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Chapter 4
“"I Didn’t Come to Play”": Pasifika Women in the Academy

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ABSTRACT

Pasifika women in the academy face many of the same challenges as other racialised women working in universities. At the intersection of race and gender, we experience the white and masculine imprints of higher education. These imprints lead to Pasifika women experiencing excess labour, infantilization, hyper-surveillance, stranger making, expectations of intelligibility, and desirable diversity. In spite of this daily onslaught Pasifika, women continue to work and engage in higher education and the question needs to be asked: Why? This chapter explores these experiences and more importantly the motivations of Pasifika women to continue to engage with higher education in spite of the systemic exclusion they face.

INTRODUCTION

Universities are places where Pasifika peoples have traditionally been excluded and are now underserved, but also places where Pasifika peoples wish to be included and successful within the system. Pasifika people want universities to be places “that embrace all learners, esteem all knowledges and serve all communities” (Naepi, 2019a, p.230). Unfortunately, for Pasifika women, universities in New Zealand have a long way to go in order to achieve this goal. The education systems in Aotearoa New Zealand have consistently and historically under-served Pasifika peoples and as such change is needed (Boon et al. 2017; Chu et al., 2013; Finau, 2008; Hunter.
et al. 2016; Kepa, 2011; Kidman & Chu, 2019; Leaupepe & Sauni, 2014; Mayeda et al., 2014; McDonald & Lipine, 2012; Naepi, 2019a; Porter-Samuels, 2013; Reynolds, 2016; Samu, 2006; Suaali-Sauni, 2008; Teevale & Teu, 2018; Theodore et al. 2018). As someone who has experienced these spaces and places it became ever more urgent for me to talk to other Pasifika women about their experiences in universities. Initially the research presented in this chapter aimed to explore ways that Pasifika women engaged in change making at universities but it became clear during the process of the research that the Pasifika women wished to share why change was necessary.

This chapter presents Pasifika women’s experiences of higher education that were gathered using masi methodology, a Pacific research methodology which centres Pacific women’s voices in the research (Naepi, 2019b) and talanoa, a Pacific relational narrative enquiry research method developed from Pacific people’s oratory traditions. (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Naepi, 2019c; Otunuku, 2011; Prescott, 2008; Stewart-Withers, Sewabu & Richardson, 2017; Suaali-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006). Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba noted that within talanoa knowledge is “found at the nexus of shared knowledge-sensation-emotion” (2014, p. 328). Talanoa and masi methodology combined to enable powerful moments of relationship and understanding in the research process. It is emotional to speak of experiences of exclusion, the stories shared invoke shared sensations and, in that moment, new knowledge is created.

In total twenty-seven Pasifika women participated in the research and collectively represent 216 years of experience working in New Zealand universities. There were two phases to the research. The first was one on one talanoa and the second was community talanoa. This chapter will first outline some of the different ways in which women and racialized bodies experience universities before sharing the experiences of Pasifika women specifically. Then this chapter will explore why Pasifika women continue to engage in a system that actively works to exclude them. The talanoa are of strong Pasifika women who are making a difference in the institutions they work in. There is much to learn from their sharing about how racialized women not only experience but also respond to universities. It may be useful to engage in what Ahenakew (2016) termed sense-sensing instead of sense-making when reading and engaging with this chapter, after all it is through sense-sensing this knowledge was gained.

**Becoming Pasifika**

I use the term Pasifika when discussing Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand as a way to differentiate between Pacific Peoples throughout the globe, and more specifically those still located within their Pacific home nations and Pacific Peoples
within Aotearoa New Zealand. Pasifika is a socially constructed term (Samu, 2010) that the Tofamamao Working Party defined as “Pacific peoples in both local and global; genealogically, spiritually and culturally connected to the lands, the skies and seas of the Pacific region” (Tafoamamaoa Working Party in Airini, Anae, Mila-Schaff, Coxon, Mara and Sanga, 2010). Suaalii-Sauni noted that Pasifika is a Polynesian transliteration and “was coined and is invoked to make a deliberate point about self-determination” (2008, p.20). It is important to recognise that the term Pasifika encompasses many different ethnicities, languages, and cultural practices and it is a term whose exact definition is still debated amongst Pasifika peoples (Coxon, Foliaki & Mara, 1994; Māhina, 2008; Manuatu & Kepa, 2002; Samu, 2006, 2010; Suaalii-Sauni 2008). This continuous debate should not be read as problematic; instead, as Crocombe (1976), one of the first proponents of the term Pasifika, noted, Pasifika is a term that will grow in an organic environment and be open to change, modification, and amendment as a fluid concept.

