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WHY ISN'T MY PROFESSOR MĀORI?

A snapshot of the academic workforce in New Zealand universities

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Abstract

This article provides insights into the ethnicity of academics employed by Aotearoa New Zealand's eight universities, with a particular focus on Māori academics. We show that, despite values espoused by universities in terms of diversity and within their equity policies regarding Māori staff, there has been no progress in increasing the Māori academic workforce. Māori academics were severely under-represented at universities between 2012 and 2017, comprising approximately 5% of the total academic workforce. This raises questions about the will of universities to build a sustainable Māori academic workforce, their level of commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the notion of partnership, and the efficacy of academic equity and diversity policies. We highlight

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the immediate need for universities to move beyond diversity and equity statements and not only commit to, but also initiate, significant actions to recruit, retain, support and promote Māori scholars within the academy.

Ko te kaupapa o te tuhinga nei ko te aro ki te whakapapa o ngā tohunga mātauranga katoa e mahi ana ki ngā whare wānanga auraki e waru o Aotearoa, me ngā tatauranga e pā ana ki ngā tāngata Māori. Ahakoa ngā uara me ngā kaupapa here o ngā whare wānanga auraki e mea ana ka āta tiakina te hunga Māori, kāore anō kia piki ake te tokomaha o Ngāi Māori i te ao o te whare wānanga. I te tau 2012 tae noa ki te tau 2017, he tokoiti tonu ngā Māori e mahi ana ki ngā whare wānanga, waihoki he 5 ōrau noa iho tērā o ngā tohunga mātauranga katoa i ēnei whare wānanga. I runga i tērā, e tika ana kia werohia ngā hiahia o ngā whare wānanga, e mea ana ka mihia ngā mātāpono o te Tiriti o Waitangi, me te tautoko i te hunga Māori kia whai tūranga whare wānanga auraki, engari auare ake, kāore anō kia whai hua ngā tāngata Māori. Ko tā mātou, kāore i te whai mana ngā kōrero ka tuhia ki ngā kaupapa here, engari kia kaha ake, kia manawatītī ake ngā mahi hei whakangungu, hei whakatairanga, hei tautoko ake i a Ngāi Māori kia taea ai e rātou ēnei tūranga te whai, i te ao o te whare wānanga.

Keywords

Māori, academics, university, higher education, Indigenous

Introduction

In the wake of recent campaigns protesting settler-colonial elitism in academia, there are renewed calls for universities to be held accountable for their failure to address institutional racism in the ranks of the professoriate. These movements speak to a range of systemic biases and include high profile groups such as "Why Isn't My Professor Black?" (UCL, 2014a), "Why Is My Curriculum White?" (Peters, 2015; UCL, 2014b), "Rhodes Must Fall" (Rhodes Must Fall Movement, Oxford, 2018) and "I, Too, Am Harvard" (Butler, 2014), along with a closely related Aotearoa New Zealand-based campaign "I, Too, Am Auckland" (see Pasene, 2018). Despite these challenges to the status quo, universities have been notoriously slow to respond and, in practice, very little has changed (Adams, 2018; Bhopal, Brown, & Jackson, 2018).

In light of this, and in line with ongoing calls from Māori students and academics to decolonise the New Zealand university sector, we ask: How diverse is New Zealand's academic workforce in universities? This question reflects long-held Māori concerns about the poor representation of Indigenous scholars in higher education and the lack of access to mātauranga Māori in course syllabuses (Pihama, Lee-Morgan, Smith, Tiakiwai, & Seed-Pihama, 2019), but it is also linked to wider Indigenous discontent about universities as strongholds of settler-colonial privilege.

Equity and diversity policies in New Zealand universities

All of New Zealand's eight universities have equity and/or diversity policies and strategic frameworks relating to Māori students and academic staff. While the action plans attached to these policies differ between institutions, the aims and principles show broad similarities. Most incorporate statements about partnering with Māori, acknowledging the Treaty of Waitangi, validating the importance of Māori leadership and career advancement, recruitment

and retention of Māori, and integrating te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori into the syllabus (see, e.g., University of Canterbury, 2018). Yet these policies, which use the language of benevolent inclusion for a range of marginalised or under-represented groups, appear to fall well short of the goals and principles they publicly endorse (Thomas, 2018). While a diversified academic workforce is not necessarily a decolonised one, determining whether or not the development of these individual policies and frameworks has resulted in a more diverse academic workforce is a challenge.

