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**TOWARDS SOCIAL COHESION:
THE INDIGENISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN
NEW ZEALAND**

**Mason Durie
Massey University
New Zealand**

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Mason Durie

ABSTRACT

Since 1999 indigenous participation in tertiary education in New Zealand has been transformed. From a position of relative exclusion, multiple levels of Māori participation have evolved reflected in the curriculum, the student body, the academic workforce, tertiary education policy, the establishment of tribal tertiary education institutions, and indigenous research. The impacts of the transformation have not only been apparent in educational institutions but have also been evident across society, especially in relationship to Māori capability in the professions, a greater understanding between Māori and other New Zealanders, and a stronger sense of shared nationhood. A conclusion is that universities have the potential to demonstrate social cohesion and also to prepare graduates for leadership roles in promoting a society that can model inclusiveness without demanding assimilation.

Transforming Higher Education

Accelerated indigenous participation in higher education in New Zealand has occurred since 1999 (Ministry of Education 2005). Māori involvement in all aspects of tertiary education, including student enrolment, curriculum development, and the management and strategic development of educational institutions, has transformed New Zealand's education sector to the point where a palpable indigenous dimension can be felt both within and beyond the sector. The transformation has seen a shift from relative Māori exclusion in higher education to new levels of inclusion where, far from being discounted, cultural identity has been recognised as an important catalyst for learning. Moreover, the resulting increase in Māori capability has enhanced Māori professional, business, technical, research, and academic leadership, necessary for social, economic and cultural advancement. While significant gaps remain between Māori and non-Māori participation across most tertiary institutions and across particular academic disciplines, the progress has been sufficiently sustained to conclude that indigeneity (a distinctive indigenous perspective) has become embedded within higher education in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Intermittent Māori participation in universities began in the 1890s but generally with scant regard for learning preferences shaped by culture or by bodies of knowledge built on indigenous

experience and indigenous ways of knowing. Nor was there previous involvement of Māori community leaders in university management or governance. In contrast, the modern era has seen the juxtaposition of universal approaches alongside the distinctive elements that make up Māori methodologies, pedagogies, and learning networks in modern times. The overall aim has not been solely to enrol more Māori students. Instead there has been a deliberate attempt to build on those indigenous foundations that have continuing relevance for new generations of Māori living in urban situations, and to reshape higher educational institutions as places where Māori culture, learning and aspirations can flourish.

In a UNESCO Symposium of Higher Education (Fulbright New Century Scholars, 2006), social cohesion was recognized as a reasonable goal for universities and eleven characteristics necessary for cohesion to occur were identified (Table 1).

Table 1 Characteristics for Universities to Support Social Cohesion

Number	Characteristics
1	publicly available standards of student and faculty conduct
2	a transparent process of adjudication for misconduct
3	students & faculty broadly representative of wider population
4	a curriculum which reflects social problems
5	empirical research particularly on social issues
6	commitment to forging linkages with the wider community
7	multiple sources of finance aside from government
8	proactive leadership that defends the role the university
9	public debate over sensitive issues
10	academic freedom for open debate
11	institutional autonomy so that it takes responsibility for its own policies

UNESCO Symposium of Higher Education, 2006

Among the characteristics, the Symposium recommended that each university should have student bodies and faculties that were broadly representative of the wider population, a curriculum that reflected social problems, and a commitment to forging linkages with the wider community. Increasing levels of indigenous participation in university is consistent with all three of those characteristics and, in addition, has implications for three other characteristics: public debate over sensitive issues, academic freedom to ensure open debate and prevent retribution, and institutional autonomy so that universities can take responsibility for their own policies.

However, while social cohesion is an important goal, universities, at least in the western world, generally have a bias towards students and faculty members who subscribe to western academic conventions. Moreover, quite apart from financial barriers, entry depends on high achievement at secondary school; there is a tendency towards a self-selecting process that favours students who have succeeded in a system of education premised on the cultural norms of the west. In effect, without deliberate policies and measures, the people who make up university communities run the risk of being homogenous rather than ‘representative of the wider population.’

Global under-representation of indigenous populations in higher education is the consequence of a multitude of obstacles that count against academic achievement. Not only do the obstacles reflect financial hardship aggravated by lower standards of health and education, but also a conflict between worldviews (Mihisuah, 2004, pp. 31-47). Indigenous peoples adhere to worldviews where knowledge is elaborated within an ecological framework built around relationships with both the natural environment and human environments. Though not all indigenous peoples subscribe to the same beliefs or ways of understanding, typically meaning comes from understanding connections and associations rather than focusing on an analysis of component parts studied in relative isolation from a wider perspective. Universities frequently have different starting points.

