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K.I.N. AUTHOR COLLECTIVE

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Manaakitanga and the academy

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ABSTRACT

Critical to all aspects of academic life, academic hospitality is said to be key to creating healthy learning communities. Yet, for many outsiders, strangers and newcomers, academia can be a sight of asserting territory and superiority. Students and academics are trained to function within an institutionalized setting where success is measured through the rigid rigour of scientific enquiry and rewarded on an individual basis. The solitary journey that is heralded by the academic institution fails to recognize the fundamental need for belonging, community and kinship, leaving limited space within the academy in which to practice manaakitanga or hospitality. We argue that the Māori concept of manaakitanga not only captures the virtuous elements of hospitality, namely generosity, openness and hospitableness, that can often be excluded in hospitality literature but also serves as a mechanism for resistance in a context that serves to fragment and divide. In this article, we draw on our personal and collective experiences to describe ways in which Indigenous worldviews and perspectives are commonly met with hostility in academia. We detail our response to such inhospitality through the formation of 'Knowledge in Indigenous Networks' (K.I.N.), an Indigenous academic collective that is underpinned by manaakitanga. We conclude this article by identifying six sites for critical engagement with the notion of academic hospitality that will assist academic institutions to enact the value of manaakitanga.

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KEYWORDS

manaakitanga
 Indigenous academics
 academic hospitality
 academic career
 Indigenous research
 reciprocity

INTRODUCTION

We exist in institutions which are founded on the collective denial of our existence as Māori and which not only continue to assimilate us but more importantly perhaps actively compete with us and the world views we represent.

(Smith 1992: 5)

Academic hospitality is defined by Bennett (2000: 23) as 'the extension of self in order to welcome the other by sharing and receiving intellectual resources and insights'. This hospitality must extend beyond bland congeniality and accommodation to ultimately engage meaningful conversations (Bennett 2000; Phipps and Barnett 2007). Academic hospitality, says Bennett (2000), is essential to the success of the academy. However, due to a culture of 'insistent individualism' (Bennett 2000: 29) and elitism that promotes self-serving behaviour, as opposed to the common good and collective wellbeing, academic institutions are often sites of asserting territory and superiority (Lugosi 2014). In this article, we draw on personal and collective experiences of the authors to account for the ways in which Indigenous worldviews and perspectives are commonly met with hostility in academia.

This article describes the inhospitable context of tertiary education in Aotearoa-New Zealand from the perspective of five Indigenous researchers, Abigail McClutchie, Amber Nicholson, Dara Kelly, Kiri Dell and Nimbus Staniland, and how we have responded through forming an Indigenous academic collective. Known as 'Knowledge in Indigenous Networks' (K.I.N.), our relationships are underpinned by the Māori value of manaakitanga, a term often glossed over in translations as hospitality. Drawing from a multitude of Indigenous identities, our wider network consists of early career academics and postgraduate students located in Aotearoa, Canada and the United States. In June 2015, K.I.N. launched a blog as a place to share Indigenous thoughts, perspectives and scholarship (K.I.N. n.d.). These conversations have been distributed through our various online networks. This article is an extension of these conversations, in which we elaborate on some of our personal experiences as documented in our blog.

We begin this article drawing on literature around academic hospitality, which is then juxtaposed with our personal experiences of the inhospitality of academia. Then we introduce the Māori concept of manaakitanga that was enacted by K.I.N. as a response to our experiences of academic (in)hospitality. We end by offering strategies for academic institutions and Indigenous advocates to supporting and enacting manaakitanga.

ACADEMIC (IN)HOSPITALITY

Education today trains professionals, but it does not produce people.

(Deloria 1999: 138)

Critical to all aspects of academic life, academic hospitality is said to be key to creating healthy learning communities (Bennett 2000; Phipps and Barnett 2007). Hospitality is a social exchange involving mutual interaction and reciprocity, which governs all human interactions including ethics, communication, sense-making and relationships (Cockburn-Wooten and Brewis 2014;

1. Westmoreland 2008). While Phipps and Barnett (2007: 239) claim that tradi-
 2. tional notions of academic hospitality are coming 'under threat', we argue that
 3. far from being welcoming and generous to outsiders, strangers and newcom-
 4. ers, the academy has never been very hospitable for many 'others'. Academic
 5. culture is often built upon insistent individualism and elitism, which can
 6. manifest in self-interested mindsets that herald individual endeavours, hierar-
 7. chy and independence over community and collective undertakings (Bennett
 8. 2000). Supported by academic traditions of celebrating intellectual inde-
 9. pendence and rewarding individual rather than team and collective success,
 10. Bennett (2000: 31) argues that paradoxically, such self-protective behaviour
 11. results in 'impoverishing the self rather than enriching it'.

