

WHY ISN'T MY PROFESSOR PASIFIKA?

A snapshot of the academic workforce in New Zealand universities

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Abstract

This paper examines the ethnicity of academic scholars employed by New Zealand's eight universities, with a particular focus on Pasifika academics. The paper discusses how, despite national and university policies to see education serve Pasifika peoples better, there has been no change in the numbers of Pasifika academics employed by the universities between 2012 and 2017, and notes that Pasifika who are in the academy are continually employed in the lower, less secure levels of the academy. Examining international discourses of exclusion from universities, this paper builds on current Pasifika understandings and experiences of universities and highlights the urgent need for universities to reconsider their current recruitment, retention and promotion practices, and overarching structures and habits that operate to exclude Pasifika peoples.

Keywords

Pasifika, faculty, university, New Zealand, academics, Pacific

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Introduction

New Zealand universities have espoused their commitment to Pasifika communities for over a decade, and there have been national Pasifika education plans and university Pasifika strategic plans committed to increasing Pasifika engagement. However, in spite of these commitments, little has changed in the numbers of Pasifika academics. Instead, due to overarching structural underserving and exclusion of Pasifika, the numbers of Pasifika holding academic positions in universities has remained stagnant. This paper shows how the historical and current climate of universities has resulted in low numbers of Pasifika academics at universities, suggesting underserving and exclusion of Pasifika peoples.

This paper is of importance not only to the Pasifika community but also to the wider international communities, particularly as there are countries (such as Canada) that do not currently collect or publicly share the ethnic breakdown of their academics. Naming the numbers is a powerful exercise that enables us to call to account government and universities over how their current structures and practices continue to exclude certain bodies from institutions. Following on from other work on Pasifika education, this paper calls us all to account; we must face these numbers, process these numbers, share these numbers and, most importantly, begin to hold government and universities accountable for their inaction against structural racism.

This paper makes the argument that it is New Zealand universities' structural commitment to exclusion that produces low numbers of Pasifika people in academic positions and calls for further investigation into how universities can shift their own structures to better engage Pasifika peoples in realising their vision for higher education in New Zealand. This argument is made by first providing context for the term Pasifika, outlining the historical and current underserving of Pasifika in higher education in New Zealand and introducing

global patterns of exclusion to the context of Pasifika in higher education in New Zealand. The paper then presents the numbers of Pasifika academics working in universities as evidence of New Zealand universities' ongoing exclusion of Pasifika people from academic positions in spite of their espoused commitment to Pasifika peoples. This paper does this by answering the questions:

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

Finally, the paper explains how the low numbers of Pasifika academics could be considered a result of the context of the historical and current culture of exclusion and underserving of Pasifika peoples by New Zealand universities.

It is important to hold some space in this introduction to acknowledge the work of Dr Tara McAllister, who invited me to work on the Pasifika data once I completed my PhD on the experiences of Pasifika women working in higher education institutions in Aotearoa. I am fortunate in that she and her team had begun the data analysis for Māori and we were able to share in our joint outrage and passion to see change in New Zealand universities. This paper is written as a companion piece to "Why Isn't My Professor Māori? A Snapshot of the Academic Workforce in New Zealand Universities" (McAllister, Kidman, Rowley, & Theodore, 2019). When these two papers use the term universities, we are referring to the following universities: Auckland University of Technology (AUT), Lincoln University, Massey University, University of Auckland, University of Canterbury, University of Otago, University of Waikato and Victoria University of Wellington. These universities have shared funding models, histories and ontological foundations. They are

distinctly different from the three wānanga currently recognised as tertiary institutions under the New Zealand Education Act 1989 (i.e., Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa), which are built with and guided by Māori principles (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2019).

Pasifika people

Pasifika is a socially constructed term that the Tofamamao Working Party defined thus: “Pacific peoples are both local and global; genealogically, spiritually and culturally connected to the lands, the skies and seas of the Pacific region” (Tafoamamao Working Party, as cited in Airini, Mila-Schaff, Coxon, Mara, & Sanga, 2010, p. 49). I use Pasifika in this paper because it is the term that is used by government to collect ethnicity data in education in New Zealand, and I use it as a strategic essentialism tool (Spivak, as cited in Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993) that is politically necessary at this moment in time for change. Crocombe (1976) outlined that the term Pasifika was not about homogeneity but about bringing our people together to better serve our own interests in a globalised world. Crocombe (1976) and Spivak (as cited in Danius et al., 1993) offered a way to articulate how we wish to use the term Pasifika, while acknowledging that it is a problematic umbrella term (Anae, 1997; Manu’atu & Kepa, 2002). A ramification of the use of Pasifika is that it can encourage the use of negative stereotypes, such as the “underachievement” stereotype portrayed in government policy and mainstream media (Samu, 2011). I wish to be clear that this paper is not about the underachievement of Pasifika people in academia; it is about *active structural underserving of Pasifika and their exclusion from academic positions in New Zealand universities*.