Reducing indigenous barriers to education can be approached from two directions. First, efforts can be made to reduce socio-economic inequalities so that hardship is alleviated and students are able to contemplate deferring the need for an immediate income in favour of higher education and longer term benefits. Second, barriers can be reduced by ensuring that tertiary education institutions are able to embrace indigenous worldviews so that pedagogies, research methodologies, campus facilities, and the academic staff can endorse cultural identity and inspire students (Alfred, 2004, pp. 88-99). Māori experience in New Zealand has shown that both approaches are necessary; reducing inequalities is a critical determinant of full participation in higher education while expanding the context for higher education institutions is an essential prerequisite for students whose world views are not entirely shaped by western academic conventions. Moreover, the outcomes of participation go beyond indigenous students; there are benefits for the nation as a whole and for the broad goals of creating and transferring knowledge.

Evidence of Transformation

Increased Māori participation in higher education can be measured against several outcome areas: tribal participation in higher education, the number of students studying for higher education qualifications; curriculum development; campus facilities that have cultural relevance; Māori research capability; staff profiles; and effective policies and strategies (Table 2). In this approach participation is defined as a level of inclusion where representivity occurs in

association with changes to the culture of an organisation. The terms of participation become as important as the extent to which individuals participate.

Table 2 Measures of Māori Participation in Higher Education

<i>Outcome areas</i>	<i>Indicators</i>
Tribal participation in education	Establishment of Wānanga Tribal partnerships with tertiary education institutions
Māori student participation	Student enrolments; levels of study; spread of academic programmes, successful completions
Curriculum development	Māori-centred programmes; Māori relevant programmes
Campus facilitation	Cultural ‘space’; cultural endorsement; cultural protocols
Māori research capability	Research mentoring; indigenous methodologies; research capability funding
Staff profiles	Māori academic staff; Māori support staff
Effective policies, strategies, & decision-making	Māori participation in governance and management

Wānanga

A significant factor leading to increased Māori participation in tertiary education has been the establishment of Wānanga. The *Education Amendment Act 1990* provided for Wānanga to be included as tertiary education centres eligible for state funding alongside universities and polytechnics. In the legislation a Wānanga is ‘characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence and assists the application of knowledge regarding āhuatanga Māori (Māori tradition) according to tikanga Māori (Māori custom).’ In fact, Te Wānanga o Raukawa had been established as an incorporated body in 1984 but had not previously qualified for funding, nor was the suite of qualifications offered recognised within an approved framework. But after registration as a statutory body, state funding and pathways for gaining academic course approvals were possible (Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2008). Three Wānanga - Raukawa, Awanuiarangi and Aotearoa - are now integral to the New Zealand tertiary sector offering a variety of accredited sub-degree and degree programmes, mostly built around indigenous world views and tribal knowledge but also addressing contemporary Māori society. Opportunities for second chance learners, together with the inclusion of older people who had high cultural and tribal knowledge but little formal education, have characterised Wānanga as niche educational providers within a Māori framework. Together the three Wānanga account for some 60 percent of all Māori tertiary students and have been largely responsible for the transformational increase in Māori participation in tertiary education since 2000 (Ussher, 2007).

Student Enrolments

Between 1983 and 2000 the numbers of Māori students leaving school with no qualification decreased from 62 percent to 35 percent (Ministry of Education 2004(a), pp.40-1). Over the

same period, Māori enrolments at the tertiary level increased by 148 percent – and by 2003 the Māori participation rate in formal tertiary education was over 20 percent, higher than the national average. Most of the growth occurred for sub-degree programmes largely through Wānanga where enrolments increased from 26,000 students in 2001 to 45,500 in 2002 (though not all were Māori) (Ministry of Education, 2004 (a), pp. 6-7). In 2003 the provider with the most Māori equivalent fulltime students (EFTS) was Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. Massey University had the second largest number of Māori EFTS while the Open Polytechnic was the polytechnic with the largest number of Māori EFTS (Ministry of Education 2005(b), pp. 77-78). In the two latter institutions, distance education remains an important delivery mode for Māori (Massey University, 2003) suggesting that many Māori students are part time and actively engaged in the workforce. Since 2006, the growth in numbers of Māori students at Wānanga has levelled off, or even declined, but there has been a corresponding increase at polytechnics.