New Zealand universities do not have transparent reporting systems about the ethnicity of their scholars, although selected data are collected and reported to the Ministry of Education. Due to a lack of open and comparable reporting, it is largely unknown how universities retain, recruit and promote Māori academic staff. Anecdotal reports in the media have recently highlighted the small number of Māori academic staff at universities (e.g., McPhee, 2018), and research detailing the experiences of Māori scholars, including institutional racism, discrimination and cultural taxation, has also been published (Kidman & Chu, 2017; Kidman, Chu, Fernandez, & Abella, 2015; Mercier, Asmar, & Page, 2011; Smith, 2006, 2007, 2016). On the rare occasions when data on the numbers of Māori academic staff are available from universities, they are often reported as full-time equivalents (FTEs; see University of Auckland, 2017) rather than as actual numbers. This form of reportage tends to disguise nuances in the data, making it difficult to build a clear picture about how the Māori workforce in these institutions is structured.

Monitoring Māori staff numbers is a critical measure of the effectiveness of individual universities' strategies and policies. A mismatch between the values adopted in the formal mission statements and equity policies of universities and their on-the-ground hiring practices can have profound consequences for Māori academic staff and students. Monitoring is also important for measuring how well national policies are being implemented to boost the academic achievement of Māori and realise Māori potential (Ministry of Education, 2013). Monitoring also aligns with broader national priorities to collect and report diversity statistics in a range of areas (e.g., New Zealand's science sector; see Woods, 2018). If academic monitoring mechanisms lack transparency or if information is collected and reported in different ways across institutions, there are flow-on effects for Māori students, as discussed below.

Māori students and the academic "pipeline"

Increasing numbers of Māori are gaining university qualifications (Hall, Keane-Tuala, Ross, & Te Huia, 2018; Pihama et al., 2019; Theodore et al., 2016). According to the Ministry of Education, Māori student numbers at universities have risen from 10,765 in 1994 to 24,480 in 2017 (Education Counts, 2018). Furthermore, the number of Māori doctoral students rose by 26% between 2008 and 2016 (Education Counts, 2018). These changes align with universities' goals to increase Māori student numbers and support Māori scholarship and research. Moreover, more Māori students enrolling and completing qualifications provides universities with greater revenue through student fees and equity-based funding (Tertiary Education Commission, 2016).

Increasing the number of Māori obtaining university qualifications is important given the private benefits (e.g., income, employment) and social benefits for graduates' whānau and communities that can come from having a university education (Theodore, Taumoepeau, et al., 2017). The growth in numbers of Māori students, however, impacts upon current Māori staff workloads if there are not similar increases in the number of Māori academics to support Māori students. Previous studies have found that Māori university student

experiences and success are positively influenced by being taught or supervised by Māori staff and through the integration of mātauranga Māori and te reo Māori within the curriculum (Mayeda, Keil, Dutton, & ʻOfamoʻoni, 2014; Theodore, Gollop, et al., 2017). Despite the proliferation of Māori student numbers and the increase in Māori with PhDs, to date this has not manifested in an increase in Māori academic staff numbers. Sutherland, Wilson and Williams (2013) found that only 6% of early career researchers employed by universities were Māori. Māori with PhDs are likely to be attractive to a wide range of employers. A large majority of Māori with PhDs are clearly employed outside of the academy, but whether this is by choice or because of the lack of post-PhD pathways within the academy is unknown.

In this article, we examine the numbers of Māori academic staff employed by New Zealand's eight universities. Our work is specifically focused on Māori in New Zealand but will have relevance to Indigenous people working in higher education institutions internationally. The issues that Māori face in universities in New Zealand (e.g., under-representation) are likely to resonate with Indigenous people worldwide. We aimed to answer the following questions:

1. How has the number/percentage of Māori academic staff employed by universities changed over time?
2. What academic positions do Māori staff occupy?
3. Do the academic positions that Māori staff occupy differ according to gender?