Pasifika and education in New Zealand

Education systems in New Zealand have consistently and historically underserved Pasifika peoples (Boon-Nanai, Ponton, Haxella, & Rasheeda, 2017; Chu, Glasgow, Rimoni, Hodis, & Meyer, 2013; McDonald & Lipine, 2012; Porter-Samuels, 2013; Reynolds, 2016; Teevale & Teu, 2018; Theodore et al., 2018). This underserving is an important issue for Pasifika people because we connect our community wellness with educational outcomes (Pasifika Proud, 2017; Samu, 2010).

It is not just for our own communities that Pasifika engage with higher education; Pasifika knowledges and people are important to developing higher education institutions themselves (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2008; Samu, 2010; Shilliam, 2016). Pasifika people have outlined how they envision higher education. I quote Samoan academic Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni (2008) at length here to demonstrate how Pasifika people envision the university:

It is a higher education inspired by a desire to hold onto to the virtues of what makes us Pasifika—from the sacred to the secular. It is a higher education that celebrates without apology our Pasifika heritages. It is a higher education that is scholastically rigorous and sensitive to the human potential to subjugate “the Other”. And, it is a higher education capable of producing knowledge, teachers, lecturers, students and learning and teaching environment not afraid to fight with reason for where they believe Pasifika education ought to go. (p. 22)

It has become necessary to outline this vision of higher education because Pasifika people do not currently experience higher education in this way. Instead, Pasifika people experience institutional, structural and overt racism within the academy (I Too Am Auckland, 2015; Kidman & Chu, 2019; Naepi, 2018). These experiences

contribute to the underserving and exclusion of Pasifika people and, therefore, they need to be addressed in order for higher education institutions to fulfil their potential.

Context

Before considering the numbers of Pasifika people working as academics in New Zealand universities, we must first consider Pasifika people's historical, current and envisioned future relationship with higher education as this will provide some context for the numbers to inform the discussion. Pasifika people have a complex relationship with higher education systems in New Zealand. Pasifika have traditionally been excluded from these systems and are now underserved, but Pasifika peoples wish to be included and successful within the educational system. When using the term exclusion in this paper, I argue that while there are Pasifika in the academy, the significantly low numbers suggest that there is still an ongoing culture of structural exclusion of Pasifika peoples. This context moves through exclusion, inclusion and beyond exclusion to provide some context for the numbers below. These theories also emphasise our options for moving forward armed with quantitative and qualitative data about Pasifika representation in universities.

Global patterns of exclusion from universities

Patterns of exclusion are not unique to Pasifika and it is important to consider how diverse bodies are excluded from universities globally. Universities are designed with the privileged in mind and still reflect the subordination of women and racialised people from the time that the first universities were built (Osei-Kofi, Shahjahan, & Patton, 2010). This section of the paper describes how universities operate to exclude diverse bodies from universities around the globe.

There is a substantial amount of academic inquiry into the whiteness (as a social construction that affects institutional structures) of universities (Ahmed, 2012, 2017; Grosfoguel, 2012, 2013; Kidman & Chu, 2017; Pilkington, 2013; Rollock, 2012; Wekker, 2016). The significant critiques and analyses of the whiteness of higher education of Ahmed (2012, 2017) and Puwar (2004) are important when considering the low numbers of Pasifika peoples within the academic workforce. Puwar (2004) examined how higher education institutions are a contested social space with a culture of exclusion that inscribes racialised bodies as *space invaders*.

According to Puwar (2004), non-white bodies are made to feel as they though invade space through three mechanisms. The first is disorientation, where the bodies around them do a double take when they enter a room: they are noticeable. The second is infantilisation, where people of colour are not expected to be capable of authority. The third is through hypersurveillance, where when they are "given" authority, the institution (and the people within) are unforgiving of even small mistakes. This aligns with Pasifika people's experiences of working within higher education as shown by Naepi's (2018) work with Pasifika women, who experienced all of Puwar's space invader mechanisms.