Although there has been an overall increase in Māori participation in tertiary education, the proportion of Māori students at universities has not increased to any great extent, remaining around ten percent since 2004 with a successful completion rates of around 62 percent (Tertiary Education Commission, 2007, pp. 12-15). However, the Māori university student profile has changed in three significant ways. First, compared to other student profiles, Māori students tend to be older (than 25 years) when they first enrol and are more often studying on a part-time basis (Ministry of Education, 2007, pp. 128-9). Second, Māori students have now engaged in a wider range of academic programmes than two decades ago. Fewer are pursuing degrees in Māori Studies but more are studying business, education, social sciences, law, medicine, nursing and the applied sciences. In part the trend points towards current career opportunities, but it is also indicative of greatly increased pre-university levels of competence in Māori language and culture, so that having already been exposed to Māori language and culture, students proceeding to university are more inclined to explore other options. Third, proportionately more Māori students are now studying at the postgraduate level. In 2006, for example, for all New Zealand domestic university students Māori accounted for twelve percent studying at the masters level and six percent at the doctoral level (Ministry of Education, 2007, pp. 128-129). Of particular note has been the increase in successful doctoral studies (Ministry of Education, 2008(b), pp. 167-168). In the six years since 2002, when the Māori Academic Excellence Awards were initiated, more than 200 students have obtained PhD degrees (Pro Vice-Chancellor Māori, 2009). In the six years prior to 2002, however, there were fewer than 50 Māori doctoral graduates.

Academic and Support Staff

Apart from Wānanga, where most staff members are Māori, Māori are generally under-represented in the academic staff of tertiary education institutions (Ministry of Education, 2004 (b), pp. 63-64). However, two trends point towards new patterns of participation. Whereas most Māori staff tended to be concentrated in Māori Studies, there are now significantly large concentrations in the health disciplines, education, social sciences, fine arts, law, and business

studies. Second, an increasing number of Māori academics have doctoral qualifications and strong research portfolios. Although an overall low level of Māori staff representation in higher education remains, the foundations for future development are strong and increasingly focused on subject areas where Māori students are studying.

An increase in the number of Māori students, many new to tertiary education and often unsuccessful at school in earlier years, has led to a range of support mechanisms within universities. Some, such as Te Rau Puawai (Maori Mental Health Workforce Development) at Massey University, are based around a bursary programme and adopt a pro-active approach to student support. The programme has demonstrated that despite competing priorities such as employment, family obligations, and community commitments, high levels of academic achievement are attainable for more than 85 percent of students, even where earlier educational efforts have been unspectacular. An important factor in generating success has been the deliberate promotion of a group approach to learning. Communities of learning where students studying similar programmes can meet together, either face to face or on-line, increase motivation and foster high personal expectations. Other learning support programmes have focussed on the first year student experience and especially on the provision of sound pre-enrolment academic advice so that courses of study are realistic and more sharply attuned to career prospects.

Māori university liaison officers provide ongoing linkages with secondary schools, especially those with high Māori populations, and are able to engage with wider Māori communities at regional and national events where large gatherings are occurring for particular events such as cultural festivals and inter-school sport and cultural competitions. Effectiveness of Māori advisors, mentors, counsellors, and liaison officers is closely linked to being able to communicate in Māori, participate in Māori networks, and mediate between Māori world views and the conventions associated with higher education. In this connection, dedicated funding for supporting Māori learning has been shown to have positive outcomes (Ministry of Education, 2003).

The Curriculum

Further evidence of a significant transformation of higher education can be found in the extent to which Māori knowledge and culture has been included in the curriculum. Māori Studies had been a university subject area since the 1960s but was associated with Anthropology. By 1995, however, most universities had established independent departments of Māori Studies where Māori language and culture were taught. Over the next decade the Māori Studies curriculum expanded to include visual and material arts, Māori history and politics, Māori health, and the application of the Treaty of Waitangi to contemporary times (Durie, 1996). But by then, students were accessing the wider university and looking for a Māori perspective in a range of subject areas. As a result, courses with a Māori focus emerged outside Māori Studies. Some, but not all,

were delivered in Māori language. At the University of Waikato, for example, a Māori language BA degree covering a range of subject areas was introduced and at Massey University a Baccalaureate of Education degree (Te Aho Tatairangi) taught entirely in Māori was offered as a teacher education option. More frequently, courses with a Māori dimension were included in undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in business, social work, psychology, environmental studies, nursing, history, science and political science.