12. The evidence of inhospitably towards women in academia is extensive
 13. (Afiouni 2014; Cama et al. 2016; Harris et al. 2013). Gender disparities in
 14. academic careers demonstrate how women progress slower through the hier-
 15. archy and receive lower salaries (Monroe and Chiu 2010; Umbach 2007); have
 16. less access to resources, including funding, research support and sabbaticals
 17. (Smith et al. 2016); and tend to be more engaged in academic activities that
 18. are less valued, such as teaching and administration than their male counter-
 19. parts (Cama et al. 2016; Monroe and Chiu 2010; Umbach 2007).

20. The inhospitable experiences of Indigenous academics have received
 21. comparatively less attention in the literature and are often minimized or
 22. subsumed into broader racial and ethnic categories (James 2012; Mohamed
 23. and Beagan 2019). Umbrella terms such as 'faculty of color' (Turner et al. 2008),
 24. 'racialized faculty' (Henry et al. 2012; James 2012) or 'minority faculty' (Bhopal
 25. 2015; Walters et al. 2019) try to encompass and aggregate a range of diverse
 26. identities, which ultimately dismisses the diversity of their experiences.
 27. Indigenous Peoples differ in key ways from other minority groups, and as
 28. such cannot be subsumed into broader equity and diversity policy and agenda
 29. (McAllister et al. 2019). Ultimately, universities are institutions founded on
 30. legacies of colonialism and often are constructed on Indigenous lands with-
 31. out permission or acknowledgement of Indigenous custodians (Mercier et
 32. al. 2011). Education itself has been a destructive tool in the global systematic
 33. separation of Indigenous Peoples from their histories, identities and ways of
 34. being and knowing. The Indigenous experience of land alienation and colo-
 35. nial violence challenges the assumption of universities being neutral places of
 36. learning (Gaudry and Lorenz 2018).

37. Since the 1980s, Indigenous scholars have advocated for inclusion of
 38. Indigenous knowledge in the academy and identified 'gatekeeping' barriers
 39. within the publication process (Pihama et al. 2002; Smith 2006a; Smith et
 40. al. 2019). Tensions over academic gatekeeping highlight concerns about the
 41. dominant ontologies, pedagogies and methodologies that render Indigenous
 42. research as invisible or irrelevant. The demand for Indigenous scholars to
 43. produce generalizable findings to global audiences, justified and contrasted
 44. against normative frameworks, reinforces the hegemony of Eurocentric agen-
 45. das (Ruwhiu 2014). The publication process acts as a 'brown glass ceiling'
 46. (Ofe-Grant 2018) that compromises the quality of Indigenous scholarship
 47. through removing the Indigenous voice from outputs. Nonetheless, publica-
 48. tion remains central in the training and framing of research impact through-
 49. out graduate education (Maesse 2018) and is further cemented in academic
 50. careers through such processes as the Aotearoa-New Zealand tertiary educa-
 51. tion funding process, Performance-Based Research Fund (Waitere et al. 2011).
 52.

In Aotearoa-New Zealand, tertiary institutions are modelled on British universities and, as such, are sites for inhospitable experiences for Māori, with little regard for Māori pedagogy, history or discourse (Mercier et al. 2011). Despite Treaty of Waitangi obligations to ensure manaakitanga is enacted within our universities, the perpetuation of a Eurocentric education system serves and maintains the 'the interests of a mono-cultural elite' (Bishop et al. 2009: 738). Research has highlighted how Māori student leaders report negative experiences in the university including stereotyping, microaggressions and everyday acts of oppression and racism (McClutchie 2020). Other research points to the differential experiences of Māori academics in comparison to their non-Māori colleagues (Hall and Sutherland 2018; Staniland et al. 2019a). Hall and Sutherland (2018) outline these differences as lower confidence levels, greater community accountability, greater family responsibilities, inter-disciplinary peer groups, lack of recognition of research impact and greater teaching and service levels. Of key significance is the difficulty of maintaining cultural integrity, whilst simultaneously feeling pressured to assimilate into the university environment, often leading to a sense of isolation and loneliness. The implications of such inhospitable environments can be seen in the continued underrepresentation of Māori as staff and students in Aotearoa-New Zealand universities, despite increasing educational attainment (McAllister et al. 2019).