Racialised people (space invaders) encounter brick walls that are built from institutional habit when working in universities (Ahmed, 2012). According to Ahmed (2012), institutional habits are the processes that have become "natural" to the university. However, as universities have become more inclusive, these institutional habits have formed walls that hinder the progression of diverse bodies. Ahmed (2012, 2017) argued that it is diverse bodies who make walls apparent as they come up against institutional practices that stop them. Diverse bodies take on the extra labour of deconstructing these institutional walls and habits, which can have career-limiting repercussions (Naepi, 2018). Therefore, institutional habit limits Pasifika

people's progression through the academy not only because it creates walls that slow their progression but also because the extra labour required to deconstruct these walls takes time and can be career limiting.

New Zealand universities have made very public commitments to the Pasifika community. However, universities can express a commitment to diversity while simultaneously working against diversity. This is achieved through stranger making, non-performative diversity commitments, expectations of gratitude and expectations of intelligibility. The "politics of stranger making" was defined by Ahenakew and Naepi (2015) as "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" (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). Universities also make non-performative diversity commitments, which refer to the institution's ability to write and declare diversity commitments or policies but not resource their implementation (Ahenakew & Naepi, 2015; Ahmed, 2012, 2017). These policies further isolate diverse bodies who engage in non-desired diversity because the institution is able to restate their commitment to diversity through policy in response to accusations of exclusion. Both stranger making and non-performative diversity commitments are tied to university expectations of gratitude from diverse bodies. For Ahmed (2012), this is the expectation that "racism becomes something that we should not talk about, given that we have just been given the freedom to speak of it" (p. 154). Finally, universities express diversity, but through the expectation of intelligibility (Ahenakew & Naepi, 2015) do not practise it; 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) because the language that is intelligible to the institution restricts what can be said. Naepi, Stein, Ahenakew, and Andreotti (2017) demonstrated how, even with the best intentions of policy and strategies, this need to be intelligible can still operate to exclude Pasifika worldviews.

Pasifika experiences of universities in New Zealand

Pasifika academics are part of a growing international Indigenous academic community that are critiquing current university practices and challenging the universities' assumed status as the sole producers of knowledge within the knowledge economy. Universities benefit from and reproduce colonial ideologies by continuing to be a place where the production of knowledge depends on reproducing a monocultural knowledge system that is firmly anchored in Western understandings of the world (Hau'ofa, 1994, 2008; Kidman & Chu, 2019; Māhina, 2008; Nabobo-Baba, 2013; Naepi, 2018; Otunuku, 2011; Samu, 2010, 2011; Suaalii-Sauni, 2008; Thaman, 2003b, 2003c, 2009; Underhill-Sem, 2017). This is because universities currently rely on the "presumption of a Eurocentric epistemic canon that attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production at the expense of disregarding 'other' epistemic traditions" (Tamdgidi, 2012, p. viii). This reliance on the Eurocentric epistemic canon, which Ahmed (2012) identified as institutional habit, continues to dictate who and what knowledge is not only accepted but also celebrated within universities.

Naepi's (2018) recent study on Pasifika women's experiences of higher education revealed that Pasifika women routinely experience the masculine and white imprint (normalisation and rewarding of behaviour that is male and white) within the academy, which leads to

daily experiences of excess labour that is not valued by the institution, hypersurveillance, stranger making, body management, undervaluing of non-Western knowledge, isolation, infantilisation, desirable diversity, expectations intelligibility and lateral violence. Kidman and Chu (2019) also demonstrated that for Pasifika academics the academic prestige economy excludes Pasifika people's research, community and social spaces. Naepi's (2018) and Kidman and Chu's (2019) work shows that in spite of universities' public commitment to Pasifika people, a substantial amount of work is needed within university structures to address the white masculine imprint that continues to affect their Pasifika academics in negative ways.

Inclusion as a redemption

Understanding how many Pasifika hold academic positions in higher education has become an important exercise in the global movement towards Indigenising education systems. Indigenous academics have shown that it is possible to believe the academy can be redeemed (Durie, 2009; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004; Nabobo-Baba, 2013) and to recognise the capacity of higher education to be a positive force while also recognising the behaviours and structures within higher education that need to change. Fijian academic Unaisi Nabobo-Baba (2013) described Indigenisation as "a conversation between the past and present of what entails the totality of Indigenous people's lives" (p. 83). Indigenisation is about redeeming the present academy (which has excluded Indigenous peoples in the past) by ensuring Indigenous inclusion in the future through research and teaching. Indigenisation addresses the inclusion of currently excluded and underserved populations who are also Indigenous.

