen, Minister of Tertiary Education, Labour Party, 2004*: "It is time to shift the balance of our tertiary system towards more an explicitly industry-led approach." (cited in Curtis and Matthewman 2005, p. 10)

> *Ann Tolley, Minister of Tertiary Education, National Party, 2010*: "We will ensure that the Performance Based Research Fund recognises research of direct relevance to the needs of firms and its dissemination to them." (cited in Crothers 2013, p. 9)

> *Steven Joyce, Minister of Tertiary Education, Skills and Employment, National Party, 2014*: "The PBRF … supports wider government scientific, research and innovation priorities. These include enabling research that will provide economic, social, environmental and cultural benefits to New Zealand, encouraging business innovation and commercialisation." (Joyce 2014, p. 2)

Universities have been the biggest beneficiaries of PBRF funding, garnering the lion's share of the fund in each of its rounds (Wright et al. 2014), and New Zealand's research performance has improved markedly on several measures since the introduction of the PBRF. In particular, world indexed publications and citations of research from New Zealand have increased, the proportion of citations relative to the world average has increased, and the proportion of subject areas where research by New Zealand tertiary education institutions had a relative academic impact above the world average *and* above that of the Australian Group of Eight (Go8) universities have all increased (Smart 2013). But, at what cost are these metrics measured and gained?

Critiques of the PBRF

Since its introduction, the PBRF has been the subject of much criticism and scrutiny, with a plethora of articles (see, for example, Ashcroft 2007; Butler and Mulgan 2013; Cupples and Pawson 2012; Curtis 2007, 2008, 2016; Grant and Elizabeth 2015; Hazeldine and Kurniawan 2005; Opie 2004; Roberts 2007, 2013a, b), book chapters (Middleton 2009; Roberts 2014; Smith and Johnston 2010), working papers (Wright et al. 2014), books (Smith and Jesson 2005) and theses (Ashcroft 2006) written about it, and panels and conferences held to debate its impact. Some have identified the PBRF as part of a national tertiary education system that has turned universities into "managed" (Curtis and Matthewman 2005) and "neo-liberalizing" (Larner and Le Heron 2005) institutions that demand performative, calculative responses from academics. Other critics have employed even more alarmist metaphors, describing the PBRF as part of the "rise of the schizophrenic university" (Shore 2010), and even as a "reign of terror" (Waitere et al. 2011 p. 205). Many criticisms of the PBRF relate to the emphasis inherent in the fund's very name: i.e., that the assessments are of research *performance* not necessarily the quality or reception of the research. Peter Roberts (2013b), a Professor of Education, who has probably written the most on the PBRF, critiques it thus:

> The PBRF assessment process does not ask academics to demonstrate, directly and explicitly, depth or breadth in understanding, or to show how their work contributes to an ongoing scholarly dialogue, or to provide evidence that they are committed to the process of knowing….What the PBRF demands is not a rich, well rounded, complex portrait of a research life, but simply a list. It is measured performance that matters, not the knowledge or ideas, research cultures or commitments, that give meaning and substance to lists of items and outputs (Roberts 2013b, p. 35).

It is the generation of these "lists" of outputs, and the accompanying feelings of surveillance that seem to have sparked such frustration amongst early career academics in New Zealand. The final section of this chapter outlines varying responses to the PBRF, from both early career academics and academic leaders.

Participants' Responses to the PBRF

The questionnaire asked early career academics how they thought the PBRF had affected them as academics. Few were positive. Respondents were asked, "How would you rate the impact that the PBRF has had on your academic experience?" Response options were as follows:

1. Strong positive impact on my life as an academic
2. Moderate, positive impact on my life as an academic
3. No impact/neutral
4. Moderate, negative impact on my life as an academic
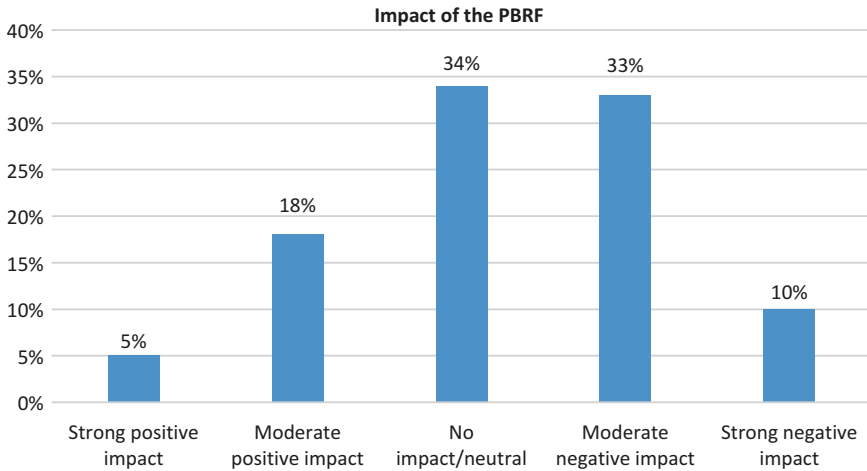5. Strong, negative impact on my life as an academic

Impact of the PBRF

Fig. 4.2 Impact of PBRF on the experience of early career academics in New Zealand (Mean = 3.24, Std. Dev-1.04, $n = 458$.)

Those indicating it had a neutral or moderate negative impact amounted to two-thirds of the sample, with a roughly equal split between the two responses, as shown in Fig. 4.2.

Nearly half of all respondents (43%) reported a negative impact and less than a quarter (23%) reported a positive impact from the PBRF, with the rest neutral. Analysis of respondents' comments in the open-ended text section following this question reveal some key themes that explain these negative findings. Besides dismissing it as an unnecessary and time-wasting form-filling exercise, early career academics in New Zealand universities also noted that the six-yearly cycle of the PBRF disadvantages (and discourages) researchers who conduct their projects over long periods of time, or who work part-time. Several expressed frustration with ongoing, fixed-term contract work that carries a high teaching load and does not allow enough time to produce research work of the quality expected by the individual or by a performance funding regime:

> I feel unfairly treated by the PBRF system. The timing of my employment and limited support due to continual fixed term contracts combined with very high teaching load mean the PBRF assessment does not reflect my true contribution or potential. [Lecturer, Physical Sciences, Male, 35–39 years]

Many respondents bemoaned the introduction of the PBRF as a bureaucratic imposition that has done little to improve actual funding or time for research and has instead sucked up energy into having to prepare evidence portfolios, as described below in a comment from one of the respondents:

> The PBRF was stressful as for months it has been a big deal at work; my direct boss is in charge of coordinating it so we have heard a lot about it. Frankly as an early career researcher I would have been a C grade, no matter what I did, but I was still expected to spend hours chasing after poster presentations at conferences, and making statements about

how important they were to me, which is frankly rubbish. [Post Doc, Engineering, Technology & Architecture, Female, 40–44 years]

Still others commented on the imbalance wrought by PBRF on the core missions of the academic role in terms of the excessive attention paid to the outputs of the research process over the other missions of teaching and service:

PBRF has diminished the importance of teaching and the primary role of a university. I am continually being told it is all about the outputs! Academia is losing its appeal. [Senior Lecturer, Science, Female, 50+]

Such reactions to systems of perceived surveillance are mirrored elsewhere in the world, where output increases but individuals view the system demanding that output in a very negative light (Leišytė and Dee 2012). My questionnaire findings also echo those of other New Zealand researchers who have pointed out that the PBRF "projects on to all degree staff the external identity of 'researcher'" (Middleton 2009, p. 204), whether or not the academics themselves prefer teaching (or a balance of roles) over research. Some critics of the PBRF argue that the need for academics to constitute themselves as productive researchers through their evidence portfolios renders them conformists, with little agency, in a performative regime of "governmentality and subjection" (Ashcroft 2007, p. 77). This regime, which few seem to have *actively* resisted (Grant and Elizabeth 2015), intensifies competition within and between institutions (Roberts 2012), and, with its focus on individual academics as the unit of analysis, "provides a powerful reinforcement of the new managerial imperatives" (Curtis and Matthewman 2005, p. 7). The PBRF is an influential structural imposition that is socialising early career academics in New Zealand universities to direct their identities, attention, and time towards their research role.

Several New Zealand scholars have also noted that the PBRF disadvantages Māori researchers, who often have a national rather than international focus and/or audience for their research outputs (Roa et al. 2009; Smith and Johnston 2010). It also disadvantages women (Phibbs and Curtis 2006; Curtis 2016), who are more likely to have taken extended periods and/or to be in part-time roles or in disciplines where research is newer, differently valued or assessed. Also disadvantaged are those disciplines in the process of building a research culture (Middleton 2009; Smith and Johnston 2010) and creative disciplines whose outputs are less easily identified, categorised, or reviewed (Tower and Ridgewell 2006).

Not all academics in New Zealand have been willing to accept the imposition of the PBRF without questioning its purposes and impacts. Two academics at the University of Canterbury, for example, organised a panel discussion among geographers attending a conference in Christchurch in 2010, and later wrote an article on the issues that arose from this panel discussion and from their analysis of the growing body of literature critiquing the PBRF (Cupples and Pawson 2012). They sum up well what they perceive as the most negative impacts of the PBRF:

The PBRF is seen primarily as a mode of audit and surveillance which entrenches managerialism, undermines collegiality and academic freedom, promotes individualism, further commodifies higher education, increases workplace stress, induces people to de-prioritise

professional activities that are not counted in the PBRF and leads to the proletarianisation of the academic workforce (Cupples and Pawson 2012, p. 15).

Cupples & Pawson do not pull their punches, nor do many of my respondents, who expressed harshly worded sentiments about the effect of the PBRF on their academic (and home) lives. In some instances, respondents noted that writing freely about the PBRF in the questionnaire gave them back a feeling of agency they otherwise felt they lacked.

Notwithstanding all this criticism, very little active or organised resistance has been evident. Most academics, but especially early career academics, feel they have limited agency to act against such a pervasive structure. The PBRF continues apace with the next round scheduled for 2018 – despite predictions that there would be no further rounds (Curtis 2016). Encouragingly, changes have been made for 2018, some of which have been designed to lessen the potentially negative impact on early career academics.

Recent Changes to the PBRF Affecting Early Career Academics

Even though the PBRF includes a category ("New and Emerging" or NE) designed to recognise that early career academics will not have had as much time to produce as substantial a portfolio as others who have been in the system for longer, many critics have argued that the PBRF disadvantages early career academics in two significant ways. First, as Cupples and Pawson (2012) put it, early career academics do "not have the luxury of establishing themselves in a pre-PBRF era when we published in the journals we read and liked, had more time for reflection and nobody knew or cared what an impact factor or an H-index was" (p. 18). Second, because the PBRF rates A researchers as five times more valuable than C researchers in terms of the funding that goes back to universities, it was argued back in 2005 that universities would do what they could to "maximise A's, to identify and raise high B's and C's and to minimise R's" (Curtis and Matthewman 2005, p. 9). Thus, it was predicted that "the most immediate and likely result is in the area of staff hiring, where senior management and HODs are extremely reluctant to hire junior staff who may accrue R's" (Curtis and Matthewman 2005, p. 9). This prediction appears to have rung true with, as Chap. 3 demonstrated, the percentage of "junior" academics (lecturers and senior lecturers) in New Zealand universities dropping from 56% in 2001 to just 38% in 2011. Even though "new and emerging" researchers need only to have produced two research outputs in order to be considered eligible for a grade other than "R" in the first three rounds of the PBRF, they were obviously not as valuable to their universities as those researchers with more outputs. This means that early career academics have recently had to prove themselves as *already productive* researchers just to be given a job in a New Zealand university, rather than being appointed on potential, as arguably happened in the past.

It would seem that this detrimental focus on the current (rather than potential) value and performance of individual academics has been recognised by the government, as Steven Joyce acknowledged in his proposal to Cabinet for changes to the PBRF:

> The PBRF contains potential financial and reputational disincentives for tertiary education organisations to recruit and develop new and emerging researchers … I propose to introduce a financial weighting for Evidence Portfolios submitted by new and emerging researchers who achieve a C score in the Quality Evaluation. This change will increase the financial value of Evidence Portfolios submitted by new and emerging researchers and better support the sustainability of the tertiary education research workforce. (Joyce 2014, p. 9)

This is an important shift and will hopefully lead to a rebalancing of the proportions of junior and senior academics in the longer term. Meanwhile, the negative response of early career academics to the PBRF needs to be acknowledged and their concerns worked through in order to create a more attractive working environment for those contemplating an academic career in a New Zealand university. In particular, university leaders will need to listen closely to the worries expressed by early career academics given that, as I explain below, their own interpretation of the PBRF's influence differs from that expressed by less experienced staff.

I asked academic managers to reflect on the PBRF's impact on early career academics and their responses differed considerably. The fairly negative response from early career academics contrasted with a bi-modal response from academic managers. The same question, phrased slightly differently to ensure that they were thinking about the answer in relation to the experiences of early career academics, rather than themselves or all academics, was posed to academic managers.[4] The academic managers' responses show (see Fig. 4.3) that they perceived a moderate positive impact on the lives of early career academics (mean = 2.84).

However, the bi-modal response implies that not all managers were positive about the PBRF. Clearly, managers and early career academics have different perspectives on the impact of the PBRF. This corresponds with findings from research elsewhere, which shows that "senior academics are more positive about these systems" [the RAE, ERA and the PBRF] (Lewis 2013, p. 172). Perhaps academic managers are more positive (though not all are) about the PBRF because they are exposed to its impacts at a structural level, not just from an individual experience. Roberts (2013b) acknowledges that the PBRF, if one agrees with the need for performance-based funding, is "fundamentally sound" (p. 38) and less problematic than other systems such as the RAE in the UK, and an improvement on our previous "flawed" system of research funding, which depended on student enrolments. However, research in New Zealand remains seriously underfunded and the emphasis on performance and output in the PBRF may well come at significant human cost given the detrimental effect the accountability and output-focused approach reportedly has on many academics. Universities should heed the warning that

---

[4] The question was, "From your experience working with early career academics, how would you rate the impact that the PBRF has had on their academic experience?"
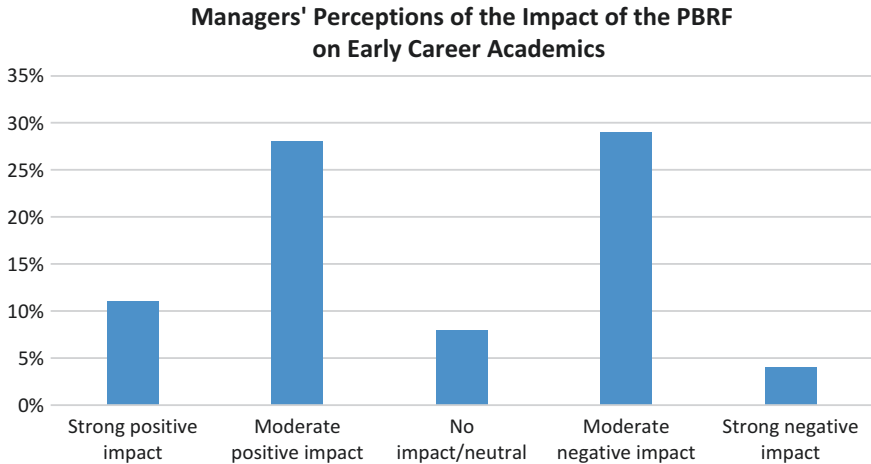
Fig. 4.3 Managers' perceptions of the impact of the PBRF on the experiences of early career academics (Mean = 2.84, Std. Dev = 1.21, $n = 80$)

despite the PBRF having incentivised research output and apparently led to an increase in research productivity, academics are fiercely protective of their autonomy and will need to feel rewarded and recognised for their efforts in appropriate ways (beyond being assigned a "grade" in the PBRF).

Summary

This chapter has shown that early career academics in New Zealand universities have much in common with their counterparts elsewhere, but appear to differ in a few important respects. As with many other countries in the CAP project, especially those like New Zealand that are considered "semi-core", early career academics here have become more prolific researchers in the twenty-first century than ever before. They are also more interested in research as their primary academic mission, though they are less enamoured of the mechanisms that have arguably prompted some of this productivity than their managers appear to be. It seems that early career academics in New Zealand universities may be publishing more than their counterparts in some other countries, although the phrasing of the questions asked and the time frames were slightly different, so it will be good to compare these with the same measurements in the next CAP survey.

It is also clear that while the majority of early career academics in New Zealand are attending some form of professional development, fewer have teaching experience and qualifications than in other countries. As evidenced by at least two research projects being funded through Ako Aotearoa, and conversations happening around the New Zealand Productivity Commission's inquiry into higher education, various

areas of the sector are looking at professionalising the teaching role in New Zealand academia. It will be important, as these conversations happen, that early career academics themselves are included in the discussions, and that we acknowledge the wide range of prior experience they carry into their roles. It will also be important to recognise that a pervasive socialisation towards research identities will bump up against and need to be reconciled with any push towards teaching professionalisation.

Early career academics in New Zealand spend similar amounts of time as academics elsewhere on the core activities of academia (research, teaching, and service/administration), although it would seem there is more gender balance than is perhaps the case in some other countries. However, while women and men appear to be engaged in a similar range of activities and express similar preferences for the core missions of academia in New Zealand, men are publishing more, securing more external research funding, attending more international conferences, and are more confident at research. Men are also, as Chap. 3 emphasised, overrepresented at higher levels in academia. Chapter 6 investigates gender differences among early career academics in New Zealand universities further. Meanwhile, the next chapter looks into satisfaction levels among early career academics. The short poem below (the words of one respondent) serves to segue into that chapter, expressing both the joy and the frustration that some early career academics experience with their research, teaching, and service.

Workload: A Poem

I absolutely love my job
and the variety that comes with it.
I focus equally on teaching, research and service
BUT I am working
far too many hours,
      far too many weekends,
           far too many public holidays
in order to focus on all three.
The workload is not
evenly split amongst academics
with many not putting in the required effort
      not supervising
      or not being research active
         or not contributing in terms of service.
I love my role, especially
time spent with students,
BUT at the moment, I am
very disillusioned.

References

Ashcroft, C. (2006). *Academics' experiences of Performance-Based Research Funding (PBRF): Governmentality and subjection*. PhD thesis. Dunedin: University of Otago.

Ashcroft, C. (2007). Constituting academics as neo-liberal subjects: Research assessment in a New Zealand context. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 42*(1/2), 77–93.

Austin, A. (2002). Preparing the next generation of faculty: Graduate school as socialization to the academic career. *The Journal of Higher Education, 73*(1), 94–122.

Austin, A. (2003). Creating a bridge to the future: Preparing new faculty to face changing expectations in a shifting context. *The Review of Higher Education, 26*(2), 119–144.

Baker, M. (2010). Career confidence and gendered expectations of academic promotion. *Journal of Sociology, 46*(3), 317–334.

Baruch, Y., & Hall, D. (2004). The academic career: A model for future careers in other sectors? *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 64*(2), 241–262.

Bennion, A., & Locke, W. (2010). The early career paths and employment conditions of the academic profession in 17 countries. *European Review, 18*(S1), S7–S33.

Bentley, P. J., Goedegebuure, L., & Meek, V. L. (2014). Australian academics, teaching and research: History, vexed issues and potential changes. In J. C. Shin, A. Arimoto, W. K. Cummings, & U. Teichler (Eds.), *Teaching and research in contemporary higher education: Systems, activities and rewards* (pp. 357–377). Dordrecht: Springer.

Boyd, S., & Wylie, C. (1994). *Workload and stress in New Zealand universities*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research and Association of University Staff of New Zealand.

Butler, P., & Mulgan, R. (2013). Can academic freedom survive performance based research funding? *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review, 44*(3/4), 487–519.

Clegg, S., & Rowland, S. (2010). Kindness in pedagogical practice and academic life. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 31*(6), 719–735.

Coates, H., Dobson, I., Edwards, D., Friedman, T., Goedegebuure, L., & Meek, L. (2009). *The attractiveness of the Australian academic profession: A comparative analysis.* LH Martin Institute, University of Melbourne & Australian Council for Educational Research & Educational Policy Institute. http://hdl.handle.net/11343/28921. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Crawford, R. (2016). *History of tertiary education reforms in New Zealand*. Research Note. New Zealand Productivity Commission. http://www.productivity.govt.nz/sites/default/files/nzpc-rn-2016-1-history-of-tertiary-education-reforms.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Crothers, C. (2013). Neo-liberalism and the changing New Zealand social science research situation. *New Zealand Sociology, 28*(1), 3–17.

Ćulum, B. (2015). Academics and service to the community: An international (European) perspective. In W. K. Cummings & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The relevance of academic work in comparative perspective* (pp. 139–162). Dordrecht: Springer.

Cummings, W. K., & Finkelstein, M. J. (2012). The balance between teaching and research in the work life of American academics. In W. K. Cummings & M. J. Finkelstein (Eds.), *Scholars in the changing American academy* (pp. 27–50). Dordrecht: Springer.

Cummings, W. K., & Shin, J. C. (2014). Teaching and research in contemporary higher education: An overview. In J. C. Shin, A. Arimoto, W. K. Cummings, & U. Teichler (Eds.), *Teaching and research in contemporary higher education: Systems, activities and rewards* (pp. 1–11). Dordrecht: Springer.

Cupples, J., & Pawson, E. (2012). Giving an account of oneself: The PBRF and the neoliberal university. *New Zealand Geographer, 68*(1), 14–23.

Curtis, B. (2007). Academic life: Commodification, continuity, collegiality, confusion and the performance based research fund. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations, 32*(2), 2–17.

Curtis, B. (2008). The performance-based research fund: Research assessment and funding in New Zealand. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 6*(2), 179–194.

Curtis, B. (2016). The performance-based research fund, gender and a cultural cringe. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 14*(1), 87–109.

Curtis, B., & Matthewman, S. (2005). The managed university: The PBRF, its impacts and staff attitudes. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations, 30*(2), 1–17.

Doyle, S., Wylie, C., Hodgen, E., & Else, A. (2004*). Gender and academic promotion: A case study of Massey University*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research. http://www.nzcer.org.nz/system/files/14033.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Eagan, M. K., & Garvey, J. C. (2015). Stressing out: Connecting race, gender, and stress with faculty productivity. *The Journal of Higher Education, 86*(6), 923–954.

Eden, D. (2016). Women's participation in academic conferences in Israel. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 38*(4), 406–421.

Enders, J., & de Weert, E. (2009). *The changing face of academic life: Analytical and comparative perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Enders, J., & Kaulisch, M. (2006). The binding and unbinding of academic careers. In U. Teichler (Ed.), *The formative years of scholars* (pp. 85–95). London: Portland Press.

Goastellec, G., & Pekari, N. (2013). Gender differences and inequalities in academia: Findings in Europe. In U. Teichler & E. A. Höhle (Eds.), *The work situation of the academic profession in Europe: Findings of a survey in twelve countries* (pp. 55–78). Dordrecht: Springer.

Grant, B. M., & Elizabeth, V. (2015). Unpredictable feelings: Academic women under research audit. *British Educational Research Journal, 41*(2), 287–302.

Hair Jr., J. F., Anderson, R. E., Tatham, R. L., & Black, W. C. (1995). *Multivariate data analysis: With readings* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Harland, T., Tidswell, T., Everett, D., Hale, L., & Pickering, N. (2010). Neoliberalism and the academic as critic and conscience of society. *Teaching in Higher Education, 15*(1), 85–96.

Hazeldine, T., & Kurniawan, C. (2005). Efficiency of New Zealand universities and the impact of the performance based research fund. *New Zealand Economic Papers, 39*(2), 153–179.

Heinrich, E. (2013). Recommendations to university managers for facilitating engagement of academics with teaching. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 35*(5), 458–470.

Hemmings, B., & Kay, R. (2010). University lecturer publication output: Qualifications, time and confidence count. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 32*(2), 185–197.

Henkel, M. (2005). Academic identity and autonomy in a changing policy environment. *Higher Education, 49*(1–2), 155–176.

Henkel, M. (2017). Gender equality in academic career progression: A matter of time? In H. Eggins (Ed.), *The changing role of women in higher education* (pp. 195–207). Cham: Springer.

Hitchcock, M. A., Bland, C. J., Hekelman, F. P., & Blumenthal, M. G. (1995). Professional networks: The influence of colleagues on the academic success of faculty. *Academic Medicine, 70*(12), 1108–1116.

Joyce, S. (2014). *Improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the Performance Based Research Fund: Report to the Cabinet Social Policy Committee from the Office of the Minister of Tertiary Education, Skills and Employment*. Ministry of Education. http://www.education.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Further-education/Policies-and-strategies/Performance-based-research-fund/PBRFCabinetPaper.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Jung, J. (2015). Gender differences in research scholarship among academics: An international comparative perspective. In W. K. Cumming & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The relevance of academic work in comparative perspective* (pp. 163–178). Cham: Springer.

Kessler, S. R., Spector, P. E., & Gavin, M. B. (2014). A critical look at ourselves: Do male and female professors respond the same to environment characteristics? *Research in Higher Education, 55*(4), 351–369.

Kezar, A., & Lester, J. (2009). Supporting faculty grassroots leadership. *Research in Higher Education, 50*(7), 715–740.

Kidman, J. (1999). A people torn in twain: Colonial and indigenous contexts of university education in New Zealand. *Interchange, 30*(1), 73–91.

Larner, W., & Le Heron, R. (2005). Neo-liberalizing spaces and subjectivities: Reinventing New Zealand universities. *Organization, 12*(6), 843–862.

Laudel, G., & Gläser, J. (2008). From apprentice to colleague: The metamorphosis of early career researchers. *Higher Education, 55*, 387–406.

Leemann, R. J. (2010). Gender inequalities in transnational academic mobility and the ideal type of academic entrepreneur. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 31*(5), 605–625.

Leišytė, L. (2016). New public management and research productivity – A precarious state of affairs of academic work in the Netherlands. *Studies in Higher Education, 45*(5), 828–846.

Leišytė, L., & Dee, J. R. (2012). Understanding academic work in a changing institutional environment. In J. C. Smart & M. B. Paulsen (Eds.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 123–206). Dordrecht: Springer.

Leišytė, L., & Hosch-Dayican, B. (2017). Gender and academic work at a Dutch university. In H. Eggins (Ed.), *The changing role of women in higher education* (pp. 95–117). Cham: Springer.

Lewis, J. (2013). *Academic governance: Disciplines and policy*. New York: Routledge.

Lynch, K. (2010). Carelessness: A hidden doxa of higher education. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education, 9*(1), 54–67.

Lynch, K., Lyons, M., & Cantillon, S. (2007). Breaking silence: Educating citizens for love, care and solidarity. *International Studies in Sociology of Education, 17*(1–2), 1–19.

Malcolm, W., & Tarling, N. (2007). *Crisis of identity: The mission and management of universities in New Zealand*. Wellington: Dunmore.

Matthews, K., Lodge, J., & Bosanquet, A. (2014). Early career academic perceptions, attitudes and professional development activities: Questioning the teaching and research gap to further academic development. *International Journal for Academic Development, 19*(2), 112–124.

Middleton, S. (2009). Becoming PBRF-able: Research assessment and education in New Zealand. In T. Besley (Ed.), *Assessing the quality of educational research in higher education: International perspectives* (pp. 193–208). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Musselin, C., & Becquet, V. (2008). Academic work and academic identities: A comparison between four disciplines. In J. Välimaa & O. Ylijoki (Eds.), *Cultural perspectives on higher education* (pp. 91–107). Dordrecht: Springer.

Opie, B. (2004). Tertiary education and research in New Zealand. *Minerva: A Review of Science, Learning & Policy, 42*(3), 299–307.

Parker, J. (2008). Comparing research and teaching in university promotion criteria. *Higher Education Quarterly, 62*(3), 237–251.

Phibbs, S., & Curtis, B. (2006). Gender, nursing and the PBRF. *Nursing Praxis in New Zealand, 22*(2), 4–11.

Pollock, K. (n.d.). "Tertiary education". Encyclopedia entry. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/tertiary-education. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Postiglione, G. A., & Jung, J. (2015). Congeniality and research productivity in state-professional-market driven systems of mass higher education. In W. K. Cummings & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The relevance of academic work in comparative perspective* (pp. 107–120). Cham: Springer.

Probert, B. (2005). 'I just couldn't fit it in': Gender and unequal outcomes in academic careers. *Gender, Work & Organization, 12*(1), 50–72.

Probert, B. (2013). *Teaching-focused academic appointments in Australian universities: Recognition, specialisation, or stratification? Discussion Paper 1*. OLT report. Australian Policy Online. http://apo.org.au/node/35663 . Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Roa, T., Beggs, J. R., Williams, J., & Moller, H. (2009). New Zealand's performance based research funding (PBRF) model undermines Māori research. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand, 39*(4), 233–238.

Roberts, P. (2007). Neoliberalism, performativity and research. *International Review of Education, 53*(4), 349–365.

Roberts, P. (2012). Scholars, philosophers or performers? The politics of research in contemporary universities. In R. Openshaw & J. Clark (Eds.), *Critic and conscience: Essays in memory of John Codd and Roy Nash* (pp. 87–104). Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Roberts, P. (2013a). Reconfiguring research in New Zealand: Education, politics and performativity. *The Australian Educational Researcher, 40*(4), 509–512.

Roberts, P. (2013b). Academic dystopia: Knowledge, performativity, and tertiary education. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies, 35*(1), 27–43.

Roberts, P. (2014). Changing scholarly lives: Neoliberalism, discipline(s) and educational research. In A. D. Reid, E. P. Hart, & M. A. Peters (Eds.), *A companion to research in education* (pp. 41–45). Dordrecht: Springer.

Rosser, V. J., & Tabata, L. N. (2010). An examination of faculty work: Conceptual and theoretical frameworks in the literature. In J. C. Smart (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research 25* (pp. 449–475). Dordrecht: Springer.

Schuster, J. H., & Finkelstein, M. J. (2006). *The American faculty: The restructuring of academic work and careers*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Shore, C. (2010). Beyond the multiversity: Neoliberalism and the rise of the schizophrenic university. *Social Anthropology, 18*(1), 15–29.

Smart, W. (2013). *Analysis of the impact of the PBRF: Interim findings*. Ministry of Education, Education Counts. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/115890/PBRF-interim-report-Feb-2013.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Smeby, J., & Try, S. (2005). Departmental contexts and faculty research activity in Norway. *Research in Higher Education, 46*(6), 593–619.

Smith, R., & Jesson, J. (Eds.). (2005). *Punishing the discipline – The PBRF regime: Evaluating the position of education. Where to from here?* Auckland: AUT and the University of Auckland.

Smith, R., & Johnston, P. (2010). The PBRF: Performance-based research fund. In M. Thrupp & R. Irwin (Eds.), *Another decade of New Zealand education policy: Where to now?* (pp. 167–183). Hamilton: Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research, University of Waikato.

Solem, M. N., & Foote, K. E. (2004). Concerns, attitudes, and abilities of early career geography faculty. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 94*(4), 889–912.

Sommer, J. (2010). 2008 survey of New Zealand scientists and technologists. *New Zealand Science Review, 67*(1), 1–40.

Sutherland, K.A. (1999). *Does teaching matter? Reconceptualising teaching, scholarship, and the PhD programme in New Zealand university English departments*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Palmerston North: Massey University.

Sutherland, K. A. (2017). Constructions of success in academia: An early career perspective. *Studies in Higher Education, 42*(4), 743–759. Doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2015.1072150.

Teichler, U., Arimoto, A., & Cummings, W. K. (2013). The academic career. In U. Teichler, A. Arimoto, & W. K. Cummings (Eds.), *The changing academic profession* (pp. 75–116). Dordrecht: Springer.

Tower, G., & Ridgewell, B. (2006). Benchmarking: An international comparison. *International Business and Economics Research Journal, 5*(5), 1–14.

University of Waikato (n.d.). *Academic workloads guidelines*. Resource document. http://www.waikato.ac.nz/official-info/index/docs/academicworkloadsguidelines. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Valle, M., & Schultz, K. (2010). The etiology of top-tier publications in management: A status attainment perspective on academic career success. *Career Development International, 16*(3), 220–237.