Sharing our experiences

The following section outlines our experiences of academic inhospitality that are drawn from personal and collective stories of K.I.N. In preparation for this article, we were all tasked with writing our foremost academic struggles and our understandings of how K.I.N. assisted us in navigating these issues. This form of autoethnography gave us freedom to reflect on our own understanding of manaakitanga and hospitality within the university. Yet, in the reading of each other's experiences, we found collective synergies. The issues we have chosen to highlight were, in part, addressed, alleviated or shared through our K.I.N. membership.

Whilst not exhaustive, these stories are illustrative of Indigenous struggles within the academy and demonstrate gaps in the overarching system of tertiary education – and indeed modern society – that attempt to divorce professional expertise from personal growth (Deloria 1999). Students and academics are trained to function within an institutionalized setting where success is measured through the rigid rigour of scientific enquiry. The unity of being a socially integrated and wholehearted person is relegated into a subfield of professional development (Deloria 1999). The solitary journey that is heralded by the academic institution fails to recognize the fundamental human need for belonging, community and kinship. This leaves a limited space within the academy in which to practice hospitality.

Automatic outsiders

In general, there is a vulnerability that characterizes the experience of pursuing a doctorate degree by virtue of our openness as 'novices'. But for Indigenous academics, our standing as novices may reflect different areas of 'knowing' and 'not knowing' from our non-Indigenous colleagues. Although I had been experimenting with the tools of research for some years, I felt that among my peer network of other business doctorates, I was an outsider. I felt this in conversations about our

1. research ideas, and often basic questions about identifying the ‘gap’ in
 2. research required rehashing the historical and heavy context of the colo-
 3. nial experience. I felt that what I needed to explain was why the absence
 4. of Indigenous knowledge existed, whereas when they explained their
 5. research, they focused on nuanced gaps in extant theory and organiza-
 6. tional context. I grew to dread the question, ‘what’s your research about?’
 7. and tried countless ways to frame and re-frame my summary to simplify
 8. or skip this conversation altogether. As the years went by, this feeling
 9. of disconnect from my peers grew stronger and that was the distancing
 10. factor that eventually prevented me from attending PhD social events.

11.
 12.

13. *Triggering intergenerational trauma*

14.

15. I experienced trauma when conducting my PhD research. Indigenous
 16. PhD’s often investigate their own lives – which by default is traumatic.
 17. Ironically, I was researching the trauma of my communities from within
 18. an institution and system that colonized those very same communities.
 19. PhD research into Indigenous contexts often finds the student becoming
 20. conscientized about their own reality, the journey giving meaning and
 21. explanation to their own painful experiences. It can be an enlighten-
 22. ing process but a painful journey. Trauma triggered in the PhD process
 23. should be acknowledged and catered for by the institution.

24.

25.

26. *Fragmented identities*

27.

28. My doctorate brought me for the first time into the Māori-centric
 29. research space. Although I continued my work from previous research,
 30. turning my focus to Māori required new knowledge and skills and an
 31. element of responsibility and obligation that I was yet to fully compre-
 32. hend. I found this simultaneously exciting and frightening. With both
 33. Māori and Pākehā whakapapa, I thought I was confident in my ethnicity
 34. and identity. However, the research process caused a self-reflection that
 35. revealed to me how my self-confidence and identity had been impacted
 36. by exposure to different issues and perspectives about Māori in soci-
 37. ety, through education, media and prejudicial remarks from people close
 38. to me over my life. Surreptitiously, these two aspects of my identity
 39. had separated, with my Māori identity becoming seemingly less rele-
 40. vant, perhaps even repressed, the further I had progressed through my
 41. journey in education. The university, as a hegemonic space of mono-
 42. culturalism, perpetuated my struggle. My journey through the doctor-
 43. ate became one of seeking understanding, of finding connection and a
 44. search for meaning.

45.

46.

47. *Displacement*

48.

49. As PhD students, we have been physically moved several times in
 50. the space of our studies. At times we have been very lucky to hold a
 51. dedicated space of our own, mostly due to the pastoral care of certain
 52.

senior academics. But even in fortunate times there is always a sense of transience to our stay, wondering when and where we will be tomorrow. Manaakitanga is felt spatially through welcoming of people to your home base. Yet, as students, we are constantly reminded that we are guests—please don't make yourself too comfortable. One particular experience led to the unceremonious order for all part-time PhD students to vacate their assigned desks. Space constraints meant more efficiency was needed to manage the growing student population. This resulted in three K.I.N. members being displaced, a decision that felt as if we were being penalized for not being committed enough to the institution—despite the research showing that Indigenous students are likely to be older with more whānau and community obligations, and therefore more work-life imbalance (Hall and Sutherland 2013; McAllister et al. 2019). Already academic outsiders, dealing with our individual and collective trauma, we now had nowhere to stand academically.