Campus Endorsement

Changes have not only been evident within the curriculum. Universities in New Zealand have also adopted Māori names and have incorporated Māori themes into university branding. Marae - traditional cultural meeting places with carved meeting houses - have been constructed on all North Island campuses and are used by staff, students, and local communities for cultural events as well as academic pursuits and formal university occasions such as welcoming new students, 'stay-overs' for visitors, teaching activities and on occasions funerals. Marae have added new dimensions to campus life providing Māori students with a stronger sense of identity and reducing the mono-cultural bias of universities. In the process other students have had opportunities to participate in marae events, engage with Māori culture, and importantly, establish relationships with Māori students and communities.

Research

Indigenisation of higher education in New Zealand has also led to a vibrant research culture where indigenous methodologies and ethical principles are intertwined with universal approaches. A critical aspect of developing Māori research capability has been the establishment of some twelve Māori research centres in universities, many focused on health research but also on the Māori economy and other facets of Māori development. Training scholarships for emerging Māori researchers have been provided by the Health Research Council of New Zealand and the Foundation for Research Science and Technology since 1993. As a result there is now a critical mass of researchers who have expertise in both Māori research methods and methods derived from western science. One of the seven Centres of Research Excellence in New Zealand, Nga Pae o te Māramatanga, is totally committed to developing Māori research capability and conducting multi-disciplinary research relevant to Māori communities. Hosted by the University of Auckland, the Centre funds a range of research projects and has forged alliances with Māori researchers in other universities as well as national and international research agencies (Nga Pae o te Maramatanga, 2008).

At a national level an academic academy, MANU-AO was launched in 2009 to encourage the elaboration of Māori scholarship and engagement between Māori academics. Senior Māori academics from the eight universities jointly oversee the Academy. Programmes include weekly video seminars accessible from all campuses, a prestigious lecture series, seminars for academic managers and programmes for Māori professionals, including postgraduate courses.

Governance and Management

At the governance level there have also been significant changes. Councils for most tertiary education institutions have Māori members who represent the interests of tribes in the catchment area, or bring a wider Māori voice to the strategic and policy-making functions of councils. The University of Waikato also has a tribal forum, Te Rōpū Manukura, made up of representatives from the eight major tribes in the region. The Forum acts as an advisory body to the Council and ensures that there are open conduits between the several Māori communities and the University (Waikato University, 2009). In an effort to facilitate maximum entry to higher education, the three South Island universities are also part of a consortium, Te Tapuae o Rehua, made up of tribal representatives and senior managers from tertiary education institutions.

Although Māori make up the entire governance and management structures for Wānanga, universities and polytechnics have more recently appointed Māori managers at the corporate level and to a lesser extent at the faculty level. Moreover, at a national level the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors Committee has established a Māori standing committee (Te Kahui Amokura) made up of the senior Māori managers from all eight universities and there is strong interest in establishing a similar body for polytechnics. Meanwhile the Wānanga have formed an association (Te Tauihu o ngā Wānanga) where the respective executive officers and council chairs can jointly plan programmes and strategies relevant to all three Wānanga. Typically the agenda includes research development, accreditation of qualifications, and funding arrangements.

The Context for Change

New Directions

Transformations in New Zealand's higher education system have occurred in parallel with wider societal changes. Although Māori students have graduated from universities for more than a century, during most of that time the numbers had been disproportionately low and little acknowledgement, academic or institutional, has been given to the significance of being Māori. Notwithstanding those limitations, the earliest Māori graduates were exceptionally high achievers who played major leadership roles in the life of the nation. Apirana Ngata, the first graduate, obtained a bachelors degree in arts in 1894 and completed a double degree in arts and law from the University of Canterbury in 1897 (Walker 2001, pp. 66-67). He subsequently entered politics rising to the position of Acting Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs. Ngata was a prolific writer whose literary works retain high significance for modern scholars. Maui Pomare, the second university graduate, obtained the MD degree from an American medical school in 1899. He had a distinguished career in public health and later in politics as Minister of Health (Cody, 1953). Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck), also a medical graduate, was awarded the degrees of bachelor of medicine and bachelor of surgery in 1904 and obtained a

doctorate in medicine in 1909 from the University of Otago. He worked with Pomare in the Department of Public Health, then after spending a brief period in politics was appointed Director of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu (Condliffe, 1971, pp. 75-77). His anthropological research in the South Pacific has been widely read and remains in print more than 60 years after being first published.