Methodology

After unsuccessfully searching university websites and reports for data on the number of Māori academics employed, we emailed the Ministry of Education through the Education Counts website (www.educationcounts.govt.nz) and obtained the available data regarding the ethnicity of academic staff. The ethnicity data collected by the Ministry are split into the following groups: European, Māori, Pasifika, Asian and Other. "Other" includes "Not Further Defined", "Middle Eastern", "Latin American", "African" and "Other Ethnicities". European includes New Zealand-born people of European descent (Pākehā) and other European peoples (Germans, Italians, Britons, Australians, etc.).

There are several caveats to these data, which must be noted. Firstly, data from 2012 to 2015 were collected by universities as a snapshot of staff numbers during the first week of August each year. In subsequent years the data were collected for the full calendar year. Secondly, raw data could not be obtained due to privacy concerns, so all data were rounded to the nearest five people. Consequently, the data presented in this article could overestimate the numbers of Māori academics employed by universities. Unfortunately, data prior to 2012 were not available from the Ministry of Education. Staffing numbers include both "Contracted Staff Members" and "Other Academic Staff/Tutorial Assistants", with the latter category including assistant lecturers, visiting academics and teaching fellows. Research fellows and postdoctoral fellows are not included in these data because they are research staff rather these academic.

The other important data caveat to consider is that the number of staff who do not respond to university ethnicity surveys is likely to vary among universities. Available data on staff response rates were limited, with the exception of the last two equity profiles (2016 and 2017) from the University of Auckland. In 2016 the non-response rate for ethnicity data was 19.7 FTEs, which equated to 0.9% of the total FTEs (University of Auckland, 2016). Similarly, in 2017 the non-response rate was 22 FTEs, representing 1% of the total FTEs (University of Auckland, 2017).

Results

Number and proportion of Māori academics employed by universities

The dominant ethnicity of academics employed by universities from 2012 to 2017 was European, accounting for between 56% and 83% of the total academic staff (see Figure 1). Across all universities, the percentage of Māori academic staff remained relatively constant between the same period, varying between 4.2% and 5.1% (see Table 1 and Figure 1). Waikato University employed the highest percentage (varying between 9% and 10%) of Māori academics, whereas Lincoln University had the lowest percentage (varying between 2.4% and 5%). The percentage of Māori academic staff at the remaining universities (Auckland University of Technology, Massey University, University of Auckland, University of Canterbury, University of Otago and Victoria University of Wellington) varied between 3% and 7% between 2012 and 2017. The number of Māori academic staff at each institution over the same six-year period ranged from 5 to 185 (see Figure 2). This number has remained fairly constant, at around 50 at Auckland University of Technology, Massey University, University of Otago, University of Waikato and Victoria University of Wellington.

Academic positions that Māori staff occupy

The majority of Māori academics were employed as lecturers/tutors and other academic staff/tutorial assistants (see Table 2). The numbers of Māori lecturers/tutors and other academic staff/tutorial assistants decreased between 2012 and 2017 (from 9.7% to 8.2% for lecturers/tutors and from 7.2% to 5.5% for other academic staff/tutorial assistants). The number of Māori senior lecturers has remained relatively stable over time, comprising around 5% of the total number of senior lecturers. The percentage of Māori associate professors and heads of department (HODs) increased from 2012 (2.7%) to 2017 (4.6%). There were very few