Waitere, H. J., Wright, J., Tremaine, M., Brown, S., & Pausé, C. J. (2011). Choosing whether to resist or reinforce the new managerialism: The impact of performance-based research funding on academic identity. *Higher Education Research & Development, 30*(2), 205–217.

Wensvoort, M. (2012). *The changing structure of the public tertiary education workforce*. Ministry of Education, Education Counts. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/80898/the-changing-structure-of-the-public-tertiary-education-workforce. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Wright, S., Curtis, B., Lucas, L., & Robinson, S. (2014). *Research assessment systems and their impacts on academic work in New Zealand, the UK and Denmark: Summative working paper for URGE work package 5*. Copenhagen: Department of Education, Aarhus University.

Chapter 5
Satisfaction Among Early Career Academics in New Zealand Universities: A Conceptual Model Tested

Kathryn A. Sutherland and Marc Wilson

Introduction: Who Cares If Academics Are Happy, Anyway?

Satisfaction matters in academia. As Chap. 4 has shown, early career academics in New Zealand work hard in a wide variety of roles, with varying responsibilities, expectations, aspirations, and influences. However, the general public appears still to carry a perception of academic life that is out of step with what academics actually experience. While research has shown that academics experience higher levels of stress than professionals in similar occupations (Bentley et al. 2014; Winefield et al. 2008), various media reports continue to perpetuate the myth that academics have it easy, reminding the public that academics teach only a few hours per week, take long and regular "holidays", and get to travel internationally to talk about their research without having to meet excessive deadlines or answer to many bosses. Such myth-making was evident in a 2013 article in *Forbes* magazine, that reported on the, apparently, "least stressful jobs of 2013" and at the top of the list was "university professors" (Adams 2013). An outcry ensued and the report now includes an addendum admitting that the methodology for deciding upon the "least stressful" jobs weighs heavily in favour of stressors relating to life-and-death risks, physical demands and environmental conditions (making the jobs of "logger" and "oil-rigger" top of the *most* stressful list, for example). We note that while the 2016 version of the list still includes "university professor" in its top 10 (at number three after "information security analyst" and "diagnostic medical sonographer"), the job title now includes the word "tenured" after it – an acknowledgment perhaps that not all university work is the same. In fact, contrary to the long list of cushy perks that

K.A. Sutherland (✉) • M. Wilson
Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand
e-mail: Kathryn.Sutherland@vuw.ac.nz; Marc.Wilson@vuw.ac.nz

allegedly make an academic's life less stressful than many other jobs, academics are often saddled with job insecurity (if they are on contract or un-tenured) and with such an array of roles and expectations that they are at very high risk of stress and dissatisfaction arising from the pressure to perform.

Twenty-first century academics must demonstrate that they are: *committed teachers* who care about their students' learning, well-being, and progress; *productive researchers* whose ideas are changing their fields and whose outputs are influencing, and being cited by, other researchers; *diligent academic citizens* who serve their disciplines, departments, faculties, universities, and communities in a variety of ways throughout their careers; *inspiring leaders* and *effective managers* who oversee the work of other staff and help to manage the resources (financial and human) of the institutions by whom they're employed; *attentive supervisors* who help bring student research to fruition; *progressive entrepreneurs* who find commercial outlets and uses for their research; *active fundraisers* who seek money for their own research and know how to write good grant applications; as well as many other roles such as industrial and professional consultants and/or practitioners, peer reviewers and editorial board members, event planners, recruitment specialists, public speakers, and conference organisers. In New Zealand in particular, academics must also understand and be committed to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi; as well as take on the role of *public intellectuals* who serve as the critic and conscience of society (Education Act 1989 Section 162 4(a)(v)); and they must be *internationally mobile* (New Zealand shares borders with no other country and any face-to-face contact and collaboration with academics off-shore comes only after a minimum-three-hour international flight).

Balancing these competing roles and expectations may lead academics to feel that they lack time to do all aspects of their job well. Their focus and energies are pulled in so many directions that oftentimes not all elements of the job receive the devotion or even minimal attention they deserve. Such stressors can ultimately lead to job dissatisfaction (Mark and Smith 2012) and a desire to pursue a different kind of career, one with fewer expectations from fewer quarters. At the same time, higher rewards, particularly in terms of salary, can be found outside academia (Bozeman and Gaughan 2011) and definitely outside New Zealand academia, with academics in New Zealand being paid comparatively less than many of their international counterparts (Crawford 2016; Robinson 2006). In a working environment such as a university, which values autonomy but is dependent on collegiality, job dissatisfaction can also arise from a sense of not being rewarded, recognised or acknowledged for the work one does. Whether related to time, effort, or output, lack of recognition may lead to the desire to forgo an academic career.

Losing academic staff at a time when more are predicted to be needed (Nana et al. 2010) could be very costly for New Zealand universities. Student numbers in university-level degree programmes in New Zealand have been increasing, albeit slowly (Ministry of Education 2015, p. 3), accompanied by a desire to see the growing diversity of the student population matched by increasing numbers of academic staff from diverse backgrounds, particularly Māori and Pasifika (Ministry of Education and MBIE 2014). Couple this with an ageing academic population that

will see significant numbers of academics likely to retire in the coming decade (Nana et al. 2010), and keeping academic staff satisfaction at reasonable levels becomes even more important. Recruitment and/or replacement of an academic staff member consumes considerable time and resources (advertising, interviewing, appointment, induction, training, start-up grants, laboratory equipment, research assistance, etc.) (Gappa et al. 2007). Thus, New Zealand universities would do well to pay close attention to the conditions that attract academics to a university career, and keep them there, as well as the conditions that discourage them from staying or, worse still, from choosing even to *begin* an academic career. International literature has shown that identifying satisfaction levels and working to improve academic staff satisfaction are key to both recruitment (Bozeman and Gaughan 2011; Gappa et al. 2007; McInnis and Anderson 2005; Sabharwal and Corley 2009; Stupnisky et al. 2015) and retention of academic staff (Adams 2000; Eagan et al. 2015; Seifert and Umbach 2008). Furthermore, attention to academic staff satisfaction can help universities to identify issues with well-being (of the individual and the institution) and improve productivity (Eagan et al. 2015; Mark and Smith 2012; Sabharwal and Corley 2009; Stupnisky et al. 2015).

What's Happening Elsewhere?

Looking at countries with similar higher education systems or with whom New Zealand often aligns itself for comparison, levels of academic job satisfaction vary among academics worldwide. Satisfaction appears to be relatively high in Canada (Jones et al. 2012; Bentley et al. 2013a) but has reportedly declined over the past few decades in the US (Schuster and Finkelstein 2006), the UK (Locke and Bennion 2013) and Australia (McInnis and Anderson 2005).

However, various studies report conflicting findings, based on disparate data-sets, using a range of variables and combining different results to present a sense of "overall satisfaction". For example, Gappa et al. (2007, p.104) cite U.S. Department of Education statistics for surveys in 1987, 1998, and 2003 that show high levels of satisfaction for US faculty across all types of institutions, for both male and female, full-time and part-time. Furthermore, the percentage of satisfied faculty had increased from 85.3% in 1987 to 87.5% in 2003. By contrast, Schuster and Finkelstein (2006) make the claim that US "faculty job satisfaction has eroded significantly over the past generation" (p. 148) with only one-third of faculty respondents reporting they were very satisfied in recent years compared with half in the 1960s and 1970s. They also note that *dis*satisfaction has doubled. However, Schuster and Finkelstein combined the "very dissatisfied" and "somewhat dissatisfied" responses to create their "dissatisfied" percentage, but only include the "very satisfied" responses in their percentage of satisfied faculty. If ""very satisfied" and "satisfied" were combined, it would show that satisfaction was, on the whole, very high in the US, and consistently so from the 1960s through to the 1990s, although there is a decline from 91.1% in 1969 to 84.7% in 1998. More recent data from a com-

parison of the 1992 Carnegie survey and the 2007 Changing Academic Profession (CAP) survey shows that faculty satisfaction in the United States appears to have increased (Bentley et al. 2013a, p. 248).

Closer to home, Australian academics' satisfaction is reported as having increased from 49% in the 1992 Carnegie survey to 55% in the 2007 CAP survey (Bentley et al. 2013b, p. 248), after "plummeting" in a 1999 survey (McInnis and Anderson 2005) and apparently stabilising in further surveys in the early and mid-2000s (Bentley et al. 2013c, p. 30). Despite these roller-coaster findings, it is clear that Australian academics appear to be less satisfied than many other academics around the world. Bentley et al. (2013c) attribute this dissatisfaction to dramatic reforms in Australian higher education that have led to "declining resources, increased account-ability requirements and work intensification" (p. 31) for academic staff.

Previous Studies on Satisfaction in New Zealand Universities

New Zealand has not gathered such data so systematically and was not part of any of the international CAP surveys. As noted in Chap. 3, few comprehensive studies of the university academic profession in New Zealand have been completed. The New Zealand Council for Educational Research with the Association of University Staff (AUS) – the university academic staff union at the time – conducted surveys of university staff in the 1990s (see, for example, Boyd and Wylie 1994; Chalmers 1998), but more recently, since the AUS has converged with other tertiary sector unions to form the Tertiary Education Union (TEU), those surveys have been of *all* staff in the tertiary sector, not just universities (see for example, Bentley et al. 2014). There have been studies of academic staff satisfaction at individual universities (Houston et al. 2006; Tipples and Krivokapic-Skoko 1997) and of academics from different disciplinary areas, such as humanities and social sciences (Curtis and Matthewman 2005), social sciences (Wall et al. 2009; Witten et al. 2006), and sci-ences (Sommer and Sommer 1997; Sommer 2010).

These earlier studies report varying degrees of satisfaction. Boyd and Wylie (1994) noted that "[d]espite increasing workloads and stress, the majority of respon-dents (65%) indicated that they were satisfied with their jobs" (p. 50). Conversely, Tipples and Krivokapic-Skoko's respondents at one New Zealand university in a survey conducted in 1995 report that "their level of job satisfaction appeared to be deficient although it was the most important obligation that the academic staff believed the University owed them" (Tipples and Krivokapic-Skoko 1997, p. 114). And Houston and colleagues, reported that the academic respondents at their univer-sity were "neutral and moderately satisfied" (Houston et al. 2006, p. 24). Most recently, Bentley et al. (2014) found that just over half (54.7%) of *all* tertiary staff (including professional staff and across the whole tertiary sector, not just universi-ties) in New Zealand indicated that they were satisfied to some degree with their job as a whole. They note that this compares "less favourably" than that found "for two national population surveys of New Zealand employees" (Bentley et al. 2014, p. 28).

The Hagedorn Model for Explaining Satisfaction

This chapter aims to provide a baseline for comparison with New Zealand academics against international trends, and for longitudinal research in coming years as part of the CAP project. The scope of the 2007–2008 CAP project is described in detail in Teichler et al. (Teichler et al. 2013) and a chapter in that book describes the design and methods of the comparative project. Further, each case-study chapter in Bentley et al. (2013a) outlines the approach that the 11 countries represented in that book took to analysing their own country's job satisfaction data. Bentley et al.'s book also includes a final chapter comparing the satisfaction data of 12 countries (the 11 in the book, plus the USA).

As Bentley et al. (2013a, p. 244) have warned, however, "[d]rawing comparisons from separate studies is particularly problematic given the various methods for operationalising job satisfaction and the choice of independent variables". For this reason, we have decided to follow the conceptual model used by many previous researchers involved with the CAP project, and described in detail in Hagedorn (2000) and Bentley et al. (2013b). As noted by Bentley et al. (2013a, p. 240), it is "unclear to what extent the theoretical models of job satisfaction developed in the USA apply to other national contexts," so this chapter offers a contribution to fill that gap from a New Zealand perspective.

A common theoretical framework informing the design of many investigations into academic job satisfaction is Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman's (Herzberg et al. 1959) two-factor theory of job satisfaction. This theory posits that the intrinsic aspects of any job interact to bring the worker satisfaction – for example, being recognised for doing a job well, gaining more responsibility, feeling a sense of achievement or accomplishment, or feeling as if the work that you do is making a difference. These are *motivational* factors. Alongside these motivational factors are aspects that can cause *dis*satisfaction if they are insufficient, absent, or excessive, such as salary and working conditions (large class sizes, inflexible working hours, lack of childcare, etc.). These are called *hygiene* factors. As Lacy and Sheehan (1997) describe, "motivational factors can cause satisfaction or no satisfaction, while hygiene factors cause dissatisfaction when absent, and no dissatisfaction when present" (p. 307). Linda Hagedorn (2000) combines these motivational and hygiene factors into one category that she calls *mediators* and to this category she adds environmental conditions (collegial relationships, institutional climate, etc.) and demographics (gender, ethnicity, and discipline, for example). Also included in her model is a category she labels *triggers* – major life changes such as getting married, moving cities, or being promoted. Hagedorn's model has been applied many times since 2000 to various satisfaction studies in the US (August and Waltman 2004; Hesli and Lee 2013) and to a comparative study of 12 countries who participated in the international CAP study (Bentley et al. 2013b). We follow closely Bentley et al.'s (2013b) operationalisation of Hagedorn's model for our investigation of satisfaction amongst early career academics in New Zealand universities.

Data

The data for this chapter were taken from a survey of early career academics in all eight New Zealand universities in 2012 ($n = 538$, response rate of 47%). More detail on the method for the overall survey can be found in Chap. 1. The responses included in this chapter are from those who responded to the satisfaction questions.

Method

Table 5.1 describes the variables relevant to satisfaction, following the operationalisation of variables, with some changes, as reported previously by Hagedorn (2000) and Bentley et al. (2013b).

Table 5.1 Conceptual framework for academic job satisfaction

Mediators			Triggers
Demographics	*Motivators and hygienes*	*Environmental conditions*	*Change or transfer*
Gender	Achievement	Collegial relationships	Change in life stage
Ethnicity	Recognition	Student quality or relationships	Change in family-related personal circumstances
Institutional types	Work itself	Administration	Change in rank or tenure
Academic discipline	Responsibility	Institutional climate or culture[c]	Transfer to new institution
Marital status[a]	Advancement		Change in perceived justice
Age[a]	Salary[c]		Change in mood or emotional state[c]
Part-time status[b]	Institutional resources[d]		
Number of children[b]			

Adapted from Hagedorn (2000) and Bentley et al. (2013b)
[a]Variable included in Demographics instead of Triggers
[b]Additional variable, not included in Bentley et al. (2013b) or Hagedorn (2000)
[c]Measures not available in our data set
[d]Additional variable, added by Bentley et al. (2013b), not included in Hagedorn's (2000) framework

Dependent Variable

Many studies of academic job satisfaction use a single-item measure for their dependent variable, usually a response to a question such as "I am satisfied with my current job" or "My overall job satisfaction is high". The dependent variable in other studies includes responses to paired questions about satisfaction with "instructional issues" and "employment issues" (Antony and Hayden 2011; Myers 2011); or questions about "life" and "job" (Filiz 2014), "departmental" and "institutional" (Ethington et al. 1989), or "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" satisfaction (Seifert and Umbach 2008). Still another group of studies uses multi-item measures for satisfaction that comprise combinations such as: satisfaction with autonomy, professional relationships, competency of colleagues, department leadership, and course assignments (Eagan et al. 2015) or satisfaction with workload, salary, benefits, and overall (Mamiseishvili and Rosser 2011).

Following Bentley et al. (2013b), we have used a multi-item measure for job satisfaction that comprises a factor-based score that is an unweighted sum of responses to the following four statements: "Overall, how satisfied are you as an academic?", "If I could do it all over again, I would still embark on an academic career", "I get intellectual pleasure from my job" and "I enjoy the challenges of my job". Respondents answered on a scale of 1–5 for the overall satisfaction question where 1 was very satisfied and 5 was very unsatisfied, and on a five-point scale from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5) for the other three statements. The satisfaction scale was internally consistent (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.71).

Independent Variables

Using Hagedorn's conceptual model as a starting point, we followed Bentley and colleagues' interpretation of this model and describe below how we operationalised each factor. Hagedorn's framework has four categories:

– *Motivators and Hygienes*, includes achievement (publication), recognition (awards and office bearer/funding), work itself (interest and percentage time teaching and research), responsibility (mentor), advancement (rank), and salary (not included), and Bentley and colleagues added institutional resources
– *Demographics*, includes gender, ethnicity, and academic discipline (to which we added age, marital status, part-time status, and number of children)
– *Environmental conditions*, includes collegial relationships, student quality or relationships, administration (admin processes and involvement in decisions), and institutional climate or culture (not included), and we moved institutional type from demographics to here
– *Triggers*, includes changes in the following: life stage, family-related/personal circumstances, rank/tenure, perceived justice, mood or emotional state; or a

transfer to a new institution. We only included change in rank or perceived fairness, and new appointment.

As indicated in Table 5.2, predictors of satisfaction have been grouped into four categories: Demographics, Motivators and Hygienes, Environmental Conditions, and Triggers. It may be argued that, presented in this order, each category represents increasingly proximal factors that might be associated with satisfaction. That is to say, demographics such as age and sex are relatively constant and outside of the control of the respondent, and therefore most causally distal to satisfaction (changes in satisfaction cannot cause changes in sex or age, while the reverse may be true). At the most proximal level, Triggers reflect local and changeable perceptions of the environment. For this reason, the hierarchical regressions reported introduce each of these categories of variables separately and sequentially in order to evaluate the impact of increasingly proximal factors on satisfaction. Analysis 1, therefore, presents the relationships between Demographics and satisfaction only; Analysis 2 presents the relationship between Demographics *and* Motivators and Hygienes in predicting satisfaction in order to assess whether Motivators and Hygienes improves prediction of variation in satisfaction beyond that already associated with Demographics, and so on. In a sense, Analysis 4 presents the strictest assessment of the predictive utility of the most proximal category of Triggers, as it indicates how much variance in satisfaction is uniquely associated with Triggers on top of that *already* accounted for by Demographics, Motivators and Hygienes, and Environmental Factors.

Results

Mean Satisfaction

By contrast with academics elsewhere, academics in New Zealand appear to be generally more satisfied, as Table 5.3 shows.

Our survey was of early career academics, but several (21%) of those respondents had already made the rank of senior lecturer (or were appointed into this rank), despite having been academics for 7 years or less. These data show a high level satisfaction at both junior and senior ranks among early career academics in New Zealand, with satisfaction increasing as rank increases. Obviously, there are many more "junior" academics in our sample than "senior" and it will be interesting to see if this disparity in satisfaction level applies across ranks with a bigger national sample that includes more senior academics.

The job satisfaction index used as the dependent variable is comprised of four items for which means and percentage responses are provided in Table 5.4. It includes two items which are the same or very similar as in Bentley et al.'s (2013c) study of Australian academics: "Overall job satisfaction" and "If I had to do it all over again, I would not become an academic". The wording for the second of these

Table 5.2 Operationalisation of Hagedorn's satisfaction model with descriptions for each variable

Demographics	Variable description
Gender	Dichotomous variable indicating male or female, where 1 = male
Ethnicity	Three dichotomous variables indicating if Pākehā (New Zealand European), Māori, international.
Academic discipline	Ten dichotomous variables categorised by PBRF discipline groupings in my study (Humanities and Law, Natural and Physical Sciences, Technology, Health and Medicine, Biological Sciences, Business and Economics, Creative and Performing Arts, Education, Māori Knowledge, and Mathematics and Information Science)
Marital status	Sample split by single/never married; married, civil union or de facto; separated, widowed or divorced
Age	An ordinal variable reflecting age group <30, 30–34, 35–39, 40–44, 45–49, and >50 years
Part-time	Dichotomous variable indicating part- or full-time status, where 1 = part-time
Number of children	Six-point ordinal variable: None, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 or more
Motivators and Hygienes	
Publications	A square root transformation of the weighted sum of an individual's journal articles (1 point), book chapters (1 point), edited books (2 points), and authored books (5 points)
Recognition: Awards	Has received a teaching, research, and/or service award
Recognition: Office bearer/funding	Is a journal editor or advisory board member, office bearer or committee member for a national or international professional/academic organisation; and/or has received more than $200,000 in external research funding
Interests	Indicates a higher interest in teaching than in research
Percentage time	A dichotomous variable indicating higher percentage time on research and higher percentage time on teaching
Rank	'Senior' is senior lecturer or above and 'junior' is lecturer or below
Institutional resources	An ordinal variable based on the mean perceived effectiveness of 12 institutional resources: orientation programme, mentoring programme, assistance with teaching development, assistance in obtaining externally funded grants, travel funds, information about promotion, research leave, resources for research, resources for teaching, opportunity to gain a teaching qualification, rewards for teaching, and rewards for research
Responsibility	Has been a mentor (either formally or informally) for 6 months or more
Environmental conditions	
Student quality or relationships	The mean response to degree of concern with "changing student population" and mean response to perceived effectiveness of "opportunities to engage with student representatives [outside formal classroom environments]"
Involvement in decisions	The mean response to two correlated items on the perceived effectiveness of opportunities to participate in decision-making processes, and opportunities to make decisions about the direction of their own teaching and research

Table 5.2 (continued)

Demographics	Variable description
Administration processes	The mean response to seven highly correlated items addressing the perceived effectiveness of communication between university management and academics, feedback from manager, support to apply for promotion, head of department/manager who is committed to early career academics' success, support from administrative/general staff, infrastructure, and support for career progress
Collegial relationships	The mean perceived effectiveness of "Senior colleagues who are interested in my progress and wellbeing", "Regular contact with senior colleagues in my department", and "Support from other departmental colleagues"
Institutional type	We moved this from demographics to environmental conditions as it is not a characteristic of the individual, but of the environment in which they are located. It is operationalised as two dichotomous variables: 'Old university' (Auckland, Canterbury, Otago, and Victoria) and 'New university' (AUT, Lincoln, Massey, and Waikato)
Triggers	
Change in rank	Calculated as the ratio of promotion successes to promotion applications. Where a person had not applied, they received a score of zero
New appointment	As in Bentley et al.'s (2013b) study, a "dichotomous variable for the length of tenure within one's current institution, with those having fewer than 4 years at current institution considered a 'new appointment'"(p. 38)
Change in perceived fairness	An ordinal variable based on mean agreement with the statement, "I am treated fairly by my employer" (where 1 = strongly agree, and 5 = Strongly disagree)

Table 5.3 Proportion of academics reporting job satisfaction (%) and sample size (*n*) by rank and country

	Senior rank[a]		Junior rank[b]		All respondents	
	%	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*
NZ	83	99	73	358	75	457
Australia[c]	72	255	50	842	55	1101[d]
All CAP[c]	67	6285	57	6719	62	13,403[d]

[a]Includes all Senior Lecturers and the two Associate Professors who responded
[b]Includes all lecturers and below
[c]Australian and CAP data taken from Bentley et al. (2013b, p. 251)
[d]Includes cases where academic rank is unknown

items in my study was more positively framed as 'If I could do it all over again, I would still embark on an academic career' so for comparison to be made we have reverse coded the responses on the strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5) scale. We have also reverse coded the response to the overall job satisfaction item from very satisfied (1) and very dissatisfied (5) to match Bentley et al.'s scale of very dissatisfied (1) and very satisfied (5). The mean for the final two questions is also reverse coded for consistency of presentation.

Table 5.4 Satisfaction with academic work

Item	Mean	Std. Dev	%[a]	n	Australia
Job satisfaction index	4.10	0.73	87	484	3.11
Overall job satisfaction[b]	3.85	0.90	75	457	3.42
If I had to do it all again, I would not become an academic[c]	3.93	1.15	28	454	3.60
I get intellectual pleasure from my job[c]	4.39	0.70	92	455	–
I enjoy the challenges of my job[c]	4.34	0.91	93	483	–

[a]Percentage responding very satisfied/satisfied, or strongly agree/agree
[b]1 = Very Dissatisfied and 5 = Very Satisfied
[c]1 = Strongly Disgree and 5 = Strongly Agree

Satisfaction was regressed onto the variables under each category. Table 5.5 shows the results of our regression analysis at all four stages, with the progressive introduction of each of the four categories of satisfaction predictors. Table 5.5 shows the Means and Standard Deviations for each of the satisfaction predictors, the regression coefficients for each in predicting satisfaction, and the amount of variation (adjusted R-squared) in satisfaction associated with each successive block of variables. All four regressions predicted a significant amount of variance and, importantly, each subsequent block of variables improved the prediction of satisfaction significantly, indicating that at least some of the variables under each heading account for significant variance in participant satisfaction.

Results for Demographics

We found only two Demographic variables had any effect on satisfaction. The first was part-time status, which predicted greater satisfaction, but only in our first analysis. By the time other variables were factored in, the association between part-time status and satisfaction was weaker (and no longer statistically significant). The second was if the respondent was from Humanities/Law: these academics were considerably less satisfied in all analyses than academics from other disciplines. This differs from findings elsewhere that show no statistical differences in job satisfaction across disciplines (Bentley et al. 2013b; Myers 2011). Some of the explanation for lower satisfaction among Humanities/Law academics may stem from the pressure expressed among these disciplines to justify their existence in a political environment that privileges economic outcomes and STEM disciplines (see Chap. 2), but we have not investigated this further yet. It may also relate to the fact that they spend more time on teaching than those in other disciplines (see Chap. 4).

Other findings from our demographic analysis resonate with what others using Hagedorn's model have found, particularly in relation to gender, which was not a significant predictor for academic satisfaction in our model, nor in several other studies (Bentley et al. 2013b; Hesli and Lee 2013; Olsen et al. 1995). Some studies

Table 5.5 OLS regression unstandardised betas for factors associated with higher levels of job satisfaction (scale)

	Mean (SD)	Analysis 1	Analysis 2	Analysis 3	Analysis 4
(Constant)		2.03**	1.99**	2.03**	2.35**
Demographics					
Male[a]	.39	.09	.07	.08	.10
Age	3.27 (1.38)	−.04	−.02	−.02	−.05
International (1 = Not NZ born) [b]	.51	−.05	−.01	−.06	−.05
Pākehā (1 = Pākehā)[a]	.54	.01	.04	.04	.03
Māori (1 = Māori) [b]	.05	−.21	−.18	−.15	−.18
Marital status	1.84 (.47)	−.01	−.02	−.04	−.03
Part-time status (1 = part time)[a]	.14	.25*	.18+	.12	.09
How many children?[b]	1.97 (1.21)	−.02	−.02	−.01	−.01
Social/Cultural sciences	.14	−.33	−.36	−.32	−.32
Humanities/Law	.07	−.61*	−.46+	−.52*	−.54*
Natural/Physical sciences	.06	−.17	−.24	−.18	−.21
Technology	.07	−.15	−.21	−.23	−.23
Health/Medicine	.20	−.30	−.40+	−.39+	−.37+
Biological Sciences	.11	.05	−.13	−.21	−.20
Business/Economics	.05	−.22	−.29	−.22	−.25
Creative/performing arts	.03	.10	.13	.11	.10
Education	.06	−.06	−.06	−.22	−.18
Māori Knowledge	.02	−.37	−.35	−.45	−.46
Mathematics/Information Science	.04	−.53+	−.34	−.38	−.43
Motivators and Hygienes					
Publications[c]	3.76 (.63)		−.06	−.09	−.12+
Recognition: Awards[b]	.03 (.06)		−.43	−.49	−.71
Recognition: Office bearer/funding[a]	.15 (.22)		−.35*	−.35*	−.37*
Interests (higher = teaching)	2.22 (1.04)		−.08+	−.02	−.04
Percentage time research	.43 (.26)		.00	.00	.00
Percentage time teaching	.34 (.23)		−.01+	−.01*	−.01*
Senior rank[a]	.00 (.07)		.72	.60	.72
Institutional resources[d]	2.44 (.57)		.37**	.03	.04
Responsibility[a]	.22 (.51)		−.04	.00	.00
Environmental conditions					
Poor student relationships[e]	3.45 (.71)			−.15**	−.14*
Involvement in decisions[e]	1.76 (.53)			−.04	−.03
Admin. Process[d]	2.17 (.54)			.44**	.37**
Collegial relationships[d]	2.19 (.83)			.15**	.14*
Institution type (1 = Old)[b]	.70			.20*	.19*

(continued)

Table 5.5 (continued)

	Mean (SD)	Analysis 1	Analysis 2	Analysis 3	Analysis 4
Triggers					
Change in rank[a]	.42 (.75)				.02
New appointment[a]	.53				−.21
Perceived fairness[a]	2.51 (1.14)				.03
R-square		.10	.24	.38	.40
Adjusted *R*-square		.05	.18	.33	.34
Adjusted *R*-square (change)		.05**	.14**	.14**	.02**
n		401			

Significance level: p < 0.10; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01
[a]Dichotomous
[b]Six-point ordinal
[c]Scale
[d]Five-point ordinal
[e]Four-point ordinal

have found that women are more satisfied in teaching-oriented departments and men in research-oriented departments (Kessler et al. 2014), or that men are slightly more satisfied than women (although this was not a statistically significant finding, Machado-Taylor et al. 2016). Where women academics report lower satisfaction than men (Bozeman and Gaughan 2011; Sabharwal and Corley 2009), these relationships become weaker when other variables (such as institutional support) are factored in.

Just as gender does not predict satisfaction in our model, nor does ethnicity. Although Māori academics and those born outside New Zealand express lower levels of academic satisfaction than Pākehā/New Zealand European academics, the differences are not statistically significant (see Chap. 7 for more on the experiences of Māori academics). This differs from studies in the US (Hesli and Lee 2013; Sabharwal and Corley 2009), which show that minority faculty are less satisfied.

Results for Motivators and Hygienes

When we added Motivators and Hygienes into the analysis, part-time status was no longer a significant predictor of satisfaction, suggesting that the variation in satisfaction previously "explained" by part-time status is perhaps better explained by the combination of Motivators and Hygienes, and Environmental Conditions. In statistical terms, the relationship between employment status and satisfaction may be mediated by factors such as recognition (part time employees may be less likely to receive recognition and institutional resources *because of* their part-time status).

The importance of the 'recognition' variable is, at first glance, not surprising given the theories underpinning Hagedorn's model (i.e., that intrinsic motivators

such as feeling well-recognised and well-accomplished – for example, by having published a lot – will generate feelings of satisfaction). However, our analysis showed a surprising *negative* association with recognition and achievement in publication, in that those who were office bearers in their professional/academic society or had received more than $200,000 in external funding were significantly less satisfied than those who had not received such recognition. Also, those who had published more were slightly less satisfied than those with fewer publications. This differs from Bentley et al.'s (2013c) findings with Australian academics, where there was no difference in satisfaction between elected leaders of professional associations or members of international scientific communities and those without such roles, or between prolific publishers and other academics. Bentley and colleagues were surprised by this, as they had expected to find that such academics would be *more* satisfied (having been elected into such roles by their peers and thus finding satisfaction in such recognition), so our findings are even more perplexing. However, another section of the survey (expanded upon in Chap. 6) shows that early career academics in New Zealand are not driven by status, so perhaps this is not such a surprising finding, after all. It is possible that recognition from peers is not sufficient and academics in such roles also want their contribution to be recognised and rewarded through formal promotions processes. Alternatively, it could be that along with the recognition comes more responsibility and a potentially higher workload, thus lowering satisfaction. Finally, it may be that they do not necessarily feel well-rewarded or properly recognised for the extra work that they have taken on as office bearers in what are often *voluntary* roles, especially as they are still early career academics themselves and may feel they are carrying a heavy burden of responsibility along with the recognition. In relation to lower satisfaction amongst more prolific researchers, as Bentley et al. (2013c) point out, "publishing research may be less intrinsically satisfying for academics than the research process itself" and "the pressure to publish may mean that the motivation to publish additional research is not autonomous" (p. 44).

Such reasoning also resonates with the finding that those academics who spend a higher percentage of their time on teaching, and have a higher interest in teaching than in research, also express less satisfaction with their work. It is quite possible that these academics are not finding enough time either for what they *love* to do (teaching) or for what they are *expected* to do (research) in a performance-based funding environment. It is probable that these negative findings around satisfaction for teaching-oriented academics reflect the time the survey was conducted – in early and mid-2012 – when preparation for the six-yearly national Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) exercise was in full swing and most New Zealand university academics had recently been pulling together their evidence portfolios of research outputs, contributions to the research environment and evidence of peer esteem within their academic fields. Those academics for whom teaching is more important and/or who were spending a lot of time on teaching may have resented the imposition of the PBRF on their teaching time, and this may be reflected in their lower satisfaction levels.