Pacific people are beginning to develop their own forms of knowledge production that are acceptable to universities (Naepi, in press) such as the kakala method (Chu, Samala Abella, & Paurini, 2013; Thaman, 2003a), in which the

metaphor of garland making is used to guide the process of Pacific research, or the vanua method (Nabobo-Baba, 2008), which proposes an Indigenous Fijian research methodology designed to give "power and recognition to things Fijian" (p. 142). The use of the term "acceptable" here is intentional because universities are still filtering what Pacific knowledge is acceptable and also deciding how to use the knowledge, with a tendency to co-opt as opposed to meaningfully engage with the knowledge (Naepi et al., 2017). This shift towards Pacific research methods is enabling Pacific researchers to transform the way that knowledge is constructed within higher education institutions.

Inclusion as change making

Our presence within institutions does not mean the work of transformation is done. Instead, as Stengers, Despret, and Knutson (2015) argued when analysing women's involvement in the academy, it shows small localised victories while the institution continues to function at a strategic level as it always has, through exclusion. National and localised strategic plans are seen as key in transforming higher education institutions by Pasifika peoples (Airini, 2010). Naepi et al.'s (2017) cartography of Pasifika inclusion in higher education maintains that even when institutions include Pasifika people through strategies that have been developed with Pasifika, these strategies for inclusion become mechanistic tick-box activities as Pasifika ontologies and epistemologies are translated into institutional language. This signals the need for a wider systemic change beyond inclusion practices. It has been maintained that for change to occur at a systemic level, we need to be aware that change is driven by changes in the nature of capital (Airini, 2010; Kidman & Chu, 2019; Osei-Kofi et al., 2010). This paper contends that to see change at the university level, there may need to be government intervention similar to that with Pasifika students whereby

universities are incentivised to ensure that they serve Pasifika communities better.

Beyond inclusion

Although this paper has argued that inclusion is a necessary step to change universities, on the horizon are emerging critiques that argue that the universities must be deconstructed entirely to move ahead. For this reason, this paper includes a brief pause to consider the option intentionally chosen by certain qualified Pasifika people to have a career outside the university.

The choice to exist outside the university is logical, given the need for those within a university to conform to its existing social norms and values. Osei-Kofi et al. (2010) and Thaman (2003b) brought to our attention the university's ability to co-opt us and shape us in ways that benefit the university but perhaps not our communities. Pacific academic Konai Thaman (2003b) raised this apprehension, stating that "we must, therefore, be careful not to advocate something simply because our own education has largely been structured by it or our jobs depend entirely on it" (p. 5). Stein (2019) went further and argued that solutions derived from existing systems will continue to produce similar outcomes and, at best, create band-aid solutions:

Contemporary higher education challenges are a product of our dominant systems and frames of reference, and thus, solutions to these challenges that are formulated from within these systems and frames will only address the symptoms of today's crises, while the root causes remain unaddressed and continue to cause harm. That is, if we simply re-imagine higher education from where we currently stand, we will likely continue to imagine and create more of the same. (p.144)

These critiques have merits and must be considered when we advocate for inclusion.

The numbers

The data below shows the ramifications of the context outlined above.

Methods

The data in this article was sourced via the same methods as its accompanying piece (McAllister et al., 2019). There are several caveats about this data, which was obtained through the Ministry of Education. Firstly, data from 2012 to 2015 was collected by universities as a snapshot of staff numbers during the first week of August each year, whereas in subsequent years the data was collected at the year end, in December. Secondly, raw data could not be obtained due to privacy concerns, so all data was rounded up to the nearest five. Thus, the data presented in this paper could overestimate the exact numbers of Pasifika academics employed by universities (as shown in the gender analysis). Thirdly, the number of staff who did not respond to these surveys and who are therefore not captured by this data is likely to vary among universities. The total includes all ethnicities, and it is expected that if Pasifika and Māori were removed from this overall total, the differences would be more significant.

While the data stored by the Ministry of Education is rich, this paper highlights the following questions:

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

Figure 1 in McAllister et al. (2019) illustrates that Pasifika continually make up a tiny proportion of academics within universities. Between 2012 and 2017 there was no growth in the percentage of Pasifika in academic positions