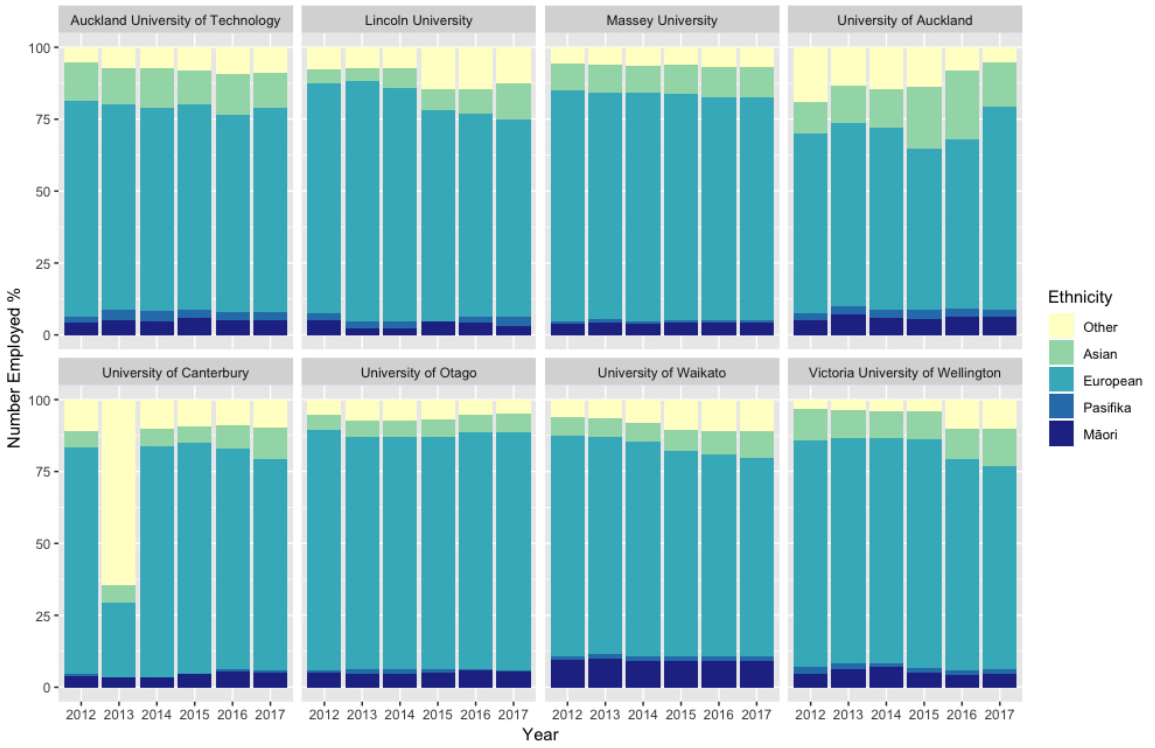

FIGURE 1 Number of academic staff employed be each university by ethnicity 2012–2017