Pacific people had four waves of migrations to Aotearoa New Zealand beginning some twelve hundred years ago. These migration stories are important as they cement Pasifika as extended family to Māori and waves two to four are the ancestors of Pasifika in Aotearoa. The first wave of migration was that of settlement, when Eastern Pacific people explored and settled in Aotearoa and became tangata whenua. This first wave is important to the relationship between Māori (Tangata Whenua/Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa) and Pasifika as it cemented Pasifika as extended family to Māori and created bonds and relationships through culture and genealogy in Te Moana Nuia Kiwa (greater Oceania kinship connections) (Health Research Council, 2014). Importantly this relationship further cements Pacific peoples’ acknowledgement, support and respect for Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) and recognition that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the foundation for our relationship with Tangata Whenua. These kinship ties also mean that Pacific peoples support and recognise the Tangata Whenua status of New Zealand Māori and their right to exercise tino rangatiratanga (self-government). The second to third waves of migration are deeply tied to the European colonisation of the Pacific. One hundred and fifty years ago, Pacific peoples arrived in Aotearoa as trainee teachers, missionaries, sailors, and whalers in a second wave of migration. The third wave followed seventy years later when Pacific peoples who had served the colonial government as civil servants within the Pacific ‘territories’ or in the colonial armed forces were able to move to Aotearoa (Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001). The fourth migration, which occurred fifty years ago, was perhaps the most significant and is the migration story with which most people are familiar today. For the fourth migration, Pacific people migrated for economic reasons and found work in the manufacturing and service sectors in post-war Aotearoa (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001; Macpherson, 2004; Te Punga Sommerville, 2012; Naepi, 2018).
GENDER AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Gender affects how women experience working in universities as women experience what Alvesson (2012) terms a masculine imprint. A masculine imprint is evident in two ways; the first is a simple measurement tool, where men are over-represented throughout the institution (Fisher, 2007; Martin, 2000), particularly in leadership roles (Acker, 2012; 2014; Öhrn, Petra, Gustafsson, Lundahl, & Nyström, 2009) and as a result women appear out of place. The other imprint is the normalisation and rewarding of ‘masculine’ behaviours (Acker, 2012; Kandiko Howson, Coate & de St Croix, 2017; Morley, 2005) as opposed to the socially constructed and defined feminine traits such as the three Cs: care, concern, and connection (Martin, 2000). The first measurement tool is sometimes questioned due to the growing numbers of women in universities however, the performative culture of higher education means that masculine behaviour is still rife in universities (Martin, 2000; Öhrn, Petra, Gustafsson, Lundahl, & Nyström, 2009).

One of the fallouts of the masculine imprint is that women perform excessive labour which is dictated by gender norms that is neither recognised or rewarded by universities. For instance, the expectation of emotional labour (three Cs) by women to take on the roles of nurturing students and supporting other faculty and staff during transitional (restructuring) phases (Acker, 2012; 2014; Acker & Wagner, 2017; Fisher, 2007; Mather, 1998). The second example is in the ‘housekeeping’ roles that women often take on such as serving on committees, preparing reports, and managing change (Acker, 2014; Fisher, 2007; Kandiko Howson, Coate & de St Croix, 2017; Pyke, 2011). This is labour that often the university does not value (Kandiko Howson, Coate, & de St Croix, 2017), but by women taking on this labour it frees up men to progress in their careers (Angervall & Beach, 2018). Women doing the “important tasks of giving academic direction and pursuing research” (Fisher, 2007, p. 507) can explain the under-representation of women in senior roles.