These stories highlight that universities are complex institutions where structures, systems, procedures and underpinning values impose and maintain societal imbalances. Inhospitable environments create stress and isolation and affect confidence levels (Airini et al. 2010; Hall and Sutherland 2018). Conversely, research has demonstrated how for Māori students, success can be achieved through culturally safe and empowering environments that engender warmth, familiarity and belonging (Airini et al. 2010). According to Bennett (2000: 34), hospitality 'helps constitute healthy communities in which members support one another in the advancement of learning'. In order for the academy to reflect hospitality for Indigenous scholars and Indigenous knowledges, key shifts must occur to align more closely with Indigenous notions of hospitality, which in Aotearoa constitutes manaakitanga.

MANAAKITANGA

Manaakitanga is part of an interlocking spiral of cardinal ethics and values that inform Māori ways of being and a foundational cultural practice (Hēnare 2016; Rout et al. 2019). As a responsibility shared by the collective, manaakitanga means the whole person is valued beyond their productive output and people feel accepted and secure (Mika 2014; Rout et al. 2019). Often glossed as hospitality, manaakitanga reaches deeper levels of human interaction, encapsulating kindness, generosity, care and spiritual connections. Enacting manaakitanga is 'to care for a person's wellbeing in a holistic sense that is physically, mentally and spiritually' (Bristowe 2017: 181). As an 'ethic of care and support, reverence for humanity' (Hēnare 2001: 213–14), the overarching principle of manaakitanga is to nurture and protect others. This core value engenders reciprocal obligations of generosity and care that may take place over many generations, ensuring meaningful and long-lasting relationships between parties (Bristowe 2017; Mead 2003; Mika 2014; Spiller et al. 2011; Wikitera 2019).

Further interpretations of manaaki can be seen in the two etymological breakdowns of the word manaaki: mana-aki and mana-ā-kī. Mana is the root word of manaakitanga, a vital force of Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) (Hēnare 1988). Various interpretations of mana have been offered, most centred around power, authority and influence (cf. Hēnare 2001; Marsden 2003; Tate 2012). Here, we give the definition of Dell (2017: 89) who sees mana as 'a potent

1. human state with the profound ability to impact upon, affect and transform
 2. the life of others'; it is both dynamic and transformational. Not something to
 3. be claimed by oneself, mana is recognized and endorsed by others.

4. *mana + aki = encouraging potential*

5.
 6. The term 'aki' or 'akiaki' is a verb that means 'to urge, encourage, coerce'
 7. (Ryan 2008: 31). Mana used in conjunction with aki – manaaki – encourages
 8. people to uplift the mana of others. The act of enhancing another's mana in
 9. turn nourishes one's own mana (Dell et al. 2018; Spiller et al. 2011).

10. *mana + ā + kī = directing potential*

11.
 12. The term 'kī' means towards; mana-ā-kī means directing mana towards
 13. a person. This reflects an ability to show care for visitors, which is verbally
 14. communicated to them after an event, or simply put 'respect earned from
 15. the recognition of others' (Martin 2010: 126). Mana-ā-kī indicates movement
 16. towards something, suggesting 'mana is here' (in the place indicated where
 17. something has occurred).

18. Manaaki, mana-aki and mana-ā-kī all denote a social and cultural obli-
 19. gation to offer care and generous hospitality to your guests. The generos-
 20. ity and care for others enhances the mana of both the guests and the hosts,
 21. and creates an expectation of reciprocation at a future date (Dell et al. 2018;
 22. Mika 2014).

23. **Knowledge in Indigenous Networks**

24. K.I.N. is a grassroots response to the academic environments that often fail
 25. to acknowledge the whole person. In 2014, an organically formed collec-
 26. tive of postgraduate students from two Aotearoa-based institutions met to
 27. discuss the challenges of postgraduate study from Indigenous perspectives.
 28. Formalized as K.I.N., we now represent a global network of students and
 29. scholars, working across a number of academic institutions, who draw from a
 30. wealth of Indigenous identities, philosophies and approaches in our research
 31. designs: Māori from Aotearoa-New Zealand; Samoan; Tongan; Kiowa of the
 32. United States; Qechua of the Peruvian Andes; and Coast Salish and Métis of
 33. Canada. This diversity challenged our ability to name ourselves, and as we
 34. could not reconcile using any one of our languages to represent the others,
 35. English was our default option (albeit reluctantly). The acronym K.I.N. signi-
 36. fies our relationship as Indigenous Peoples navigating academic spaces in
 37. our attempts to contribute to knowledge sharing and creation. Our specific
 38. research topics are closely tied to our cultural identities to which only a broad
 39. and contested term like Indigenous seemed to fit and would account for the
 40. diversity within our group.