The other motivator or hygiene variable significantly associated with satisfaction was, as in Bentley et al.'s (2013b) study, "institutional resources". This variable comprised 12 highly correlated resources that had all clearly indicated significant ($p < .001$) positive relationships with satisfaction, including: formal mentoring, $\rho(298) = 0.29$; an orientation programme, $\rho(356) = 0.25$; the opportunity to gain a tertiary teaching qualification, $\rho(205) = 0.17$; rewards for teaching, $\rho(305) = 0.21$; rewards for research, $\rho(342) = 0.23$; and the availability of both resources for research, $\rho(426) = 0.27$, and for teaching, $\rho(368) = 0.25$, for example. Where all these institutional resources were considered effective, academics in our sample expressed greater satisfaction. However, by the time we ran the next two layers of analysis (where we brought in environmental conditions and then triggers), this variable no longer showed a direct relationship with satisfaction, suggesting that while institutional resources are definitely important for keeping academics happy, other factors such as relationships, support, and administrative processes are much more significant.

Results for Environmental Conditions

Bentley et al.'s (2013c) analysis of Hagedorn's model had shown that Environmental Conditions demonstrated the strongest factors associated with job satisfaction for Australian academics, so for this reason we ran our analysis of environmental conditions later, after having tested for the influence of Demographics, Motivators, and Hygienes. To Bentley et al.'s (2013b) version of Hagedorn's model, we added the variable "Collegial relationships" for which we had three correlated items about relationships with colleagues (neither Bentley nor Hagedorn operationalised this variable in their own studies), and "Institution type" (either an "old university" – Auckland, Canterbury, Otago, or Victoria – or a "new university" – AUT, Lincoln, Massey, and Waikato), which we identified as an environmental condition rather than a demographic variable. Interestingly, employment at older universities (Auckland, Canterbury, Otago, and Victoria) rather than the four newer universities (AUT, Lincoln, Massey, and Waikato) was associated with greater satisfaction. However, it is not clear from the data presented in Table 5.5 why this might be the case. We also renamed the variable of "Department Influence" to "Involvement in Decisions" as we felt that "Department Influence" could be easily misinterpreted by readers as the influence of the department on the individual academic, rather than the other way around.

This "Involvement in Decisions" variable was the only Environmental Condition that showed no significant relationship with satisfaction. We were somewhat surprised by this result, given how strongly respondents rate the importance of autonomy and making their own decisions (see Chaps. 7 and 8). We had thought that those academics who felt more autonomous might also feel more satisfied, but having the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes or make decisions about their own research and teaching does not appear to predict higher satisfaction.

There was, however, a non-significant trend towards lower satisfaction if early career academics do *not* feel as if they have the opportunity to be involved in making such decisions, so the *absence* of autonomy is important to consider.

Of much more importance, and in line with Bentley et al.'s (2013c) findings with Australian academics, was the effectiveness of various administrative processes – most of which involved relationships with, support and feedback from the Head of Department and university management. If a respondent indicated that such processes were effective at their institution, they were also much more likely to be satisfied in their work. Similarly, if academics felt that relationships with their colleagues were effective, and that their senior colleagues were supportive and interested in their progress and well-being, then they were more likely to be satisfied. These were very strong findings in our analyses and are picked up again in Chap. 8, where I talk about the interaction of structure (including administrative processes, environmental conditions, and relationships) and individual and collective agency.

In terms of other important relationships, if early career academics agreed that interactions with students were poor (in the form of not having enough opportunity to engage with students outside of class, or in carrying a high level of concern about the changing student population), then this was likely to affect satisfaction negatively. We did not ask a specific question about "student quality" in our study, as Bentley and colleagues did in theirs (Bentley et al. 2013c). They measured "poor student quality" through an item that asked academics if they felt they "spent too much time than they would have liked teaching basic skills to students with deficiencies" (p. 42), and found a negative relationship between academic satisfaction and student quality. They noted that "the quality of academic-student relationships has arguably declined as massification of Australian higher education has brought an increase in student numbers, student diversity and declines in student funding (on a per capita basis)" (Bentley et al. 2013c, p. 42). As noted in Chap. 1, similar circumstances are prevalent in the New Zealand higher education environment; however, we did not ask quite the same question as Bentley as we were not so keen on taking a deficit approach to the relationship between academic staff and students. Instead, we asked whether academics felt that the changing student population was of high concern to them, and whether they felt they had enough opportunity to meet with students outside formal classroom environments. These items were highly correlated and if academics were concerned about either, then they were also more likely to express overall lower satisfaction. It is important to note, however, that only a small percentage (26%) academics expressed any concern with the changing student population (see Table 5.6). Of much more concern was funding of the tertiary sector, the focus on quantity over quality, workloads, and the casualisation of the workforce.

Table 5.6 Issues of concern to early career academics in New Zealand universities

Item	% Concerned or very concerned	Mean	SD	*n*
Funding for research	85%	1.85	1.20	457
Funding of the higher education sector in general	84%	1.91	1.23	452
Too much focus on quantity rather than quality	72%	2.39	1.46	459
Too much administration	67%	2.57	1.53	455
Too high a workload	65%	2.62	1.52	455
Casualisation (use of fixed term & similar contracts)	58%	2.66	1.54	455
Threats of job losses	50%	2.86	1.48	459
Staff:Student ratio	48%	3.00	1.50	457
Undemocratic governance	39%	3.20	1.50	454
Student fees	41%	3.22	1.42	457
Too much focus on research rather than teaching	30%	3.44	1.40	454
Too much focus on teaching rather than research	28%	3.52	1.39	455
Lack of employment rights	26%	3.54	1.36	456
Changing modes of delivery	27%	3.54	1.35	455
Changing student population	26%	3.59	1.37	454
Too much focus on quality assurance	25%	3.69	1.38	449
Intellectual property	21%	3.78	1.28	453
Not enough focus on quality assurance	20%	3.90	1.32	450

Results for Triggers

Our Trigger variables – change of rank, new appointment, and perceived fairness – were individually not significant predictors of academics' satisfaction levels. In combination, however, they do account for a significant but small amount of variation in satisfaction (approximately 2%).

Summary of Findings

As already mentioned, each successive category of predictors accounted for significant variation in satisfaction. However, Motivators and Hygienes (accounting for 14%) and Environmental Conditions (accounting also for 14%) were most important in predicting satisfaction. Overall, membership of the Humanities/Law was associated with a decrease of more than half a point on the satisfaction scale, or equivalent to almost one standard deviation. Increasing recognition and time spent teaching were the Motivators and Hygienes that predicted significant decrease in

satisfaction. More positive perceptions of relationships with both students and colleagues, administrative processes, and employment at an "old" university were all significantly predictive of greater satisfaction.

Conclusion

These findings suggest that New Zealand academics early in their careers are generally quite satisfied, and appear to be considerably happier than academics in other countries, particularly Australia, our nearest neighbour. As argued in the opening chapter, the interrelationship of structure and agency in determining an academic's satisfaction appears to ring true. Our findings show that supportive relationships with colleagues and managers, and the provision of sufficient resources and services, are related to higher satisfaction, and the absence of autonomy and feeling under-recognised can affect satisfaction negatively. Academics in Humanities/Law disciplines are significantly *less* satisfied than colleagues in other disciplines and we speculate that this may relate to their heavy teaching loads, in an environment that values and rewards research outputs (as discussed in Chap. 4). While gender did not show any significant relationship with academic satisfaction, the more children an academic has hints at a negative relationship with satisfaction and some of these issues are picked up on in the next chapter on work-life balance. Then, later in the book (Chap. 8), the importance of adequate resourcing and support from colleagues is addressed. For now, the words of the participants themselves in the poem below provide some insight into satisfaction (and dissatisfaction) and remind us that academics are not homogeneous in their feelings.

Satisfaction: A Poem

She said:
　　　　I very much enjoy being an academic
　　　　and would choose it
　　　　all over again.

He said:
　　　　I have recently
　　　　submitted my resignation
　　　　and am leaving
　　　　my university
　　　　soon.

This career opportunity has been
　　　　exciting
got me
working beyond my comfort zone,
　　　　the Business lecturer said.

I am overworked,
    the Humanities lecturer said.

I'm actually quite happy
because I've had a lot of support,
    said the New Zealander.

You sink or swim,
    said the international academic.

The support I have received from
the amazing team
of people
I work with
has made my work
a pleasure,
    exclaimed the post-doc.

I love this job
but it is
killing me
    sighed the senior lecturer.

References

Adams, D. (2000). Views of academic work. *Teacher Development, 4*(1), 65–78.

Adams, S. (2013). The least stressful jobs of 2013. *Forbes Magazine*. https://www.forbes.com/sites/susanadams/2013/01/03/the-least-stressful-jobs-of-2013/#3a87aa5c6e24. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Antony, J. S., & Hayden, R. A. (2011). Job satisfaction of American part-time college faculty: Results from a national study a decade later. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice, 35*(9), 689–709.

August, L., & Waltman, J. (2004). Culture, climate, and contribution: Career satisfaction among female faculty. *Research in Higher Education, 45*(2), 177–192.

Bentley, P. J., Coates, H., Dobson, I. R., Goedegebuure, L., & Meek, V. L. (Eds.). (2013a). *Job satisfaction around the academic world*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Bentley, P. J., Coates, H., Dobson, I. R., Goedegebuure, L., & Meek, V. L. (2013b). Academic job satisfaction from an international comparative perspective: Factors associated with satisfaction across 12 countries. In *Job satisfaction around the academic world* (pp. 239–262). Dordrecht: Springer.

Bentley, P. J., Coates, H., Dobson, I. R., Goedegebuure, L., & Meek, V. L. (2013c). Factors associated with job satisfaction amongst Australian university academics and future workforce implications. In *Job satisfaction around the academic world* (pp. 29–53). Dordrecht: Springer.

Bentley, T., McLeod, L., & Teo, S. (2014). The state of the tertiary education sector in New Zealand – 2013: Final reports of findings from the survey of work and wellbeing in the tertiary education sector. Tertiary Education Union and the New Zealand Work Research Institute. http://teu.ac.nz/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/TEU-Final-Report.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Boyd, S., & Wylie, C. (1994). *Workload and stress in New Zealand universities*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research and Association of University Staff of New Zealand.

Bozeman, B., & Gaughan, M. (2011). Job satisfaction among university faculty: Individual, work, and institutional determinants. *The Journal of Higher Education, 82*(2), 154–186.

Chalmers, A. (1998). *Workload and stress in New Zealand universities in 1998: A follow-up to the 1994 study*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research and Association of University Staff of New Zealand.

Crawford, R. (2016). *History of tertiary education reforms in New Zealand*. Research Note. New Zealand Productivity Commission. http://www.productivity.govt.nz/sites/default/files/nzpc-rn-2016-1-history-of-tertiary-education-reforms.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Curtis, B., & Matthewman, S. (2005). The managed university: The PBRF, its impacts and staff attitudes. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations, 30*(2), 1–17.

Eagan, M. K., Jaeger, A. J., & Grantham, A. (2015). Supporting the academic majority: Policies and practices related to part-time faculty's job satisfaction. *The Journal of Higher Education, 86*(3), 448–483.

Ethington, C. A., Smart, J. C., & Zeltmann, M. L. (1989). Institutional and departmental satisfaction of women faculty. *Research in Higher Education, 30*(3), 261–271.

Filiz, Z. (2014). An analysis of the levels of job satisfaction and life satisfaction of the academic staff. *Social Indicators Research, 116*(3), 793–808.

Gappa, J. M., Austin, A. E., & Trice, A. G. (2007). *Rethinking faculty work: Higher education's strategic imperative*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hagedorn, L. (2000). Conceptualizing faculty job satisfaction: Components, theories, and outcomes. *New Directions for Institutional Research, 105*, 5–20.

Herzberg, F., Mausner, B., & Snyderman, B. B. (1959). *The motivation to work*. New York: Wiley.

Hesli, V. L., & Lee, J. M. (2013). Job satisfaction in academia: Why are some faculty members happier than others? *PS: Political Science & Politics, 46*(2), 339–354.

Houston, D., Meyer, L. H., & Paewai, S. (2006). Academic staff workloads and job satisfaction: Expectations and values in academe. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 28*(1), 17–30.

Jones, G., Weinrib, J., Metcalfe, A. S., Fisher, D., Rubenson, K., & Snee, I. (2012). Academic work in Canada: The perceptions of early-career academics. *Higher Education Quarterly, 66*(2), 189–206.

Kessler, S. R., Spector, P. E., & Gavin, M. B. (2014). A critical look at ourselves: Do male and female professors respond the same to environment characteristics? *Research in Higher Education, 55*(4), 351–369.

Lacy, F. J., & Sheehan, B. A. (1997). Job satisfaction among academic staff: An international perspective. *Higher Education, 34*, 305–322.

Locke, W., & Bennion, A. (2013). Satisfaction in stages: The academic profession in the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth. In P. J. Bentley, H. Coates, I. R. Dobson, L. Goedegebuure, & V. L. Meek (Eds.), *Job satisfaction around the academic world* (pp. 223–238). Dordrecht: Springer.

Machado-Taylor, M., Soares, V., Brites, R., Ferreira, J., Farhangmehr, M., Gouveia, O., & Peterson, M. (2016). Academic job satisfaction and motivation: Findings from a nationwide study in Portuguese higher education. *Studies in Higher Education, 41*(3), 541–559.

Mamiseishvili, K., & Rosser, V. J. (2011). Examining the relationship between faculty productivity and job satisfaction. *Journal of the Professoriate, 5*(2), 100–132.

Mark, G., & Smith, A. P. (2012). Effects of occupational stress, job characteristics, coping, and attributional style on the mental health and job satisfaction of university employees. *Anxiety, Stress & Coping: An International Journal, 25*(1), 63–78.

McInnis, C., & Anderson, M. (2005). Academic work satisfaction in the wake of institutional reforms in Australia. *The Professoriate*, 133–145.

Ministry of Education (2015). *Profile and Trends 2014: New Zealand's Annual Tertiary Education Enrolments* [Part 1 of 5]. Report. Ministry of Education, Education Counts. http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/164364/Profile-and-Trends-2014-NZs--Annual-Tertiary-Education-Enrolments-Part-1.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Ministry of Education & Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2014). *Tertiary Education Strategy, 2014–2019*. Ministry of Education. http://www.education.govt.nz/further-education/policies-and-strategies/tertiary-education-strategy/. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Myers, C. B. (2011). Union status and faculty job satisfaction: Contemporary evidence from the 2004 National Study of postsecondary faculty. *The Review of Higher Education, 34*(4), 657–684.

Olsen, D., Maple, S. A., & Stage, F. K. (1995). Women and minority faculty job satisfaction: Professional role interests, professional satisfactions, and institutional fit. *The Journal of Higher Education, 66*(3), 267–293.

Nana, G., Stokes, F., & Lynn, A. (2010). *Academic workforce planning: Towards 2020*, *Report to Universities NZ Human Resources Committee Steering Group*. Wellington: BERL.

Robinson, D. (2006). *The status of higher education teaching personnel in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States*. Report prepared for Educational International. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela. http://firgoa.usc.es/drupal/files/ei_study_final.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Sabharwal, M., & Corley, E. A. (2009). Faculty job satisfaction across gender and discipline. *The Social Science Journal, 46*, 539–556.

Schuster, J. H., & Finkelstein, M. J. (2006). *The American faculty: The restructuring of academic work and careers*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Seifert, T. A., & Umbach, P. D. (2008). The effects of faculty demographic characteristics and disciplinary context on dimensions of job satisfaction. *Research in Higher Education, 49*(4), 357–381.

Sommer, J. (2010). 2008 survey of New Zealand scientists and technologists. *New Zealand Science Review, 67*(1), 1–40.

Sommer, J., & Sommer, D. (1997). *Profiles: A survey of New Zealand scientists and technologists*. Wellington: Royal Society of New Zealand.

Stupnisky, R. H., Weaver-Hightower, M. B., & Kartoshkina, Y. (2015). Exploring and testing the predictors of new faculty success: A mixed methods study. *Studies in Higher Education, 40*(2), 368–390.

Teichler, U., Arimoto, A., & Cummings, W. K. (2013). *The changing academic profession*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Tipples, R., & Krivokapic-Skoko, B. (1997). New Zealand academics and performance management. *International Journal of Employment Studies, 5*(2), 103–116.

Wall, M., Witten, K., & Sweetsur, P. (2009). *Building research capability in the social sciences: (BRCSS) National survey of university-based social scientists*. Auckland: Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and evaluation (SHORE), Massey University.

Winefield, A. H., Boyd, C., Saebel, J., & Pignata, S. (2008). *Job stress in university staff: An Australian research study*. Bowen Hills: Australian Academic Press.

Witten, K., Rose, E., Sweetsur, P., Huckle, T., & Huakau, J. (2006). *BRCSS: National Survey of Social Scientists 2006*. Auckland: Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and evaluation (SHORE), Massey University.

Chapter 6
Work-Life Balance: Exploring the Myths and Realities of Family, Home, Work, and Life Pressures for Early Career Academics

Introduction

The concept of work-life balance in academia has been well studied,[1] but definitions are contested and the ability to ever actually achieve such balance is disputed. All three words in the phrase present problems. 'Balanced' for one academic may be 'teetering on the edge of disaster' for another. Others have argued that balance is not necessarily an appropriate goal and that "integration" (Rapoport et al. 2002) or "capability" (Kesting and Harris 2009) are more accurate or desirable terms. What constitutes 'work' and how that bleeds into, or is inseparable from, 'life' for academics is also tricky. It is not as simple as work = bad, life = good. Or that 'life' equates only with family. Or that 'balance' is found in an equal amount of time at work and time at home. This chapter unravels some of these myths around 'work-life balance' in academia by looking into the family and household demographics of early career academics, and asks about their ability to live fulfilled lives at work and at home.

Work Is Life?

For many academics (but by no means all), the passion they feel for their research, discipline, learning, and students can mean that work is life (Hagedorn 2012; Ylijoki 2013). Many academics have found their passion or calling in their academic work and would gladly do their research and/or teaching work unpaid if they and their families could be happy and sustained. Problematically, though, this can translate

---

[1] An excellent recent literature summary on the work-life balance in academia is provided by Ren and Caudle (2016).

into blurred boundary lines between what academics do at work and what they bring home. Living the life of a scholar means one's thoughts are never far from one's research and the opportunity to spend time in one's books or lab or field is taken whenever it arises, sometimes at the expense of family or personal time. Most academics have spouses or partners (as this chapter will show), and many have children and/or other dependents, so even if they *wanted* to spend all their time engaged in academic work, this would come at some cost to their families, if not also to them. In addition, not all academics express such single-mindedness in regards to work, choosing to draw distinct boundaries between their work and home lives.

Furthermore, many academics do not have children and while those academics without children or partners may apparently have more 'life' time available to devote to their 'work,' they are likely to become disgruntled if such singular devotion is expected of them, or if they have to fill in the gaps for academic parents who are juggling work and family responsibilities. Passion for the work they do should not compel any academics, regardless of their home or personal circumstances, to engage in the many aspects of their work without adequate reward, recognition, or support. Often, complaints about a lack of work-life balance in academia are really about having to 'do more with less,' a reality that seems to have increased in the last two decades as external pressures on universities and their staff have increased (Austin 2002; Enders and de Weert 2009; Menzies and Newson 2008; Mountz et al. 2015; Trowler 1998; Ylijoki 2013).

Family Is Life?

Rather than assuming that we know what matters to academics and where their priorities lie, I asked New Zealand early career academics what was of personal importance to them. Respondents indicated issues of personal importance to them, in terms of their academic careers, on a scale of 1–5, where 1 is *very important to me* and 5 is *not at all important to me*. These items were derived from the literature on academic careers and from various definitions for success that were provided by successful early career academics in an earlier pilot phase of the project (Sutherland and Petersen 2010). Interviewees in that pilot project were asked what success meant to them personally, and their responses included many of the following items (see Table 6.1).

Of the 22 items on the list, the respondents to my early career academic questionnaire considered all but five to be important to varying degrees. The five issues not considered important were all status- or income-related (earning a high salary, the status of having an academic job, achieving recognition by the public, having managerial responsibilities, and becoming professor quickly). These garnered neutral, rather than negative, responses.

Most important was "family and relationships outside work", and women were statistically more likely to rate this as very important than men were, $t(450) = 3.38$, $p < 0.001$. Family was followed closely by "autonomy in the job" and "a job that

Table 6.1 Issues of personal importance (from most to least important)

	n	Mean	Std. Dev	Men	Women
Very important					
My family or relationships outside work	457	1.39	0.86	1.52	1.30
Autonomy in my job	457	1.50	0.83	1.59	1.42
A job which makes a positive contribution to society	458	1.50	0.85	1.68	1.37
Seeing students succeed	456	1.57	0.99	1.51	1.60
Job security	457	1.58	0.89	1.61	1.56
The chance to do innovative work	457	1.59	0.92	1.54	1.60
Having an income adequate to my needs	457	1.60	0.83	1.57	1.60
Other interests outside work	457	1.95	1.22	2.22	1.76
Fairly important					
Achieving recognition by my peers	457	2.03	1.17	2.05	2.01
Helping others to better themselves	457	2.05	1.19	2.07	2.04
Working in a reputable university	455	2.10	1.26	2.07	2.13
Being recognised by my managers as doing a good job	458	2.10	1.23	2.38	1.94
Securing external grant funding	453	2.15	1.38	2.04	2.21
Influencing postgraduate students' opportunities	457	2.31	1.35	2.17	2.40
Continuing to work in the higher education sector	456	2.36	1.41	2.58	2.24
Social interactions with work colleagues	456	2.43	1.40	2.60	2.33
Being a leader	458	2.83	1.54	2.77	2.85
Neutral					
Earning a high salary	458	3.12	1.54	3.06	3.17
The status of having an academic job	457	3.27	1.39	3.25	3.28
Achieving recognition by the general public	458	3.30	1.45	3.18	3.39
Having managerial responsibilities	457	3.41	1.34	3.38	3.44
Becoming professor quickly	458	3.44	1.37	3.15	3.63

makes a positive contribution to society", both of which women were also more likely to rate as very important, $t(450) = 2.24$, $p < 0.05$, and $t(451) = 4.08$, $p < 0.001$. Having other interests outside of work, $t(450) = 4.00$, $p < 0.001$, and being recognised by their managers as doing a good job were more important to women, $t(451) = 3.03$, $p < 0.01$, whereas men valued influencing postgraduate student opportunities, $t(450) = -2.03$, $p < 0.05$, and becoming a professor quickly, $t(451) = -6.15$, $p < 0.001$, more than women respondents did.

The following quote from a survey respondent sums up the kinds of priorities, and corresponding challenges, early career academics face as they try to balance personal and institutional aspirations and expectations:

> I enjoy the intellectual challenges of my job, and my research and teaching offer much joy and inspiration. I work hard and have long hours and am okay with that, but administrative duties are excessive and interfere with my ability to do research. Management issues are an almost constant source of stress that very seriously interfere with my ability to enjoy my

time off. Most non-work days are for recuperation and preparation for return to work. [Senior Lecturer, Social Sciences, Female 35–39 years]

Least important to early career academics in this list of issues of personal importance were status and a high income. These findings resonate with research in the US (see Austin 2002; Gonzales and LaPointe Terosky 2016), and in the Netherlands (van Balen et al. 2012) which shows that job security is more important than salary. They also compare with the Changing Academic Profession (CAP) survey data (Bennion and Locke 2010, p. S25) which shows that autonomy is more important than pay or status (at least in stable higher education systems).

These findings also compare with the opinions of the New Zealand scientists in the New Zealand Association of Scientists survey (Sommer 2010) in which the top three reasons for becoming a scientist were as follows: intrigue with the search for truth and knowledge; desire to contribute to the improvement of the material and intellectual conditions of humanity; and an expectation of a sense of accomplishment by becoming an expert in my field. The "least cited reasons included: 'the potential to become famous for my research' and 'the potential to achieve greater wealth than possible through other careers'" (Sommer 2010, p. 26). As Table 6.1 shows, New Zealand early career academics care more about what their peers think of them than what their managers or the general public think. However, they do want to serve society, and often find it difficult to do this, keep their families and students happy, and get promoted, in an environment where they are worried about funding and managerialism, as evidenced by the following quote:

I think one of the major issues for NZ universities is lack of democratic governance…and the transference of decision-making from faculty to business managers. I certainly believe that universities should be financially viable, but autocratic leadership coupled with an over emphasis on profit-making may eventually cripple the capability of universities to serve as society's leader, critic, innovator, and intellectual stimulator. [Lecturer, Māori Knowledge & Development, Female, 45–49 years]

In particular, as already alluded to in the previous two comments and further supported by the comment below, early career academics are frustrated by a perceived lack of autonomy coupled with what many referred to in the survey comments and during focus groups as "excessive bureaucratisation":

I returned to NZ after working in top research institutions in Europe and the US expecting that work in a NZ university would be less stressful and I would have more time to devote to family and other interests. However, I find that working in a NZ university is even more stressful due to the higher amount of "performance control", lower resources for research in terms of funding and time but still high expectations. [Lecturer, Health & Medicine, Male, 35–39 years]

Regardless of their stronger interest in research than teaching, early career academics report a deep concern for students and place student success very high in terms of importance to them personally ("seeing students succeed" was fifth of 22 items of importance). Early career academics in New Zealand universities report that they are driven by relationships with family, friends, students, and colleagues, and by contributing to some sort of change in society.

As we think about how best to support new academics, it will be important to remember this relational focus and allow plenty of opportunities for them to build, extend and nurture those relationships as they develop their academic careers. We need also to be aware of the loyalty that academics express towards their disciplines, and the frustration they feel at not having autonomy over their work choices, in both research and teaching. Giving voice to early career academics' concerns, as well as allowing – and explicitly encouraging – them to take part in decision-making processes within our institutions may work towards decreasing the perception of excessive bureaucratisation and may increase loyalty to the institution. I pick up on this again in Chap. 8.

Household Situations and Relationships

In order to find out a bit more about early career academics' lives beyond, as well as within, the university, I asked about respondents' living situations. As outlined in Chap. 3, the majority of early career academics in New Zealand are young, female, and from overseas, but they all experience different family and employment situations, as well as varying opinions about what is important at work and home. In fact, early career academics' living circumstances are considerably varied, and it is important to bear this in mind when working out how best to support new academics setting out on their careers. This section outlines the family and living situations of respondents, including household employment and childcare arrangements, and notes vastly significant differences for men and women.

The majority of early career academics in New Zealand live with a partner and/ or children or other family members; only a few (11%) live by themselves. More early career academics in New Zealand (75%) have spouses or partners than do not (25%), and 21% have a partner who is also an academic. Relationship status varies among men and women, however, with men more likely to be in a relationship than women ($\chi^2(4) = 19.08$, $p < 0.005$). This compares with international research showing that women in academia are more likely to be single, separated, or divorced than men, and thus arguably have less access to emotional, domestic, and childcare support than men with partners (Baker 2010; Beddoes and Pawley 2014; Elliott 2008; Gappa et al. 2007; Morrison et al. 2011; Probert 2005).

A few early career academics are in commuting relationships or have a partner living in a different country, and the majority of the partners in these circumstances are themselves also academics. For those academics with partners (75%), a variety of employment situations were described, with the most common being that their spouse or partner was employed full-time somewhere other than at their university (see Table 6.2).

However, household employment situation varied considerably for men and women ($\chi^2(6) = 46.24$, $p < 0.001$). Men were more likely to report that their spouse or partner was not employed outside the home or was working only part-time, whereas women in relationships were more likely to have partners in full-time

Table 6.2 Household employment situation (percentage of respondents, by gender)

Household employment situation	% All	% Men	% Women
My spouse/partner is not employed outside the home	17	28	9
My spouse/partner is employed full-time at this institution	15	16	15
My spouse/partner is employed part-time at this institution	2	2	1
My spouse/partner is employed full-time elsewhere	41	24	54
My spouse/partner is employed part-time elsewhere	14	20	9
My spouse/partner is self-employed	8	7	9
Other	3	3	3
Total	100%	100%	100%

employment elsewhere. Research elsewhere has shown that academic men with non-professional spouses achieve tenure faster than other men and than women (Morrison et al. 2011) and that men in academia tend to have more sources of household support than women, and that this helps advance their careers (Baker 2010; Beddoes and Pawley 2014; Probert 2005; van Balen et al. 2012). Other household factors that arguably affect career advancement include child and elder care responsibilities, and I outline the situations in these regards for New Zealand early career academics, below.

Caring Responsibilities

International research (Elliott 2008) has indicated that women in academia are less likely to have children than men in academia, or than women in other fields (Henkel 2017), and my research shows that fewer early career academic women in New Zealand have children (47%) than do men (52%). However, nearly half (49%) of all New Zealand early career academics *do* have children, with the vast majority (89%) of those children still dependent and/or living at home.

Of those with children, more than half (54%) report that they do not put their children in paid childcare, emphasising perhaps the flexible nature of academic work that allows for working from home and at flexible times. It also speaks to the number of women who are on part-time contracts (more on appointment type below), and the reality that responsibility for childcare more often falls to women than men. Outside of the times that any children *are* in paid childcare, the responsibilities for looking after children are experienced by early career academics in various ways (see Table 6.3).

While the most common situation was that childcare was shared with the academic's partner, there was a significant difference in childcare responsibility by sex of participant ($\chi^2(5) = 69.63$, $p < 0.001$). International research mirrors this finding (Baker 2010; Elliott 2008; O'Meara and Campbell 2011; Probert 2005), so it should not have been a surprise to me, but it is still confronting to see how stark the

Table 6.3 Childcare responsibilities for respondents with children (percentage by gender)

Childcare responsibilities (other than paid childcare)	% All	% Men	% Women
I am the primary caregiver	28	5	46
My spouse/partner is the primary caregiver	23	45	6
My spouse/partner and I share the childcare between us	44	47	42
My ex-partner and I share the childcare between us	2	2	2
Another family member provides regular, ongoing childcare	<1	0	1
Other	2	1	3
Total	100%	100%	100%

differences are for men and women when it comes to domestic and care responsibilities. Women are much less likely than men to have a partner at home looking after the children, and more likely to be taking the primary childcare responsibility themselves. In fact, only 5% of men report that they are the primary caregiver, whereas nearly half (46%) of the academic women with children carry this responsibility. This has potential consequences for early career academic mothers, who are facing all the challenges of a new career with raising a family:

> I have just had a new baby, and the pressure to return to work early has been high due to financial circumstances and very limited (9 weeks) parental leave on full pay. This has exacerbated pressures associated with trying to balance work and home life, and I am prioritising differently. Yet this is not easy because the normal expectation is to prioritise work. This adds unnecessary stress and pressure at a time when I want to be enjoying my expanding family. [Lecturer, Social Sciences Female, 40–44 years]

By contrast, men with children appear to have more choice about how to balance their work and family lives. The following comment shows how differently a male academic reacts to the birth of a new baby and the opportunity for parental leave. Both respondents find their situations stressful, but the woman sees 9 weeks' parental leave as not enough to care adequately for herself and her child, while the man returns to work earlier in order to protect his precarious career prospects:

> My wife and I recently had a baby so I was entitled to 9 weeks paternity leave. I have a 2 year contract (from an external funding source which I applied to and was successfully awarded a fellowship). I feel that if I had taken the full time-off which was offered to me, then I would sabotage my future funding opportunities and career. [Post Doc, Biological Sciences, Male, 30–34 years]

Neither situation is desirable. It is sad that anyone with the job security of a permanent academic role still feels pressured to return to work because caring for her new-born child at home for longer than 9 weeks would be financially dangerous. It is also sad that a young man in a contractual academic role feels he is unable to spend paid time at home with his new baby because his role is precarious and his future uncertain. Imagine if these roles were reversed; a woman in the precarious post-doctoral role may well have needed to take the full 9 weeks leave and potentially risked future career prospects by doing so, or, worse still may have chosen to delay having a child, or decided, against her will, not to have children at all (as has

been reported elsewhere in studies with women academics – see, for example, Acker and Armenti 2004). Clearly, New Zealand universities have some way to go to provide an environment in which academic women and men can, without penalty, confidently make a choice to have children *and* sustain an academic career.