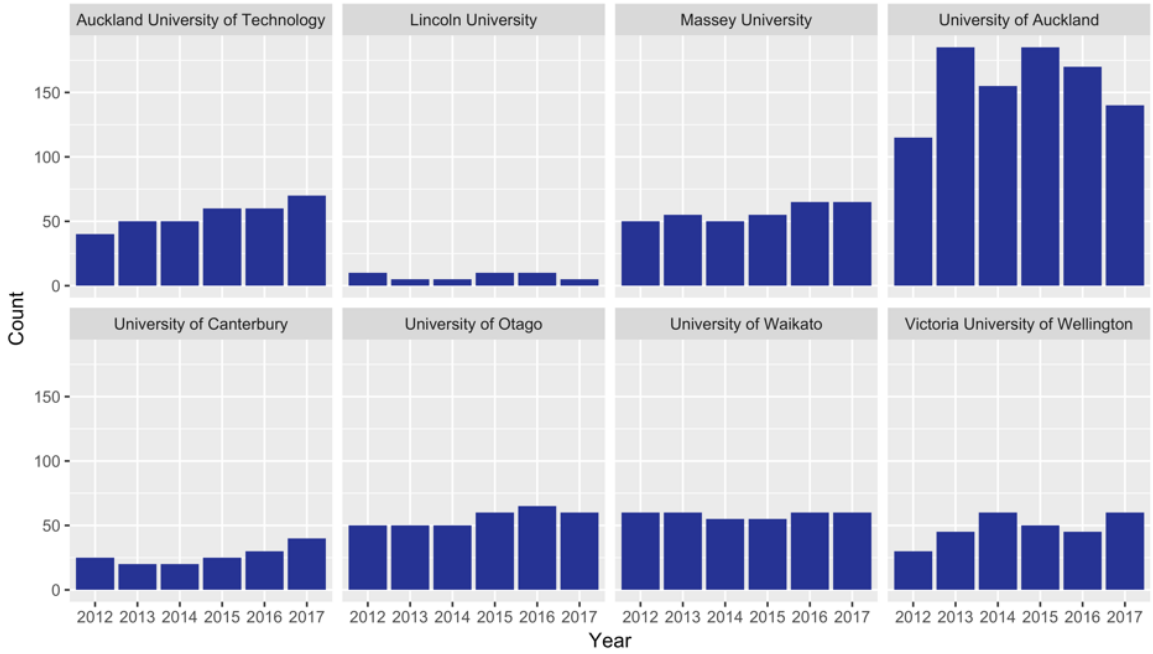

FIGURE 2 Number of Māori academic staff employed by each university 2012–2017
Note: Numbers are rounded to the nearest 5.

Māori professors/deans and associate professors and HODs employed by universities. From 2012 to 2017 Māori made up between 2.6% and 3.6% of the total number of professors/deans. In New Zealand's eight universities, the total number of European professors and deans increased by approximately 730 to 890 between 2012 and 2017. Over the same time period, Māori professors and deans increased from 25 to 35. Although the percentage increase in Māori professors and deans was higher than that of Europeans in the same position (40% and 21.9%, respectively), Māori comprised only 3.4% of the total number of professors/deans in 2017. Māori females were more often employed as associate professors and HODs, senior lecturers, lecturers/tutors and other than Māori males, who typically made up a higher percentage (between 57% and 80%) of Māori professors/deans. In 2012, only 20% of Māori professors/deans were female; however, that percentage has gradually increased towards gender parity, reaching 43% in 2017.

TABLE 1 Māori academic staff employed by universities as a percentage of total staff 2012–2017

Year	Māori academics (%)
2012	4.2
2013	5.1
2014	4.8
2015	4.8
2016	4.8
2017	4.8

Discussion

Māori scholars in the academy

From the above results we can see that the percentage of Māori academic staff employed in the eight New Zealand universities remained at around 5% of the academic workforce from 2012 to 2017. In other words, based on the data available to us, no progress was made in increasing the overall percentage of Māori academics within universities over that six-year period. This finding raises questions about the will of institutions to build a sustainable Māori

TABLE 2 All academic staff employed at universities by position, with Māori academic staff by position and gender 2012–2017

Academic position	Year	Total number of academics	Māori		
			Total number of Māori academics	% Female	% Male
Professors and Deans	2012	975	25 (2.6%)	20	80
	2013	1025	30 (2.9%)	17	83
	2014	1025	30 (2.9%)	20	80
	2015	1060	30 (2.8%)	33	67
	2016	1080	35 (3.2%)	50	50
	2017	1045	35 (3.4%)	43	57
Associate Professors and HODs	2012	915	25 (2.7%)	60	40
	2013	885	25 (2.8%)	60	40
	2014	885	25 (2.8%)	60	40
	2015	935	30 (3.4%)	57	43
	2016	1180	50 (4.2%)	50	50
	2017	975	45 (4.6%)	67	33
Senior Lecturers	2012	2465	120 (4.9%)	64	36
	2013	2470	125 (5%)	60	40
	2014	2470	125 (5.1%)	56	44
	2015	2490	135 (5.4%)	56	44
	2016	2525	145 (5.7%)	55	45
	2017	2465	130 (5.3%)	58	42
Lecturers and Tutors	2012	1240	120 (9.7%)	61	39
	2013	1215	110 (9%)	63	38
	2014	1215	110 (9.1%)	64	36
	2015	1300	115 (8.9%)	65	35
	2016	1430	125 (8.7%)	64	36
	2017	1530	125 (8.2%)	60	40
Other Academic Staff/ Tutorial Assistants	2012	2435	175 (7.2%)	67	33
	2013	2520	160 (6.3%)	60	40
	2014	2435	160 (6.6%)	59	41
	2015	2520	190 (7.5%)	59	41
	2016	3445	145 (4.2%)	59	41
	2017	3005	160 (5.3%)	59	41

Note: Numbers are rounded to the nearest 5.

academic workforce, their level of commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the notion of partnership, and the efficacy of academic equity and diversity policies. The results further show that Māori are more likely to be employed in less senior academic positions with fewer opportunities for career advancement than Pākehā, and that the gendered hierarchies of academia are reflected in the positions held by Māori men and women.