41.
 42. K.I.N. was primarily tasked with enhancing each other's ability to research
 43. and become researchers; however, the fundamental purpose of the group,
 44. we realized, is to offer a culturally safe space in which to support our whole
 45. selves – manaaki-i-te-tangata. This includes emotional, spiritual, relational
 46. and academic support as a means to develop our thinking and scholarship
 47. in decolonized ways. Our network emerged in response to making sense of
 48. the academic administration processes and systems; concerns for cultural,
 49. emotional and spiritual safety; and a desire to think differently – to explore
 50. and to bring Indigenous perspectives to academic knowledge and imagine
 51. new possibilities. Indigenous peers provide immense support in navigating
 52. the academy, and shared experiences and a sense of belonging and purpose

can create greater collegiality than shared disciplines (Staniland et al. 2019b). K.I.N. provides regular professional gatherings, which include public webinars with senior Indigenous academics, video conferencing technologies due to our geographical and personal circumstances, and informal communication channels through social media groups where we debate literature, news and events; ask for advice and share achievements. Our group also creates practical spaces of cultural ways of working such as writing retreats and shared desks.

The creation of the K.I.N. blog in 2015 emerged from our discussions in-person on the 'outside' issues of our communities that often occupied our minds. Bringing these topics to our K.I.N. discussions and blogs allowed us to release some of the thought energy that took us away from our research and share ideas about how to deal with these issues. K.I.N. carved a space to express concerns not always directly related to our research but impacting our research progress. The blog allows us to connect and reconnect with past and future Indigenous colleagues. We invited guest contributors to write and publish blogs and disseminate their blog entries among their social media networks. This approach expanded the K.I.N. network rapidly, and by February 2020, the K.I.N. blog has published 168 posts. The following are personal reflections and experiences of K.I.N. and what it has meant to us within the academic setting.

Resisting imposed hierarchies

Academia and a PhD is mostly a solitary journey. 90% of the time you are by yourself: reading, writing, and thinking. The other 10% is relationships, yet this is just as important. Getting through your PhD is tough, facilitated by forming quality relationships that are of two kinds – horizontal and vertical relationships.

Vertical relationships represent the hierarchal, institutional relationships and systems that the academic world is built on. It takes an extreme amount of skill and discipline to be an academic, rewarded via a system of titles. Hierarchical titles represent that a person has accumulated a certain level of skill at acquiring knowledge. As PhD's we need vertical relationships of professors, lectures, supervisors, academic mentors and student learning advisors. They represent formal relationships and provide access to the technical and practical knowledge that the discipline of academia requires. Their importance is well recognized in academic institutions, by the incredible amount of resources that go into creating and supporting vertical relationships.

However, the negative symptoms of hierarchy and vertical relationships can cause a kind of reverse vertigo – the sensation of spinning and feeling dizzy by looking up. Some days it can seem like a bloody long and impossible way up that ladder. And this is why horizontal relationships are so important. Horizontal relationships represent the nurturing and encouraging relationships that support our emotional and spiritual wellbeing. Horizontal relationships flatten things out. They help you to feel supported, connected and bring you back down to earth from any anxiety high. It is these types of relationships that are not so well institutionally recognized.

K.I.N. is a network of horizontal relationships. As PhD students with Indigenous backgrounds and upbringings, we have a heightened sense

1. of awareness and a beckoning need for horizontal relationships. In a
 2. world of vertical, hierarchal highs, K.I.N. makes the world flat.
 3.
 4.

5. *Enhanced scholarship through connection and care*
 6.