Besides caring for children, 16% of all respondents also had other caring responsibilities, including a partner or relative with an illness or disability, caring for aged parents or relatives, caring for grandchildren, looking after younger siblings, or caring for the children of a deceased sibling. Of those with other caring responsibilities the majority (70%) also had dependent children. Keeping in mind the ageing of the New Zealand population, university employers may need to be more mindful of the additional care responsibilities many academics (not just early career academics) will face as their parents age. And we all need to recognise, as others have noted elsewhere (Lester 2013; Probert 2005) that the 'life' side of the work-life balance equation is not always about childcare. Rather, 'life', just like 'work' (as evidenced by the variety of work activities described in Chap. 4), is multi-faceted and differs for academics with varying household situations and relationships, and with wide interests, hobbies, passions, pursuits, and responsibilities.

Emotional Responses to Work and Life Responsibilities

These different lives also lead to varied responses about how family and living situations fit in with work obligations, and different emotional responses to the many expectations faced at work and home. Despite women in academia often experiencing significantly different living situations from academic men, they do not seem to express significantly more dissatisfaction with their situations.

I asked two overall questions about general satisfaction with work and life, one at the start of a list of work-life balance statements, and one at the end. The first asked about enjoyment of the job, and responses were resoundingly positive (see Table 6.4). Encouragingly, the vast majority of early career academics in New Zealand (93%) report that they do indeed enjoy the challenges of their job, with very, very few expressing neutrality about this, let alone disagreement. The second question asked about satisfaction with overall work-life balance, and came at the end of the list of more specific statements about family, life commitments, time and

Table 6.4 Enjoyment of job and satisfaction with work-life balance[a]

		SA	A	N	D	SD	Mean
I enjoy the challenges of my job	M	50%	43%	4%	2%	1%	1.66
	F	53%	40%	4%	2%	1%	1.62
I am satisfied with my work-life balance	M	7%	34%	27%	23%	9%	3.16
	F	9%	32%	23%	29%	7%	3.05

[a]M = Male, F = Female.
Scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree

Table 6.5 Happiness with family time[a]

		SA	A	N	D	SD	Mean
I am happy with the amount of time I spend with my family	M	18%	30%	28%	19%	5%	2.96
	F	14%	43%	16%	24%	3%	2.63
My family are happy with the amount of time I spend with them	M	9%	30%	25%	28%	8%	3.09
	F	11%	35%	22%	28%	4%	2.89
People comment on my high number of work hours	M	24%	31%	26%	17%	2%	2.75
	F	23%	30%	26%	16%	5%	2.83

[a]M = Male, F = Female
Scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree

relaxation. Responses about work-life balance were considerably less positive, if not entirely negative, than those about enjoyment of the job. Less than half (41%) of all early career academics in New Zealand agree or strongly agree that their work-life balance is satisfactory. Even though the overall means differ between sexes and appear to show more positive responses from women, there are no statistically significant differences between men and women in either enjoyment of the job or satisfaction with work-life balance.

There were differences between men and women in response to more specific questions, however. New Zealand women academics report more happiness about the amount of time they spend with their family and how their family feels about that, than do men (see Table 6.5).

Admittedly, respondents in my study also indicate that their families would probably prefer that they spend more time with them (only 46% of women report happy families in this regard), and that people comment on their long work hours (53%). These findings are less discouraging than I expected they might be; however, they are still not *encouraging* findings – for women *or* for men. In fact, men are less positive overall in regard to the amount of time they spend with their families, the amount of time their families wish they would spend with them, and the way others react to their long work hours. (None of these findings were statistically significant, but it is interesting to note a more positive trend from women respondents).

When we look further into responses to other statements, we get some sense of what leads to the overall dissatisfaction – for women and for men – with work-life balance, and it appears to relate to agency over the way time is allocated (whether by self or others).

Respondents report (see Table 6.6) that they take work home with them more often than they want to (64%), that work often takes priority over activities (78%), and only half (51%) believe that they are in control of the role of work in their lives. More women (53%) than men (49%) agreed that they control the role of work in their lives, but more women also *disagreed* (29%) with this statement than men (26%), leading to no overall statistical significance. In general, it appears that early career academics' ability to control the time that they devote (or are expected to commit) to work is limited and encroaches unwelcomingly on their home and family time.

Table 6.6 Agency in work-time allocation[a]

		SA	A	N	D	SD	Mean
I control the role of my work in my life	M	15%	34%	25%	21%	5%	2.92
	F	15%	38%	18%	26%	3%	2.71
Work often takes priority over other activities	M	34%	45%	15%	4%	2%	2.20
	F	37%	41%	13%	9%	0	2.11
I take work home with me more often than I want to	M	28%	35%	18%	16%	3%	2.48
	F	30%	35%	16%	15%	4%	2.40

[a]M = Male, F = Female
Scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree

Table 6.7 Time for self, exercise, and relaxation[a]

		SA	A	N	D	SD	Mean
I seldom find time to relax	M	14%	30%	27%	26%	3%	2.98
	F	13%	28%	26%	28%	5%	3.03
I always use all my annual leave or time off	M	13%	30%	15%	22%	20%	2.93
	F	25%	23%	11%	32%	9%	2.59
I can arrange my work to get enough physical exercise	M	10%	38%	21%	22%	9%	2.92
	F	9%	41%	14%	27%	9%	2.78
I regularly find time for myself, e.g. to read for pleasure, pursue a hobby, go to a play or movie, etc.	M	7%	29%	28%	25%	11%	3.25
	F	8%	32%	21%	27%	12%	3.04

[a]M = Male, F = Female
Scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree

This encroachment is further revealed in the lack of control that respondents express over their work time, but also over their relaxation time (see Table 6.7). Respondents are neutral about their ability to find time to relax (42% agree that they *seldom* find time to relax and 31% disagreed) or to find time for themselves (39% agree they can find time for hobbies and other relaxing activities and 38% report that they can't). Less than half always use their annual leave or time off (46%) and can arrange their work to get enough physical exercise (49%), with more women than men reporting that they manage to do both of these things. Clearly, early career academics in New Zealand are struggling to arrange their work hours to allow time and space for relaxation, exercise, annual leave, and hobbies, and these findings are reflected in international literature (Acker and Armenti 2004; Watts and Robertson 2011; Ylijoki 2013). This obviously has a bearing on how academics react to the way time is apportioned, their inability to control that use of time, and the competing expectations – from work and home – on their time. And the emotional reaction is not good. A significant majority of early career academics in New Zealand report that, even though they enjoy the challenges of their jobs, they worry about work too much (65%) and end most weeks feeling exhausted (64%). (See Table 6.8). Women report more stress in both regards.

Table 6.8 Emotions related to work[a]

		SA	A	N	D	SD	Mean
I worry about work-related issues too much	M	26%	38%	19%	14%	3%	2.51
	F	31%	35%	17%	15%	2%	2.39
I feel exhausted at the end of most working weeks	M	21%	34%	26%	15%	4%	2.80
	F	29%	40%	15%	14%	2%	2.34

[a]M = Male, F = Female
Scale: 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly disagree

It's Not All Bad

Despite some rather depressing findings, not all responses indicate that life as an academic in New Zealand is dreadful and that work-life balance is impossible to come by (remember that New Zealand academics are on the whole, more satisfied than academics elsewhere). The open-ended comments provided in the space after the work-life balance statements in my survey revealed more about respondents' views on how family, work pressure, and time affect their enjoyment of their academic experience. Twelve respondents made positive comments on work-life balance, and these comments fell into five key themes:

1. good self-management, which included an ability to manage their own time well, decisions not to take work home or to work fewer hours, and prioritising time for exercise and/or family;
2. being single or having no children;
3. choosing to work part-time;
4. having a supportive family; and
5. working in New Zealand.

This last theme was mentioned by several respondents and the quote below is indicative of what many describe:

> Compared to what I've seen in other universities overseas, the work-life balance here is fantastic! The very fact that you refer to the "end of the working week" and worry about people taking work home implies that people here expect to have a weekend and to have evenings free, whereas overseas (and, to be honest I think, among more driven academics here) working during these times is the norm. [Lecturer, Physical Sciences, Female, Under 30 years]

New Zealand, it seems, is an attractive destination for many academics, because of its laid-back lifestyle and comparatively less-pressured working environment. Not all early career academics experience this, however.

But It's Not All Good, Either

By contrast with the positive comments about a less-pressured working environment in New Zealand, a high number (*n* = 96) of respondents made negative comments about a lack of work-life balance. These comments fell into six key themes: workload; family; contract-type; stress; expectations from others; and perceived personal inability to manage time. I have outlined each theme (in descending order of importance) below, with sample comments to provide the participants' voices to the narrative.

Concern about workload featured as the most common theme, expressed by more than one-third of respondents who commented negatively about work-life balance. The following kinds of issues were identified: high work hours, too much teaching or administrative responsibility and not enough time for research; having to work outside usual work hours; working more than other colleagues.

> There is a very unreasonable expectation of what is achievable. Theoretically, I am contracted for 37.5 hours a week, in which my research, teaching and administrative work should be completed. In reality, I would normally work from around 9am-8pm during term time, as well as regular extra work on weekends. [Lecturer, Humanities & Law, Male, Under 30 years]

Family came up often in respondents' comments about their work-life balance. Many commented that family often suffered as a result of the choices that early career academics had to make about work and life. Themes included the challenge of balancing one's family's expectations of how much time should be spent with them, with the expectations from the university of how much time should be spent there; fitting in time for children's activities and/or childcare; wanting to spend more time with family *or,* by contrast, wanting to spend more time at work; family not understanding academic work expectations; and single/older colleagues not understanding the pressures of family life.

> I have two children under five and work extremely hard. The combination of the two is what makes life exhausting. Thankfully I have an extremely supportive husband. I do take work home most nights and struggle to switch off. This frustrates me more than anyone else as I want to strike a better balance. When I am at home with my kids I prioritise time with them, but the moment they are in bed, I am at it again. I love my job though!!!! [Senior Lecturer, Health & Medicine, Female, 35–39 years]

Contract type saw equally as many respondents commenting as had commented on family-related issues. This theme included comments to do with lack of job security or progression opportunities; part-time contracts that carried full-time expectations; balancing multiple contracts; and needing to bolster one's CV with other activities (e.g. funding applications) that were not included in the contract:

> I spend far, far too much time applying for grants and attempting to stay afloat. I get no help or support in this and know full well despite my contributions (which are quite hefty) I will be gone when my research grant finishes. So does one just go now or actually stay working one's backside off in the hope of things changing? [Research Fellow, Biological Sciences, Female, 50 years+]

Stress featured prominently in the comments on work-life balance including, dealing with problematic colleagues, manager, or students; worrying about workload, career progression, job security, and not spending enough time with family:

> I need to take sleeping pills on Sunday nights due to thinking too much about work to get a good night's sleep. [Lecturer, Physical Sciences, Male, 35–39 years]

Expectations of others was a theme that included worries about expectations relating to promotion; pressures imposed by the expectations of performance in the PBRF; colleagues who work long hours and thus raise expectations for everyone else; and the expectation that early career academics should be able to balance teaching, research, service, administration, and management expectations equally well:

> In academia it seems to be the norm that to succeed you need to work many more hours than you are being paid for. I get the impression that if you don't do this, people (*e.g.* future employers) will feel you are not committed. I find this an entirely undesirable situation that is kept up by fellow (early career) academics who, in my opinion, lead unbalanced lives, overachieve and make others who wish to have a better work-life balance look bad. [Postdoc, Physical Sciences, Female, 30–34 years]

Perceived personal inability to manage time included not fitting in enough exercise, not knowing how to tune off from work, working longer hours than personally desired, and not knowing how to say no.

> I struggle to maintain a balance and often wonder if I am just badly organised or whether my commitments are too much. No-one ever admits to working less than they think they should. [Senior Lecturer, Health & Medicine, Female, 45–49 years]

In both the positive and negative comments about work-life balance, respondents recognise that there are individual (agentic) and structural issues at play. Some imply that any perceived lack of balance is entirely their own fault because they have 'chosen' to do a PhD, or have children, or work at two universities, or take on extra responsibilities. Others blame the structures that require them to add extra roles or outputs to already stretched workloads. In the focus groups, similar themes arose and participants all commented, with varying degrees of frustration and despair, about the difficulties of managing academic careers and young families, or of seeking funding to continue in an academic role, or of battling hard to meet others' expectations (either the university's, the Head of Department's, or the academic's own family's expectations). Participants were vocal in their desire for more clarity from their institutions about what is expected of early career academics in terms of output, time on campus, service commitments, and when and how to apply for various funding and promotion opportunities. I expand on these needs in Chap. 8 and identify what early career academics seek most in terms of support, information, resources and services. In the meantime, the next section of this chapter looks into how the appointment types of early career academics affect work-life balance, and considers gender issues in relation to academic appointments and promotion.

Appointment Type

As reported in Chap. 3, 63% of respondents were first appointed on contract, and 73% into full-time roles, but the vast majority are now both permanent (72%) and full-time (86%). Women are significantly more likely to be in part-time roles ($\chi^2(1) = 21.62$, $p < 0.001$), and more likely to have been originally appointed as part-time ($\chi^2(1) = 18.84$, $p < 0.001$). This corresponds with Doyle et al.'s (2004) findings in their study of academics at Massey University in New Zealand, with international (Gappa et al. 2007; Leišytė and Hosch-Dayican 2017) and CAP research (Goastellec and Pekari 2013; Jung 2015), and with other research in New Zealand. For example, in 2012 the New Zealand Human Rights Commission (McGregor 2012) reported on the status of women in New Zealand and noted that while New Zealand universities are continuing to make incremental progress for women academics, less than a quarter of senior academic staff are female: "Women's low representation at the top, despite increasing participation at entry level, remains systemic and frustrating" (McGregor 2012, p. 2).

According to my survey comments, and focus group conversations, for some women working part-time or on contract is a choice:

> I have negotiated to work very part-time to care for our children, but have been fully supported to stay on a confirmation path. There is little time for me but I love my job and my kids. [Senior Lecturer, Health & Medicine, Female, 35–39 years]
>
> My department has been very accommodating of my need to work less hours…and I now work 24 hours per week, which (although I am quite busy) is exactly how many hours I want to work. [Research Fellow, Physical Sciences, Female, 30–34 years]

For the vast majority, however, they would rather have a full-time and/or permanent contract and the job security and benefits that such contracts entail. The following comments sum up well several of the issues associated with part-time contracts, and the frustration felt by many women, and some men, in similar situations:

> At 0.5FTE [half-time], I am ineligible to receive the fee waiver for PhD study within my university and am ineligible for other professional development opportunities….I have considered self-financing my own attendance at conferences etc., just so I can get ahead; however, my current salary precludes me from being able to do this. Therefore, without being able to attend conferences etc., it is difficult to generate research and to find out what the trends etc. are within my discipline area. My experience has thus far been frustrating and for the first time in my professional career I feel that there are obstacles before me and that prejudice exists due to my gender. There is much more I could write on this topic. [Lecturer, Education, Female, 35–39 years]

The young academic quoted above finds it difficult to climb the academic ladder because she does not have as much opportunity to engage in the kinds of professional development that would help her to get promoted or to secure a full-time academic role. Another finds it difficult to balance her employer's expectations with her family's, and struggles to fit everything in to her working week satisfactorily:

> Contract work is not well understood by the people employing me, i.e., the Principal Investigator(s) on my grant (I am 0.5FTE). Whatever I do is never enough, which I think rests on their own standards as permanently employed academics….I therefore have

absolutely no choice as to priorities and one of my 3 children deeply resents this, the other is very sad and the youngest just gives me long hugs and sleeps on a mattress on the floor of our room to get more time close to me. My husband and I pass like ships in the night and I still do all the laundry, dishwashing, childcare and homework organising and general cleaning (though not the lawn mowing). [Research Fellow, Social Sciences, Female, 50+]

Promotion Rates for Men and Women

Whether or not women *choose* to work part-time in academia is not clear from my research, but their part-time status arguably makes it harder for some women to progress through the academic ranks, in that they do not apply for promotion as often as men do. There was a non-significant trend ($t(453) = -1.85$, $p < 0.05$) in my data on promotion that shows fewer women than men actually apply for promotion (see Table 6.9). This corresponds with earlier New Zealand research showing similar findings (Doyle et al. 2004), and with Australian research (Probert 2005). However, women are no less successful than men when they do apply for promotion, as shown by the findings in Table 6.9.

Clearly, we need to work on strategies for encouraging more women to apply for promotion more regularly, and for recognising in promotions processes the realities of part-time and contract work.

Particular Challenges for Early Career Academic Women

Earlier New Zealand research, and the demographic data from this project (see Chap. 3), have shown that women are under-represented in academia in general, but over-represented in the lower ranks (McGregor 2012) and that they lack role models at the higher levels of academia (Doyle et al. 2004). Women's involvement in universities is relatively recent internationally. Indeed, "during the first 800 years of the 900 year history of the university as an institution, universities [were] pure male institutions" (Fogelberg et al. 1999, p. 13). While New Zealand may have been the

Table 6.9 Promotion applications

	Number of times applied			Successful applications		
	% all	% men	% women	% all	% men	% women
	$n = 456$	$n = 181$	$n = 275$	$n = 143$	$n = 72$	$n = 71$
Never	69	63	73	19	19	18
Once	22	25	21	67	63	70
Twice	7	8	5	11	12	10
Three times	1	1	1	3	6	2
Four or more times	1	3	0	0	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

first country in the world to grant universal suffrage (in 1893), and the first in the British Empire to grant a woman a Bachelor of Arts degree (to Kate Edger in 1877), gender inequalities remain in the New Zealand academy, and in science in general, as evidenced by Nicola Gaston's recent book, *Why science is sexist* (Gaston 2015). However, rather than focusing on "what is problematic with women," we need to do more on "problematizing academia itself, its gendered culture and gendered structures" (Fogelberg et al. 1999, p. 14; see also Leišytė 2016). Belinda Probert (2005) challenges the two existing frameworks that attempt to explain the pattern of female under-representation at the higher levels of the academic hierarchy: (1) unequal treatment at appointment and promotion, and with mentoring and workload, and (2) differences in human capital and thus choices that women make. She argues that much previous research on gender issues in academia has relied on questionable methodology where, for example, only women were interviewed or where leading questions were asked. Her own research found that explanations may instead involve more general demographic differences, relating particularly to "high rates of separation and divorce, far higher rates of partnering among men than women and the impact of older children's need" (Probert 2005, p. 50).

My data appear to support this contention, showing, for example, that even in the early stages of an academic career, women and men have considerably different experiences of academia because of the other responsibilities or expectations they have placed on them. Women are less likely to be married, but more likely to have primary childcare responsibilities and less likely to have a partner at home looking after the children. As well as more childcare responsibility, women are on average more likely to have other caring responsibilities, particularly for aged parents or ill relatives. They are also more likely than men to be appointed into part-time roles and to continue in part-time positions.

With so much of the research indicating that women struggle with the demands of family, work, and self (Elliott 2008; Menzies and Newson 2008; Trowler 1998), it is encouraging that a small majority (51%) of early career academic women in New Zealand feel okay about the amount of time they spend with their families. And this may be more common than people expect. In a small, but comprehensive, US observational study of men and women academics, Carol Colbeck (2006) observed that women were more satisfied than men with their allocations of time to work and personal activities, and that men were more likely to report that "ideally, they would work less, spend more time with family, and segment their work and family roles more" (p. 46). Elsewhere, Eagan and Garvey (2015) recently note that "stress due to family obligations did not significantly correlate with faculty's research productivity, and the association did not emerge as significant when moderated by categories of race/ethnicity and gender" (p. 944). Similarly, in my research, there were no significant differences between men and women in overall satisfaction levels, or in how they reported responding to life and work pressures, even though the situations themselves differed. A similar lack of differentiation between the genders was found in a study (Ren and Caudle 2016) of British academics' work-life balance; however, Chinese women academics in the same study did report more intense pressure to meet both family and work demands than men experienced, so it is possible there

are significant cultural or national differences that may not manifest in the New Zealand context.

Even though gender differences in reported satisfaction with work-life balance are not significant, other research has demonstrated that *coping* strategies for achieving work-life balance or avoiding work-family conflict do differ by gender (Ren and Caudle 2016) with women reportedly having to sacrifice more at work and at home, than men (Henkel 2017; Trowler 1998), and engaging in more reactive coping strategies (Acker and Armenti 2004). Supporting early career academics in their work *and* in their lives involves recognising the choices that many make to work in different ways, as well as acknowledging (and doing what we can to help them overcome) the structural barriers that some face in attempting to pursue an academic career.

As several other researchers have noted, however, the discourse of "choice" requires more attention (Baker 2010; Beddoes and Pawley 2014; Henkel 2017; Probert 2005). O'Meara and Campbell (2011) emphasise that for many early career faculty, particularly women who are making decisions about if and when to have children, agency in making decisions is constrained by institutional cultures, values, and practices, often despite positive policies being in place. Even where "stop the tenure clock" policies, parental leave opportunities, and flexible working hours are in place, decisions are also affected by supportive (or lack of) role models and managers (Austin 2002; Lester 2013), and by institutional, departmental, and societal norms, practices and expectations (Henkel 2017; Mountz et al. 2015). For example, Sallee (2013) conducted case studies of three US universities with varying degrees of family-friendly workplace policies and investigated how these policies affect academic fathers, specifically. She argues that societal expectations around childcare contribute to the burden women bear and that changing these expectations through implementing more family-friendly and father-friendly (not just mother-friendly) policies and practices will help change circumstances for women and men in academia.

Clearly, there is a need for attention to both personal *and* organisational (agentic and structural) strategies and responses to alleviate the stress that academics are reporting (Ren and Caudle 2016). Leišytė (2016) notes that "understanding the organizational context is important as it may have an impact on workload balance particularly for female academics as the recruitment and performance criteria, access to performance-related tacit and explicit knowledge in organizations may be gendered" (p. 831).

For example, Darabi et al. (2016) identify hope, optimism, gratitude, and self-efficacy as character strengths that have a positive impact on stress, satisfaction, and well-being for academics. They argue that universities should provide training courses that use positive psychology techniques to help academics develop these character strengths as well as training in problem-focused coping strategies (also a predictor of satisfaction and well-being). Universities have also been challenged to do much more to be "family friendly" (Baker 2010; Dever and Morrison 2009; Elliott 2008; Lester 2013), to bring caring roles "out of hiding in private times and spaces" (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1247) and to "creat[e] environments where having both a family and a successful academic career [is] not only possible, but [is] viewed

as quite normal and desirable" (Dever and Morrison 2009, p. 59). Beddoes and Pawley (2014) and Elliott (2008) warn us to pay attention to those without family, too:

> One barrier to change is the opposition to work and family benefits felt by some employees who have no family responsibilities…. it is important to bear in mind the needs and perspectives of those who do not directly benefit from work and family policies, because their contentment and productivity is as important to the university as is the reduction of work and family role strain among those who have families (Elliott 2008, p. 171).

Hearing the varied stories of early career academics will help us all to understand better the experiences that others are going through, and one of the aims of this project is to allow some of those voices to be heard. The next chapter pays attention to the voices of an important group of academics in New Zealand: Indigenous Māori academics. Meanwhile, I have composed the poem below using the voices of several different respondents to the survey to show how differently people experience academia, pressure, life, and work.

Work-life Balance: A Poem

You've got to look like you're
  busy all the time,
and you've got to have
  no time,
and you've got to work
  in the evenings
  and at weekends,
or else you're not a credible worker
  or you're not committed
    or you're not interested.
So many things get
put to the side or
  are
    left
      undone.
Mostly you're so busy
that you run
  past your arse
    most of the time.
Overall, while I love my job,
I have no work-life balance.
Men can have an academic career
  and also a family.
I have too many kids
  doing too many activities
    with too many friends.
  I feel burnt out.

I give 110% and am treated as if I am useless.
     I feel incredibly isolated.
I am currently having counselling to deal with anxiety and stress.
     I'm looking to get out of academe.
Whatever I do is never enough.
I feel extremely valued by colleagues.
     I am extremely curious.
        I am happy.
Frankly, I think I have the best job in the world.

References

Acker, S., & Armenti, C. (2004). Sleepless in academia. *Gender & Education, 16*(1), 3–24.

Austin, A. (2002). Preparing the next generation of faculty: Graduate school as socialization to the academic career. *The Journal of Higher Education, 73*(1), 94–122.

Baker, M. (2010). Career confidence and gendered expectations of academic promotion. *Journal of Sociology, 46*(3), 317–334.

Beddoes, K., & Pawley, A. L. (2014). 'Different people have different priorities': Work-family balance, gender, and the discourse of choice. *Studies in Higher Education, 39*(9), 1573–1585.

Bennion, A., & Locke, W. (2010). The early career paths and employment conditions of the academic profession in 17 countries. *European Review, 18*(S1), S7–S33.

Colbeck, C. L. (2006). How female and male faculty with families manage work and personal roles. In S. J. Bracken, J. K. Allen, & D. R. Dean (Eds.), *The balancing act: Gendered perspectives in faculty roles and work lives* (pp. 31–50). Sterling: Stylus.

Darabi, M., Macaskill, A., & Reidy, L. (2016). Stress among UK academics: Identifying who copes best. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*. doi:10.1080/0309877X.2015.1117598.

Dever, M., & Morrison, Z. (2009). Women, research performance and work context. *Tertiary Education and Management, 15*(1), 49–62.

Doyle, S., Wylie, C., Hodgen, E., & Else, A. (2004*).* Gender and academic promotion: A case study of Massey University. New Zealand Council for Educational Research. http://www.nzcer.org.nz/system/files/14033.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Eagan, M. K., & Garvey, J. C. (2015). Stressing out: Connecting race, gender, and stress with faculty productivity. *The Journal of Higher Education, 86*(6), 923–954.

Elliott, M. (2008). Gender differences in the causes of work and family strain among academic faculty. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 17*(1-2), 157–173.

Enders, J., & de Weert, E. (2009). *The changing face of academic life analytical and comparative perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fogelberg, P., Hearn, J., Husu, L., & Mankkinen, T. (1999). *Hard work in the academy: Research and interventions on gender inequalities in higher education*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

Gappa, J. M., Austin, A. E., & Trice, A. G. (2007). *Rethinking faculty work: Higher education's strategic imperative*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gaston, N. (2015). *Why science is sexist*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Goastellec, G., & Pekari, N. (2013). Gender differences and inequalities in academia: Findings in Europe. In U. Teichler & E. A. Höhle (Eds.), *The work situation of the academic profession in Europe: Findings of a survey in twelve countries* (pp. 55–78). Dordrecht: Springer.

Gonzales, L. D., & LaPointe Terosky, A. (2016). Aspirations and inclinations among emerging and early-career faculty members. In A. Kezar & D. Maxey (Eds.), *Envisioning the faculty for the twenty-first century* (pp. 192–203). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Hagedorn, L. (2012). The meaning of academic life. *The Review of Higher Education, 35*(3), 485–512.

Henkel, M. (2017). Gender equality in academic career progression: A matter of time? In H. Eggins (Ed.), *The changing role of women in higher education* (pp. 195–207). Cham: Springer.

Jung, J. (2015). Gender differences in research scholarship among academics: An international comparative perspective. In W. K. Cumming & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The relevance of academic work in comparative perspective* (pp. 163–178). Cham: Springer.

Kesting, S., & Harris, C. (2009). Providing a theoretical foundation for work-life balance: Sen's capability approach. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations, 34*(1), 47–61.

Leišytė, L. (2016). New public management and research productivity – A precarious state of affairs of academic work in the Netherlands. *Studies in Higher Education, 45*(5), 828–846.

Leišytė, L., & Hosch-Dayican, B. (2017). Gender and academic work at a Dutch university. In H. Eggins (Ed.), *The changing role of women in higher education* (pp. 95–117). Cham: Springer.

Lester, J. (2013). Work-life balance and cultural change: A narrative of eligibility. *The Review of Higher Education, 36*(4), 463–488.

McGregor, J. (2012). *New Zealand census of women's participation*. Wellington: New Zealand Human Rights Commission. http://www.hrc.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/web-census.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Menzies, H., & Newson, J. (2008). Time, stress and intellectual engagement in academic work: Exploring gender difference. *Gender, Work & Organization, 15*(5), 504–522.

Morrison, E., Rudd, E., & Nerad, M. (2011). Onto, up, off the academic faculty ladder: The gendered effects of family on career transitions for a cohort of social science Ph.Ds. *The Review of Higher Education, 34*(4), 525–553.

Mountz, A., Bonds, A., Mansfield, B., Loyd, J., Hyndman, J., Walton-Roberts, M., Basu, R., Whitson, R., Hawkins, R., Hamilton, T., & Curran, W. (2015). For slow scholarship: A feminist politics of resistance through collective action in the neoliberal university. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies, 14*(4), 1235–1259.

O'Meara, K., & Campbell, C. M. (2011). Faculty sense of agency in decisions about work and family. *The Review of Higher Education, 34*(3), 447–476.

Probert, B. (2005). 'I just couldn't fit it in': Gender and unequal outcomes in academic careers. *Gender, Work & Organization, 12*(1), 50–72.

Rapoport, R., Bailyn, L., Fletcher, J. K., & Pruitt, B. H. (2002). *Beyond work-family balance: Advancing gender equity and workplace performance*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Ren, X., & Caudle, D. (2016). Walking the tightrope between work and non-work life: Strategies employed by British and Chinese academics and their implications. *Studies in Higher Education, 41*(4), 599–618.

Sallee, M. W. (2013). Gender norms and institutional culture: The family-friendly versus the father-friendly university. *Journal of Higher Education, 84*(3), 363–396.

Sommer, J. (2010). 2008 survey of New Zealand scientists and technologists. *New Zealand Science Review, 67*(1), 1–40.

Sutherland, K. A., & Petersen, L. (2010). *The success and impact of early career academics in two New Zealand tertiary institutions*. Report. Ako Aotearoa. http://akoaotearoa.ac.nz/ako-hub/ako-aotearoa-central-hub/resources/pages/success-and-impact-early-career-academics-two-new-z. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Trowler, P. (1998). *Academics responding to change: New higher education frameworks and academic cultures*. Buckingham: Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press.

van Balen, B., van Arensbergen, P., van der Weijden, I., & van den Besselaar, P. (2012). Determinants of success in academic careers. *Higher Education Policy, 25*(3), 313–334.

Watts, J., & Robertson, N. (2011). Burnout in university teaching staff: A systematic literature review. *Educational Research, 53*(1), 33–50.

Ylijoki, O. (2013). Boundary-work between work and life in the high-speed university. *Studies in Higher Education, 38*(2), 242–255.

Chapter 7
He pī, ka rere: Māori Early Career Academics in New Zealand Universities

Meegan Hall and Kathryn A. Sutherland

Introduction

> He manu hou ahau,
> he pī, ka rere.
> I am a young bird,
> a chick just learning to fly.

In 1983, Professor Hirini Moko Mead, the first professor of Māori studies at Victoria University of Wellington, gave a winter lecture at the University of Auckland about what he saw as the future for the field of Māori studies (Mead 1997). He used the above *whakatauki* (Māori proverb) to explain how he thought Māori studies was emerging gradually within the university environment, particularly compared to the other subjects being offered at the time. This chapter similarly likens the development of Māori academics within New Zealand universities to "young chicks", learning to spread their wings and navigate the dual skies of the academy and the Māori communities to which they are held accountable. It reflects their flight paths, in which they are likely to encounter Western institutions that may not accommodate Indigenous knowledge (Morgan 2003) but in which inventiveness and new ideas come from sites of Māori and Western convergence (Durie 2004). Ultimately, it outlines the experiences, characteristics, and challenges of Māori early career academics working in New Zealand universities.