Previous research illustrates that a lack of significant change in the percentage of Māori academics employed by universities extends beyond our dataset (Nana, Stokes, & Lynn, 2010; Pio, Tipuna, Rasheed, & Parker, 2014; White & Grice, 2008). For example, 3.6% of the total academic population were Māori in 2006 (White & Grice, 2008). White and Grice (2008) also noted that between 2003 and 2006 there was a small increase in the number of Māori researchers in the tertiary sector, from 448 to 486. However, this change was proportionate to the total increase in researchers, and the overall percentage of Māori researchers did not change (White & Grice, 2008). Furthermore, between 1991 and 2006 the proportion of the tertiary teaching workforce identifying themselves as Māori also did not change significantly (Nana et al., 2010). Pio et al. (2014) provided further evidence of the decadal problem of the unchanging proportion of Māori academics in New Zealand universities. They found that the percentage of Māori academic staff at one New Zealand university actually decreased from 5.4% in 2007 to 4.3% in 2011.

Overall, previous research and the findings from the current study indicate that over a decade (2007–2017), and despite the outward declarations by universities about the importance of acknowledging the Treaty of Waitangi and enhancing diversity, the proportion of Māori academic staff within New Zealand universities has remained unchanged. We argue that the gap between the values espoused in university equity policies relating to Indigenous peoples and the starker reality of academic hiring practices—which based on our data and previous studies appear to favour Pākehā scholars—needs to be registered and openly discussed if decolonising change is to take place. It is important to note that the lack of Māori academics cannot be attributed to the lack of available Māori with relevant qualifications. As touched on above, there have been significant increases in the number of Māori graduating with PhDs over the last two decades. Between 1996 and 2002, fewer than 50 Māori gained doctoral qualifications (Durie, 2009), compared with over 200 from 2002 to 2008. The numbers of Māori doctoral students have continued to rise, with an increase of 21% between 2008 and 2016 (Education Counts, 2018).

The severe under-representation of Indigenous scholars is not unique to New Zealand universities; it is a problem mirrored in universities worldwide. For example, in 2010 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people made up only 0.8% of the total FTEs of academic staff at universities in Australia and approximately 3% of the total population (Department of Innovation, Industry, Science and Research, 2011). Similarly, in the United States 81.8% of professors were white and only 0.3% were Native American or Alaska Native in 2016 ("Full-time Instructional Faculty Members", 2018). At the same time, the US population was 76% white and 1.7% Native American Indian or Alaska Native (United States Census Bureau, 2016). Scholars have argued that these institutions often represent a stronghold of settler colonialism, with walls designed to keep "space invaders", such as Māori and Pasifika scholars, out (see Naepi, this issue; Puwar, 2004).

Māori academic careers

In terms of Māori academic leadership, six of the eight universities in New Zealand have Māori representation at the deputy, assistant, or pro-vice-chancellor level. Furthermore, all eight universities have representation on Te Kāhui Amokura, a committee comprised of the deputy vice-chancellor Māori, assistant vice-chancellor Māori, pro-vice-chancellor and kaiārahi Māori/director Māori from each university that aims to improve outcomes for Māori students, staff and scholarship (Mercier et al., 2011). Our findings show, however, that Māori academic staff remain under-represented across all of these institutions, and particularly at senior levels of academia (i.e., HOD, associate professor, professor and dean). This lack of representation

at senior academic levels is not a new phenomenon. Nana et al. (2010) highlighted that in 2006 only 3% of assistant professors and 4% of professors identified as Māori, and our data from 2017 show that only 4.6% of associate professors/HODs and 3.4% of professors/deans were Māori. This indicates that over a period of 11 years, there has been no or very little change in the percentage of Māori employed at the senior academic levels in these institutions.