7. In my experience of blogging with K.I.N., I used it as an opportunity to
 8. break out of the isolation and confusion of being in my head too much.
 9. There were aspects of non-academic life that were hard to separate from
 10. my PhD research, and I needed a space to work that out both in person
 11. in our K.I.N. meetings, but also within our online community. I took my
 12. first step to bridge the sadness that emerged in my research interviews
 13. with a greater sense of sadness and loss about Indigenous economies in
 14. an entry called 'Grieving the Coast Salish Economy' (Kelly 2016). That
 15. entry was a turning point in my research because it felt like I discovered
 16. something dark and heavy that I did not want to carry alone. The K.I.N.
 17. group and blog helped me reach out beyond the insular world of the
 18. business school to talk through the traumatic experience of my commu-
 19. nity. In the end, I found a way to make grief visible in the research not as
 20. an incidental finding, but as evidence that our economies were systems
 21. of care in and of themselves. It also made me realize I might have missed
 22. this finding if I had not used Indigenous methodology. My scholarship
 23. was enhanced by having the opportunity to connect with K.I.N. in the
 24. uncomfortable process of research discovery. The K.I.N. network fosters
 25. a system of care, a great deal of understanding for each other's chal-
 26. lenges and provided a space for us to discuss things that can seem trivial
 27. (for example, that we might not discuss with our supervisors), but can
 28. have significant impact on our productivity and ability to keep moving
 29. forward in our research.
 30.

31.
 32.
 33. *K.I.N. as pou, guiding posts*

34. In spite of the academic rhetoric of isolation, we are standing together
 35. as a collective, and it works. We gather together, and thus stand
 36. apart, under the (somewhat contentious) label of Indigenous scholars
 37. (Huatahi 2015). Our worldviews are somewhat foreign – unconven-
 38. tional even – to many of our institutional cohort. We find relevance in
 39. each other, in our discussions, in our research, regardless of the array of
 40. topics. As Indigenous, there is an added layer to our research: we feel
 41. the pull to represent the Indigenous voice, to create tangible change, to
 42. save the world. But truth be told, most of the time we are just trying to
 43. keep our head above water (Dell 2015). Despite good intentions, good
 44. advice and a well-executed plan, when others fail to see the plight of the
 45. Indigenous peoples and fail to recognize our voice, we internalize this
 46. rejection and wonder what WE did wrong (Cocker-Hopkins 2015). It
 47. can feel like the world is on our shoulders, and that weight can hold us
 48. down. K.I.N. are the pou that keep us afloat, reminding each of why we
 49. do research (Staniland 2015).

50. But what makes us different? What sets us apart from other groups, and
 51. from the 'institution' that I am ranting about? We argue that it is the
 52. collective will and synergy that our group has. We don't battle against

the intellectual capability of each other – we know we are all smart. We don't compete for power – no one wants it anyway. All that really does seem to matter is how willing we all are to be vulnerable, to discuss our insecurities, our haunting *kēhua* (ghosts) (Nicholson 2015). More than academic support (as many PhD groups provide), K.I.N. creates a holding space of mental, emotional and spiritual support. In spite of the academic rhetoric of isolation, we are standing together as a collective.

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

The testimonies demonstrate how K.I.N. collectively responded in caring and supportive ways to our experiences of inhospitable environments. While this has been an effective response, we question whether this responsibility should fall to Indigenous academics? We thus challenge universities with the following questions: in the face of hostility, who is responsible for providing inclusive hospitality to Indigenous students and scholars who may be similarly marginalized 'others'? When should the responsibility for academic hospitality be led by the institution and when is it more appropriate for Indigenous Peoples to take the lead? We identify six sites for critical engagement with the notion of academic hospitality: insistent individualism, conflicting paradigms, understanding how trauma can permeate educational experiences, creating hospitable spaces within the academy, recognizing diverse Indigenous realities and nurturing holistic personhood in research environments. We provide some broad suggestions guided by the value of *manaakitanga* that may help academic institutions to work through such questions.

Insistent individualism

Insistent individualism challenges the collectivist paradigms of Indigenous cultures, often creating hostility. Derived from dominant paradigms that assume resources are scarce and therefore insufficient to satisfy everyone's needs and wants (Dell et al. 2018), insistent individualism thus encourages competition and perpetuates superiority and unchecked privilege. Collaboration, although promoted as a synergistic meeting of collective intelligence, is often a means to protect and advance individual interests, where outputs are an aggregate of individual efforts (Bennett 2000).

Institutional responsibility

Academia needs to actively seek to uncover and undo biases of individualism within systems that marginalize collective ways of being. Our collective experience shows that acknowledgement of academic excellence is not something to be individually accumulated and highly protected but is something to be distributed throughout the university. Bennett (2000) expresses that a hospitable covenantal community involves open and honest critical interaction that is communal and public, not secretive and competitive. Indigenous paradigms can offer new ways of the thinking about collective reward systems.

Conflicting paradigms

Through our collectively diverse experiences, we highlight a shared barrier – that expectations of Indigenous scholars to produce innovative and transformative knowledge that makes a genuine contribution are measured and

1. validated against non-Indigenous academic measures and frameworks for
2. success. Limited or no cultural recognition in curricula or pedagogies leave
3. Indigenous students feeling uncared for and unsafe in the learning environ-
4. ment (Glynn et al. 2010).