It is unrealistic to assume that there is *one* experience of being a Māori early career academic working at the cultural interface of the university environment, itself "a space of many shifting and complex intersections between different people with different histories, experiences, languages, agendas, aspirations and responses"

M. Hall • K.A. Sutherland (✉)
Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand
e-mail: Meegan.Hall@vuw.ac.nz; Kathryn.Sutherland@vuw.ac.nz

(Nakata 2007, p. 199). However, this chapter draws on data about Māori academics that was collected as part of a survey of early career academics in New Zealand and adds it to other research literature. In presenting this information, a number of commonalities and points of difference emerge between Māori and non-Māori early career academics. This chapter considers each of these thematically.

Background

Māori are the Indigenous people of New Zealand and make up 15% of the national population (Statistics New Zealand 2015). They descend from East Polynesian ancestors who settled every inhabitable island in the Pacific, before finally reaching Aotearoa (the Māori name for New Zealand) circa 1350 AD (Anderson et al. 2014). Over the subsequent 400 years, they became Māori in New Zealand as they spread out across the country, exploring the landscape and resources while developing a language and set of cultural practices now recognised as distinctly Māori. They acquired, amongst other things, ideologies that helped to explain the world around them, and pedagogies that helped them to survive in their new environment. Their period of development in cultural isolation ended with the arrival of Captain Cook and his crew in 1769, and a new era of interaction with Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) and change began.

It took another 100 years post Cook's arrival for the first university to be established in New Zealand. As Chap. 2 describes, the University of Otago opened its doors in 1869 and was followed by other universities opening in Canterbury, Auckland, and Wellington. These early institutions, however, were not concerned with the higher education of or by Māori people. Māori scholar, Professor Sir Mason Durie, described how:

> Intermittent Māori participation in universities began in the 1890s but generally with scant regard for learning preferences shaped by culture or by bodies of knowledge built on indigenous experience and indigenous ways of knowing. Nor was there previous involvement of Māori community leaders in university management or governance (Durie 2009, pp. 2–3).

There are, however, some notable exceptions to the picture of minimal Māori involvement with formal university education in this early period. Sir Apirana Ngata was the first Māori person to graduate from a university in 1893 and later went on to gain law and Master's degrees, an honorary LittD, and publish significant ethnological research (Sorrenson 1996b). His contemporary, Te Rangihiroa Peter Buck, trained to be a doctor at the University of Otago, graduating in 1904, before becoming the first Māori to work as an academic. He went on to garner a large international profile for his vast anthropological scholarship, both in New Zealand and abroad (Sorrenson 1996a). Both of these scholars have served as role models and set high expectations for Māori academics today.

The picture for Māori involvement in higher education in New Zealand has vastly changed over the last 150 years. Fifteen per cent of all Māori over the age of 15 years are now working towards a tertiary qualification (which is the highest par-

ticipation rate for an ethnic group in New Zealand), although, the rate for Māori aged between 18 and 24 and enrolled in bachelors and higher qualifications is just over 13% (Education Counts 2016). In addition, three *wānanga* (Māori tertiary education institutions) have been successfully established and are operating nationally in New Zealand. However, despite the trail blazing of Ngata and Buck, Māori are, as Chap. 3 noted, still under-represented in university academic appointments, and the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) rankings of Māori academics lagged behind non-Māori in the first two rounds (Adams 2008). The overall number of Māori academics working in New Zealand universities is still small compared to non-Māori, although this is difficult to gauge exactly as official figures are hard to locate and their accuracy is not guaranteed. One official report suggested that in 2006 there were 321 PBRF-eligible Māori academics working at universities in New Zealand (White and Grice 2008). Another reported that there were 309 (Çinlar and Dowse 2008). However, both reports agreed that the overall ethnic profile changed little from 2003 to 2006, with Māori academics making up just 6% of the total number of academics in New Zealand.

Gunstone (2008) noted that the majority of Australian Indigenous academics are clustered in their universities' Indigenous Centres. While there is no comparable data about this for Māori academics in New Zealand, a simple check of the eight university websites suggests that Māori academics are similarly clustered around Māori studies and Māori education units in New Zealand universities. The largest cohort of Māori academics is at the University of Auckland, which is not surprising given that it is also the largest university in New Zealand and is located in a city that has the biggest Māori population. Their figures for 2011 recorded 110 FTE (full time equivalent) Māori academic staff from a total pool of 2050 academic staff, equalling 5.4%. Despite this high FTE count, University of Auckland researchers have indicated that in order to gain parity with the staff:student ratio experienced by non-Māori academics, the University would need to employ a further 42 Māori academics (Manuel et al. 2011).

In the survey of early career academics on which this book is based, 6% of respondents identified as Māori. This equates with the 6% of Māori thought to make up the overall academic population in New Zealand, but, as noted in Chap. 3, is lower than the percentage of Māori in the overall New Zealand population. The respondents were drawn from all of the eight universities in New Zealand. Eighty per cent of the Māori respondents were female and only 20% were male. Just under half (48%) had completed a PhD degree, although an additional 24% were working towards a New Zealand or overseas doctorate. Nearly a third were based in the Māori knowledge and development academic area, and the others were spread across the fields of biological sciences, education, engineering, technology and architecture, health and medicine, humanities and law, social sciences, cultural studies, and journalism.

Of the Māori survey respondents, only 48.2% were under 40 years of age, compared to 55% for non-Māori respondents, suggesting that Māori early career academics may be slightly older than non-Māori. This finding is consistent with Kidman and Chu (2015) who concluded that Māori academics are more likely to come into their academic careers later than other academics, possibly resulting in

shorter academic career periods. As evidence, they cite the fact that the average age for Māori doctoral students is 49 years (Nana et al. 2010). This later start has led other Māori academics to surmise that Māori academic careers often follow a different path to those of other academics (Middleton and McKinley 2010). So, what is different about the trajectory of Māori academics starting out in New Zealand universities?

Differences with Māori Academic Experiences

Previous research has suggested that Māori and other Indigenous academics have a different experience of academic life from their non-Indigenous colleagues (Page and Asmar 2008). Based on our survey responses and drawing on other published research literature, a number of differences are evident. First, the confidence levels of Māori early career academics are lower than for non-Māori, which may be explained by some of their cultural beliefs and backgrounds. Another point of difference is that the structures and communities with which Māori academics interact are more plentiful than for non-Māori academics. Not only must they interact with the university and the discipline, but they also accountable to their Māori cultural community. Similarly, their living situations and components of work-life balance are different, resulting in additional responsibilities and pressures for Māori early career academics. The national PBRF process has also been found to have some distinctive impacts on the Māori early career academic community, but some of that impact is mitigated by the relationships developed within the Māori academic community. In addition, their levels and range of service work vary, and mark a distinctive element to the experience of Māori early career academics. Finally, and possibly most significantly, Māori academics have reported experiences of racism and expectations to assimilate that are not shared by their non-Māori colleagues.

Confidence Levels

Responses to our questionnaire show that Māori early career academics are less confident than non-Māori about their ability to perform in their roles. Only 72% of Māori respondents indicated that they were "very" or "fairly confident" about their abilities to conduct the research aspects of their roles, compared with 78% of non-Māori early career academics. Similarly, despite being more confident about their abilities to teach (79% of Māori respondents were "very" or "fairly confident"), Māori early career academics still lagged behind non-Māori respondents (87% of non-Māori respondents were "very" or "fairly confident"). Confidence to perform the role is considered to be an important variable in gauging early career success (Sutherland et al. 2013), so why do Māori academics seem to feel less confident than their non-Māori counterparts?

One possibility is that Māori early career academics can feel uncomfortable about the term "Māori academic" and find it difficult to accept. This may be linked to feelings of inauthenticity or of being "imposters". In a recent study of Māori academics, interviewees admitted feeling inadequate, unprepared, lacking confidence, and they placed a strong emphasis on still being emerging (Hall 2014). The notion of being an "accidental academic" was recounted by interviewees, with many believing that they had fallen into their roles "by mistake", been employed by chance or luck, or would not meet the required standard in the current employment climate (Hall 2014, p. 199). The interviewees talked about the different skills and knowledge they needed to acquire in order to function as an academic and, equally, the cultural expertise necessary for fulfilment of their academic roles as Māori. A picture emerged of both high expectations and excellence, alongside fears of inadequacy and failure. This often manifested in whether the interviewees perceived themselves as having attained the required academic and cultural standards, or not (Hall 2014).

Some scholars have written about the challenges that Māori academics face in relation to questions of their authenticity as Māori, particularly in relation to their own cultural competence (Mead 1996) and their notions of being 'different' from other academics (Irwin 1997). While the importance of authenticity is contested by Māori scholars, with some regarding it as irrelevant (Kukutai and Webber 2011) and others suggesting that it is vital (Te Hiwi 2007), they do agree that added pressure and strain can be placed on academics due to their identification as Māori (McKinley 2002; Kukutai and Webber 2011; Irwin 1997).

Loyalty and Dual Accountability

Early career Māori academics in our survey felt similar levels of loyalty and satisfaction towards their academic units, universities, and department heads as non-Māori did. Both sets of respondents felt extreme loyalty and pride towards their discipline (90% Maori, 84% non-Māori) and profession (83% Māori, 88% non-Māori). They were less loyal towards their institutions (55% for both Māori and non-Māori). The one point of difference between Māori and non-Māori respondents was in relation to their sense of loyalty towards their colleagues; only 65% of Māori respondents agreed or strongly agreed, compared with 72% non-Māori. More information on all early career academics' loyalties to their disciplines, profession, institutions, and colleagues can be found in Chap. 8.

What we were not able to explore were the other accountabilities and loyalties that many Māori academics can feel towards their Māori cultural communities. Traditionally, the Māori culture is organised into stratified social groupings based on lineage. Large groupings called *iwi* (tribes) are made up of people who descend from the same eponymous ancestor. *Iwi* are made up of smaller *hapū* (subtribes), which in turn are made up of *whānau* (extended family) groups. For many Māori

academics, their professional and personal obligations can be split between their disciplines/institutions and their *iwi/hapū/whānau*, which Hook (2008) has coined as the notion of dual accountability. In a related vein, Māori studies scholar Dr Godfrey Pohatu (1998, p. 329) argued that Māori university staff are *taonga* (treasures) because of their "dual edged accountability" both to their university and to their *iwi*. A similar point was made by Māori scholar, Arohia Durie (1995, p. 5), who suggested that the pressures of research and teaching at universities provide a unique challenge for Māori academics because of their "dual obligation" between serving Māori communities and meeting university standards.

This sense of pressure extends out into their relationships within the wider Māori community. Māori academics often speak of a complex set of additional responsibilities for those who are beholden to the communities from which they come. Some describe this as a duty or debt and hold themselves accountable to their *iwi* and *hapū*, particularly in relation to their research outputs and practices (Hall 2014). In their research, Mercier et al. (2011, pp. 87–88) found that "Māori academics felt the weight of expectations from many different quarters: including community, whānau, students, and the university". For some Māori scholars, this duty to their people is viewed as something to be acknowledged and carried, often regardless of personal cost (Irwin 1997; Smith 1992). On the other hand, some Māori academics have hailed the positive connections that they have with their Māori communities, the access that gives them to *te ao Māori* (the Māori world), and the notion that their outputs and achievements are shared on behalf of the Māori collective and make an important contribution to Māori capability building and development (Hall 2014, p. 204).

The prominence, for Māori early career academics, of their Māori cultural identities has a number of impacts on the way they perceive themselves as academics. For example, Māori academics haven spoken about how their affinity to the Māori culture outweighs their disciplinary or institutional academic identities. They have also noted how "being Māori makes you different", and how as Māori academics that can manifest in such extremes as high expectations not just to perform but to excel (in both Māori cultural and scholarly contexts), or low expectations in terms of ill-health and wellbeing (Hall 2014, p. 199).

One other element of Māori academic experience repeatedly raised in the literature is the importance of maintaining and enhancing connections with the Māori community and engaging in academic pursuits that are of benefit to them (Cram 1993; Ka'ai 1995; Mane 2009; Mead 1996). Māori academics write of how "genealogy, family and community connections" create a "long-standing history" that pre-dated and endured beyond the academic appointment or activity (Moeke-Pickering et al. 2006, p. 3). Villegas (2010, p. 252) concluded that scholars, particularly those engaged in *kaupapa Māori* (Māori research methodologies) work, were "not beholden to departments or disciplines" and instead had "responsibilities to other scholars and to Māori people". Māori academic Simon Lambert (2007, p. 76) described how providing opportunities for Māori communities and Māori postgraduates to work together was an extension of "the concept of scaffolding to the area of cultural resilience". He suggested that such an experience not only valued community

knowledge but also broadened the professional development of the Māori scholars involved. This may possibly explain why so many Māori survey respondents were actively engaged in their local research communities, as evidenced by the finding that 92.6% of them had been to one or more domestic conferences that year (compared with 78.1% for non-Māori). For Māori academics, their connection and obligation to their Māori communities appears to permeate their academic identity and experience.

Family/Living Situations and Work-Life Balance

Significantly more of the Māori respondents in our survey reported living with family (52% for Māori and 35% for non-Māori). By contrast, 40% of non-Māori respondents lived with only their spouse/partner and no other dependents, whereas that figure was a much lower 24% for Māori. Another significant point of difference is that, of those early career academics who did have children (76% for Māori, 49% for non-Māori), Māori respondents reported having a lot more children. For example, 20% of the Māori respondents noted that they had five or more children, compared with 0.7% for non-Māori. What is the impact of such markedly different living arrangements?

For one of the Māori survey respondents, this created an imbalance in what the respondent described as "life work balance": "I have too many kids doing too many activities with too many friends. So I struggle with balance for sure but I actually wish I had more time to work, research, write". Kinship relationships outside of the university environment often emerge as being of great importance to Māori academics. *Whānau* expectations can have great influence on their career choices and purpose. From childhood experiences to family traditions, the impact of parents and extended family members is very clear on how and why the Māori academics are drawn to and undertake their academic roles. Despite gaining a sense of motivation from them, some Māori academics have admitted to feeling alienated from their families because of their work, and also note how family expectations create added pressure to perform to a high standard, both professionally and personally (Hall 2014, p. 204).

Some Māori scholars have written about the struggle to balance their various work responsibilities with their other commitments, noting the onerous workloads carried by many Māori academics because of the range of knowledge and skills that they bring to the role, particularly in teaching and research but also with pastoral care of students and other Māori community-related activities (Asmar and Page 2009; Kawharu 2010; Page and Asmar 2008; Webber 2009). These ideas have been reinforced in Māori academic case studies, with interviewees describing the many pressures that hold them back from their enjoyment of doing research and teaching (Hall 2014, p. 210).

Peer Groups

Another interesting point of difference between Māori and non-Māori early career academics relates to their choice of peer groups. Most of our survey respondents (Māori and non-Māori) considered their peers to be colleagues in their department or discipline. One notable exception was 10% of the Māori respondents who shared that their peers were other Māori academics, not necessarily from their discipline or even from their institution.

This finding matches earlier research that found a propensity for Māori academics to find support and collegiality with other Māori, as well as or instead of from their disciplinary or academic unit colleagues (Hall 2014). For some Māori early career academics, this is about reaching out to Māori academic role models around them. Despite the diversity within the Māori academic cohort, Māori early career academics often enjoy strong collegiality within that community and find a sense of solidarity and belonging with others in the Māori academic community through a shared experience and purpose. Some have shared that they find value in connecting with other Māori academics for guidance, mentoring, and opportunities to learn from colleagues with different disciplinary backgrounds but a shared cultural worldview. The only challenge to these connections is that the relationships with other Māori academics can be difficult to maintain over geographical or disciplinary distance.

Research Work and Impact of PBRF

Based on the responses in our survey, Māori early career academics are equally split over whether the PBRF has had a positive or negative impact on their lives. When asked if it had a strong or moderately negative impact on their academic experience, 31% agreed. The biggest cohort was the remaining 38% of respondents who thought that the PBRF had no or a neutral impact on them.

This finding is somewhat inconsistent with previously published work about Māori academics and the PBRF. Others have written about how the performance pressure placed on Māori academics extends into their PBRF research activity. In a report on the national PBRF process, White and Grice (2008, p. 6) found that a higher proportion of Māori research was "in areas of national importance and priority" but, on balance, it "receives lower quality scores because of, perhaps, the cultural characteristics of their research". Exactly what they meant by "cultural characteristics" was not explained in the paper but the authors may have been alluding to the slower speed in which some Māori research can be produced, or the spheres in which it can be disseminated. Another review of the PBRF assessment process found that "Māori researchers are equitably assessed but disproportionately 'new' to research and have lower average outcomes" (Adams 2008, p. 8). Some of this disparity was attributed to the PBRF model itself, which does "not […] respond

as readily to research that is less consonant with that scientific paradigm" (Adams 2008, p. 19). The reviewer concluded that a more inclusive PBRF system was needed, which was able to "encompass different modes of research (both basic and more applied, translational, policy-orientated and practitioner-related), different fields of research (including the social sciences, the humanities and creative arts) and different research cultures (including Māori and Pasifika)" (Adams 2008, p. 19).

Unquestionably, the advent of the PBRF process has provided some additional research challenges and opportunities for Māori academics. Critics of the system have been particularly scathing of its lack of recognition for Māori research topics and practices (Roa et al. 2009; Tawhai et al. 2004). In fact, one article listed 14 different problems for Māori-related research that stemmed from the PBRF process, including its outputs over outcomes focus, its encouragement of publication in "international" journals, and its emphasis on self-promotion (Roa et al. 2009). The PBRF-related and other research pressures on Māori academics are a significant dimension of the Māori early career academic experience.

Māori academics have previously shared about their love of research, the intellectual stimulation that they gain from it, and their commitment to "making a difference" through their contribution to Māori-related research outputs in particular (Hall 2014). Other Māori academics have written about how their research enabled them to make meaningful contributions to Māori knowledge and understanding (Mead 1997; Stewart-Harawira 2007). However, they have also noted research-related pressures, such as the dual requirements of, for example, working with both Pākehā and Māori methodologies, the burden to leave an academic legacy and the duty to produce research that can make a positive, transformational contribution to Māori society (Hall 2014). Asmar et al. (2009, p. 156) gathered feedback from Māori academics about their research experience and found that, "overall Māori participants perceived a lack of institutional recognition for their work and research".

Teaching Workload

As described in Chap. 4, all respondents were asked to indicate what percentage of their time was spent on teaching related activities. Māori early career academics' answers varied from 0 to 80% but the average value was 34.31%. In addition, 61% of respondents reported that they taught three or more courses a year, with one person revealing that s/he taught seven courses per year.

Teaching workload is an issue that has been lamented by Māori academics in the past. Webber (2009, p. 3) shared her experience that, "the teaching workload associated with being one of few Māori academics in the 'mainstream' university programmes can be exhausting". In previous research, Māori academics have admitted to a range of teaching-related challenges, such as their difficulties in evaluating the effectiveness of their programmes, their lack of formal teaching and course design training, their struggle with Māori teaching pedagogies, their heavy teaching

workloads, their need to keep up with changing technology, and the pressure to counter racism or misinformation about Māori in their classrooms (Hall 2014, p. 201).

For some Māori early career academics there can be a challenge to teach using pedagogies they feel are culturally inappropriate. Some authors have previously discussed alternative Māori pedagogies and teaching practices suitable for higher education contexts (Adds et al. 2011; Ka'ai 2005, 2008; Morrison 1999; Roa and Tuaupiki 2005). Others have canvassed the challenges that Indigenous academics often face when they teach Indigenous subjects within universities (Jaime 2008; Nakata et al. 2012). When a group of lecturers at Victoria University of Wellington came together in 2009 to discuss their various pedagogies they found that they shared two main commonalities (Hall 2014, p. 68). The first was that the Māori academics involved in the study all pitched their teaching *to* their Māori students (or at least with their Māori students in mind). They believed this raised the status of Māori knowledge, put the Māori students at the centre, front loaded the information (and put the onus on the other students to catch up), took a pro-Māori standpoint, and recognised that the way Māori academics teach deeply influences their students. This approach manifested in course design, course content selection and even teacher disposition.

Their other common finding was that the Māori academics involved in the project all taught *for* the Māori community – not in a direct sense but rather as a form of cultural accountability that went beyond the immediacy of student retention and achievement within the course and related more to the future impact and contribution of Māori graduates. Māori academics are often concerned about whether Māori students meet the standards and requirements of the Māori community. They see it as their job to produce graduates who contribute positively to Māori society. They want to be proud of the calibre of students that they put back in the community and of the contribution that those students are making.

Levels of Service Work

While our survey did not explore in depth the service experiences of Māori early career academics, previous research compared the experiences of Māori and Indigenous Australian academics and concluded that both continue to face challenges and carry service obligations in addition to those of their non-Indigenous colleagues (Asmar et al. 2009). For example, Māori academics have been found to make a valuable contribution to the recruitment, retention and achievement of Māori students, which continues to be a significant issue for all New Zealand universities (Airini et al. 2010; Callister 2009; Coxhead 2006; Ross 2008). Other research concluded that Māori academics, besides giving academic support, often "help to establish a whānau environment in the University and act as role models for students" (Gallhofer et al. 1999, p. 790).

Māori academics themselves have described their extra responsibilities, such as giving "the Māori perspective" on any Māori matter, addressing "potential problems with difficult Māori subjects or ethics" (Kukutai and Webber 2011, p. 6) and providing "pastoral care, extensive academic support and being a welcoming confidant who is identifiably Māori" (Nikora et al. 2002, pp. 21–22). They also note a complex set of additional responsibilities carried by Māori academics, particularly for those who take on representative roles within their institutions, such as serving on committees and review panels, often at the expense of their own research and teaching. This is seen both as making a positive contribution on behalf of Māori but also limiting their opportunities for research (which has a negative impact on career progression), advanced intellectual exchange, and academic skills development (Hall 2014).

Experiences of Racism and Assimilation

Perhaps the biggest difference in the experiences of Māori and non-Māori early career academics relates to their encounters with structurally ingrained racism and expectations of assimilation. While some authors have emphasised the way that Māori academics have maintained *tikanga Māori* (Māori cultural practices) within the university context, others have written about how the academy has worked to subvert or marginalise Māori academics. They describe the difficulties of trying to maintain cultural integrity and not compromise on their cultural beliefs (Hook 2008; Irwin 1997; Mikaere 1998; Page and Asmar 2008; Ratima 2008; Smith 2000) often leading to a sense of isolation or loneliness. Villegas (2010, p. 103) reports that, rather than seeing improvement in universities, her Māori academic interviewees thought that "racism has become more intense". Some of the prejudice manifested in the form of microaggressions, such as "subtle snubs" or "hidden messages of derogation" (Sue 2010, p. 109). Mead (1996, p. 118) provides examples of the "day-to-day smaller struggles over the way the university answers the phone or people type Māori words or greet Māori visitors" and Jefferies (1997, p. 133) gives a list of problems for Māori working in a 'Pākehā institution' that includes "maintaining, justifying or expanding their programmes due to gatekeeping against, and marginalisation of, Māori staff and kaupapa Māori within their organisations". McKinley (2002, p. 113) writes about Māori scientists who hide their Māori ethnicity for fear of adverse consequences for their careers. In their research, Kidman and Chu (2015) found that 25 of their 29 Māori academic interviewees reported having witnessed or experienced racial or gender discrimination in universities.

For Irwin (1997, p. 59), the idea of assimilating "into the dominant culture (Pākehā and male) of the university" was "not an acceptable option". She described the pressure to "assimilate" to the university environment and the "cultural bias" and inequity she faced as not just a Māori person but also as a woman (Irwin 1997, p. 59). She also criticised non-Māori scholars for their inability to theorise "how

Māori and women – Māori women particularly – can become 'successful' and still maintain their cultural integrity and integrity in the education system" (Irwin 1997, p. 59).

Hook (2008, p. 4) reinforced the notion of the pressure on Māori to assimilate into the university environment, and explained that Māori and Pākehā worldviews are "about as far apart as any two world views can get" so "for Māori engaging in employment or study in a mainstream university there are numerous compromises necessary in order to succeed". He warned that if a Māori person does appear to change their behaviour to better fit the university environment,

> this does not mean that Māori have "seen the light" and now embrace all that Pākehā hold near and dear. Within the university setting the struggle to interweave two world views is sometimes difficult and underpins some of the struggle. The point is that Māori have to absorb two world views, but Pākehā have only to absorb one (Hook 2008, p. 4).

Hook suggests that while "the common ground seems to entail the willingness of Māori to learn to understand the Pākehā point of view, perhaps a greater understanding of Māori perspectives might also be of value" (2008, p. 4).

However, Māori postgraduate Andrea Morrison (2000) pointed in her thesis to the difficulties that present themselves in trying to create Māori space in a university environment. She reiterated a point made by Mead (1996) that most Māori academics work in departments as the minority voice. As Mead explained:

> Many are employed because they are Māori, but are expected to teach Māori perspectives on topics that continue to reflect the theoretical interests of Pākehā. Reprioritising and "bringing to the centre" topics which may interest Māori represents the "special battleground" mentioned by Fanon. In present-day terms this battleground is spatial. It is about theoretical spaces, pedagogical spaces, and structural spaces. It is also about culture, history and power, about making sense of, transforming, struggling against, the institutions within which we work (Mead 1996, p. 116).

Cheryl Smith (2000, p. 50) extended this idea by acknowledging that alongside "claims for separate space being made by Māori" there was also a challenge for Māori academics "to more strongly bring forward into our work and lived reality, the epistemologies that we so often put to one side as separate spheres or relegate to formalised ritual". Thus the call for Māori space within university environments should be understood as moving beyond physical structures to include theoretical, pedagogical, and structural spaces necessary to better nurture and support Māori early career academics and Māori scholarship. However, some authors have warned of the additional pressures placed on Māori academics to protect the Māori culture and counter processes and acts of racism (Alton-Lee 2006; Coxhead 2006; White et al. 2009).

The relationships that often cause Māori academics the most difficulty and stress are with their non-Māori colleagues within the university environment. While many Māori academics have experiences of supportive, collegial non-Māori academics who provide mentorship and care, they can also face instances of misunderstanding and racism. This manifests most prominently in cultural and social isolation but also occurs in the form of academic elitism, the undervaluing of Māori research, and

being taken advantage of by non-Māori colleagues (Hall 2014, p. 205). Due to concerns over job security, some Māori academics are less willing to confront this bias than others. Those who do confront institutional racism describe the difficult battle that they face and the distrust and missed opportunities that are generated. The negative impact perpetuated by the employment of only a small number of Māori academics, which forces them into 'lone' and 'token' Māori academic roles, ensures that they have limited ability to influence the university environment (Hall 2014, pp. 205–206).

Implications

While, for the most part, Māori early career academics have a similar experience of working in academia to non-Māori, this chapter has outlined some key points of difference. These differences have a range of consequential implications for Māori early career academics and the New Zealand higher education sector more broadly. For example, the measures of success for Māori early career academics may be different from non-Māori, there are Treaty of Waitangi implications to consider, and there may be differences in the kinds of support that could or should be made available to Māori starting out in academic careers.

Māori Measures of Academic Success

If we are to accept that the general measures of success in academia are a combination of research productivity, overall satisfaction, and high levels of confidence in teaching and research (Sutherland et al. 2013), that begs the question, do the same notions of success apply to Māori academics? While their responses to our survey would indicate that many of those factors resonate with Māori early career academics, the research literature suggests a slightly varied measure of success.

Being Māori means that many Māori academics instinctively see academia through a different lens, with a set of distinctive worldviews and values that have the potential to add to the university environment. They value core Māori concepts such as *manaakitanga* (hospitality), *whanaungatanga* (kinship relationships), *tuakana* and *teina* roles (the relationship between an older/more experienced mentor (*tuakana*) and younger/less competent learner (*teina*)), and regret the minimal recognition of these concepts within academic institutions. Even the Māori cultural propensity towards humility, epitomised in the *whakatauki* (proverb) "*Kāore te kumara e kōrero mō tōna ake reka*" (The *kumara*[1] does not say how sweet it is) is something, in Māori terms, to be respected and modelled but is often seen as a limi-

---

[1] Sweet potato.

tation on Māori academics when applying for or being granted an academic promotion. Similarly, strong relationships with their wider Māori communities and Māori students, and being able to uphold the *mana* (reputation) of their families, is thought to be of great importance for many Māori academics but remains invisible to many of their colleagues.

Overall satisfaction with their academic career is certainly a key factor for Māori academic success, but the causes of that satisfaction may vary. For example, some Māori academics have recounted the happiness that they draw from their career choice, and describe how much they love going to work each day. Other have shared how academic work offers a chance of "personal transformation" to an extent not possible for relatives and friends in more limited work roles (Hall 2014). However, a strong call has been made from Māori academics that they want to be Māori *and* academics with integrity. This means different things for different people but includes being able to work for and with Māori communities, and being able to maintain Māori worldviews and observe Māori customs and practices. At the same time, they want to be good scholars who produce critical, well-informed research, deliver excellent teaching that engages students, and meet all of the expectations of their academic institutions. For example, they not only want to succeed in the PBRF process but they also want to meet the high standards set by their *tipuna* (ancestors) (Hall 2014). That balancing act can be difficult to achieve when Western values predominate within an academic discipline or institution. As Mikaere (1998, p. 13) observed, "[i]t is extraordinarily difficult to maintain any degree of integrity as an indigenous person within an institution which requires such daily compromise".

A challenge faced by many Māori academics is finding and maintaining the space within their universities to be Māori and be academics and to do both well, with integrity and credibility. Not every Māori academic needs or wants to be able to stand as comfortably on the *paepae* (Māori orator's platform) as they do at the lectern and vice versa. But for those who do, and such a dual function is a common goal for Māori academics, a way is needed to make that not only possible but desirable (and rewarded) within their academic institutions.

Treaty of Waitangi Implications

The Treaty of Waitangi is often described as the founding document of New Zealand (New Zealand History n.d.) and has come to be regarded as forming a partnership (albeit a contested one) between Māori and the British Crown. A set of principles drawn from the Treaty has since been integrated into New Zealand educational policy and legislation (Department of Justice 1989). This has manifested in a requirement for tertiary institutions to meet a distinct set of Māori-related obligations and goals. On a national scale, the New Zealand Tertiary Education Strategy calls for tertiary providers to "improve their support and encouragement of Māori participation and achievement" (Tertiary Education Commission 2014, p. 13). Māori

students were identified by the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) as a priority group for the 5 years to 2019, which is a testament to the government's interest in Māori achievement in tertiary study in New Zealand.

The government focus on increasing Māori tertiary students has a number of implications for all early career academics, but particularly for those who are Māori. On the one hand, it supports the need to hire more Māori academics, as noted in the TES indicators of success (Tertiary Education Commission 2014, p. 13). The expectation is that the Māori academics will act as role models, particularly for Māori students, and use culturally responsive teaching practices. On the other hand, it puts enormous pressure on the limited number of Māori academic appointments, particularly early career, to provide not only academic support but also cultural, pastoral, spiritual, and even social support as the Māori students transition into the university environment. Some Māori scholars have denounced this as a structural issue that needs addressing urgently. They argue that university structures should become more Māori-centred, thereby gaining greater alignment with the principles of *tikanga Māori* (Māori cultural practices) (Hook 2010; Robust 2007). Others suggest that being Māori-centred does not go far enough and that universities need to provide both physical and metaphorical space for Māori (Johnston 2001; Mead 1996; Morrison 2000; Royal 2012; Smith 2000; Smith 2011).

Implications for the Development of Māori Early Career Academics

Against this background of distinctive Māori measures of success and institutional (as well as personal) pressures and challenges, it is clear that Māori early career academics are likely to need different kinds of academic development support. For example, they need support that is consistent with Māori principles but able to be applied in a Western university context. They also need their support to accommodate the imbrication and tensioning between the different dimensions of Māori academic experiences, Indigenous norms and the university context.

A culturally appropriate academic development programme for Māori early career academics needs not just to align with the values of their Western institutions, but also be informed by Māori knowledge, skills, experiences, and belief systems. Such a programme would take account of four dimensions that are central to the experiences of Māori academics:

- *Tuakiritanga* (their identity as Māori, as academics and as Māori academics);
- *Pūkengatanga* (the academic and cultural skills necessary for them to perform their roles well);
- *Whanaungatanga* (the relationships that they have to navigate, honour, and cultivate in order to achieve their goals); and
- *Tikanga* (the Māori cultural values and practices that guide their behaviour and are important in their performance as Māori academics).