Our results also show that Māori are more likely to be employed as lecturers/tutors and as other academic staff/tutorial assistants. Naepi (this issue) highlights that Māori and Pasifika academics in the other academic staff/tutorial assistant category exist disproportionately at this academic level compared with the remainder of academics. As Naepi suggests, the prevalence of Māori academics in these less senior positions highlights that the current promotional processes actively work against Māori (see also Roa, Beggs, Williams, & Moller, 2009). Some gendered hierarchies are also evident within our data, whereby there are more male Māori academics at the most senior levels of academia, although this may be changing over time and will require future monitoring.

Māori often enter their academic careers later, with the average age of the Māori doctoral candidate being 49 years of age. Māori academics therefore have different career trajectories than their Pākehā counterparts (Kidman et al., 2015; Middleton & McKinley, 2010; Nana et al., 2010; Smith, 1993). While this probably contributes to the lack of Māori at senior levels, other factors, including a lack of institutional will to appoint Māori staff in the upper echelons of the academic workforce or the absence of effective institutional strategies for the hiring and promotion of Māori academic staff, are likely to be significant.

For example, there is growing evidence that the Performance-Based Research Fund (PBRF) actively works against Māori researchers, and Roa et al. (2009) outlined a range of problems associated with the PBRF process. These include, but are not limited to, discouraging long-term research, often measuring excellence by outputs not outcomes, favouring single-author publications and publications in international journals with high impact factors, not fairly allowing for researchers with whānau commitments, and being primarily designed to assess full-time academics. Kidman et al. (2015) also suggested that PBRF leads to universities being more likely to hire younger, early career researchers rather than older academics. This could disadvantage Māori academics, who are likely to enter academia later in life and will consequently produce fewer publications than their younger Pākehā counterparts.

Kidman and Chu (2017) noted that very few Māori senior faculty are employed outside of Māori departments. This is unsurprising given that Māori departments act as a culturally safe space within the neoliberal university. Mercier et al. (2011) highlighted that the biggest support for Māori academics is other Māori academics. Kidman and Chu (2017) supported these findings, showing that having a Māori colleague nearby had a positive effect on academics' sense of institutional belonging. However, the most influential factor determining workplace satisfaction of Māori academics was whether or not the academic had a Māori manager (Kidman & Chu, 2017). This highlights the need for a critical mass of Māori scholars at all levels of seniority and in all colleges, schools and departments of universities.

Indigenisation and decolonisation of academic spaces

Following Tuck and Yang (2012), we argue that decolonisation is "a distinct project from other civil and human rights-based social justice projects" (p. 2). It cannot be absorbed into the equity and diversity policy discourses of higher education, which add Indigenous people, along with other ethnic groups, to a broader list of institutional concerns and policy targets but do not problematise settler-colonial power

relations. Increasing the number of Māori academic staff is therefore a worthy start, but it is not the end goal. As Mercier et al. (2011) argued, "In spite of the value gained through the mobilisation of Māori into academia, whether in the shape of academics, general staff, support staff, or students, just having more is not enough" (p. 85).

Decolonisation involves more than a cosmetic shift in managerial practice or the hiring of additional Māori scholars. It is not a call for empty institutional reform or minor tweaks to existing policy. Rather, it is a structural commitment to building educational institutions that recognise the settler-colonial foundations of the university and directly address the inequalities at the core of the institution that exclude, reject or deny Indigenous scholars' claims for intellectual sovereignty and justice (Rigney, 2001). As a form of praxis, it is an iterative process of "reflection and action aimed at the structures to be transformed" (Freire, 2002, p. 126). In New Zealand, this cannot take place authentically and in its fullest sense without reference to the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles. For that reason, in this article, we do not offer a series of remedial steps towards the indigenisation of the institutions or a set of action points to be ticked off one by one.

Where to next?