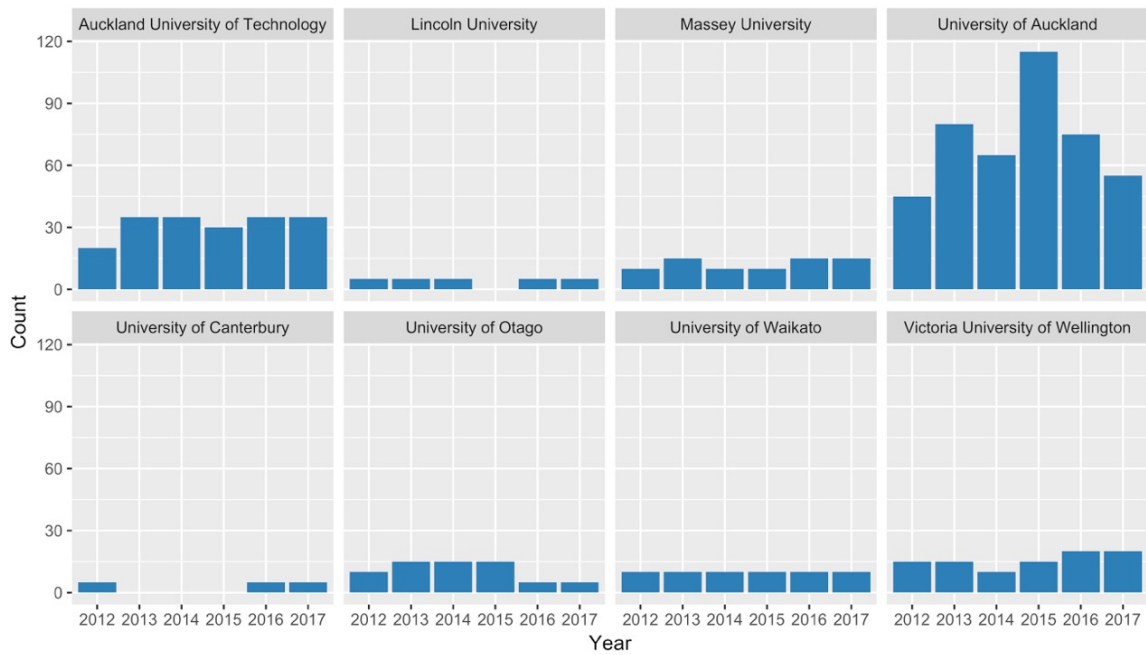


FIGURE 1 Pasifika academic numbers in New Zealand universities 2012–2017

across universities. Therefore, it is necessary to include a breakdown of Pasifika academics within each university.

Figure 1 illustrates that Pasifika are represented in academic positions differently across the regions. The University of Auckland has a higher proportion of Pasifika academics, but the University of Waikato had no shift in the number of Pasifika academics. The regional challenges of recruitment and retention of Pasifika academics are shown for some institutions (Lincoln University, University of Canterbury), which have years with no representation.

Table 1 illustrates that the gender difference within Pasifika academic positions depends on the rank. With so few Pasifika occupying the highest ranking of professor or dean, a gender comparison is difficult; however, over the years 2012–2017, 57% of professor or dean rankings were held by male Pasifika. A similar problem occurs at the associate professor and head of department (HoD) level, where comparison by year is not particularly helpful; however, over the years 2012–2017, 64% of associate professor and HoD rankings were held by male Pasifika. We begin to see a pattern of gender

disparity from senior lecturer to other academic staff or tutorial assistants, where Pasifika women outnumbered Pasifika men 88% of the time across 2012–2017. When the higher ranked positions are considered alongside the lower ranked positions, it is clear that Pasifika women are making up the lower ranks within academic positions while Pasifika men are occupying the higher ranks.

Table 1 also provides an interesting insight into the problem with rounding numbers up. Within the professor or dean and associate professor or head of school ranking, the numbers indicate 100% male and female. This is because the data had five males and five females (rounded up) with a total of five (rounded up). This means that between the males and females occupying these positions, the total was still less than or equal to five, suggesting that the rounding up of numbers has masked the low numbers of Pasifika within these positions if each gender were analysed separately.

Figure 1 and Table 1 also provide some insight into the overall academic position growth between 2012 and 2017. The number of Pasifika employed by universities also grew

TABLE 1 Total number of academic staff and Pasifika academic staff per academic position and the percentage of female and male Pasifika academics employed in universities