RACE AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The whiteness of universities continues to be critiqued (Ahmed, 2012; 2017; Antonio, 2002; Carey, 2016; Grosfoguel, 2012; 2013; James, 2012; Kidman & Chu, 2017; Mirza, 2006; 2015; Pilkington, 2013; Rollock, 2012; Tate & Bagguley, 2017; Wekker, 2016). Two significant contributions to this critique are from Puwar (2004) and Ahmed (2012). Nirmal Puwar (2004) explores how universities are a contested social space which have a culture of exclusion:
Social spaces are not blank and open for anybody to occupy. Over time, through processes of historical sedimentation, certain types of bodies are designated as being the “natural” occupants of specific spaces.... Some bodies have the right to belong in certain locations, while others are marked out as trespassers who are in accordance with how both spaces and bodies are imagined, politically, historically and conceptually circumscribed as being “out of place” (p. 51).

These out of place people are what Puwar (2004) termed ‘space invaders’ as a way to capture the experience of being a non-white person within universities. According to Puwar (2004) non-white bodies are made to feel as though they invade space through three mechanisms. The first is disorientation, where the bodies around us do a double-take when we enter a room. The second is infantilization, where people of colour are not expected to be capable of authority. The third is through hyper-surveillance, where when ‘given’ authority the institution (and the people within) are unforgiving of even small mistakes made by non-white people. This aligns with Pasifika people’s experiences of working within higher education as Wendt-Samu (2010) demonstrates in her reflection: “although we are experienced tertiary level educators, course developers/coordinators, and even administrators, most of us have some way to go before achieving full-acceptance by the academy as scholars and academics” (p. 3).

Sara Ahmed noted the brick walls built from institutional habit that racialized bodies (space invaders) encounter when working in universities (2012). Important to this chapter are the bricks of desirable diversity, and expectations of intelligibility. Desirable diversity is created through the ‘politics of stranger making’: “how some and not others become strangers, how emotions of fear and hatred stick to certain bodies, how certain bodies become understood as the rightful occupants of certain spaces” (Ahenakew & Naepi, 2015, p. 2). As a result, one group of people is able to declare diversity desirable and then dictate what it is about diversity that is desirable (window dressing, performance, etc.) and what is not (questioning, transforming) (Ahenakew & Naepi, 2015). The expectation of intelligibility (Ahenakew & Naepi, 2015) is where in order to enact change diversity practitioners must use the language of the institution or be prepared to ‘switch’, dependent on the argument needed to leverage change (Ahmed, 2012). As a result, the work of diversity can reproduce institutional norms (Ahenakew & Naepi, 2015) as the language that is intelligible to the institution restricts what can be said (Martin, 2000).
Pasifika women who work in higher education exist at the intersection of race and gender. This creates everyday experiences of excess labour, infantilization, hyper-surveillance, stranger making, expectations of intelligibility and desirable diversity.

Excess Labour

Pasifika women experience excess labour, and they are also aware of the ramifications of this excess labour in contributing to the ongoing issue of senior Pasifika representation in New Zealand universities (Naepi, 2019a). In talanoa seven, a collaborator reflects on how Pasifika women provide emotional care for Pasifika students and how this has impacted the progression of Pasifika women through the academy.

“I suppose, when there were more Pacific female academics around, there is a lot more love and nurturing around for students… …I think some of the other long-term ramifications is that we won’t be in senior roles. There’ll be less of us in senior roles, and associate professor roles, and professorial roles, and deanships”

Pasifika women not only experience excessive labour as outlined by other scholars (Acker, 2012; 2014; 2017; Carmen, 2004; Fisher, 2007; Mather, 1998) but also build on the understanding of excessive labour beyond emotional labour (Acker, 2012; 2014; 2017; Carmen, 2004; Fisher, 2007; Mather, 1998) and housekeeping (Acker, 2014; Fisher, 2007; Kandiko Howson, Coate & de St Croix, 2017; Pyke, 2011) through the additional labour expected by their communities and in having to protect white fragility (DiAngelo, 2011). The excess labour that comes in the form of community expectations is not valued by the university and talanoa ten provides an excellent example of not only what this excess labour looks like but also the devaluing of it by universities:

“every email is a request from a community member, or a post-graduate student, and I don’t want to say no, because you can’t do that to your own people, and so it’s always, ‘Can you write me something? Can you speak at something? Can you come and supervise a student at another university?’ … …there is service, but not as the way the university is defining service, but the way we see service around growing our people, about serving our people… …they don’t see it. I have got a full responsibility to community, to my bloodline. My ancestors are telling me to do this.”
This type of excessive labour which is undervalued by universities contributes to Pasifika females not meeting other expectations of performance, which can hinder their ability to progress whilst other bodies progress on the backs of Pasifika women’s excess labour (Angervall & Beach, 2018). Pasifika women also contributed to the idea of excess labour by considering how their everyday reality includes protecting other people’s white fragility. In talanoa ten a collaborator offers insightful commentary about how just the act of going to morning tea can be an exhausting process given the number of filters they are currently engaging in order to ensure that white fragility is protected (DiAngelo, 2011).