Each of these separate areas is an important aspect for the academic development of Māori early career academics, but they also interconnect and overlap to reflect the holistic nature of Māori academic work. Their development programme also needs to be cognisant of the dual accountability, dual obligations, and dual scholarship expected of Māori academics.

Conclusion

In the same winter lecture back in 1980 in which he likened Māori studies to a young chick learning to fly, Professor Hirini Mead also noted how "change is occurring all around us and sometimes we hardly notice that there is progress" (Mead 1997, p. 21). The same could be said of the experience of Māori early career academics. In the beginning of their careers, there seems to be so much to learn and do and the challenges of balancing academic and Māori expectations can seem quite overwhelming. Not only is there pressure, as for all early career academics, to meet their employing institutions' expectations (and the external pressures of PBRF), but there are also the heavy expectations of the Māori community to realise. In addition, our survey suggests that their confidence levels are likely to be lower than non-Māori early career academics, and they are more likely to have more dependents; therefore, their components of work-life balance are likely to be different. Over time though, resilient Māori academics will learn to handle the dual accountability, increased service loads and experiences of racism and assimilation. Many will come to realise the importance of *tikanga Māori*, those values and practices that derive from Māori culture, and develop their own ways to embed them in their academic practice. Ultimately, they find their own ways to embody what Māori scholar Sir Hugh Kawharu once said: "You can be an academic Māori or a Māori academic. To be a Māori academic always has far greater demands" (Kawharu 2010).

References

Adams, J. (2008). *Strategic review of the Performance-Based Research Fund: The assessment process*. Wellington: Tertiary Education Commission.

Adds, P., Hall, M., Higgins, R., & Higgins, T. (2011). Ask the posts of our house: Using cultural spaces to encourage quality learning in higher education. *Teaching in Higher Education, 16*(5), 541–551.

Airini, Brown, D., Curtis, E., Johnson, O., Luatua, F., O'Shea, M., Rakena, T., Reynolds, G., Sauni, P., Smith, A., Su'a Huirua, T., Tarawa, M., & Ulugia-Pua, M. (2010). Success for all: Improving Māori and Pasifika student success in degree-level studies. Wellington: Teaching & Learning Research Initiative. http://www.tlri.org.nz/tlri-research/research-completed/post-school-sector/success-all-improving-maori-and-pasifika-student. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Alton-Lee, A. (2006). How teaching influences learning: Implications for educational researchers, teachers, teacher educators and policy makers. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 22*(5), 612–626.

Anderson, A., Binney, J., & Harris, A. (2014). *Tangata whenua: An illustrated history*. Wellington: Bridget William Books.

Asmar, C., & Page, S. (2009). Sources of satisfaction and stress among Indigenous academic teachers: Findings from a national Australian study. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 29*(3), 387–401.

Asmar, C., Mercier, O. R., & Page, S. (2009). "You do it from your core": Priorities, perceptions and practices of research among Indigenous academics in Australian and New Zealand universities. In A. Brew & L. Lucas (Eds.), *Academic Research and Researchers* (pp. 146–160). Maidenhead: McGraw Hill.

Callister, P. (2009). *Which tertiary institutions are educating young, low-skill Māori men? A research note*. Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies.

Çinlar, N., & Dowse, J. (2008). *Human resource trends in the tertiary academic workforce: A working paper contributing to the independent strategic review of the Performance-Based Research Fund*. Wellington: Tertiary Education Commission.

Coxhead, C. (2006). *Assisting Indigenous students to succeed: Let's start by giving them a safe learning environment*. A presentation at the Australasian Law Teachers Association (ALTA) Annual Conference – Legal Knowledge: Learning, Communicating and Doing, Victoria University, Melbourne.

Cram, F. (1993). *Ethics in Māori research: A working paper*. A presentation at the Cultural Justice and Ethics Symposium held at the Annual Conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society, Victoria University of Wellington.

Department of Justice. (1989). *Principles for crown action on the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Department of Justice.

Durie, A. (1995). Kia Hiwa Rā: Challenges for Māori academics in changing times. *He Pukenga Kōrero, 1*(*1*), 1–9.

Durie, M. (2004). Exploring the interface between science and Indigenous knowledge. In *5th APEC Research and Development Leaders Forum.* Christchurch.

Durie, M. (2009). *Towards social cohesion: The indigenisation of higher education in New Zealand*. In Vice Chancellor's forum: How far are universities changing and shaping our world? Kuala Lumpur. http://www.universitiesnz.ac.nz/node/418. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Education Counts. (2016). *Profile & trends New Zealand's annual tertiary education enrolments 2015*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Gallhofer, S., Haslam, J., Nam Kim, S., & Mariu, S. (1999). Attracting and retaining Maori students in Accounting: Issues, experiences and ways forward. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting, 10*, 773–807.

Gunstone, A. (2008). Australian university approaches to Indigenous policy. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 37*, 103–108.

Hall, M. (2014). *Rethinking Māori academic development.* Unpublished PhD thesis. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

Hook, G. (2008). Cultural relativism and academic freedom within the universities of New Zealand. *MAI Review, 1*, 5. http://web.its.auckland.ac.nz/ojs.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/viewFile/83/111. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Hook, G. (2010). A national Māori university. *MAI Review, 2*. http://web.its.auckland.ac.nz/ojs.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/view/296/481. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Irwin, K. (1997). Becoming an academic: Contradictions and dilemmas of a Māori feminist. In S. Middleton & A. Jones (Eds.), *Women and education in Aotearoa 2* (pp. 52–67). Auckland: Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books.

Jaime, A. (2008). Native women: Decolonization and transcendence of identity. *International Journal of Multicultural Education, 10*(2), 1–13.

Jefferies, R. (1997). *Maori participation in tertiary education: Barriers and strategies to overcome them*. Wellington: Te Puni Kōkiri.

Johnston, P. (2001). "Watch this spot and whose in it": Creating space for Indigenous educators? *Australian Journal of Teacher Education, 26*(1).

Ka'ai, T. (1995). *Te tātari i te kaupapa.* PhD thesis. Hamilton: University of Waikato.

Ka'ai, T. (2005). *Indigenising the academy: Indigenous scholars as agents of change*. A presentation at the 3rd Annual Hawai'i International Conference on Education, Honolulu, HI

Ka'ai, T. (2008). *The role of marae in tertiary education institutions*. Te Kaharoa, 1. https://ojs.aut.ac.nz/tekaharoa/index.php/tekaharoa/article/view/142. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Kawharu, M. (2010, 16 April). *Presentation about community and Iwi relationships from a Māori woman academic's perspective.* Paper presented at the MANU AO Leadership Wānanga, The University of Auckland, Auckland.

Kidman, J., & Chu, C. (2015). *Māori scholars and the university*. Auckland: Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. http://www.maramatanga.ac.nz/sites/default/files/project-reports/Kidman%20Chu%20Fernandez%20Abella-%20Maori%20Scholars%20Final%20report%202015.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Kukutai, T., & Webber, M. (2011). Navigating the "space between": Authenticity and identity in 'Māori' social science. *Sociology, 26*, 4–20.

Lambert, S. (2007). *Māori writing retreats: Advancing Māori postgraduates.* Paper presented at the Association of Tertiary Learning Advisors of Aotearoa New Zealand Conference 2006, Auckland.

Mane, J. (2009). Kaupapa Māori: A community approach. *MAI Review*, *3*. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/viewFile/243/282. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Manuel, R., Dunphy, C., & Hema, G. (2011). *Tuākana learning community: Enhancing academic success for Māori and Pasifika students*. A presentation at HERDSA 2011: Higher Education on the Edge, Gold Coast, Australia.

McKinley, E. (2002). Brown bodies in white coats: Maori women scientists and identity. *Journal of Occupational Science, 9*(3), 109–116.

Mead, L. T. (1996). *Ngā aho o te kākahu mātauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in education*. Auckland: University of Auckland.

Mead, S. M. (1997). *Landmarks, bridges and visions: Aspects of Maori culture*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Mercier, O. R., Asmar, C., & Page, S. (2011). An academic occupation: Mobilisation, sit-in, speaking out and confrontation in the experiences of Māori academics. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 40*, 81–91.

Middleton, S., & McKinley, E. (2010). The gown and the korowai: Māori doctoral students and the spatial organisation of academic knowledge. *Higher Education Research and Development, 29*(3), 229–243.

Mikaere, A. (1998). Taku titiro: Viewpoint: Rhetoric, reality and recrimination: Striving to fulfill the bicultural commitment at Waikato Law School. *He Pūkenga Kōrero: A Journal of Māori Studies, 3*(2), 4–14.

Moeke-Pickering, T., Hardy, S., Manitowabi, S., Mawhiney, A., Faries, E., Gibson-van Marrewijk, K., Tobias, N., & Taitoko, M. (2006). Keeping our fire alive: Towards decolonising research in the academic setting. *WINHEC (World Indigenous Higher Education Consortium) Journal*.

Morgan, D.L. (2003). Appropriation, appreciation, accommodation: Indigenous wisdoms and knowledges in higher education. In M. Bray (Ed.), *Comparative education: Continuing traditions, new challenges, and new paradigms* (pp. 35-49). Dordrecht: Springer.

Morrison, A. (1999). *Space for Māori in tertiary institutions: Exploring two sites at the University of Auckland.* Master's thesis. Auckland: University of Auckland.

Morrison, A. (2000). *Space for Māori in tertiary institutions*. A presentation at the Fourth Pacific Rim-First Year in Higher Education Conference: Creating Futures for a New Millennium, Queensland University of Technology, Australia.

Nakata, M. (2007). *Disciplining the savages, savaging the disciplines*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Nakata, M., Nakata, V., Keech, S., & Bolt, R. (2012). Decolonial goals and pedagogies for Indigenous Studies. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 1*(1), 120–140.

Nana, G., Stokes, F., & Lynn, A. (2010). *Academic workforce planning: Towards 2020. Report to Universities New Zealand Human Resources Committee Steering Group.* Wellington: Universities New Zealand.

New Zealand History (n.d.). *The Treaty in brief.* http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/the-treaty-in-brief. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Nikora, L., Levy, M., Henry, J., & Whangapirita, L. (2002). *Addressing the recruitment and retention of Maori students in tertiary education institutions: A literature review.* Prepared for the Ministry of Health: Māori & Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato.

Page, S., & Asmar, C. (2008). Beneath the teaching iceberg: Exposing the hidden support dimensions of Indigenous academic work. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 37* (Suppl.), 109–117.

Pohatu, G. (1998). *The university, Maori studies and Treaty praxis.* PhD thesis. Dunedin: University of Otago.

Ratima, M. (2008). Making space for kaupapa Māori within the academy. *MAI Review, 1.*

Roa, T., & Tuaupiki, J. (2005). Tikanga Tainui; Tikanga Whare Wananga. *He Puna Kōrero, 6*(2).

Roa, T., Beggs, J. R., Williams, J., & Moller, H. (2009). New Zealand's Performance Based Research Funding (PBRF) model undermines Māori research. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand, 39*(4), 233–238.

Robust, T. (2007). Developing Indigenous infrastructure in the university: Another era or another error? *MAI Review*, 1. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/view/31. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Ross, C. (2008). *Culturally relevant peer support for Māori and Pasifika student engagement, retention and success.* Wellington: Ako Aotearoa.

Royal, T. C. (2012). Politics and knowledge: Kaupapa Maori and matauranga Maori. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 47*(2), 30–37.

Smith, L.T. (1992). *Ko taku ko te Maori: The dilemma of a Maori academic.* A presentation at the NZARE/AARE Joint Conference, Deakin University, Geelong, Australia.

Smith, C. (2000). Straying beyond the boundaries of belief: Māori epistemologies inside the curriculum. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 32*(1), 43–51.

Smith, G. H. (2011). *MANU AO seminar – Transforming education.* Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

Sorrenson, M. (1996a). Buck, Peter Henry. In *The dictionary of New Zealand biography, Te Ara the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Wellington: Ministry of Culture and Heritage.

Sorrenson, M. (1996b). Ngata, Apirana Turupa. In *The dictionary of New Zealand biography, Te Ara the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Wellington: Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

Statistics New Zealand. (2015). *New Zealand census 2013: Major ethnic groups in New Zealand.* Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.

Stewart-Harawira, M. (2007). Practicing Indigenous feminism: Resistance to imperialism. In J. Green (Ed.), *Making space for indigenous feminisms.* Fernwood: Zed Books.

Sue, D. W. (Ed.). (2010). *Microaggressions and marginality: Manifestations, dynamics, and impact.* Hoboken: Wiley.

Sutherland, K. A., Wilson, M., & Williams, P. (2013). *Success in Academia? The experiences of early career academics in New Zealand universities.* Wellington: Ako Aotearoa.

Tawhai, V., Pihera, K., & Bruce-Ferguson, P. (2004). *Does the PBRF need reshaping? A new Māori educational institution's perspective.* A presentation at the Higher Education Research and Development Society of Australasia (HERDSA) Conference, Sarawak.

Te Hiwi, E. (2007). Disrupted spaces: Racism and the lived experience of Māori identity formation. In *Proceedings of the 2007 National Māori and Pacific Psychologies Symposium.* Hamilton.

Tertiary Education Commission. (2014). *Tertiary education strategy 2014–2019.* Wellington: Tertiary Education Commission.

Villegas, M. (2010). *500 Māori PhDs in five years: Insights from a successful Indigenous higher education initiative.* Doctor of education thesis. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Webber, M. (2009). The multiple selves and realities of a Māori researcher. *MAI Review*, 1. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/view/195. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

White, P., & Grice, J. (2008). *Participation and performance by Māori and Pacific peoples researchers in the Performance-Based Research Fund, 2003–2006: A working paper contributing to the strategic review of the Performance-Based Research Fund*. Wellington: Tertiary Education Commission.

White, H., Oxenham, T., Tahana, M., Williams, K., & Matthews, K. (2009). Ma te huruhuru ka rere te manu: How can langauge and literacy be optimised for Maori learner success? In *Education counts*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Chapter 8
Resources, Training, and Support for Early Career Academics: Mixed Messages and Unfulfilled Expectations

Introduction

Academics don't work alone. They interact with each other, with students, and with community members, in staffrooms, classrooms, and committee rooms; in research labs, libraries, and studios; in conference halls and senate chambers; in online forums and radio interviews; in podcasts, journals, books, and working papers; in department hallways and university pathways. All these spaces and places – and this is certainly not an exhaustive list – represent communities of people a new academic needs to get to know, practices and processes they have to interpret, and rules they have to uncover, decipher, and decide whether to follow or resist. Their senior colleagues can have a powerful influence on these sense-making processes for new academics. Similarly, structural intricacies such as consistency in application of procedures and processes across an institution and varying availability of resources, can significantly affect the socialisation and satisfaction of early career academics (as Chap. 5 showed) in positive and negative ways. The presence, or lack, of administrative support and resources may well affect the desire of a new academic to stay at or leave an institution and/or the profession. And, as Chap. 7 showed, *whanaungatanga* (the various relationships that new academics have to navigate, honour, and cultivate in order to achieve their goals) can play a crucial role in a new academic's success. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the resources, services, relationships, and support that early career academics in New Zealand identify as important to them, and their perspectives on how effective this support is at their institutions.

Given the significance of early career academics' relationships with their more senior colleagues, and their Head of Department in particular (Heinrich 2013; Kezar and Lester 2009; Knight 2002; Postiglione and Jung 2015; Trower and Gallagher 2008), it is important also to consider the views of those involved with managing and/or leading early career academics. So, as well as asking early career academics

about resources, services, support, mentoring, and provision of professional development, I also conducted a questionnaire that included some of the same questions for people in the role of leading and supporting early career academics: their academic managers. This chapter presents data from both questionnaires: the early career questionnaire on which the previous chapters have been based, and the academic manager questionnaire. These data show a gap between managerial perceptions and the expectations of early career academics, particularly around the effectiveness and importance of various resources, services, relationships, and support.

The chapter starts by outlining the peer groups with whom early career academics most closely identify and where their loyalties lie. I then describe the support that early career academics identify as most important to them, and their views on the effectiveness of this support at their own institutions. The questionnaire of academic managers is then described and their views contrasted with those of the early career academics to reveal significant gaps that will need to be overcome.

Loyalty

Loyalty to the various communities and structures within which academics work is affected by several factors, including individual preference, local and national expectations, and disciplinary cultures and histories. Delanty (2008) has noted, in an essay on academic identities, that "most professors see themselves as more like self-employed artisans providing a service to their institution than as servants of a state-funded institution" (p. 128). However, more recently, Leišytė (2015) argues, in a European context at least, that the "importance of an institutional affiliation and the sense of belonging to a specific university with its particular profile and mission are becoming more of an expectation at European universities. Thus, adhering to an institutional identity is becoming important" (Leišytė 2015, p. 65). Similarly, Austin (2003) notes a need for early career academics to understand how to "enact their roles as institutional citizens" (p. 127).

My survey sought to uncover New Zealand early career academics' loyalties to several of the structures within which they work, including the department, university, and discipline. Early career respondents completed 12 questions about loyalty, using a 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*) scale. Principle Components Analysis indicated that participants responded to these statements as if they belong to two sets of questions, the first assessing loyalty to one's institution (for example, "I would recommend my department/unit as a good place to work", "I feel strong loyalty to my department/unit colleagues", and "I would turn down a higher salary to stay at this university") and the second assessing loyalty to one's broader discipline or profession (for example, "I feel strong loyalty to my discipline", "I would turn down a higher salary to stay in this profession"). Reliability analyses produced alpha scores above 0.7, and there was no statistical difference by gender of respondent.

Table 8.1 Academic loyalty

	n	Mean[a]	Std. Dev
Loyalty to institution	459	2.6	0.84
Loyalty to discipline/profession	457	1.9	0.66

[a]1 = *Strongly agree* and 5 = *Strongly disagree*

Table 8.2 Early career academics' loyalty

	n	Mean[a]	Std. Dev
I am proud to be a member of this profession	457	1.66	0.792
I feel strong loyalty to my discipline	457	1.70	0.853
If I could do it all over again, I would still embark on an academic career	454	2.07	1.153
I feel strong loyalty to my department/unit colleagues	454	2.17	1.182
I would recommend my *department* as a good place to work	457	2.30	1.248
I would recommend my *university* as a good place to work	459	2.37	1.107
I feel strong loyalty to my head of department/unit	457	2.46	1.260
I am treated fairly by my employer	455	2.51	1.144
I would turn down a higher salary to stay in this profession	455	2.52	1.309
I feel strong loyalty to this university	457	2.60	1.175
My contribution is recognised by the university	454	3.14	1.248
I would turn down a higher salary to stay at this university	453	3.36	1.263

[a]1 = *Strongly agree* and 5 = *Strongly disagree*

Overall, participants indicated greater loyalty to their disciplines than they did to their institutions (see Table 8.1). This played out at all levels and across all disciplines.

Table 8.2 describes in descending order the responses to the various questions about loyalty. The responses compare with international Changing Academic Profession (CAP) data in that, like their international colleagues (Teichler et al. 2013), New Zealand early career academics express strong loyalty to their discipline. This is followed by a middling degree of commitment to their department colleagues, and further down the rankings, their head of department. However, early career academics in New Zealand do not express strong loyalty to their university (the mean for loyalty to the university was 2.6 on a scale of 1 to 5, and the mean for turning down a higher salary to stay at their university was even less encouraging at 3.36). Similarly, in nearly all the countries responding to the 2007 CAP survey, "affiliation to the discipline is rated as more important than affiliation to the department, and the latter is seen as more important than the affiliation to the institution of higher education" (Teichler et al. 2013).

The questionnaire responses shed light on the affiliations that early career academics feel and show that universities have a long way to go in order to see more New Zealand academics adhering to the "institutional identity" that Leišytė (2015) refers to in the European context. As Table 8.3 shows, more respondents identified

Table 8.3 Peer group as identified by respondents

Peer Group	Percentage
Same subject/discipline area	45%
Same department/unit	34%
Same academic rank	13%
Other	5%
Same type of contract	3%

Other included: "professional group (i.e. social workers)," "colleagues I respect," "other Māori academics," and "anyone who wants to talk to me."

Table 8.4 Peer group identification (percentage by discipline)

Discipline	Same discipline	Same department	Same rank	Other	Same contract	Total
Humanities & law	59	28	10	3	0	100%
Creative & performing arts	57	14	7	22	0	100%
Maths & Info Sciences	53	26	16	5	0	100%
Business & Economics	52	22	22	0	4	100%
Other	50	50	0	0	0	100%
Education	49	45	3	3	0	100%
Physical sciences	46	27	17	7	3	100%
Māori Knowledge & dev	46	18	0	36	0	100%
Health & medicine	44	36	11	4	5	100%
Biological sciences	43	32	13	2	10	100%
Engineering, Tech & Arch	42	39	16	3	0	100%
Soc. sciences & other cultural/social studies	36	42	14	5	3	100%

colleagues in the same discipline as their peer group than colleagues at the same academic rank, on the same type of contract, or in the same department.

Early career academics in Humanities and Law, and the Creative and Performing Arts are the most likely to identify their peers as their disciplinary colleagues, while Social Sciences academics are least likely to, preferring instead to think of their departmental colleagues as their peer group (see Table 8.4).

It is clear that universities need to be aware of where early career academics' loyalties and affiliations lie when designing support programmes and considering how best to help them transition into, and stay at, their institutional workplace. Bolden et al. (2014, p. 762) found in their research in the UK that "many people expressed a sense of disengagement from their own institutions and a lack of clarity around organisational boundaries…. A sense of citizenship was expressed more often in relation to one's academic discipline and/or professional group". As several other researchers (Henkel 2002; Laudel and Gläser 2008; Leišytė and Dee 2012;

Meyer and Evans 2005; Moraru et al. 2013; Musselin and Becquet 2008; Warhurst 2008) have argued, even with recent shifts towards multiple affiliations and identities – as academic entrepreneurs for example (Leišytė 2015) – many academics recognise themselves first by disciplinary affiliation (as historians, scientists, psychologists or geographers, and so on). Without delving too deeply into the debate on academic disciplines, their nature, construction and influence,[1] academics' loyalties are often with people outside the institution, and there will be considerable work to do to help new academics to feel a commitment to and socialised into the university.

The need for such intentional socialisation work is confirmed by responses to two questions about settling into the university. Participants were asked how easily and quickly they settled into their jobs, and their responses, on a scale where 1 is *strongly agree* and 5 is *strongly disagree*, were means of 2.41 for speed of settling in and 2.86 for ease of settling in – neither of which are convincingly positive. Orientation and induction processes provided for early career academics can help or hinder their organisational socialisation. If offered in a timely manner and attentive to the individual's needs, such processes can contribute to quicker and easier "settling in" experiences, and potentially enhance loyalty to the university. Part of what makes settling in to a new workplace easier is the provision of relevant information, resources, and services at the appropriate times, and I look into this in more detail below.

Working Relationships, Support, Resources, and Services

Earlier research on the satisfaction and professional development needs of early career academics has shown that time, money, resources, and training opportunities are important. Indeed, in the international CAP research, Bentley et al. (2013) found that "satisfaction with institutional resources" was the "*only* variable which exhibited significant relationship with job satisfaction in *all* 12 countries examined" (p. 254, emphasis added). Other research has shown that support from senior colleagues, control over one's work, feedback, and clarity around expectations, are also crucial to early career academics' satisfaction and success (O'Meara et al. 2003; Sutherland 2017; Trower and Gallager 2008). And, as Chap. 5 indicates, the satisfaction of early career academics in New Zealand universities is particularly affected by collegial relationships and various administrative process, most of which had to do with senior colleagues.

To investigate this, I asked early career respondents to indicate the importance to them of 15 working relationships and types of support, and 21 institutional policies and services on a 1 (*very important*) to 4 (*not at all important*) scale. The statements themselves derived from similar questions asked in the international CAP project,

---

[1] See Chap. 3 in Trowler's (1998) monograph for an excellent consideration of some of these issues.

Table 8.5 Most important services and relationships (from early career academics' perspective)

Rank	Item
1	Opportunities to make decisions about the direction of my own research and teaching
2=	A head of department/manager who is committed to my success
2=	Support from head of department/manager to apply for tenure or promotion
2=	Availability of resources for conducting research
5	Travel funds to present papers or conduct research
6	Senior colleagues interested in my progress and well being
7=	Regular contact with senior colleagues in my department
7=	Support from administrative/general staff
9=	Informal mentoring relationships or opportunities
9=	Professional assistance in obtaining externally funded grants
9=	Good communication between university management and other academic staff

and from the pilot phase of my project in New Zealand, where I interviewed successful early career academics at all eight New Zealand universities and asked, among other things, what they thought had contributed to their success in academia (see Sutherland & Petersen 2010 for some of these early findings). The wording of all 36 statements can be found in the table in the appendix to this chapter. Of the 36 items, only one ("Opportunity to gain a tertiary teaching qualification") was not considered important by the majority of respondents. For all the other items, more than half the respondents rated them very or fairly important. Table 8.5 lists the 11 *most* important services, relationships, and support (it would be a "Top Ten" list, but three items tied for "9th" so there are 11 statements in the list).

Ninety-five per cent or more of respondents considered these 11 services, policies, or relationships as very or fairly important. Three statements relate to research resources and funding, which reinforces the findings around interest in research being stronger than interest in teaching. However, the others in the "Top 11 list" are all to do with either personal autonomy or relationships with colleagues, emphasising both the individual and the relational nature of academic work.

Autonomy

"Opportunities to make decisions about the direction of my own research and teaching" came through as by far the most important (100% rated it very or fairly important, and a very high 84% rated it *very* important). Other researchers confirm the importance to academics of autonomy over their work (Henkel 2005, 2007; Leišytė and Dee 2012). For example, in an exploration of three studies about academic identity, Taylor (2008) showed that academics report an "almost universal reference to a loss of time – to think, to read, to write." There is, Taylor writes, a "deep sense that academics feel they have lost the opportunity to personally decide what questions or topics they will research. This curtails their right to exercise their

professional autonomy" (Taylor 2008, p. 37). Many in higher education bemoan the loss of academic autonomy in the face of encroaching managerialist and business-oriented governance practices (Barnett 2014; Barry et al. 2003; Rowlands 2017). However, a recent review of literature by Hyde et al. (2013) shows more fluid responses from academics to managerialism than might previously have been thought. They claim that as long as academia remains a profession in transition, there will be varying degrees of response to change, and that managerialism and collegiality may not be mutually exclusive (see also Enders and de Weert 2009; Leišytė and Dee 2012). As Tables 8.5 and 8.11 show, early career academics value autonomy very highly, but this desire for autonomy is held almost equally with the need for support and interaction from managers and colleagues. There are also strong calls for feedback from managers, effective workload policies, and opportunities to participate in decision-making processes.

Those who have known no other academic environment than one imbued with both managerialist *and* collegial ways of working, may react differently (and potentially more positively) than those who began their careers during a more traditionally collegial time. Other recent research studies report similar findings and stress that older academics "grieving" for a mythical "golden era" in academia may affect the socialisation of new academics (Billot 2010; Delanty 2008; Taylor 2008) in quite negative ways. This idea, and others around autonomy, managerialism, and collegiality, and their effects on socialisation are picked up again in the concluding chapter. The next section expands on some issues relating to collegiality in particular.

Collegial and Managerial Support

As my findings demonstrate, autonomy is important, but early career academics are also eager to feel supported by and have regular contact with senior colleagues, within and beyond their immediate departments. They value the input, support, and feedback of their Head of Department, in particular. Much of the literature on supporting early career academics emphasises the importance and influence of Heads of Department and other academic administrators and managers with whom early career academics interact (Heinrich 2013; Kezar and Lester 2009; Knight 2002; Postiglione and Jung 2015; Trower and Gallager 2008; van Balen et al. 2012). Some note that a supportive Head of Department will make or break an early career academic's ability to get access to important resources (Knight 2002; Postiglione and Jung 2015) or influence decisions about whether to take professional development opportunities (Heinrich 2013) or parental leave (Sallee 2013). Other researchers point out that, more and more, academic managers require not just an understanding of their discipline and the support of one's colleagues to lead their departments, but also administrative and managerial skills for which they likely have not been trained (Kezar and Lester 2009), in a governance system they may not necessarily support (Deem 2003; Park 2013; Schneijderberg and Merkator 2013). Still others warn that

the complications of managing one's peers can muddy expectations for both Heads of Department and early career academics (Taylor 2008) and that messages from leaders can stall an early career academic's career (Trower and Gallager 2008) or confuse, upset and frustrate the academic (Billot 2010) to the point that they decide to leave and/or disrupt the functioning of the department.

The significance of support from the Head of Department, in particular, and from other senior colleagues comes through very strongly in comments that respondents provided in my questionnaire, and resonates with the earlier research cited above:

> My experience as an early career academic [here] has been awesome. I also was employed for 18 months at [an Australian university]. I felt overwhelmed and lost because the place was so big, and my workload was huge with little support or mentoring, although the people I worked with were great people. I believe my experience here has been so good because of my Head of School and Head of Programme and the fact I work in a child-friendly dept. [Lecturer, Social Sciences, Female, 40-44 years]

However, such support is variable in New Zealand universities. Support from Heads of Department and senior colleagues appears to depend on individual personalities and how they experienced their own socialisation into the profession, as much as it does on departmental cultures and structures (which are obviously influenced by such personalities):

> I have never been offered orientation or support, but that may be a function of my department. I am aware that other departments work differently. I am very aware of a lack of transparency in who gets what and very aware that the "club" get benefits not accruing to others. [Research Fellow, Biological Sciences, Female, 50+]

While the majority of respondents definitely valued a deliberate, systematic approach to organisational socialisation and collegial support, some respondents were clear that they could make their own way through, with little formal help or input, as long as they received adequate funding:

> In general, the different types of organizational programs such as orientation and mentoring are extremely pointless. An academic knows her/himself the best way to organize time and carry out research and teaching effectively in the university. Sitting through a boring orientation for 2 days is just a complete waste of time. The institution should focus on the things that matter: travel funding, reducing teaching hours, funding for research collaboration (invited researchers, etc.), funding for research resources (books, software, etc.). [Lecturer, Mathematics & Information Sciences, Male, Under 30 years]

This dismissive view of the value of some forms of organisational support was not at all representative of the majority of respondents, however, as explained below.

Professional Development Opportunities

The provision of some formal professional development offerings (such as an induction or orientation programme) is a sign of a university's commitment to the effective and systematic, rather than haphazard and piecemeal, socialisation of its new colleagues. As evidenced by the quotation above, not all early career academics will

desire or appreciate such provision (and not all provision is necessarily appropriate or well-run, particularly if it is generic in nature). However, a lack of any such offerings sends an institutional signal to a new academic that professional development is not important or valued, when it is, in fact, what many of them desire. The dismissive view expressed in the quotation above was not widely held among respondents; by contrast, most respondents rated formal orientation and mentoring as very important with means of 1.78 and 1.60 respectively. They considered both these forms of professional development as more important than reduced teaching responsibilities in the early years of their appointment (in contrast to the views expressed by the respondent above). In fact, many comments focussed on the desire for and provision of *any* professional development and input that the university, faculty, or department was willing to offer, in all aspects of the academic career:

> The need for formal support is incredibly important – my department and university have not prioritised this at all. [Lecturer, Biological Sciences, Female, 35–39 years]

Early career academics also recognised the need for this support to be targeted appropriately, advertised widely, and systematically implemented for *all* to take part in, as desired:

> I think that a lot of these things are available but not institutionalised, so it is really up to the individual how motivated they are to access them. For example, it would be great to get a tertiary teaching qualification, but it would be even better if this was supported with teaching relief in one's programme. The 'rewards' one gets for teaching/research are often implicit, and it would be good if managers were more proactive in expressing encouragement when one does well. [Lecturer, Humanities & Law, Female, 30–34 years]

As Chap. 4 showed, there is a strong positive relationship between the provision of some particular professional development opportunities, and confidence in teaching and research. Included in these opportunities are mentoring relationships, both formal and informal.