Academic position	Year	Total academics	Total Pasifika academics	% of Pasifika to total academics	% of Pasifika academics	% Female	% Male
Professors and Deans	2012	915	5	0.5%	4.0%	0%	100%
	2013	975	5	0.5%	2.9%	0%	0%
	2014	1,025	5	0.5%	3.1%	100%	100%
	2015	1,060	5	0.5%	2.5%	0%	0%
	2016	1,080	10	0.9%	5.7%	50%	50%
	2017	1,045	5	0.5%	3.2%	100%	100%
Associate Professors and HoD	2012	915	5	0.5%	4.0%	0%	100%
	2013	885	5	0.6%	2.9%	0%	100%
	2014	885	5	0.6%	3.1%	0%	100%
	2015	935	5	0.5%	2.5%	100%	100%
	2016	1,180	20	1.7%	11.4%	50%	50%
	2017	975	10	1.0%	6.5%	50%	50%
Senior Lecturers	2012	2,450	40	1.6%	32.0%	63%	50%
	2013	2,465	40	1.6%	22.9%	50%	50%
	2014	2,470	35	1.4%	21.9%	43%	43%
	2015	2,490	45	1.8%	22.5%	56%	44%
	2016	2,525	40	1.6%	22.9%	50%	38%
	2017	2,465	35	1.4%	22.6%	57%	43%
Lecturers and Tutors	2012	1,230	25	2.0%	20.0%	60%	40%
	2013	2,465	35	1.4%	20.0%	57%	43%
	2014	2,470	40	1.6%	25.0%	50%	50%
	2015	1,300	45	3.5%	22.5%	56%	44%
	2016	1,430	45	3.1%	25.7%	67%	33%
	2017	1,530	45	2.9%	29.0%	67%	33%
Other Academic Staff/Tutorial Assistants	2012	1,935	45	2.3%	36.0%	67%	33%
	2013	2,435	95	3.9%	54.3%	63%	37%
	2014	2,520	75	3.0%	46.9%	67%	33%
	2015	3,445	115	3.3%	57.5%	61%	39%
	2016	2,910	65	2.2%	37.1%	62%	38%
	2017	3,005	55	1.8%	35.5%	55%	45%

Note: Numbers presented have been rounded to the nearest 5.

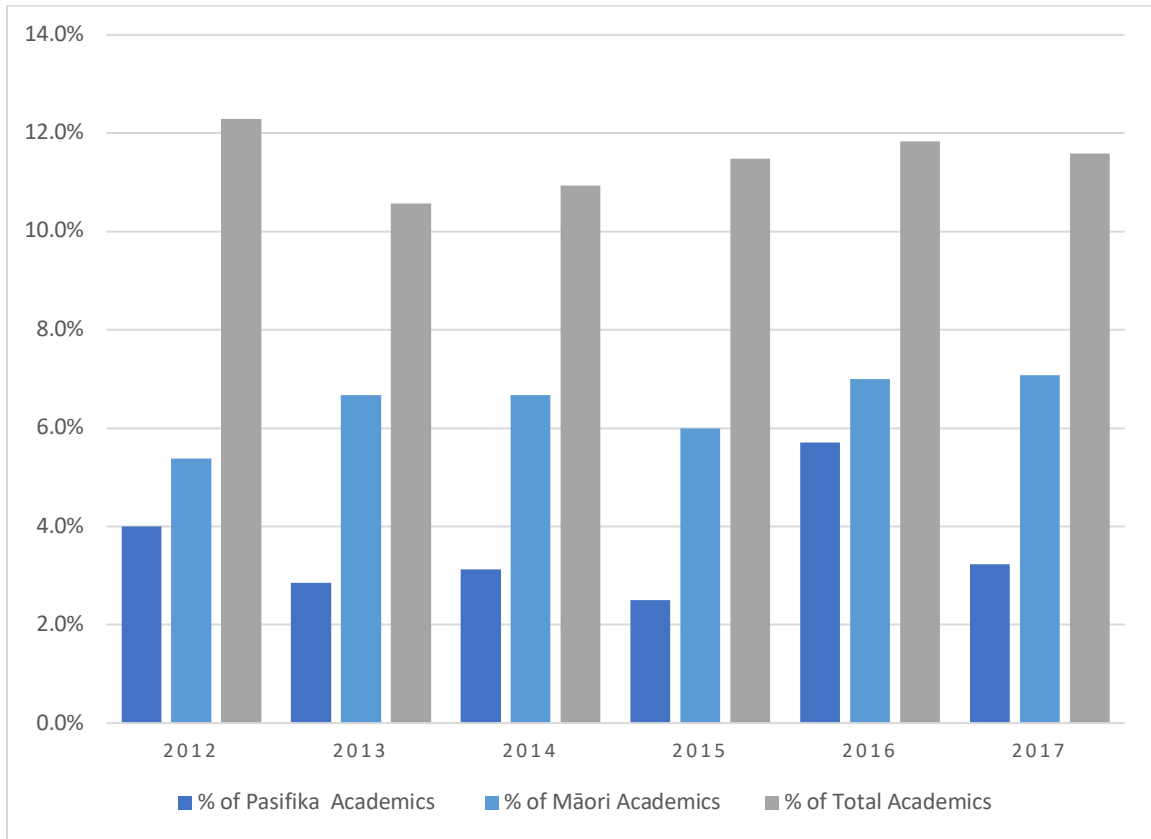


FIGURE 2 Percentage of academics holding professor or dean ranking in New Zealand universities