“I was talking, again, to my lovely colleague, who’s a good-looking white man. And he was talking about, something or other about, “Yes, it’s just great in the department. We can all just have such collegial relationships.” And I was thinking, “Do you know how many filters I’m running right now, to sit in this room with you?” But I can’t... What do I say? I can’t say, “Actually, it’s quite stressful for me to go to morning tea,” because people say stupid, ignorant stuff about poor people, and then look to me to confirm this is what brown people think... ...It’s exhausting to manage all of these perceptions in a way that people feel safe around me, because it’s easy to make people scared. If I lose my temper, even once. Fifteen years in this department, I’ve never really given someone the swerve, as my mother-in-law would say. I’ve never done that, despite being mighty provoked. So, the energy that goes into presenting a face that people are comfortable with, the kind Pacific lady, is something that I don’t think - my male colleagues - it ever occurs to them that they would need to do that. It’s about whatever they think, no matter how rude it is”.

Pasifika women not only experience the excess labour outlined by other gender-based critiques of the university (Acker, 2012; 2014; 2017; Carmen, 2004; Fisher, 2007; Mather, 1998) but they also experience excess labour simply by being Pasifika and a racialized body.

**Stranger Making**

Pasifika women experience stranger making in the academy. Pasifika women experience situations of exclusion through their presence being questioned or ignored. In community talanoa four a Pasifika woman reflected on an experience of being looked through: “He was so dismissive and so rude, and I just knew... You know, you see people and the way they behave and you go up and you introduce yourself and they just look past you. ‘Hello, I’m here. I’m here.” The collaborator’s “you just know” suggests that this is not a one-off experience for her; rather, she has learnt how to read the room and the people within, instinctively knowing who will act
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to make her a stranger. Pasifika women know that this process of stranger making disadvantages them and impacts how people engage with and see them within the academy as shown in talanoa seven:

“I think most challenges are about visibility. Being seen in the academy or in the institution as a valid academic, and not as the angry savage or the native savage, you know? I think those are some of the romantic terminologies that are used. And that we actually have scholarship. That we have earned our rights and our place in the academy, rather than, I suppose, coming in on any sort of quota, or stuff like that. And that we’ve worked hard. We’ve worked hard to earn our position, and they’re not glamorous positions. I can’t say that Pacific education or Pacific studies, for example, are recognized as anything worth heading to in terms of a discipline of education, or other fields like that. And so, we’re often not asked for our opinions in committees, or to sit on specific positions”.

Infantilization and Hyper-Surveillance

Pasifika women report experiencing hyper-surveillance in a number of ways. In talanoa ten a collaborator expresses infantilization by stating “sometimes people have difficulty seeing me as a leader”. Pasifika women are not seen as capable of leadership within New Zealand universities and therefore when they are in positions of leadership they are met with disbelief. Another experience of hyper-surveillance was discussed as pushback on institutional equity measures such as the one shared by the collaborator in talanoa ten: “I say, ‘Well can we look at our affirmative action space?’ And someone said to me last week, ‘Well, she’s already had quite a lot of affirmative action already.’ Is there a limit? Is it like a pie or something?”. Hyper-surveillance can also be critical of non-western forms of engagement. In talanoa nine a collaborator experiences hyper-surveillance when their manager is critical of their time away from the office even though it is this time away that makes their job possible:

“Often times, our manager used to go, “Why do you guys disappear so much?” in terms of we go to this meeting and go to that meeting. And that had taken him a lot of, time to figure out, we had to reiterate: relationships matters in the type of role that we do. “

This infantilizing and hyper surveillance of Pasifika through what they can access and when they should be present operate as ways to remind Pasifika women that they are space invaders, that they inhabit bodies that mark them as trespassers.
Desirable Diversity

Pasifika women experience the impact of desirable diversity in their everyday work. Pasifika women are only desirable in the institution if they fulfill positive expectations of what being a Pasifika woman is such as in talanoa ten where a collaborator reflects:

“The thing is, everything I do, I have to do with a smile on my face because I’m Pacific and I have to be nice to everyone all the time… …So it’s like you have to do all of the same things, but you can’t ever lose your temper, you can’t ever cry, you can’t ever take offense.”