Formal mentoring appears to be significant ($t(463) = 2.21$, $p < 0.05$) in terms of research confidence, but was not significantly related to teaching confidence. I speculate that this is because most mentoring relationships tend to focus on the research aspects of the academic role, rather than on teaching, but I have not explored this hypothesis. Thirty-four per cent of early career academics report not having had any form of mentoring over the course of their academic career, and only 26 per cent have engaged in a *formal* mentoring scheme as a mentee. A slightly higher percentage of women (71%) have received mentoring than men (63%), but there is no difference between men and women as to whether this mentoring is informal or not, though informal mentoring is more common (see Table 8.6).

Several higher education researchers have noted the importance of mentoring for academics (van Balen et al. 2012), and the benefits are summed up well in this quote from Lucas and Murry (2002, p. 24):

> [M]entored protégés compared with unmentored faculty newcomers, it is claimed by some researchers, do tend to feel more self-assured about professional risk-taking, exhibit greater political savvy, profess to feel more confident about their teaching, and, generally, in the long run tend to be more prolific researchers. Faculty with mentors have been found to be

Table 8.6 Mentoring experiences

Type of mentoring relationship (over whole career)	% All	% Men	% Women
Formal mentoring relationship of 6 months or more as a MENTOR	9	10	9
Informal mentoring relationship of 6 months or more as a MENTOR	16	16	17
Formal mentoring relationship of 6 months or more as a MENTEE	26	24	28
Informal mentoring relationship of 6 months or more as a MENTEE	41	39	43
I have not had a mentoring relationship that lasted 6 months or more	34	36	33

more productive, to receive more competitive grants, to publish more, and they indicate higher career and job satisfaction, while achieving greater long-term success than those not mentored.

In my New Zealand study, early career academics who have experienced 6 months or more of formal mentoring rate professional development as more effective than those who have not experienced mentoring, $t(106) = 3.16$, $p = 0.002$. This positive finding suggests that mentoring may play a role in exposing early career academics to other professional development opportunities and/or may help early career academics to be more proactive about having their professional development needs met.

The next section of the chapter looks more into the variability in support across departments and universities, and finds differences both in how important support is perceived to be, and how effective it is when provided.

"Academic Manager" Questionnaire

As outlined in the appendix to Chap. 1, 104 academic managers from all eight New Zealand universities completed a short online questionnaire on similar topics as the questionnaire for early career academics. Respondents included Heads of Department, Deans, Associate Deans, Pro/Assistant/Deputy Vice-Chancellors, and others involved in managing or directly supporting early career academics. The questionnaire included the following sections:

- Institutional policies, support, and services for new academics
- Professional and career development
- Job Information
- Advice for new academics.

The majority of responses came from Heads of Department or equivalent (at my university, for example, this title is Head of School). As noted earlier, Heads of

Table 8.7 Most important services and relationships (from managers' perspective)

Rank Managers	Rank ECAs	Item
1=	9=	Good communication between management and other academic staff
1=	12	Feedback to early career academics from manager/s about their academic performance
3	2	A head of department who is committed to early career academics' success
4	3	Support from head of department to apply for promotion/tenure
5	7=	Regular contact for early career academics with senior colleagues in the same department
6=	6	Senior colleagues interested in my progress and well being
6=	27	Formal orientation programme for new academics
8	20	Professional assistance for early career academics in developing/improving their teaching
9=	17=	Formal mentoring programme for new academics
9=	4	Availability of resources for conducting research

Department are usually the people with direct line management responsibility for early career academics and the colleagues upon whom the early career academics rely most for support and information at the outset of their academic career or upon arrival at a new university.

The questionnaire posed the same questions about the importance of various institutional resources, services, support, and relationships as were asked of the early career academics, with slight variations in phrasing to reflect a different viewpoint. The academic managers' responses were quite different from the responses of the early career academics. Table 8.7 lists what *managers* perceived to be the top most important items from the questions about services, relationships, and support (the rank was determined by highest mean score, from the scale, as described earlier, where 1 is *very important* and 4 is *not at all important*). The number in the second column is the rank given to the item by the early career academics.

Clearly, managers and early career academics have varying perceptions about what is important for academic socialisation and success. Managers see themselves as playing a more significant role than the early career academics perceive them to have, rating communication between them and academic staff as most important, whereas early career academics put their own autonomy at the top of their list. To be fair, many of the items that were ranked highly by the managers also ranked highly for the early career academics, such as support from the Head of Department, and availability of resources for conducting research. But there is more variation than agreement on what matters most. It seems that academics want to know that their Head of Department is in their corner, so to speak, but they want to be left to make their own decisions and choose their own supporters. For example, early career academics considered *informal* mentoring opportunities more important than formal mentoring programmes.

Managers rated *formal* mentoring as much more important than early career academics did, along with a formal orientation programme and professional assistance in developing/improving teaching. Given my findings about greater confidence among early career academics who have had formal mentoring and/or attended teaching development workshops (see Chap. 4), perhaps the managers are on the right track in this regard, and may well know better than their new staff what might be most helpful. Clearly, though, there is also a sense of mixed messages being received by early career academics. The existence of the PBRF has definitely increased pressure on academics to perform well in research, and early career academics are directing their interests and activities more towards research than teaching, as Chap. 4 showed. This is reinforced by the comment from one Dean:

> PBRF requirements have meant that the University has tended to recruit young academics with good research potential. This is at the detriment to potential teaching contributions and has meant that young academics are unwilling to support teaching (Dean)

Early career academics in New Zealand consider the provision of resources and support around research as more important than support for other aspects of their job (such as teaching or service). For example, they rank the availability of resources for research, travel funds to present papers or conduct research, and assistance in obtaining external grant funding as more important than teaching development or resources (see Table 8.11 in the Appendix). By contrast, managers consider assistance for teaching development more important, perhaps because they are confident they have hired already competent and confident researchers. Yet, New Zealand academics are required to be both researchers *and* teachers. It would seem that academic managers may need to work more closely with early career academics on identifying their training and support needs in *all* areas of their academic work, as well as helping them to find the appropriate balance between the varied aspects and expectations of their roles. Any such conversations, however, will be pointless if university reward systems continue to weigh more heavily towards the research facets of the academic role. These conversations also need to be reciprocal, with managers listening to the perspectives of their new recruits as well as dispensing advice.

Agentic Choices for Early Career Academics

Academic managers, such as Heads of Department, need to walk a fine line between telling early career academics what is best for them, and recognising individuals' agency in deciding what is most important for their careers. As Fanghanel (2007, pp. 2–3) outlines in an article on lecturers' pedagogical constructs, agency is the "individual ability to position towards and respond to structures" as well as "room for response and manoeuvre". If we want to support our new colleagues' socialisation in appropriate ways, then we need to direct our efforts at interventions or initiatives that provide scope for agency. Knight (2002) has argued similarly, citing research which found that "those new faculty who were most positive about their early careers had a high locus of internal control – that is to say, they believe

themselves to have some control over the ways in which they responded to external demands and pressures" (Knight 2002, p. 50). Clearly, socialisation for early career academics requires a holistic, complex approach involving strong leadership, recognition of autonomy, and collegiality. We should not be expecting new academics to support themselves, or to be left entirely to their own devices in determining their professional development needs. Nor should we expect that any professional development we make available for individual academics will miraculously turn each new academic into the consummate professional: "this steady normalization of the discourses of personal professional development is a ploy to make the victims responsible for their own rescue" (Knight 2002, p. 15). Socialisation is both collective and individual.

Collective Responsibility for Professional Development and Improvement

Knight (2002) advocates for taking the pressure off the individual new academic to be fully responsible for their own development, and calls instead for *all* members of the university to take collective responsibility for improving teaching (and, by connection, reducing the stress and increasing the well-being of academics, staff, and students). He contends that action can and should be taken "at many levels – national, state or provincial, professional association, HEI [Higher Education Institute], department or team, and individual" (p. 15), but prioritises action at the departmental level. This may be "the most promising way to try to affect the ways in which institution-wide structures are perceived in faculty's working lives" (p. 16).[2] Academic manager respondents in my survey appear to think similarly, noting, for example that: "Not all contacts with colleagues within the department are helpful, so protecting early career academics from malign influences is a key task of the HoD" (Pro Vice Chancellor), and that "Chairpersons of academic departments have the greatest influence for good or bad" (Dean, and Professor). O'Meara & Campbell argue along similar lines:

> The words and actions of senior colleagues made a big difference in their decision-making. Research on faculty work-life consistently shows the department in research universities as the key unit of production, satisfaction, socialization, and identity. Therefore, it is within departments that the transformation of "ideal worker norms" needs to happen (O'Meara and Campbell 2011, p. 471).

If early career academics learn "ideal worker norms" from within their departments, then one of the biggest concerns for early career academics is the disparity between departments and across the university (and in some cases, across various

---

[2] See also Kezar and Lester (2009, p. 735), Trowler (1998, p. 116), and Weidman and Stein (2003, p. 655) for the ways in which departments play a crucial role in socialising new academics and reflecting the norms expected.

institutions, for those working in more than two places) in the provision of services, support and collegiality.

> I would make a distinction between the University Policy and the practice at Faculty and Department Level. My university has good policies in place; however, the Faculty I am in does not follow them particularly closely. Talking with colleagues from other Faculties confirms that the one I work in does not conform to the University's policies. [Lecturer, Health & Medicine, Female, 50+]

Early career respondents in my research called for awareness-raising work for Heads of Department in what is available for early career academics, not just what Heads of Department are willing to provide from within their own department. The following section outlines the perceived effectiveness of the provision of these various services and support. I also identify some of the gaps in managers' and early career academics' knowledge about the availability of various services and professional development opportunities, and show how those gaps will need to be filled if we hope to better support and retain early career academic staff.

Variations in Expectations and Perspectives

After asking about the *importance* of various services, policies, relationships, and support, I asked early career academics to rate the *effectiveness* at their institutions of these offerings. Table 8.8 (and Table 8.11 in the Appendix) shows the disparity between the *importance* of the items and how *effective* early career academics found the provision of service to be (more than one third of the 36 items were rated as fairly ineffective or very ineffective by early career respondents). The widest

Table 8.8 Difference between importance and effectiveness ratings of various institutional resources and relationships

	% rating this very or fairly important	% rating this very or fairly effective
Opportunities to meet with disciplinary colleagues beyond the institution	92	38
Recognition of each individual's contribution to the work of the university	89	36
Opportunities to participate in decision-making processes	93	43
Professional assistance in obtaining externally funded grants	95	47
Workload policy within department/faculty	91	44
Formal mentoring programme for new academics	91	45
Opportunities to meet other new academics within the institution	78	35
Good communication between university management & other academic staff	95	53

disparity between importance and effectiveness was found in the items outlined in Table 8.8.

Clearly, while early career academics identify relationships with other academic colleagues (within and beyond the institution, with peers and with seniors) as very important, they do not report these relationships as effective in their own universities. In particular, they do not feel that their individual contributions are recognised, or that they are receiving enough opportunity to participate in decision-making processes. Nor do they feel that academic managers are communicating well with them. By contrast, managers rated the effectiveness of all practices significantly higher than early career academics did (using t-tests, $p < 0.05$). This disparity between importance and effectiveness, and between early career academics' perceptions and those of managers will require some attention.

Effectiveness of Support

We also asked both managers and early career academics to rate how effective they thought their institutions were at providing professional development and supporting early career academics' career development. As can be seen in Table 8.9, early career academics do not agree that they have been provided with adequate professional development opportunities or staff review processes, nor do they see the student evaluation process at their universities as an effective aid for their career development.

By contrast, managers are significantly more positive about the provision of professional development opportunities, the infrastructure that exists to support early career academics, and the staff review and student evaluation processes.

Table 8.9 Effectiveness of professional and career development support

	Managers			Early career academics		
	Mean	n	Std. Dev.	Mean	n	Std. Dev.
The right infrastructure exists in this university for ECAs to pursue a career here	2.20	84	0.88	3.12	460	1.36
Adequate professional development opportunities are offered for ECAs at this university	2.37	83	0.93	3.12	461	1.44
The staff appraisal/review process at this university is an effective aid for ECAs' career development	2.31	83	1.08	3.49	459	1.31
The student evaluation process at this university is an effective aid for ECAs' career development	2.93	83	1.07	3.54	439	1.46

Scale: 1 = Strongly Agree to 5 = Strongly Disagree

Key to improving the provision of support for early career academics, according to the participants in my research, is to align departmental and institutional practices so that early career academics do not receive conflicting messages, or in some cases, no message at all:

> Although many useful support and training opportunities may exist, it is very hard to find out about anything unless you are already familiar with the procedures and who to contact. Most of this information trickles through eventually, but sometimes this is too late. For example, I have just discovered that I should have applied for sabbatical more than a year ago, so now my sabbatical is only possible more than a year later than it should have been. [Lecturer, Biological Sciences, Female, 35–39 years]

Early career academics on contracts and in post-doctoral and research fellow roles would also like to feel more integrated into the university community and their departments:

> I am a research-only contract employee and therefore never had an orientation to the University in this role as nobody considers someone in my position an employee let alone anyone with a contribution to make over time. I have been in my academic department on short-term contracts for 8 years and yet am not included in any staff meetings or email mailouts and most would not know what I do. I receive no research leave. I was told to take my paid holiday leave between certain dates this year, and had to work through the paid leave period in order to make the PBRF deadline. [Research Fellow, Social Sciences, Female, 50+]

Research Fellows and other part- (and full-) time contract staff (sessional academics) expressed deep-seated consternation about a variety of issues that permanent staff seem less affected by, for example, access to support and training and information. Not only do sessional academics report not hearing about or getting invited to various formal university events (such as orientation programmes, workshops for early career researchers, or mentoring schemes), even when they might find out about such opportunities they are often told they are not eligible. Something as simple as including sessional academics in all-department or all-faculty emails may make a big difference to their sense of being part of the university community, and would seem to be a minimum standard (Harvey 2013). Admittedly, some Heads of Department acknowledge the need for more support for these part-time, contract, post-doctoral, and casual academic staff, too, as evidenced by the following comments from the Academic Manger Questionnaire:

> I think that the early career stage once you have a permanent position isn't the problem in NZ; it's how hard it is to transition from post doc to permanent [Head of School, Associate Professor].

> It is not all the university's fault, but life is very tough for new academics, particularly those funded through external research grants. Funding is very difficult to get, post-doc opportunities are minimal. Job security is minimal. Careers advice and mentorship is very hit and miss. The career pathway is very uncertain. In my experience there is a lot of frustration and demotivation amongst this group, even though most desperately want an academic career [Head of School, Professor]

Lack of Awareness of What Is Available

Despite these two managers (and many of the other respondents) acknowledging the issues for some early career academics, it is worrying that there is such a big gap between how managers and academics perceive the situation for early career academics. The people receiving (or not) the services and support are simply not as positive about what is on offer as those responsible for providing the services and support, or at least for directing the early career academics to what is on offer. I wondered if perhaps some of the academic manager respondents simply did not know about the availability of some professional development opportunities for early career academics (perhaps because such opportunities were not available when they were younger academics) and this proved to be the case for a few managers.

Table 8.10 outlines some of the services that some managers appeared to have little knowledge about. Not all items on the list are policies or services about which all managers could be expected to know; for example, if one is not a Head of Department, it would not be easy or necessary to know about teaching relief or service obligations in every department, especially as these are likely to vary across the university. However, there are some fairly basic offerings that I would hope any academic manager would know about and be able to direct a new academic towards, should the necessity or opportunity arise. These include mentoring opportunities, orientation programmes for new academics, assistance in developing teaching or applying for external grants, and the opportunity to gain a tertiary teaching qualification. As far as I am aware, at the time of this survey, all these services were offered centrally (that is, they were not confined to one department or faculty) in some form or another, at all eight universities (if the university itself did not offer a particular service, relationships existed with other universities to enable staff to take part in the programme elsewhere).

Table 8.10 Managers' knowledge of resources/opportunities available to early career academics

	Not offered at my institution (*n*)	I don't know (*n*)
Formal mentoring programme for new academics	16	10
Professional assistance for ECAs in developing their teaching	4	2
Professional assistance for ECAs in obtaining external grants	2	7
Paid or unpaid research leave for ECAs	10	16
Teaching relief in the early years of academic appointment	9	18
Flexible working hours for ECAs	8	8
Opportunity for ECAs to work from home/out of the office	5	8
Opportunity for ECAs to gain a tertiary teaching qualification	0	9

It would seem that some academic managers who have responsibility for supporting early career academics need to make themselves more familiar with the wide range of services, support, professional development, and training opportunities available for early career academics (in fact, for all academics) within their own institutions and beyond. To this end, as part of the research conducted for this project on the experiences of early career academics in New Zealand universities, a suite of resources was developed that asks questions to prompt both managers and early career academics to proactively seek the information and support that they need. The resources can be found on the following website: https://akoaotearoa.ac.nz/early-career-academics and are fully adaptable beyond the New Zealand context. Chap. 9 makes some recommendations relating to the potential use of such resources.

Summary

As indicated in Chap. 7, early career academics require different types of support, training, and resources, depending on their prior experiences, background, doctoral training, and community commitments. There is clearly no "one size fits all" for socialising and supporting new academics, but autonomy and collegiality are both important. Early career academics want to exercise their individual agency by deciding on the direction of their own teaching and research, as well as participating in decision-making opportunities. They want access to research support and resources, particularly in terms of funding. And, they want collegial support from their peers and managers, as well as informal mentoring. Managers also recognise the importance of support from senior colleagues, and the need for research resourcing and funding. By contrast with early career academics, however, managers emphasise the need for teaching development and *formal* mentoring. Managers are also more positive (although in some instances, less informed) about the professional development that is currently on offer than their new colleagues are.

To bridge these gaps, we need to listen more to the concerns of early career academics currently in the system, and find ways to allow them to exercise their agency in terms of their socialisation and professional development experiences and needs. We also need to recognise the experiences, expertise, and desires of those just now entering our universities, and develop programmes that support and nurture them at their time of need with the resources and relationships best suited to their experience (or lack thereof).

Before moving into the concluding chapter, the poem below uses the words of several different respondents to sum up the various experiences and concerns of early career academics in respect to support, training, and mentoring. It speaks to a need for more deliberate communication and a different version of collegiality than that which currently exists.

Get in Behind: A Poem

They look through me
        when I walk down the corridor.

I am like a deer in the headlights
        with all this stuff happening around me.
Somebody actually needs to
        come and hold my hand, and say,
                "Calm down,
                        breathe,
                                this is how you do it."
It's not intimate enough; that's probably
        what I'm trying to say.

All of the younger people in my department were like
        the blind leading the blind.
We were trying
        to help each other
                but we were just, sort of
                        floundering around.

It's not mentoring but almost like patronage…
research opportunities,
        funding opportunities,
                being pointed in the right direction;
if you don't have that
powerful person behind you,
you don't get anywhere.

I feel as though they're saying,
        "Get in behind,"
like we're a bunch of sheepdogs:
        "Get in behind;
don't be thinking you're so special;
        get in behind"
and they're never saying,
        "Wow, you guys are awesome."

I had an HOD once who said,
        "You're not seasoned enough"
and I thought,
        "Do I look like a steak?"

We're the drones
who are tired
of being "consulted"

after everything is set in concrete
by management, who seem
light years
        away
                from
                        reality.

We do not really think we have much of a say.

Appendix

Table 8.11 Importance and effectiveness of various policies, services, relationships, and support

Statement	Importance		Effectiveness		
	%	Mean	%	Mean	n =
Opportunities to make decisions about direction of my own research & teaching	100	1.16	82	1.90	484
A Head of Dept/manager committed to my success	99	1.22	69	2.13	484
Support from HoD/manager to apply for tenure/promotion	99	1.25	67	2.19	482
Availability of resources for conducting research	99	1.27	63	2.20	527
Travel funds to present papers or conduct research	98	1.29	66	2.26	526
Senior colleagues interested in my progress & wellbeing	98	1.30	67	2.14	484
Informal mentoring relationships or opportunities	96	1.41	68	2.27	483
Regular contact with senior colleagues in my department	96	1.42	79	2.14	483
Support from administrative/general staff	95	1.43	62	1.93	483
Good communication between university management & other academic staff	95	1.43	47	2.53	483
Professional assistance obtaining externally funded grants	95	1.43	53	2.62	524
Feedback from manager/s about my academic performance	94	1.48	69	2.39	484
Paid or unpaid research leave	93	1.55	63	2.19	524
Flexible working hours	93	1.57	43	1.72	527
Workload policy within department/faculty	92	1.57	38	2.73	524
Attractive/competitive salary and benefits	92	1.58	62	2.38	527
Support from other departmental colleagues	91	1.59	70	2.29	484
Formal mentoring programme for new academics	91	1.60	45	2.68	525
Information about criteria for promotion	91	1.60	44	2.26	526
Opportunities to participate in decision-making processes	91	1.62	58	2.70	483
Opportunities to meet disciplinary colleagues beyond the institution	89	1.62	69	2.74	482
Opportunity to work from home/out of the office	89	1.63	91	1.77	527

(continued)

Table 8.11 (continued)

Statement	Importance		Effectiveness		
	%	Mean	%	Mean	$n =$
Professional assistance for developing/improving teaching	89	1.65	62	2.43	523
Availability of resources for teaching	89	1.66	36	2.20	525
Recognition of each individual's contribution to the work of the university	88	1.68	90	2.86	527
Rewards for good research	85	1.73	55	2.50	526
Formal orientation programme for new academics	84	1.78	45	2.47	526
Upper limit on service obligations in early years	82	1.79	48	2.60	521
Teaching relief in the early years of appointment	78	1.84	35	2.74	524
Opportunities to meet other new academics in the university	77	1.97	43	2.80	484
Rewards for good teaching	74	2.02	36	2.65	526
Regular contact with senior colleagues in other disciplines	73	2.07	45	2.79	483
Peer observation of teaching	66	2.26	50	2.55	525
Availability and accessibility of child care	64	2.27	66	2.28	522
Opportunities to engage with student representatives [outside formal classroom environments]	63	2.30	47	2.61	481
Opportunity to gain a tertiary teaching qualification	44	2.63	76	2.03	523

References

Austin, A. (2003). Creating a bridge to the future: Preparing new faculty to face changing expectations in a shifting context. *The Review of Higher Education, 26*(2), 119–144.

van Balen, B., van Arensbergen, P., van der Weijden, I., & van den Besselaar, P. (2012). Determinants of success in academic careers. *Higher Education Policy, 25*(3), 313–334.

Barnett, R. (2014). Conclusion: Academia as workplace: A natural pessimism and a due optimism. In L. Gornall, C. Cook, L. Daunton, J. Salisbury, & B. Thomas (Eds.), *Academic working lives: Experience, practice and change* (pp. 301–308). London: Bloomsbury.

Barry, J., Berg, E., & Chandler, J. (2003). Managing intellectual labour in Sweden and England. *Cross Cultural Management, 10*(3), 3–22.

Bentley, P. J., Coates, H., Dobson, I. R., Goedegebuure, L., & Meek, V. L. (2013). Academic job satisfaction from an international comparative perspective: Factors associated with satisfaction across 12 countries. In P. J. Bentley, H. Coates, I. R. Dobson, L. Goedegebuure, & V. L. Meek (Eds.), *Job satisfaction around the academic world* (pp. 239–262). Dordrecht: Springer.

Billot, J. (2010). The imagined and the real: Identifying the tensions for academic identity. *Higher Education Research & Development, 29*(6), 709–721.

Bolden, R., Gosling, J., & O'Brien, A. (2014). Citizens of the academic community? A societal perspective on leadership in UK higher education. *Studies in Higher Education, 39*(5), 754–770.

Deem, R. (2003). Gender, organizational cultures and the practices of manager-academics in UK universities. *Gender, Work and Organization, 10*(2), 239–259.

Delanty, G. (2008). Academic identities and institutional change. In R. Barnett & R. Di Napoli (Eds.), *Changing identities in higher education: Voicing perspectives* (pp. 124–133). London/New York: Routledge.

Enders, J., & de Weert, E. (2009). *The changing face of academic life: Analytical and comparative perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fanghanel, J. (2007). Investigating university lecturers' pedagogical constructs in the working context. Report. Higher Education Academy. https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/system/files/fanghanel.pdf. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Harvey, M. (2013). Setting the standards for sessional staff: Quality learning and teaching. *Journal of University Teaching & Learning, 10*(3), 1–33.

Heinrich, E. (2013). Recommendations to university managers for facilitating engagement of academics with teaching. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 35*(5), 458–470.

Henkel, M. (2002). Academic identity in transformation? *Higher Education Management and Policy, 14*(3), 137–147.

Henkel, M. (2005). Academic identity and autonomy in a changing policy environment. *Higher Education, 49*(1–2), 155–176.

Henkel, M. (2007). Can academic autonomy survive in the knowledge society? A perspective from Britain. *Higher Education Research & Development, 26*(1), 87–99.

Hyde, A., Clarke, M., & Drennan, J. (2013). The changing role of academics and the rise of managerialism. In B. M. Kehm & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The academic profession in Europe: New tasks and new challenges* (pp. 39–52). Dordrecht: Springer.

Kezar, A., & Lester, J. (2009). Supporting faculty grassroots leadership. *Research in Higher Education, 50*(7), 715–740.

Knight, P. (2002). *Being a teacher in higher education*. Maidenhead: Society for Research in Higher Education and the Open University Press.

Laudel, G., & Gläser, J. (2008). From apprentice to colleague: The metamorphosis of early career researchers. *Higher Education, 55*, 387–406.

Leišytė, L. (2015). Changing academic identities in the context of a managerial university: Bridging the duality between professions and organizations. In W. K. Cummings & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The relevance of academic work in comparative perspective* (pp. 59–74). Cham: Springer.

Leišytė, L., & Dee, J. R. (2012). Understanding academic work in a changing institutional environment. In J. C. Smart & M. B. Paulsen (Eds.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 123–206). Dordrecht: Springer.

Lucas, C. J., & Murry, J. W. (2002). *New faculty: A practical guide for academic beginners*. New York: Palgrave.

Meyer, L. H., & Evans, I. M. (2005). Supporting academic staff: Meeting new expectations in higher education without compromising traditional faculty values. *Higher Education Policy, 18*, 243–255.

Moraru, L., Praisler, M., Marin, S. A., & Bentea, C. C. (2013). The academic profession: Quality assurance, governance, relevance, and satisfaction. In B. M. Kehm & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The academic profession in Europe: New tasks and new challenges* (pp. 141–162). Dordrecht: Springer.

Musselin, C., & Becquet, V. (2008). Academic work and academic identities: A comparison between four disciplines. In J. Välimaa & O. Ylijoki (Eds.), *Cultural perspectives on higher education* (pp. 91–107). Dordrecht: Springer.

O'Meara, K., & Campbell, C. M. (2011). Faculty sense of agency in decisions about work and family. *The Review of Higher Education, 34*(3), 447–476.

O'Meara, K., Kaufman, R. R., & Kuntz, A. M. (2003). Faculty work in challenging times: Trends, consequences, and implications. *Liberal Education, 89*(4), 16–23.

Park, E. (2013). From academic self-governance to executive university management: Institutional governance in the eyes of academics in Europe. In U. Teichler & E. A. Höhle (Eds.), *The work situation of the academic profession in Europe: Findings of a survey in twelve countries* (pp. 183–204). Dordrecht: Springer.

Postiglione, G. A., & Jung, J. (2015). Congeniality and research productivity in state-professional-market driven systems of mass higher education. In W. K. Cummings & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The relevance of academic work in comparative perspective* (pp. 107–120). Cham: Springer.

Sallee, M. W. (2013). Gender norms and institutional culture: The family-friendly versus the father-friendly university. *Journal of Higher Education, 84*(3), 363–396.

Schneijderberg, C., & Merkator, N. (2013). The new higher education professionals. In B. M. Kehm & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The academic profession in Europe: New tasks and new challenges* (pp. 53–92). Dordrecht: Springer.

Sutherland, K.A. (2017). Constructions of success in academia: An early career perspective. *Studies in Higher Education, 42*(4), 743–759. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2015 .1072150

Taylor, P. (2008). Being an academic today. In R. Barnett & R. Di Napoli (Eds.), *Changing identities in higher education: Voicing perspectives* (pp. 27–39). London/New York: Routledge.

Teichler, U., Arimoto, A., & Cummings, W. K. (2013). *The changing academic profession*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Trower, C.A., & Gallager, A.S. (2008). Perspectives on what pre-tenure faculty want and what six research universities provide: A report by The Collaborative on Academic Careers in Higher Education. Harvard Graduate School of Education. http://coache.gse.harvard.edu/files/gse-coache/files/coache_perspectives.pdf?m=1447624837. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Trowler, P. (1998). *Academics responding to change: New higher education frameworks and academic cultures*. Buckingham: Society for Research into Higher Education and the Open University Press.

Warhurst, R. (2008). "Cigars on the flight-deck": New lecturers' participatory learning within workplace communities of practice. *Studies in Higher Education, 33*(4), 453–467.

Weidman, J. C., & Stein, E. L. (2003). Socialization of doctoral students to academic norms. *Research in Higher Education, 44*(6), 641–656.

Chapter 9
Conclusion: Challenges and Prospects for Early Career Academics' Futures in New Zealand and Beyond

Introduction

This book opened with the suggestion that the experiences of New Zealand early career academics might resonate with those of early career academics elsewhere, and, clearly, the changes occurring in higher education globally are being felt by early career academics in New Zealand, too. Massification, marketisation, internationalisation, advances in technology, and growing governmental influence on higher education are all evident in New Zealand. Yet, not all these changes are being felt in negative terms by early career academics in New Zealand universities. Satisfaction is higher in New Zealand than elsewhere. Research productivity is also stronger. Work-life balance is reportedly out-of-kilter, but the New Zealand lifestyle seems to be an attractive drawcard nonetheless. With more than half of our academic workforce coming from outside the country, the New Zealand university sector clearly appeals to a wide range of academics.

However, challenges abound, as evidenced by the disparity between managerial expectations and the needs expressed by early career academics in Chap. 8. This concluding chapter sums up some of the prospects and issues faced by early career academics in New Zealand universities. Their strengths, experiences, and needs are briefly revisited, before I provide a series of suggestions for appropriate socialisation at the individual, institutional, and national levels. The chapter also identifies some specific resources available to help individuals, managers and universities to improve the experience of early career academics. I conclude with a call for us all to listen more attentively.

There Is Work to Do

Early career academics in New Zealand universities are, overall and compared with academics elsewhere, a fairly satisfied bunch, but they struggle to find a sense of balance between their work and home lives, as Chap. 6 showed. Many are frustrated by long hours, unrealistic expectations, the challenge of balancing the various academic roles, and the disparity between and among departments, faculties, and institutions in provision of services and support. These frustrations, however, do not have a significant bearing on their perceived ability to do their jobs confidently, with the majority reporting confidence in both their research and teaching abilities, and research productivity higher than in other countries.

There are significant differences among age groups in terms of prior experience and confidence, though. As Chaps. 4 and 8 make clear, a comprehensive doctoral experience that includes teaching, research *and* service opportunities results in more confident early career academics – in both teaching and research – than no doctoral experience or limited opportunities to do anything other than write the thesis. Furthermore, once an early career academic begins working at a university, the provision of some form of teaching development may affect their confidence positively, as will a formal mentoring relationship. The more confident teachers are those who have recently attended a teaching development workshop, and overnight or residential professional development opportunities (such as writing retreats) have a positive relationship with both teaching and research confidence.

Given these findings, it is important to look into the experiences early career academics have had before they reach our institutions, and to tailor the professional development support provided according to their individual needs. In particular, those supporting early career academics need to recognise the different pathways into academia, and realise that a younger early career academic coming in from a PhD may have very different needs from an older early career academic with years of professional experience.