Others followed and a cadre of graduates slowly emerged with a sense of commitment to higher education and to Māori. The formation of the Māori Graduates Association in 1965 not only signalled a critical mass of scholars but also gave some indication of how few there actually were; probably less than one hundred. In contrast, since the mid-1990s, around 1200 Māori students graduate each year from New Zealand universities and other tertiary education institutes.

The obvious transformation in higher education can be largely attributed to wider societal changes (Table 3). Having experienced high levels of state dependency following the Great Depression in the mid 1930s, and weathered severe social disruption following urbanisation between 1950 and 1975, a trend towards assimilation into wider New Zealand society and culture seemed inevitable. But a significant shift in aspirations accompanied by parallel changes in policy and practice occurred in the mid 1980s propelling Māori into a determined effort to participate fully in the economy and in education while at the same time remaining Māori. The assimilatory pathway had been rejected and a changing demographic that saw an expanded Māori population added weight to the new direction.

Table 3 Determinants of Change

<i>Catalyst</i>	<i>Impact</i>
Demographic transitions	Increasing proportion of Māori in the total population with larger youthful cohorts.
The 1984 Hui Taumata – Māori Economic Summit	A shift from state to dependency to positive Māori development, self determination and self management
1981 Kohanga Reo – Māori language immersion early childhood education	Māori language becomes a spoken language in schools, tertiary education institutions, and in broadcasting and television.
1993 Electoral reform	Increase in the number of Māori in Parliament; the emergence of the Māori Party.
1975 The Treaty of Waitangi Act	Legislation and policies draw attention to obligations on the Crown and Crown entities to recognise the principles of the Treaty.
2002 Tertiary Education Strategy	University have obligations to improve Māori academic achievement.

Demographic Transitions

A major factor associated with increased Māori participation in higher education has been an increase in the size of the Māori population and a proportionate increase of Māori in the total New Zealand population. After prolonged depopulation and near extinction in the late nineteenth century, a reversal occurred after 1900 and led to a sustained increase in the Māori population which is likely to continue for several decades ahead (Pool, 1991). Although accounting for some fifteen percent of the total New Zealand population in 2006, by 2051 the Māori ethnic population will almost double in size to close to a million, or twenty-two percent of the total New Zealand population. Even more significant, at least for educational planning, by 2051 thirty-three percent of all children in the country will be Māori. By then Māori in the working age group, fifteen to sixty-four years, will have increased by eighty-five percent. Yet although the younger age groups will continue to grow, the population will begin to age, the proportion of men and women over the age of sixty-five years increasing from three percent in 1996 to thirteen percent in 2051 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

Māori Development

A renewed determination by Māori to embark on a journey of positive development had been heralded in 1975 but it was more patently evident in 1984 when a Māori Economic Summit was convened for Māori leaders and tribal elders (Durie, 1998, pp. 6-7). The outcome was an agreement with the 4th Labour Government to shift the directions of Māori policy away from state dependency and menial labouring, to economic self sufficiency, active roles in the delivery of health, social, and educational services, and a commitment to cultural endorsement. Strengthening the cultural base was a major focus that had particular implications for education. Within two decades, for example, Māori language which had been under the threat of extinction became a spoken language for new generations and a medium for education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

Language revitalisation was catalysed by the rapid spread of Māori speaking early childhood centres, and cultural affirmation became an important rationale for the proliferation of Māori service providers. The number of Māori health providers, for example, increased from one in 1984 to over 270 in 2009. Business acumen, managerial skills and experience in governance followed so that by the end of the decade, in 1994, there was strong evidence of a societal transformation characterised by new levels of Māori economic, social, and cultural capability. Political influence was also boosted following a change in the electoral system in 1993. The first-past-the-post system, which was associated with four Māori electorates regardless of the size of the Māori population, was replaced by mixed member proportional representation and opportunities for minor political parties to enter into coalition with major parties. More than a 100 percent increase in the number of Māori members of Parliament occurred after the 1996

general election, from six Māori members to fifteen. (*Mana Magazine* 1996/97). By 2008 Māori political voice had become strong enough for the relatively new Māori Party to enter into a coalition arrangement with the National Party government.