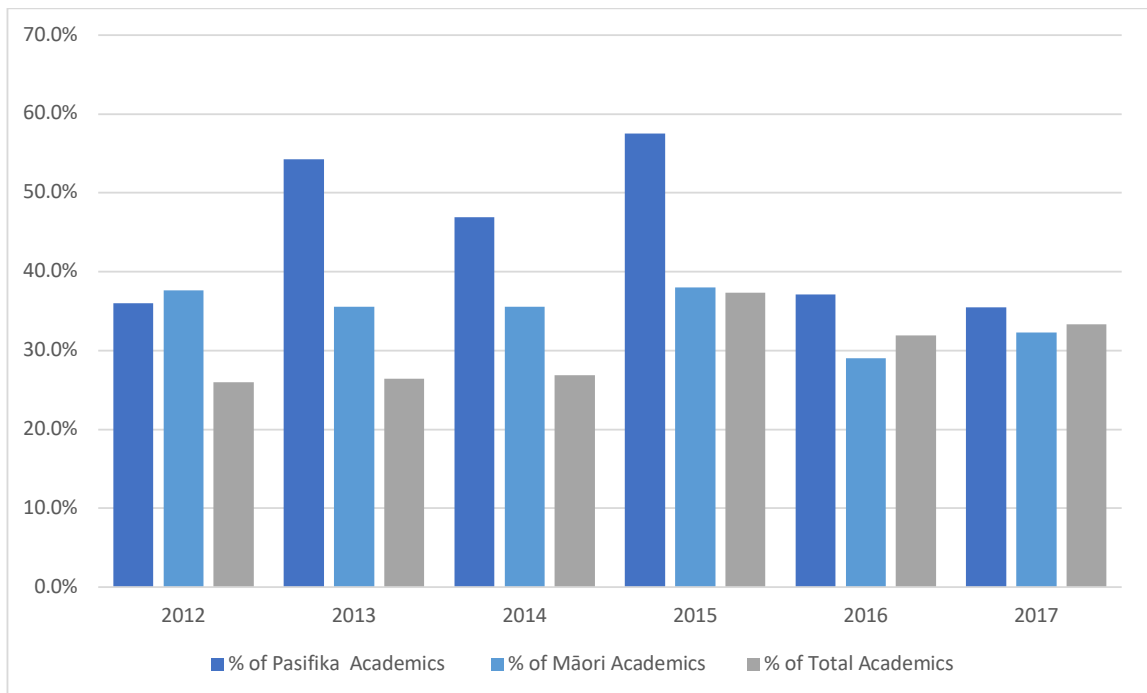


FIGURE 3 Percentage of academics holding other academic staff or tutorial assistant ranking in New Zealand universities

from 125 to 155 (19%), but this is a marginal difference in growth compared with the 17% increase across other academic positions. In 2012 Pasifika made up 1.7% of all academics; then in 2015 it increased to a high of 2.2%, but dropped back down to 1.7% in 2017.

Figure 2 presents the percentage of Pasifika and total academics who hold professor or dean rankings at universities. Not all academics will join the highest academic ranking, but clearly there is a disparity between the percentage of Pasifika academics and the percentage of total number of academics within that ranking; the rate of total academics is consistently more than double that of Pasifika.

Figure 3 presents the percentage of Pasifika and total academics who occupy other academic staff or tutorial assistant rankings. Over 50% of all Pasifika academics (in total throughout 2012–2017) were consistently within this ranking. Interestingly, this dropped for Pasifika (.5%) between 2012 and 2017 and increased for total (7.3%) between 2012 and 2017.

Discussion

How has the number and percentage of Pasifika academic staff employed by universities changed over time?

Despite rapid growth (19%) in the numbers of Pasifika in academic positions in universities, Pasifika continue to represent only 1.7% of the academic work force in New Zealand. This suggests that simple parity or population matching will not address the disparity within universities. If we use parity or population matching (as suggested by the Ministry of Education in Pasifika education documents), we need to ensure that we include within these calculations the expected growth of academic positions overall.