5.

6. *Institutional responsibility*

7.

8. Institutions need to implement strategies to teach, promote and understand
9. Indigenous paradigms. There needs to be a conscious and ongoing effort to
10. develop, employ, recruit and retain Indigenous staff and students. This goes
11. much further than targeted admission and recruitment programmes, and
12. includes ongoing support of these programmes with genuine conversations.
13. Too often resources are overly focused on recruitment efforts, with staff and
14. students left to flounder within inhospitable systems once they have got
15. there. Indigenous-centred curricula need to be created, guided and endorsed
16. by Indigenous communities and support for Indigenous outlets is essential.
17. It is often the case that additional layers of accountability within broader
18. networks of family and community hold Indigenous academics to higher
19. standards of quality in rigour and relevance in the articulation and dissemina-
20. tion of Indigenous knowledge than what is asked for publication purposes.
21. The creation of *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*
22. was 'to establish our own [Indigenous] standards of excellence in scholarship'
23. (Smith 2005: 4).

24.

25. **Understanding trauma**

26. Indigenous academics embody their research: our research is part of us.
27. Colonialism, intergenerational trauma and encountering privilege held by
28. dominant populations can be confronting, and it should not be left as an
29. Indigenous responsibility to make sense of in isolation.

30.

31. *Institutional responsibility*

32.

33. Academia needs to acknowledge how its systems and structures contribute to
34. triggering of intergenerational trauma and its perpetuation. There is a need for
35. universities, supervisors and students themselves to recognize the traumatic
36. effects that research can cause within Indigenous students. Often, for those
37. who come into the university with historical and intergenerational trauma,
38. they are left to find their own information, support and healing resources; in
39. worst-case scenarios, re-traumatization is left unaddressed. Institutions need
40. to provide access to culturally appropriate healing and therapeutic options for
41. the Indigenous student.

42.

43. **Creating hospitable spaces**

44. Manaakitanga means providing a culturally safe and welcoming space for
45. all. Research shows that Māori students want to bring their whole selves to
46. the university without leaving whānau, community and culture at the gates
47. (McClutchie 2020). When Māori students recognize themselves in spaces
48. around the university, much like the cultural contexts at home and in their
49. communities, these students are more likely to navigate the challenges
50. of unfamiliar cultural norms with more confidence (Bevan-Brown 2005;
51. McClutchie 2020).

52.

Institutional responsibility

Institutions can set aside and create sociocultural spaces that allow Indigenous students to interact and engage in a culturally appropriate manner. Iosefo (2016) argues that Māori and Pacific students need physical spaces to help with belongingness in tertiary education. Symbolic sites of hospitality manifest in physical spaces including the reception desk, office layout and other communal areas (Cockburn-Wooten and Brewis 2014), alongside bilingual signage. Furthermore, there remains a gap for institutions to resource and support Indigenous networks and collectives whereby students can express and normalize their feelings of success.

Diverse indigenous realities

Indigenous researchers are sometimes put in the uncomfortable position of being asked to speak for all Indigenous realities as one Indigenous experience is assumed to be the same as all Indigenous experiences. This becomes an uncomfortable place to dwell, both ontologically and personally. Invitations to speak then turn into tokenistic gestures that lack any sense of hospitality. Not all Māori academics are comfortable or competent with Māori language, knowledge, customs and protocol, despite their Māori heritage. This is not well understood by university leaders and decision makers (Staniland et al. 2019b) and can be linked to ‘imposter syndrome’ and feelings of unauthenticity that are experienced by Māori academics (Hall and Sutherland 2018).

Institutional responsibility

There needs to be acknowledgement that there is great diversity in Indigenous experiences and what works under equity policy is most often not appropriate for Indigenous groups. The connection between Indigenous Peoples and their homelands means that academic spaces offer unique locations for cultural revitalization and economic and social development.

Nurturing holistic personhood

Research shows that Māori begin academic careers later than the dominant population, with the average age of doctoral candidates being 49 (McAllister et al. 2019). This not only impacts career trajectories but means that Māori students are more likely to have greater family responsibilities and community accountability, and therefore, a greater work–life imbalance (Hall and Sutherland 2018). These multiple roles often encroach on academic lives; in the case of the K.I.N. collective, it meant a number of our members being enrolled part-time, and therefore deemed less than other committed students.