Treaty of Waitangi

But the societal changes since 1984 have also been influenced by a new commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi. Signed in 1840 by tribal leaders and the British Crown, the Treaty guaranteed tribes the right to retain their own properties including cultural properties and to have a degree of autonomy over their own affairs. The fact that the Treaty was largely dismissed by successive governments did not diminish Māori resolve to have it restored as a foundation of New Zealand society and the passage of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 provided a mechanism for redress and restitution. In addition the Treaty's relevance to social policies, including educational policies, was emphasised in 1988 by the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988, 2, 26-151). The Crown's Treaty obligations were seen to apply to all sectors and to extend to agencies funded by the Government such as public schools and universities. By 1990, University charters, for example, were expected to show how they would recognise the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. However, by 2004 there was also a suggestion that quite apart from any Treaty obligation, indigeneity itself was reason enough for Government commitment. "... And for these reasons government has policies and programmes that explicitly address the needs of Māori as people who are indigenous to New Zealand (Office of the Minister for Social Development and Employment, 2004, p. 15).

Tertiary Education Strategies

Importantly Government policies for tertiary education have also placed emphasis on Māori academic achievement. In the *Strategy for the Tertiary Education* (Office of the Associate Minister of Education, 2002) six strategies were proposed for tertiary education between 2002 and 2007, including a strategy for Māori tertiary achievement. Strategy Two, *Te Rautaki Matauranga Māori*, prescribed a five year transformational period during which tertiary education contributions to Māori would be reflected in 'a holistic vision of wealth that is cultural, social, economic, environmental and spiritual.'

The subsequent tertiary education strategy for the years 2007-2012 identified specific implications for Māori across the range of contributions expected from tertiary education – success for all New Zealanders through lifelong learning, creating and applying knowledge to drive innovation, strong connections between tertiary education organisations and the communities they serve. Similarly it also drew attention to the implications for Māori of the four priority outcome areas: increasing educational success for young New Zealanders, increasing literacy and numeracy levels for the workforce, increasing the achievement of advanced trade,

technical and professional qualifications to meet regional and industry needs, improving research connections and linkages to create economic opportunities. Māori research and Māori enterprise were seen to hold unique opportunities of differentiation in a global market (Minister of Tertiary Education, 2006). Although there was little focus on tertiary education, four areas where Māori educational success could be accelerated were identified in *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2007): foundation years (early childhood); young people engaged in learning (years 9,10); Māori language education; and organisational success. Underlying all four were themes of shared responsibility (educators, students, families, government agencies), broad outcomes (the realisation of potential and cultural distinctiveness) and participation (in Māori communities, and national and global communities).

Change and Challenge

While Māori continue to have significantly poorer educational outcomes than other New Zealanders, the trend towards a progressive increase in participation in higher education has been apparent for over two decades. The evidence also shows that the transformations in universities and polytechnics have been substantial and pervasive rather than cosmetic and peripheral. However, the extent of change has been accompanied by debate about the implications of indigenisation and concerns about a perceived bias that favours Māori over other groups. While there is fairly widespread agreement that higher education should be available to all sections of the community without prejudice or discrimination, there is less agreement that higher education institutions should make particular provisions for indigenous peoples, at least not without similar provisions being made for other sub-populations.

There are several layers to the debate. At one level, indigeneity is seen to be an ethnic argument and from that perspective the position of Māori is regarded as a variant of wider concerns about the participation of all ethnicities including Pacific peoples, Asian immigrants and new settlers from other countries. The proposition is that arrangements for Māori should not be different from provisions for other ethnic minorities. Another argument is built around socio-economic circumstances. Lower levels of Māori participation in higher education are seen to result from cumulative disadvantage rather than cultural, ethnic or racial factors and in that respect any special provisions for Māori should be based on the same principles of equity that are applied to other groups who are disadvantaged by social adversity. In a third argument, the lower levels of Māori participation in higher education are described within a context of intelligence, motivation and personal ambition. Individual merit rather than group alliance is seen as the proper concern of universities and social class, ethnicity and other group characteristics should not intrude on individual worth.