Pasifika women also understand how when they challenge the university they are no longer desirable such as in talanoa seven:

“people who tow the line get promoted, or they sit on committees, or they become the professors in some respects. The people who antagonize the systems like ourselves, and push the boundaries, we’re seen as renegades, or we’re seen as the problems.”

However, Pasifika women also challenge desirable diversity by refusing to participate in being a desirable body for the university to capitalise on as shown in talanoa eight:

“Then one of the things I have done is resist the many, many requests to be profiled as a Pacific academic… … I just did not want to be absorbed by the institution, that’s what it was. Didn’t want to be absorbed by it. I was happy to be absorbed and be part of whatever this other group was, but I did not want to be absorbed by the university, and so that’s why I resisted it.”

The quote above reveals that Pasifika women are aware that their bodies are desirable for the institution, but they also recognise that they have the power to reject this desirability by slowing the process of ‘absorption’ through refusal. Pasifika women experience the white and masculine imprint through excess labour, infantilization, hyper-surveillance, stranger making, expectations of intelligibility and desirable diversity. These daily experiences mean constantly pushing back against a system that is designed to exclude you.

As shown in the literature (Ahmed, 2012; 2017; Mirza, 2015; Nabobo-Baba, 2013) engaging in an institution that is actively trying to reject you is tiring work that makes you sick. During the process of the research the community of Pasifika women who took part in this research lost an academic who was an anchor for many of the
women. During talanoa and follow-up communication a number of collaborators shared reflections, questioning if working within the institution was what made her sick or if it made her illness progress faster. It was a moment of reflection for the community on how the current system of exclusion can ultimately harm us. In talanoa fourteen a collaborator reflects on how taxing the work of fighting a system is:

“You know, it’s interesting to me that many of those who have held Pacific-specific leadership roles have needed to go into other roles at some point because of how taxing the warrior pose and work is. I can feel that in myself too, that from time to time, I need to have a good release, and just look after myself a bit more, get perspective.”

CONTINUING IN A SPACE THAT HARMs YOU

The issues outlined above then raise the question of why Pasifika women choose to continue engaging within higher education. The tension between wishing to be within the university while also being excluded has been discussed by many academics (Angervall, 2018; Kandiko Howson, Coate, de St Croix, 2017; Martin, 2000; Strengers, Despret & Knutson, 2015). When referring specifically to women’s experiences in the academy Strengers, Despret and Knutson stated that in order for there to be women’s thoughts in universities, we must be in the institution, and that “quite simply, this is the price that must be paid” (p. 30). The suggestion here is that women must simply learn how to hold the tension of existing within a structure which is designed to exclude them. However, for those of us who exist at the intersection of race and gender this suggestion is not viable, many of us enter the academy to change it not to simply exist within it. In talanoa fourteen a collaborator comments that:

“I think about being us. I think I recognize that the university does its thing. I see the university as being able to be co-opted into some other bigger plan, and that what I need from a university is the space to be me.”

Many Pasifika women saw existing within and changing the university as a choice that ultimately benefitted their communities. In community talanoa one when discussing existing within the university one collaborator reflected:

“I've had someone, our Associate Dean Pacific saying things like, ‘We need you guys to be sitting at those tables where those conversations happen’, and for me, it was like that’s never going to happen, and then you think, but then you have to, you have to, because it's not just you.”
In talanoa nine, a Tongan collaborator shared how for her a key part of being Tongan within the university was tauhi va and how it was a core driver in her everyday actions:

*Tauhi is to nurture; is to look after. So, in terms of ‘tauhi va,’ it’s not just about saying hello… … Every single thing counts, and every single thing matters, because that’s part and parcel of who we are. Sometimes, we just see us as a big family, but we have different parts to play. And if we are able to make sure that our family is taken care of, and things are functioning well, that’s what we need to do. ‘Cause at the end of the day, we leave the university. Who do we have? We have each other. And for us, that matters most. It’s the relationship that we have with people.’*