Institutional responsibility

The restrictive academic system often forces us to choose between scholarship and humanness. The feeling of automatic outsiders within the academic system stems from a separation of person and scholar. There needs to be an acknowledgement of the multifaceted commitments of Indigenous scholars to their many levels of family and community reflected in academic job descriptions. In addition, academic hospitality includes pastoral care targeted at specific Indigenous needs, such as trauma, but, as our experiences show, extends far beyond that to enable Indigenous thriving as diverse whānau-centric scholars.

1. The many clubs and groups within the university setting are focused on
 2. scholarship within siloed fields. Where Indigenous worldviews emphasize the
 3. holistic nature of all things, the interconnection between all things, it is hard
 4. to feel welcome in groups that see research as disconnected. Our K.I.N. collec-
 5. tive provided a forum for us to interact freely, unrestricted by our research
 6. fields. We share our whole selves and feel safe in doing so – and this is where
 7. and how we see our scholarship is enhanced. K.I.N. was formed in resist-
 8. ance to the isolation that is touted and perpetuated as a ‘normal’ experience in
 9. graduate education by the academic institution.

10.

11. CONCLUSION

12.

13. In this article, we introduced the Indigenous Māori value of manaakitanga to
 14. show what is expected from an Indigenous world-view in order to provide
 15. hospitality. This enabled us to demonstrate how our academic experiences
 16. have not been hospitable. We have also outlined ways in which universities
 17. can enact its responsibilities towards Indigenous staff and students through
 18. practical applications of manaakitanga, bearing in mind that in Aotearoa-New
 19. Zealand, there is a Treaty obligation to ensure manaakitanga is enacted within
 20. our universities. Creating a culturally safe space for Indigenous Peoples should
 21. be a component of academic hospitality, which requires genuine openness and
 22. curiosity to consider different voices and perspectives (Bennett 2000). From
 23. an Indigenous worldview, being of service by contributing and enhancing the
 24. mana of our communities, of our colleagues and students, and of the institu-
 25. tion is the most significant and influential part of being an academic. Yet, the
 26. insistent individualization of the academy favours division and compartmen-
 27. talization. We forged K.I.N. as a way to collectively cultivate manaakitanga, a
 28. way to feel welcome within an inhospitable setting. It is an act of resilience
 29. and resistance against assimilation.

29.

30. We acknowledge the complexity in categorizing Indigenous–settler rela-
 31. tions in terms of host and guest. These are nuanced and shifting. At the point
 32. of colonization, white settlers arrived as strangers and Indigenous nations (at
 33. times unwilling) in the place of hosts. However, over time despite Treaty obli-
 34. gations to partner, this relationship in wider Aotearoa–New Zealand society
 35. and reflected in the academic setting has been reversed. As students, K.I.N.
 36. members are seen as the guests of the university, and the hierarchical nature
 37. of academia serves as a constant reminder of this. As academic staff members
 38. and researchers within our communities, we are seen as part of the institu-
 39. tion with an expectation from these communities of reciprocity rather than
 40. extraction. We argue that the challenge of negotiating host–guest identities in
 41. these contexts is an area that warrants further investigation.

41.

42. Academic hospitality is about being generous and welcoming, and ulti-
 43. mately engaging in authentic conversation (Bennett 2000; Phipps and Barnett
 44. 2007). We engage in this conversation from the lens of Indigenous scholars,
 45. who see academic hospitality as a stepping stone to manaaki-i-te-tangata, or
 46. valuing the whole self. Although our K.I.N. collective may not be able to be
 47. replicated by academic institutions themselves, there needs to be resources
 48. for spaces like K.I.N. to emerge and to flourish, and we can see our experi-
 49. ences are replicated in other Indigenous networks (Shotton et al. 2018). As
 50. Indigenous scholars, our motivation is to continue what our ancestors and
 51. academic mentors have begun. Embedded within the cultural milieu of K.I.N.

51.
52.

are the unspoken responsibilities of Indigenous scholars, to each other, to our communities, to the academy and to future generations. We are obligated to created space for those who will come after us.

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CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

K.I.N. Author Collective is part of the larger 'Knowledge in Indigenous 21.
Networks' (K.I.N.) collective formed in 2014. Our global network consists of 22.
Indigenous researchers and postgraduate business students from Aotearoa- 23.
New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga, Canada, the United States and South America, 24.
thus drawing on a multitude of Indigenous identities and philosophies. The 25.
acronym K.I.N. signifies our relationship as Indigenous Peoples navigating 26.
academic spaces in our attempts to contribute to knowledge sharing and crea- 27.
tion. You can find out more about K.I.N. at <https://indigenousknowledgenetwork.net/>. 28.
29.

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