All three arguments have relevance. Māori are an ethnic minority; they often come from disadvantaged backgrounds, and on standard tests do not always meet the usual criteria of merit. Nor would there be serious disagreement with propositions of fairness, equality, and ability to benefit from higher education. However, the indigeneity argument does not hinge on all or necessarily any one of those propositions. Instead, in addition to embracing all three propositions, (Māori as an ethnic minority, Māori socio-economic disadvantage, individual Māori motivation) the unique position of indigenous peoples in their own territories has been a major reason for transforming higher education. A strong sense of unity with the environment (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, pp 23-25), a system of knowledge built around experiences with the environment, and a language that is not spoken as a first language elsewhere in the world are the more fundamental characteristics of indigeneity (Durie, 2005).

From that perspective, fairness is about ensuring that indigenous peoples can participate in higher education without needing to abandon customary approaches to knowledge and scholarship. Moreover, in the pursuit of knowledge, a case can be made for states to have some responsibilities to ensure that languages and cultures native to their own countries are not assimilated or ignored but are afforded some priority. The rationale is less about disadvantage or equity and more about fostering the retention and development of systems of knowledge that are unique within the world.

Successful outcomes for higher education depend on many factors apart from high academic achievement. Education has both personal and public benefits and the charters of tertiary educational institutes in New Zealand accord high priority to the public good. One element of the public good is indigeneity. The Auckland University of Technology (AUT) for example states that AUT will strengthen its research and workforce capacity in order to 'work alongside Māori communities to identify and provide solutions to the issues, challenges and need they might have'. There is also an explicit link made to support Māori postgraduate success to progress to academic careers (Auckland University of Technology, 2007). Similarly the University of Otago has a Māori Strategic Framework which is the key linking point with the wider strategic goals of the University. The University has specifically identified the development of its Māori staff as an area for focus in its Profile for 2008 to 2010 (University of Otago, 2008). Massey University has adopted a strategy, KIA MAIA, for investing in quality academic outcomes for Māori, building Māori professional capability, increasing Māori research capability and engaging with Māori communities and tribal organisations. The investment strategy is based on the principles of equity, demographic transitions, indigeneity, and Māori potential (Massey University, 2007).

Defining merit solely in terms of the academic merits of individual students in isolation of other students or the institution's broader social goals is seriously limiting. In addition to recognising

individual qualities, the profile of the total student population must be considered so that the institution as a whole can foster academic advancement, provide society with leadership for the future, and utilise campus diversity to actively create opportunities for inter-ethnic learning experiences (Duster, 1995). Taking account of ethnic populations helps institutions achieve their mission of promoting academic advancement, having diversity on the campus, and attending to long term societal needs (Bowen and Bok 1988, pp, 275-290). Factoring indigeneity into the institutions goals and objectives provides a vehicle for addressing the several facets of need associated with indigenous populations and the nation.

In addition to concerns about placing too much emphasis on a Māori dimension within higher education, and from quite another perspective, a number of Māori are uncomfortable with the incorporation of indigenous studies into universities. Along with other indigenous groups they have raised two major concerns (James, 2004). First, because other knowledge systems hold greater sway in academic circles, there is a concern that the integrity of indigenous knowledge will be at risk if it is part of university teaching and research agendas. There is a likelihood that analysis and interpretation will be guided by criteria normally applied to other bodies of knowledge such as science; in the process the underlying veracity will be misrepresented. A second concern is that indigenous intellectual property will be appropriated by universities. Rights to tribal histories, resources, art, language, poetry, songs and philosophies run the risk of being assigned to researchers and teachers who have ‘discovered’ them, with little regard for the rights of traditional owners (Deloria, 2004, pp. 16-30). The possibility of university appropriation is greater because the actual traditional owners are unlikely to be identifiable on a register and there may be an assumption that the lack of clear ownership rights means ownership lies in the public domain.

While both concerns are founded on actual experience and evoke earlier memories of alienation of physical resources such as land, risks can be minimised by the introduction of organisational policies and protocols. In some universities there are already policies that require academic staff to consult with Māori colleagues when Māori data sets are analysed or Māori-centred teaching material is introduced. Moreover, human ethics committees now routinely consider the impacts of research from Māori perspectives and have Māori members who can provide expert opinion. In addition, many research programmes, especially those that have high Māori relevance, employ Māori researchers or research consultants to assist with both research design and data analysis. To reduce the possibility of appropriation of indigenous knowledge, university policies on intellectual property rights generally provide protective mechanisms that require academics to ascertain ownership. Senior Māori staff are frequently engaged to assist in the process.