We also understand from Figure 1 that these numbers are regionally specific, and therefore a large academic restructuring within the

University of Auckland or AUT can affect the numbers of Pasifika in universities drastically. An example of this can be found in the reduction of Pasifika staff at the University of Auckland between 2015 and 2016. In that time, Pasifika academics at the University of Auckland dropped by 40, which represented 20% of Pasifika academics in 2015. Therefore, this paper advises that AUT and the University of Auckland, as regional hubs for Pasifika, implement particularly strong retention and promotion programmes for Pasifika; other regional spaces may need stronger recruitment processes. AUT's Māori and Pasifika early career academic programme shows promise in this space.

What academic positions do Pasifika academics occupy?

The majority of Pasifika academics exist within other academic staff and tutorial assistant roles and Pasifika are under-represented within the professor and dean roles. This implies that current academic promotion practices are inequitable. It aligns with both global literature, which shows that diverse bodies engage in invisible labour that is not valued by the institution, and domestic literature, which shows that Pasifika understand service and knowledge dissemination differently from universities (Naepi, 2018). Current literature focuses on the need for structural changes within research and teaching to make universities more responsive to Pasifika. Current promotional practices in universities focus on research (40% of the time), teaching (40% of the time) and service (20% of the time) and do not consider ontological differences that see all three as deeply intertwined given the importance of relationships. An interesting insight into this can be found in New Zealand's Performance-Based Research Fund 2018 report, which reported that Pasifika had the highest engagement with their uptake and outreach category, which includes community engagement, contribution to public

understanding, being the critic and conscience of society, and helping to foster debate (Tertiary Education Commission, 2019). Further research is needed into the practices that universities value and how this aligns with or diverges from how Pasifika communities view the role of an academic in New Zealand and how these values are articulated and used within promotional practices within universities.

This finding also suggests that the majority of Pasifika universities are currently using short-term contracts that do not provide promotion opportunities. Increased casual labour within international and New Zealand universities (Brown, Goodman, & Yasukawa, 2010; Coughlan, 2015; Kidman, 2019; Mann & Hochenedel, 2017; Ryan, Burgess, Connell, & Groen, 2013; Sutherland & Gilbert, 2013) insinuates that the current positioning of Pasifika within casual contracts will worsen and the working conditions within these spaces will deteriorate as New Zealand universities follow the international trend of increased casual labour in universities. Further research is needed to understand exactly what positions Pasifika are occupying within this category and whether these positions are operating as spaces to mentor and guide Pasifika into more permanent positions or simply filling a labour gap. It is also imperative that further research is conducted into the experiences of Pasifika within other academic staff and tutorial assistant roles. Research is also needed into which disciplines Pasifika academics are currently employed in since analysis by institution can mask in-institution inequities.

Do the academic positions that Pasifika occupy differ according to gender?

The Pasifika gender gap within academic positions in universities indicates that, overall, male Pasifika academics are occupying more senior positions and females are occupying junior positions. Naepi's (2018) work identified that

Pasifika women experience a white and masculine imprint in higher education that has led to a range of factors that could be slowing their progression within the academy. However, it would be interesting to see research specifically into Pasifika male experiences of working within universities to see where their experiences align and where they are disparate.

Conclusion

The numbers shown above are an urgent call for action. Universities have developed and held on to institutional habits that exclude Pasifika bodies from academic positions. We need to address these numbers and hold universities and government to account. We need to develop meaningful policies that engage with Pasifika beyond desirable diversity and fulfil Pasifika's vision of universities as places that embrace all learners, esteem all knowledges and serve all communities. To achieve this goal, we have many questions to ask of ourselves who work within universities and of universities themselves, including *Why isn't their professor Pasifika?*

Postscript: Māori and Pasifika: Join the transformation

This paper and McAllister et al.'s contribution to this issue, "Why isn't my professor Māori?", show 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 this data will result in a collective response from Māori and Pasifika scholars to these numbers—a response that builds upon the legacy and continued work of Māori and Pasifika scholars, and that is cross-institutional, evidence informed and well resourced. As outlined in Table 2, we argue that universities need

TABLE 2 Change needed in Aotearoa universities

What universities are	What 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	

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 it is unlikely that universities will shift in the ways that are needed to address Māori and Pasifika under-representation and aspirations, and 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 for the above changes to happen, 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 conduct research in this space, commit to change or join us in talanoa. Please join us on Twitter (@taramcallister4, @sereanaepi) or just reach out to us in person.

This call for action is intentionally mirrored in this article and that of McAllister et al. (2019); it is part of our commitment as researchers to move forward in ways that work best for our communities and to support each other even if the tides we navigate differ.

Glossary

talanoa	a process of inclusive, participatory and transparent dialogue used across the Pacific
wānanga	Māori houses of higher learning, tertiary institute

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