Findings from both this study and previous research have shown that Māori academics have consistently remained under-represented within New Zealand's universities. Based on the consistency of these findings over time, we argue that if universities do not seriously consider and implement ways to recruit, retain, support and promote Māori academics, then Māori will remain severely under-represented for years to come. Supporting Māori academics and students is strategically important for universities. Firstly, Māori students represent a growing proportion of the higher education student population. In the future, universities may increasingly find themselves competing with other institutions like whare wānanga, which work to support Māori to succeed as Māori and also understand Māori student and staff aspirations to contribute to Te Ao Māori. Secondly, funding agencies are increasingly requiring researchers to appropriately address how their work aligns with policies like Vision Mātauranga and demonstrate responsiveness to Māori (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2019; Ministry of Research, Science & Technology, 2005). Growing numbers of Māori with PhDs mean that these researchers, who are working outside of the university sector (e.g., at whare wānanga, iwi organisations), may increasingly capture Māori research funding that has traditionally gone to universities.

Further work is also required by universities and the government to ensure that high quality data on equity and diversity are collected and shared. If there were a requirement for academics to report ethnicity information and for universities to collect and share that ethnicity data, that would allow for greater transparency and the ability to monitor, over time, the implementation of institutional and national diversity and equity policies. At present, studies like ours are affected by issues with the available data, including response rates and differences in data reporting (e.g., FTEs vs actual number of staff).

Conclusion

In this article, we have shown that the percentage of Māori academic staff has remained consistent at around 5% from 2012 to 2017. This finding raises a multitude of questions, including whether universities are committed to honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, a partnership between Māori and Pākehā, and enhancing Māori success. The data indicate that the introduction of equity and diversity policies and statements has not resulted in meaningful change. Currently, there is a focus by some of these institutions on recruitment and retention

of greater numbers of Māori academics so that levels "more accurately reflect their proportion of New Zealand's general adult population" (University of Otago, 2017, p. 15). While increasing Māori staff numbers to be in proportion with the Māori population—which is currently around 15% of New Zealand's total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2018)—is a positive step, we argue that for universities to have meaningful partnerships with Māori, Māori academics need to be employed at all levels of seniority and exist in all colleges and departments in universities at greater numbers than population parity.

Māori and Pasifika: Join the transformation

This article and Sereana Naepi's contribution to this issue, "Why Isn't My Professor Pasifika?", have found that Māori and Pasifika continue to be disproportionately excluded from university positions in spite of national policies, university strategic plans and individual inclusion policies. In the tradition of scholar activism, we hope that these data, and our interpretations of them, will result in a collective response from Māori and Pasifika scholars. A response that builds upon the legacy and continued work of Māori and Pasifika scholars. One that is cross-institutional, informed by evidence and well resourced. As outlined in Table 3, we argue that universities need to make dramatic structural changes if they are to meet their own and national commitments to Māori and Pasifika communities. Change is necessary, but without pressure from Māori and Pasifika academics, our findings suggest that universities will be unlikely to shift in the ways that are needed to address Māori and Pasifika under-representation and aspirations. It is for this reason that we must work collaboratively to imagine and implement the type of university we wish to see for our communities.

While some scholars have identified promising practices with the potential to bring about the above changes, there is still much work to be done in both research and action. It is for this reason we ask you to join us to either conduct research in this space, commit to change or engage with us in talanoa (dialogue). Please join us on twitter (@tara mcallister4, @SereanaNaepi) or just reach out to us in person.

This call for action is intentionally mirrored in both this article and Naepi's in this issue. It is part of our commitment, as researchers, to

TABLE 3 Changes needed in universities

Universities are:	**Universities need to be:**	
Uni-versity	Plural-versity	
Spaces and places that reinforce a monocultural knowledge system	Spaces and places that deem all knowledges worthy	
Colonial	Indigenised	Decolonised
Structural racism excludes Indigenous bodies and ontologies/epistemologies	Inclusive of Indigenous bodies and ontologies/ epistemologies	Indigenous bodies and ontologies/ epistemologies understood as equal partners in creating and sustaining the university
Neoliberal	?	
Input/output-focused with an economic production function	Imagined outside of our current economic system	

move forward in ways that work best for our communities and to support each other, even if the tides we navigate differ.

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Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
iwi	tribe
kaiārahi	director, leader
Māori	Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent; people of European ethnicity
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840
wānanga	tertiary institution that caters for Māori learning needs
whānau	family
whare wānanga	university, place of higher learning

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