Finally, another reason for encouraging the inclusion of indigenous students and indigenous knowledge is related to contemporary indigenous development. Largely as a result of settlements for past injustices, many tribes have acquired substantial land interests, fishing quota,

cash investments, and shares in forests. The need for a well qualified workforce that can add value to those assets has never been higher. Universities have opportunity, if not obligation, to provide a learning environment where Māori can acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for leading development in the years ahead. Importantly, Māori leaders in the future will need to be well versed in Māori culture and lore, as well as in the universal disciplines of science, business, law and the humanities. In that respect, the most convincing justification for a strong Māori presence in higher education is linked to the national benefits likely to accrue from knowledge creation at the interface between indigenous knowledge, science, philosophy and commerce.

The Parameters of Social Cohesion

Concerns about indigenous inclusion pose important questions about the roles of universities and the parameters of social cohesion. Primarily universities deal with the elaboration of knowledge and are concerned with human beings in all their manifestations. They seek to establish what is common to all groups and what distinguishes one group from another (Boulton 2009). Social cohesion is a reminder that universities do not exist in isolation of their own distinctive environments. If a main objective of social cohesion is to have a student body that is representative of the community, then an equity perspective can offer a relevant framework. Affirmative action programmes, the provision of scholarships, and focused support services will be useful. If, however, in addition to having students from all sections of the community, a social cohesion goal is about having a university-wide culture that can reflect the values, customs, interests, and aspirations of groups within society, then a framework broader than equity is necessary.

Higher education in New Zealand has adopted the second goal, at least in respect of Māori. Social cohesion has been defined broadly so that a Māori student presence is only one measure of inclusion. Other measures are reflected in university policies and programmes that provide space in the curriculum for Māori knowledge, campus facilities and events that endorse Māori culture and values, Māori staff on the faculty and within support services, research methodologies that incorporate Māori world views, and Māori participation in tertiary education governance and management. Further, the provision of multiple pathways towards higher education have shown that Māori-centred institutions, Wānanga, have been able to greatly increase the scope of Māori involvement in tertiary education and offer prospects of progression to higher degrees and research competencies that are distinctly Māori.

The increased social cohesion within higher education has also had impact beyond the campus. While the results of indigenous inclusion in universities and other tertiary education centres have been felt at a number of levels, they have been especially obvious in the expansion of the Māori professional workforce. The number of Māori medical practitioners for example has increased

from less than fifty before 1984 (0.5 percent of the total medical workforce), to more than 250 in 2008 (2.6 percent) while the number of dentists has increased from four to 60 over the same period of time. The emergence of a large cadre of Māori lawyers, including several judges (two of whom are High Court judges) and the establishment of a Society of Māori Accountants, as well as a Māori Psychologists Forum, a Māori Nurses Council, and a Māori Social Workers caucus, add further evidence of Māori success in higher education.

But a second major impact of Māori participation in higher education has been the increased interaction between Māori academics and professionals and their non-Māori counterparts. There has been a renewed sense of partnership built around two sets of traditions, two bodies of knowledge and two cultures. The interface between the two approaches has become a rich ground for the expansion of knowledge and enhanced understanding, without assumptions that one approach is necessarily more worthy than the other. As it is for universities, social cohesion within New Zealand communities is premised on wider goals than equity and unqualified inclusion in a homogenous society; there is now evidence that Māori participation in society *as Māori* is also valued. In this respect the foundations have been laid for a society where indigenous perspectives can be factored in to the heart of the nation. While the determinants of societal change are many, and include both state policies and global influences, universities have nonetheless played some part in nudging society towards a greater level of cohesion.

Having regard for the relative under-representation of Māori in universities, and especially in the sciences, it is clear that much remains to be done. Yet over the past two decades Māori inclusion has transformed higher education, not only by the greatly increased numbers of students completing postgraduate qualifications, including doctorates, but also by the expansion of knowledge constructed at the interface between western science and indigenous knowledge. The recognition of Wānanga as core elements of the tertiary education sector, the establishment of a national Māori centre of research excellence, Nga Pae o te Maramatanga, and the launch of a national inter-university academy, MANU-AO, to strengthen Māori scholarship, are additional signals that Māori participation in higher education has the potential to add new horizons to tertiary education in New Zealand. In the process, there will be significant gains for wider society and for New Zealand's identity as a modern state within the Asia-Pacific region.

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