The Importance of the Head of Department

Support at departmental level is also vital for early career academic socialisation and satisfaction, as Chaps. 5 and 8 demonstrated. That support ranges from the Head of Department to senior colleagues to the administrative staff, and it needs to be boosted by widespread awareness of what is going on elsewhere in the university. The role of the Head of Department comes across in my research and others (Kezar and Lester 2009) as one of the most influential relationships in an academic's early career experience, and people in these roles need to make themselves aware of all the various institutional services and support that are available for early career academics. Heads of Department should not presume that someone else will inform their new colleagues of the opportunities on offer, nor should they attempt to

provide all of that support on their own. Mathieson (2011, p. 244) calls for those responsible for inducting new academics to "take seriously the role of academics in constructing their understanding of themselves in their new environments". In this respect, Heads of Department, and other senior colleagues, can also play a role in helping academics to recognise their individual agency, to be proactive and resourceful, and to develop their relational agency. Relational agency is described as a capacity to offer support and ask for support from others; to both seek and give help when engaging with the world; and to align one's thoughts and actions with those of others in order to interpret problems of practice and to respond to those interpretations (Edwards 2005). In short, relational agency is about knowing how to know whom, as well as knowing what, how and why.

Collegiality, Relational Agency, and Academic Citizenship

Bruce Macfarlane's work on academic citizenship highlights some of these relational aspects of the academic role:

> [C]ommitment to service is about being an "academic citizen." This is someone prepared to contribute positively as a member of a series of overlapping communities both within and outside the university, to take responsibility for the welfare and development of students, colleagues and fellow professionals and to contribute to the life of the institution through decision-making processes (Macfarlane 2007, p. 3).

Other researchers variously refer to this academic citizenship work as "collegiality" (Ambrose et al. 2005; Austin and Trice 2016; Solem and Foote 2004) or "administrative attentiveness" (Jones 2007) and have shown that a lack of people demonstrating these behaviours within a department may lead to early career academics choosing to leave academia. Furthermore, a new academic's inability to develop such collegial qualities may threaten his or her promotion prospects. As I have suggested elsewhere (Sutherland and Petersen 2010), "new academics will not stay, and go on to be successful, without the support of their departmental colleagues, or without an operational, social and political understanding of their working environment" (p. 7). Yet, early career academics commonly express disappointment at the lack of collegiality in academia and several research studies have declared this lack to be one of the most surprising aspects of the first few years for early career academics (Ambrose et al. 2005; Boice 1996; Sorcinelli 1988).

In light of calls for different versions of collegiality, scholars such as Bolden et al. (2014), Macfarlane (2007), and Nixon (2004) call for resistance to the neoliberal discourse dominating much higher education leadership and decision-making. They ask us to replace neoliberal terminology with the discourse and practice of "academic citizenship" (Bolden et al. 2014; Macfarlane 2007) and "the reaffirmation of moral values in academia such as 'honesty', 'truthfulness', 'openness to difference' and 'authenticity'" (Nixon 2004). Bolden et al. (2014) suggest that in terms of the perceived tensions associated with a managerial approach to academic

leadership, engaging from "a position as 'citizens', rather than as 'leaders', 'managers' or 'employees' may foster a greater appreciation of the commonalities of academic experiences and give rise to a more collective and community-based response" (p. 767).

As various researchers have argued, the agency and identity of individuals (Billett et al. 2005; Kahn 2009; McAlpine et al. 2013) work within, and sometimes against, these cultures and structures so that both individual and workplace may ultimately be transformed. Austin and Trice (2016) present a model for what they call the "essential elements" of faculty work, which has "respect" at its core. They define these elements as academic freedom and autonomy, employment equity, flexibility, professional growth, and collegiality. The interaction of these five elements within the structure of the institution, the department, and the discipline has been shown at various stages throughout this book, and this concluding chapter now offers some suggestions for enhancing the socialisation process for early career academics as individuals, and at the departmental, institutional, and national levels.

Socialisation and Agency at the Departmental Level

One particular role that a Head of Department can and should play is to find out exactly what prior experiences an early career academic has had before arriving at their university and help to devise an induction and professional development strategy that will suit that individual early career academic's needs at the appropriate times. Early career academics complained that orientations and inductions, while valuable, were often an experience of "information-overload" – there is too much to take in all at once, and someone needs to help filter what is and is not important as they start their academic journey. The Head of Department plays an important role here (cf. Kezar and Lester 2009, p. 726), but could also assign a departmental mentor or buddy whose aim is to help the early career academic navigate the ins and outs of the new environment. Mentoring should not, however, be limited to a senior departmental colleague. Early career academics should seek mentors beyond their departments and for varying purposes, and not all mentoring relationships need to be formalised (although Chap. 4 shows that a formal mentoring relationship does have a positive effect on research confidence).

I have developed a resource for Heads of Department (and other senior leaders with responsibility for inducting and supporting early career academics) that lays out a series of questions to ask new academic staff members in order to find out:

– what experience they already have
– their most pressing professional development and support needs
– the policies and procedures they most urgently need to familiarise themselves with, and
– their aims and professional development plans and needs for the upcoming year.

The guide, "Supporting Early Career Academics: Conversational Guidelines for Senior Staff", is available through the Ako Aotearoa website as a free download,[1] and is intended to serve as a useful accompaniment rather than a replacement for existing career development and planning or regular progress report processes that universities may already have in place. Most universities will (or should) also have an induction process and checklist/procedure that covers off issues such as email, online services and phone access; parking services; equipment and resource availability; office hours; kitchen and toilet locations; after hours and emergency procedures; safety and security, etc. However, there is a vast array of other academic policies and procedures that new academics need to know about in their first few months, and it is not always easy to filter which are most important, and at which times. The "Supporting Early Career Academics" guide provides some examples of policies and procedures that may not be included in a regular induction process. They are by no means exhaustive lists and will vary by university, but they are starting points for conversation with new academics. The resource is designed for managers/staff to add their own questions as well – the important point is to help new colleagues to filter what they need to know and do, and when, as well as from whom they can seek support.

Furthermore, Heads of Departments, along with senior colleagues and the various providers of professional development services and support within the rest of the university, should avoid a deficit model of professional development (trying to fix what is wrong with early career academics). They (we) should instead celebrate early career academic strengths, contributions and successes. Early career academics in my research called for a university culture where the hard work of academics is affirmed, their contribution valued, and their lives beyond work recognised as important. To this end, I have also produced a one-page accompaniment to the guide for Heads of Department, called "Supporting New Academic Staff". This brief resource is designed to prompt a department-wide conversation (perhaps at a staff meeting, retreat, or away-day) about how the department celebrates successes and achievements, supports new academics and each other, and works together to create a supportive, respectful, and generous departmental and institutional culture.

Trowler and Knight (1999), writing at the end of the 1990s, called for an end to the "structural functionalism" approach to the induction of new academic appointees. They were uneasy with the focus on the generic approaches with sequential timetabled events that dominated induction practice and called for more individualistic, informal, random, disjunctive approaches and events: "[Previous studies] prioritise the overt over the tacit, the corporate over the local, the formal over the naturally occurring, structure over action" (Trowler and Knight 1999, p. 191). They argued that universities need to recognise the role of agency in individual learning about becoming an academic, and that individuals have the capacity to consciously or unconsciously change the social practices into which they are being inducted.

---

[1] The guide and the other resources mentioned in this chapter are freely downloadable from Ako Aotearoa's website, and can be found at http://akoaotearoa.ac.nz/early-career-academics

This leads on to my next recommendation: that individual academics need to work out what they need and have to offer.

Socialisation at the Individual Level

The whole process of support from within the department, particularly in terms of identifying training and professional development needs, should sit alongside a personal process in which early career academics ponder their own goals, values, strengths, and aspirations in academia. To this end, I have also designed a resource for early career academics – "Surviving and Succeeding as an Early Career Academic" – that focuses on the personal characteristics that help early career academics to succeed in and enjoy their work. The resource identifies five key personal characteristics that are likely to improve early career academics' experiences of academia. The resource asks questions that encourage early career academics to:

- be *resourceful* in the ways that they seek support, help, advice, and guidance
- have a strong sense of *relational agency* and have developed broad networks of support
- demonstrate *resilience* in the face of setbacks and obstacles, rather than being defensive or risk-averse
- be *respectful*, organisationally aware, astute, and committed, and
- be conscious of balancing work and home life and getting enough *rest and recreation*.

Early career academics may wish to download and use this resource in their own time and/or in conversation with their peers, departmental colleagues, and managers. It is the kind of resource that can be returned to once or twice a year, and is certainly not only useful for *early career* academics but may well hold questions that prompt reflective action on the part of more experienced academics, too. Not all responsibility should be laid at the feet of the individual academic, of course. The wider institution needs to step up to support newcomers and ensure that their socialisation is appropriate, uplifting, and fulfilling in order that early career academics choose to stay – in academia and at New Zealand universities – and thrive.

Structural Changes at the Doctoral Level

Part of what helps new academics thrive lies in the strength of their prior experiences. My research has shown that publication and teaching experience during the doctoral years are important for research and teaching confidence, and that the opportunity to serve on university committees also has an effect on confidence. Those early career academics who published, either independently or with their supervisor, during their doctorate are more confident researchers *and* have a higher

research output than those who did not publish during their PhD. Likewise, those early career academics who gained teaching experience, particularly lecturing or course coordination experience, begin their academic careers as more confident teachers than those with no teaching experience. My data show that it is more common for early career academics who did their doctorates overseas to have gained teaching experience (nearly three quarters did so) than for early career academics who completed their doctorates in New Zealand (only half of New Zealand PhDs gained teaching experience).

I suggest that it would be timely to consider what kind of preparation New Zealand doctoral degrees provide for aspiring academics (even if not all enter academia). We could look into providing more teaching opportunities, particularly with some responsibility (i.e. lecturing or course coordination, not just tutoring) to doctoral students. At the least, those of us who are supervising doctoral students with academic career aspirations should be encouraging them to publish during, not just after, their PhDs. We could also help them into the world of publication by publishing with them, where appropriate.

Structural Changes Affecting Women

As well as thinking through the purpose and focus of their doctoral programmes, New Zealand universities need to turn their attention even more urgently to the issues preventing academic women from rising through the lower ranks (where they are over-represented) to the senior professorial levels (where they are vastly under-represented). All New Zealand universities should be asking what support they are providing for academic women who aspire to climb the academic ladder. Women with childcare responsibilities may need different support from single men with no children, for example. Fewer women than men attend international conferences, so what other opportunities are there for women to engage with their disciplinary colleagues internationally? Men are also more likely to be more actively engaged with their disciplinary society, taking more responsibility (journal editor or conference organiser, for example, rather than just being a paid-up member) than women. What targeted opportunities are New Zealand universities providing for women to improve their research output, confidence, and overall satisfaction in academia? And what opportunities do women *and* men have to participate in decision-making processes at each university? The early career academics in my research called for more such opportunities to be heard, to have their agency acknowledged, to have the importance of their families and lives beyond the institution recognised, and to have their contributions celebrated. It is important, also, that we unveil "the underlying processes of institutional reproduction that structure our academic world" (Bauder 2006, p. 672) so that early career academics can navigate their way through the system with more transparency and less opaqueness (van Balen et al. 2012; Leišytė and Hosch-Dayican 2017).

Tell Your Own Stories of "Success"

Alongside a frustration with mixed messages, early career academics in New Zealand expressed concern at what they perceived as a push, exacerbated by the accountability-driven nature of the PBRF, to turn everyone into prolific researchers at the expense of the development of and care for teaching and learning. Further, they resisted being held accountable at every turn for their performance, and called for more autonomy over the decisions regarding their teaching and research activities. In the focus groups, several participants talked about wanting to see and hear different versions of success in academia – they wanted to hear more stories and see more deliberate modelling of varied academic career paths and possibilities. Quite simply, they wanted to hear senior academics talking more about their own experiences in academia – the challenges, the successes, the pitfalls, and the opportunities.

Brook and Michell (2012) lament the lack of autobiographical reflections on academic experiences from working-class academics in the higher education literature and argue that providing more space for and incorporation of such stories would enable low-socioeconomic status students to see possibilities for themselves in academia. Similarly, more women sharing their stories of survival and success in academia may encourage more young women into academic careers and may entice them to stay longer and pursue higher status roles that begin to correct the imbalance between men and women at higher levels in academia. Following Jespen et al. (2012, p. 630) and Austin (2003, p. 139), I urge supervisors, for example, to talk to PhD students about career opportunities and to share their own experiences. Students need to ask more people than just their supervisors about their stories and pathways as well.

Defining "success" in academia is not easy to do because everyone has a different conception of what success means to them (Sutherland 2017). While there is a clear message that performing well in research is a key marker of success in academia, my research has shown that research performance does not necessarily coincide with satisfaction or work-life balance. For this reason, I encourage all readers of this book to share their own definitions, stories, warnings about, and versions of success (and failure) with as many aspiring and current academics as are willing to listen. Then, listen to their stories in return.

New Stories

My experiences of living through considerable educational reform, first as a student in the 1990s, then as an academic in the 2000s, provide an insider perspective that is both intimate and distant. Intimate in the sense that I felt deeply and personally the financial impact of having to fund my education without the kind of support that earlier generations had enjoyed. Distant in that while I was immersed in a series of

changes that directly affected me and my experience of academia, I was a recipient rather than an architect of the changes, and I was not able to raise my head above the parapet to see clearly either what came before or what exactly was changing. Having begun my university studies in 1990, I was a student at the beginning of a raft of educational reforms in New Zealand that would see university education move from being viewed by the government as a public good to being touted as a private benefit that individuals would have to pay for the privilege of attaining. A decade later I began my academic career in a climate of resistance to the neoliberal ideologies that had further embedded this attitude, and amidst the start of a performance-based funding environment for research.

As I read about higher education in New Zealand and abroad for background for this book, I encountered many scholars who bemoaned the imposition of corporate expectations and neoliberal economic policies on the university as an academic institution, decrying the accountability agenda, the focus on entrepreneurialism, and the array of managerial imperatives. But I also found it difficult to get a handle on the milieu of the university prior to these impositions. Given that many academics working in New Zealand universities now are under the age of 50, those of us in that category have not experienced an academy free of neoliberal ideology. We have always been accountable in one way or another to our "managers" (not just to the professorial leaders of our universities) and at the mercy of decisions made at national governmental level about the allocation of funding to the tertiary sector. For the last decade or so we have had to account for our research output in the form of evidence portfolios for the PBRF assessment. We have always worked in a teaching environment where students provide evaluations of our teaching and where promotion decisions are made on the basis of our accounts of productivity and meritorious performance in teaching, research, and service. We have always been involved in recruitment events to attract students to choose our university over another, and most of us are conversant (if not complicit) in the language of impact, indices, rankings, and ratings. We are, as my colleague Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich so aptly describes, "the new academic persona of a self-managing, self-auditing milestone-aware employee" (Bönisch-Brednich 2014, p. 17), whether we like it or agree with it, or not.

We do not know a different version of academic life and it is often difficult to hear our senior colleagues pining for a past era, particularly when we know how rife those times were with elitism, sexism, racism, homophobia, ageism, Eurocentrism, fiefdoms, and patronage (Kidman and Chu 2015; Larner and Le Heron 2005; Roberts 1999; Tight 2010, 2014). Thankfully, some scholars have worked hard to tell New Zealand universities' histories and to identify the best features of last century's less-than-perfect-past that we should seek to preserve and protect. Chief among the liberal education values we should aspire to retain are tolerance, investigation and critique, academic freedom, disinterested knowledge, critical reason, the integration of teaching and research, openness to debate, and collegiality (Billot 2010; Harland et al. 2010; Roberts 1999). Perhaps some of these values will help twenty-first century academics to face – with confidence, alacrity, and collective hope – the many looming challenges and prospects.

Challenges and Prospects

Some of those challenges have been outlined in the preceding chapters in this book, and stem directly from the neoliberal reforms implemented in higher education in New Zealand and around the world. The need always to have to account for one's activities and output and value, for example. Or having to compete against other academics for students and grants, to be the most productive, most entrepreneurial, most rapidly promoted and promotable employees. Such expectations can be draining and demoralising for those who followed a passion for research or for teaching (or both) into the university. Twenty-first century academics are expected to be excellent in *all* aspects of the academic role: to do and perform more and better, despite there being fewer resources, less funding, and more students (Enders and de Weert 2009; Leišytė and Dee 2012).

The increase in student numbers is also accompanied by increasing diversity, which is a challenge for academics who are likely to have come from vastly different backgrounds from those of their students. But, this is an exciting prospect, too. The academy is slowly diversifying (although not fast enough as pointed out in Chaps. 6 and 7), and we are seeing more students and staff from different ethnic backgrounds and more women. Other exciting prospects that new academics are embracing include technological advances that enable us to connect with our colleagues around the world so much more easily than before (and this is vital for academics in a little country at the bottom of the world). These new technologies are also seeing positive changes to the way we teach and the ways students learn, as well as to how our work is published, read, and shared.

Several critics have pointed out that while the performativity generated by the neoliberal accountability regime has ground some academics down inexorably and led to resignations, depression, high stress levels, and career changes (Archer 2008; Roberts 2013, 2014; Shore 2010), not all twenty-first century academics are so negatively affected by the performative environment (Henkel 2002; Hyde et al. 2013; Kolsaker 2008; Park 2013; Tight 2010). As Clarke and Knights (2015, p. 1874) note, some just "get on with it" and think, "well, okay". Others are seduced (Davies 2003) or coerced (Ashcroft and Nairn 2004) by "rankings and other performative accoutrements" that promise to give them valued identities, status, and prosperity, and they transform themselves into "perfect neo-liberal subjects" (Clarke and Knights 2015, p. 1874). Still others "recognise the game… but refuse to lose [them] selves within it" (Tynan and Garbett 2007, p. 423). Academics are neither homogeneously compliant nor docile, and many resist the seduction and the coercion of the audit culture by subverting the outputs expected, with story-telling (Harris et al. 2013; Sparkes 2007), scholarly critiques (Ashcroft and Nairn 2004; Roberts 2014), collaborative narratives (Cave et al. 2012; Tynan and Garbett 2007; Waitere et al. 2011), defiance (Leišytė and Dee 2012, p. 156), and calls to action (Grant and Elizabeth 2015; Roberts 1999, 2013, 2014). But, others remain trapped in a double bind of having to publically engage in ranking systems against which they may privately rail (Levin and Aliyeva 2015; Morrissey 2013). Telling our stories, and listening to those of our new colleagues, may help them and us to work out what *should* be resisted and what represents an exciting opportunity.

Critic, Conscience, and Citizen

Academic autonomy certainly seems to be under threat from government agendas (Leišytė and Dee 2012, p. 184; Musselin 2013) and not all academics are resisting these moves. However, many academics in New Zealand, and further afield, are calling for more academics to deliberately, openly, and publically take up the mantle of "critic and conscience of society" (Bridgman 2007; Phelan 2016), even if, and especially because, they risk offending the corporate elements of the managed university hierarchy. Various authors have called for and provided alternatives to the "managerialism of the bureaucratically accountable institution" (Nixon et al. 2001, p. 241) and challenged the neoliberal economic metaphors prevalent.

Nixon and colleagues (2001) propose a new form of academic professionalism. Such a milieu would value broad understandings of and approaches to research. It would refocus on the importance of teaching and learning in the university, and emphasise the self-development of academics. It would offer, as I have also suggested, a more equitable and broad-reaching conception of collegiality and a wider recognition of disciplinary differences. And, it would reconceptualise academic freedom as "freedom for all" rather than "freedom for academics". Nixon and colleagues call their paper "a manifesto of hope" (Nixon et al. 2001, p. 227). Other academics have made similar calls for more hope to pervade the university (Archer 2008; Barcan 2016; Darabi et al. 2016).

We have choices about the words we use to talk and write about what we do and by what we are challenged. We can and should choose to use language outside the neoliberal repertoire of accountability, utilitarianism, performance, and economic return (Davies 2005). While harking back to a past era may represent an improbable reinvigoration (Brady 2012), we do need to reclaim a version of the university as being "of the intellect and of the imagination" (Davies 2005, p. 1). Davies bemoans the silencing of critique wrought by the surveillance of neoliberalism, and calls for academics to confront the dominant discourse with more passionate and disruptive words and actions. One way to engage in such passionate work is to draw on and celebrate the energy and enthusiasm of new academics, who, in New Zealand at least, are more satisfied and more optimistic than their senior colleagues. However, to embrace this enthusiasm will require us to work collectively as institutions and structures that recognise individuals' contributions, respect their agency, acknowledge their home lives and family situations, and make room for diversity of people and ideas. In doing so, we will allow for new ways of being academics and doing academic work.

While this book has shown that early career academics in New Zealand universities are generally more satisfied than their academic colleagues elsewhere, this satisfaction should not be taken for granted. Given the issues with work-life balance and the imbalance in women and men's experiences of academia, New Zealand has considerable work to do to make our universities attractive places for the many New Zealanders and international academics who will be needed to teach the students of our future, as this final poem, composed from the words of my early career respondents, shows.

Listen: A Poem

I never expected an academic career to be
such a traumatic experience,
to require me to become
an entrepreneur
          rather than a scholar,
and to have to fight
against
an ideology that blurs
          the line between
education
and
training,
that myopically seeks
the short-term economic bottom line.

My career equips me with the tools
          to critique
                    the institutions of society, but
in a world where the university has been
          largely hijacked
by non-academic, business-minded rule,
          our managers are not interested
                    in the wisdom
                              we have to offer,
in our analyses that factor in
          more than just
                    dollars
                              and
                                        cents.

The schizophrenic nature of
the contemporary university
          that has proletarianized academics
is a sorry state of affairs
          but
one tries to battle on
and resist
          succumbing
                    to
                              nervous
                                        exhaustion.

Concluding Thought

If we want to battle this sense of exhaustion and help early career academics back up "off the mat" (to hark back to the boxing metaphor of the introductory chapter), we must listen to their stories, include them in decisions that affect them, respect their autonomy, and ask what they need. Socialisation of early career academics into the various structures of academia should strive to recognise the individual and encourage the exercise of relational agency. Newcomers can learn from, but also transform, our academic structures. By embracing this reciprocal kind of socialisation, our universities – here in New Zealand and elsewhere in the world – can become organisations in which new and energetic academics choose to work and are supported to thrive.

References

Ambrose, S., Huston, T., & Norman, M. (2005). A qualitative method for assessing faculty satisfaction. *Research in Higher Education, 46*(7), 803–830.

Archer, L. (2008). Younger academics' constructions of "authenticity", "success" and professional identity. *Studies in Higher Education, 33*(4), 385–403.

Ashcroft, C., & Nairn, K. (2004). Critiquing the Tertiary Education Commission's role in New Zealand's tertiary education system: Policy, practice and panopticism. *ACCESS: Critical Perspectives on Communication, Cultural & Policy Studies, 23*(2), 43–54.

Austin, A. (2003). Creating a bridge to the future: Preparing new faculty to face changing expectations in a shifting context. *The Review of Higher Education, 26*(2), 119–144.

Austin, A. E., & Trice, A. G. (2016). Core principles for faculty models and the importance of community. In A. Kezar & D. Maxey (Eds.), *Envisioning the faculty for the twenty-first century* (pp. 58–80). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Barcan, R. (2016). *Academic life and labour in the new university: Hope and other choices*. London/New York: Routledge.

Bauder, H. (2006). Learning to become a geographer: Reproduction and transformation in academia. *Antipode, 38*(4), 671–679.

Billett, S., Smith, R., & Barker, M. (2005). Understanding work, learning and the remaking of cultural practices. *Studies in Continuing Education, 27*(3), 219–237.

Billot, J. (2010). The imagined and the real: Identifying the tensions for academic identity. *Higher Education Research & Development, 29*(6), 709–721.

Boice, R. (1996). *First-order principles for college teachers: Ten basic ways to improve the teaching process*. Bolton: Anker.

Bolden, R., Gosling, J., & O'Brien, A. (2014). Citizens of the academic community? A societal perspective on leadership in UK higher education. *Studies in Higher Education, 39*(5), 754–770.

Bönisch-Brednich, B. (2014). Cultural transfer in university teaching: Academic migrant perspectives from Aotearoa/New Zealand. In C. Mason & F. Rawlings-Sanaei (Eds.), *Academic migration, discipline knowledge and pedagogical practice* (pp. 13–25). Singapore: Springer Singapore.

Brady, N. (2012). From "moral loss" to "moral reconstruction"? A critique of ethical perspectives on challenging the neoliberal hegemony in UK universities in the 21st century. *Oxford Review of Education, 38*(3), 343–355.

Bridgman, T. (2007). Assassins in academia? New Zealand academics as "critic and conscience of society". *New Zealand Sociology, 22*(1), 126–144.

Brook, H., & Michell, D. (2012). Learners, learning, learned: Class, higher education, and auto-biographical essays from working-class academics. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 34*(6), 587–599.

Cave, J., Johnston, L., Morrison, C. A., & Underhill-Sem, Y. (2012). Community-university collaborations: Creating hybrid research and collective identities. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, 7*(1), 37–50.

Clarke, C. A., & Knights, D. (2015). Careering through academia: Securing identities or engaging ethical subjectivities? *Human Relations, 68*(12), 1865–1888.

Darabi, M., Macaskill, A., & Reidy, L. (2016). Stress among UK academics: Identifying who copes best. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*. doi:10.1080/0309877X.2015.1117598.

Davies, B. (2003). Death to critique and dissent? The policies and practices of new managerialism and of "evidence-based practice". *Gender and Education, 15*(1), 91–103.

Davies, B. (2005). The (im)possibility of intellectual work in neoliberal regimes. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 26*(1), 1–14.

Edwards, A. (2005). Relational agency: Learning to be a resourceful practitioner. *International Journal of Educational Research, 43*(3), 168–182.

Enders, J., & de Weert, E. (2009). *The changing face of academic life: Analytical and comparative perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grant, B. M., & Elizabeth, V. (2015). Unpredictable feelings: Academic women under research audit. *British Educational Research Journal, 41*(2), 287–302.

Harland, T., Tidswell, T., Everett, D., Hale, L., & Pickering, N. (2010). Neoliberalism and the academic as critic and conscience of society. *Teaching in Higher Education, 15*(1), 85–96.

Harris, C., Ravenswood, K., & Myers, B. (2013). Glass slippers, holy grails and ivory towers: Gender and advancement in academia. *Labour & Industry: A Journal of the Social and Economic Relations of Work, 23*(3), 231–244.

Henkel, M. (2002). Academic identity in transformation? *Higher Education Management and Policy, 14*(3), 137–147.

Hyde, A., Clarke, M., & Drennan, J. (2013). The changing role of academics and the rise of managerialism. In B. M. Kehm & U. Teichler (Eds.), *The academic profession in Europe: New tasks and new challenges* (pp. 39–52). Dordrecht: Springer.

Jespen, D. M., Varhegyi, M. M., & Edwards, D. (2012). Academics' attitudes towards PhD students' teaching: Preparing research higher degree students for an academic career. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 34*(6), 629–645.

Jones, L. G. (2007). Loving the academic's vocation, institutions and all. In A. L. Deneef & C. D. Goodwin (Eds.), *The Academic's handbook* (3rd ed., pp. 1–10). Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Kahn, P. (2009). Contexts for teaching and the exercise of agency in early-career academics: Perspectives from realist social theory. *International Journal for Academic Development, 14*(3), 197–207.

Kezar, A., & Lester, J. (2009). Supporting faculty grassroots leadership. *Research in Higher Education, 50*(7), 715–740.

Kidman, J., & Chu, C. (2015). *Māori scholars and the university*. Auckland: Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga.

Kolsaker, A. (2008). Academic professionalism in the managerialist era: A study of English universities. *Studies in Higher Education, 33*(5), 513–525.

Larner, W., & Le Heron, R. (2005). Neo-liberalizing spaces and subjectivities: Reinventing New Zealand universities. *Organization, 12*(6), 843–862.

Leišytė, L., & Dee, J. R. (2012). Understanding academic work in a changing institutional environment. In J. C. Smart & M. B. Paulsen (Eds.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 123–206). Dordrecht: Springer.

Leišytė, L., & Hosch-Dayican, B. (2017). Gender and academic work at a Dutch university. In H. Eggins (Ed.), *The changing role of women in higher education* (pp. 95–117). Cham: Springer.

Levin, J. S., & Aliyeva, A. (2015). Embedded neoliberalism within faculty behaviors. *The Review of Higher Education, 38*(4), 537–563.

Macfarlane, B. (2007). *The academic citizen: The virtue of service in academic life*. London/New York: Routledge.

Mathieson, S. (2011). Developing academic agency through critical reflection: A sociocultural approach to academic induction programmes. *International Journal for Academic Development, 17*(3), 243–256.

McAlpine, L., Amundsen, C., & Turner, G. (2013). Constructing post-PhD careers: Negotiating opportunities and personal goals. *International Journal for Researcher Development, 4*(1), 39–54.

Morrissey, J. (2013). Governing the academic subject: Foucault, governmentality and the performing university. *Oxford Review of Education, 39*(6), 797–810.

Musselin, C. (2013). Redefinition of the relationships between academics and their university. *Higher Education, 65*(1), 25–37.

Nixon, J. (2004). Education for the good society: The integrity of academic practice. *London Review of Education, 2*(3), 245–252.

Nixon, J., Marks, A., Rowland, S., & Walker, M. (2001). Towards a new academic professionalism: A manifesto of hope. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 22*(2), 227–244.

Park, E. (2013). From academic self-governance to executive university management: Institutional governance in the eyes of academics in Europe. In U. Teichler & E. A. Höhle (Eds.), *The work situation of the academic profession in Europe: Findings of a survey in twelve countries* (pp. 183–204). Dordrecht: Springer.

Phelan, S. (2016). The corporate university and its threat to academic freedom. *eSocSci*. http://www.esocsci.org.nz/sean-phelan-the-corporate-university-and-its-threat-to-academic-freedom/. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Roberts, P. (1999). The future of the university: Reflections from New Zealand. *International Review of Education, 45*(1), 65–86.

Roberts, P. (2013). Academic dystopia: Knowledge, performativity, and tertiary education. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies, 35*(1), 27–43.

Roberts, P. (2014). Changing scholarly lives: Neoliberalism, discipline(s) and educational research. In P. Roberts, A. D. Reid, E. P. Hart, & M. A. Peters (Eds.), *A companion to research in education* (pp. 41–45). Dordrecht: Springer.

Shore, C. (2010). Beyond the multiversity: Neoliberalism and the rise of the schizophrenic university. *Social Anthropology, 18*(1), 15–29.

Solem, M. N., & Foote, K. E. (2004). Concerns, attitudes, and abilities of early career geography faculty. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 94*(4), 889–912.

Sorcinelli, M. D. (1988). Satisfactions and concerns of new university teachers. *To Improve the Academy, 7*, 121–133.

Sparkes, A. C. (2007). Embodiment, academics, and the audit culture: A story seeking consideration. *Qualitative Research, 7*(4), 521–550.

Sutherland, K.A. (2017). Constructions of success in academia: An early career perspective. *Studies in Higher Education, 42*(4), 743–759. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2015.1072150

Sutherland, K. A., & Petersen, L. (2010). The success and impact of early career academics in two New Zealand tertiary institutions. Report. *Ako Aotearoa*. http://akoaotearoa.ac.nz/ako-hub/ako-aotearoa-central-hub/resources/pages/success-and-impact-early-career-academics-two-new-z. Accessed 6 Apr 2017.

Tight, M. (2010). The golden age of academe: Myth or memory? *British Journal of Educational Studies, 58*(1), 105–116.

Tight, M. (2014). Collegiality and managerialism: A false dichotomy? Evidence from the higher education literature. *Tertiary Education and Management, 20*(4), 294–306.

Trowler, P., & Knight, P. (1999). Organizational socialization and induction in universities: Reconceptualizing theory and practice. *Higher Education, 37*, 177–195.

Tynan, B., & Garbett, D. (2007). Negotiating the university research culture: Collaborative voices of new academics. *Higher Education Research & Development, 26*(4), 411–424.

van Balen, B., van Arensbergen, P., van der Weijden, I., & van den Besselaar, P. (2012). Determinants of success in academic careers. *Higher Education Policy, 25*(3), 313–334.

Waitere, H. J., Wright, J., Tremaine, M., Brown, S., & Pausé, C. J. (2011). Choosing whether to resist or reinforce the new managerialism: The impact of performance-based research funding on academic identity. *Higher Education Research & Development, 30*(2), 205–217.

Index