A Samoan collaborator reflected in talanoa six that being a Samoan woman is about service through love:

*‘E taui le alofa i le alofa’ means: literal translation is ‘One reciprocates love with love’. I used it in the context of service. It is a Samoan ‘alaga upu’ proverb that is widely used within the realm of the church and faith. Service: you reciprocate and serve with reverence to others and your actions are with love. For service it is about giving of yourself - time and space (Va). It is about maintaining positive relationships by doing things for others.’*

The significance of these can also be intelligible through an English lens as shared in talanoa fourteen:

*“I don’t think that we can do higher education without relationships of all sorts. I’ll frame it in the positive. Higher education is about relationships. They get expressed in different ways, whether it’s people-to-people relationships, or institution-to-government, or money-to-university, and being accountable for that, because being tax payers’ money, by-and-large. I have been helped by more relationships than I know in my career to date, and because of that, I feel a responsibility to be part of helpful relationships for others, too. I mean, I could just list off for the next half hour all the people who have helped me… … Then of course, we’ve got all the relationship that are outside the university, but unwittingly dragged in here as well: our husbands, our family members, our friends. It all hinges on relationships.”*
For Pasifika women the decision to continue to exist within a harmful system is ultimately about relationships to community and how Pasifika women can be of service to our communities while we work within universities. Unsurprisingly this also means that many Pasifika women draw strength from their communities in order to continue working within universities such as in talanoa nine:

“The communities really, really help, because they rally behind you, so you can look at them as your foundation, or you can also look at them as like your cloak that hang around you, so they act as someone who provides warmth around you. Because there’ll be moments of doubt, there’ll be moments of uncertainty, there’ll be moments that you will question yourself. They’re around you, in terms of their love and support.”

In community talanoa two, a collaborator shared how the families of those she works with and for are what keep her going through the difficult politics of transforming universities, noting

“It’s the families that keeps me going, actually it’s the families practice, and the Indigenous families practice that actually keeps me going while I can deal with politics. We are a united group. Then we will be able to handle the politics whenever things happen, we all pull in together to be a strong force.”

CONCLUSION

Pasifika women experience universities in New Zealand as hostile places that work to exclude them. I wish to conclude with a quote from talanoa ten, it is a long one but an important one, it touches on exclusion, the difficulty of fighting a system that operates to exclude you, the motivation for continuing the fight and finally a call to action for all Pasifika women.

“And I’m not a great fit for the university. Well, I’m not usual. I’m atypical for the university. But I think what made me upset was just another message that was like, “Actually, you don’t fit here, you’re ... ” This sounds a bit dramatic. Things may be slightly more uphill. There’s going to be a head wind, basically is what this stuff says. And some things that people may take for granted, or that in fact may feel like running downhill for them, probably will have a bit of slope on for you, or might be a bit of a struggle.
And at moments when I’m tired, there’s all this just sitting here. But on other days it’s like, “Well, I didn’t come to play. This is something I have to keep going and doing.” Because then who’s going to look after the people who are coming after me? If I go, then someone else has to do this whole road again. And that sucks. So as long as I can, I’ll hold the line, and talk to people, and say all sorts of inappropriate things about the university, and challenge the space, because it’s not a sacred space. It’s not a holy space. It’s an institution. It’s a company. It’s not going to care for us, in the way that our family or our culture is going to care for us…. … So, we’re allowed to challenge - and actually we’re probably remiss if we don’t - as Pacific women trying to fit in a non-Pacific, and somewhat non-women, world of academia”

Pasifika women continue to work in universities that actively work to exclude us because we care for our communities and we will continue to challenge and call to account universities because at the end of the day we didn’t come to play.

Post-Script

In sharing our stories, we redefine the narrative around not only Pasifika women but also New Zealand universities. This redefinition is necessary to interrupt the current brand management approach that is invested in selling universities as open and diverse places in spite of reported incidents of racism and exclusion. We must continue to share our stories of existing in these spaces in order to force universities to face the spaces they create and encourage meaningful dialogue and action towards change.

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