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DESIGNING ALONGSIDE MĀORI

Theorising Experiences of Relational, Place-Based Architectural Practice in Aotearoa

ABSTRACT

The research project "Designing Alongside Māori: New Possibilities in Practising Architecture as Tangata Tiriti" grew out of an observation of the lack of literature available for non-Indigenous architectural practitioners and students wanting to support Māori tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) in Aotearoa New Zealand.[1] Qualitative interviews were sought with non-Indigenous architectural practitioners identified by Māori architectural practitioners as having culturally sustaining architectural practice.

A thematic analysis of these interviews explored the relational, place-based approach that allowed practitioners to remain in their own cultural traditions while centring Māori ways of being, behaving and perceiving the world. This deeply relational approach to people and place strengthened interviewees' identities as tangata tiriti (people of the Treaty) in collective relationship with tangata whenua (people of the land), and through this, relationship with the whenua (land) itself. These relationships and connections to place are strong enough for interviewees to be able to face Aotearoa's colonial settler history, harm caused by mainstream architectural practice, and to persevere even though they know they will make mistakes as they seek to practise architecture in culturally sustaining ways.

Interview themes are placed within the context of more established tangata tiriti literature developed in other professions in Aotearoa, and in the context of relational, place-based approaches underpinning non-Indigenous decolonial literature in other countries with dominant White-settler populations. In place of an abstracted morality of culturally competent design practice, a relational, emplaced, culturally sustaining architectural practice is put forward with an emphasis on developing healthy relationships.

Keywords: tangata tiriti, architectural practice, architecture, decolonisation, settler colonialism

INTRODUCTION

In Aotearoa (known in the colonial world as New Zealand), a quiet transformation of Western architectural practice has been taking place. The research project "Designing Alongside Māori: New Possibilities in Practising Architecture as Tangata Tiriti" was driven from my experience of architecture school, perceiving that as a Pākehā student, applying kaupapa Māori frameworks such as Te Aranga Design Principles required an additional sensitivity and acknowledgement that I was working with another people's knowledge.[2] However, exposure to Palawa and Plangermaireener architect and academic Sarah Lynn Rees's concept of 'closing the non-Indigenous gap' reinforced the need for non-Indigenous people to take responsibility in developing culturally sustaining methodologies.[3] While Tauiwi (non-Māori) and Pākehā (White colonial settler descendants) have responded to kaupapa Māori methodology in the fields of education, health and law, there has not been a corresponding development of tangata tiriti-based culturally sustaining methodologies or literature within the field of architecture.

I also knew non-Māori architectural practitioners working in Māori contexts, and who were spoken of highly by Māori architectural practitioners. It became apparent that capturing the experiences of such non-Māori practitioners would be essential to formulate a rudimentary theory of culturally sustaining architectural practice. Qualitative interviews were employed to piece together a culturally responsive methodology for tangata tiriti architectural practice.

A total of eight practitioners were interviewed, with the number of Pākehā participants limited to half this number, for a more culturally diverse tangata tiriti voice. Interview

1. Abigail Temby-Spence, "Designing Alongside Māori: New Possibilities in Practising Architecture as Tangata Tiriti" (master's thesis, Unitec | Te Pūkenga, 2023), https://hdl.handle.net/10652/6220
2. Jade Kake and Jacqueline Paul, "Developing Indigenous Design Principles – Lessons from Aotearoa," in *Our Voices II: The De-Colonial Project*, ed. Rebecca Kiddle, luugigyoo patrick stewart and Kevin O'Brien, 1st ed. (Oro Editions, 2021), 224. This set of seven principles gives tangible outcomes when designing from core Māori cultural values. They are intended as a starting point for conversation, and more cultural values may be identified as integral to a specific project. These cultural values are also place based, so other sets of principles are used in different parts of the country, for example, the Tainui Design Guide in Waikato.
3. Sarah Lynn Rees, "Closing the Non-Indigenous Gap," in *Indigeneity and Architecture*, ed. Rebecca Kiddle, luugigyoo patrick stewart and Kevin O'Brien, 1st ed. (Oro Editions, 2022), 176–181.

participants were also of different generations and at different stages in their careers, ranging from architectural graduates to company directors and academics. These practitioners were identified through whanaungatanga (a network of existing relationships) as having demonstrated competency and humility in their relationships with tangata whenua and approach to mātauranga Māori, or Māori knowledge.

This research found that these architectural practitioners were adapting their behaviour, language and worldview to better reflect that of their Māori friends and colleagues. Crucially, while these practitioners were building their practice on foundations that respected mātauranga Māori, they took care not to claim Māori culture as their own. They also assessed their practice in its effectiveness in supporting Māori tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and aspirations, employing knowledge and practices from their own cultural and intellectual traditions to do so.

The interviewees' responses emphasised a shared identity as tangata tiriti (people of the Treaty) in collective relationship with tangata whenua (people of the land), and through this, relationship with the whenua (land) itself. This relational, place-specific identity is predicated on a belief that colonisation benefitted successive generations of settlers while causing intergenerational harm to Māori people's physical, emotional, spiritual, cultural, political and economic wellbeing, shaping the lives of Māori and settlers today.[4] The collective tangata tiriti identity includes a present-day responsibility to care for all parties in the tangata tiriti–tangata whenua relationship, and architectural practice is seen as one way achieve this care.[5]

To give this form of professional practice a platform and a voice, interview responses were analysed using intersectional theory. Intersectionality highlights the overlapping power dynamics at play in settler societies, both in architectural practice (the field of research) and in the way accounts of these experiences are understood and communicated (the research process).[6] The application of intersectional theory was conducted in the context of a supervisory relationship between myself and kaupapa Māori researcher and lecturer Maia Ratana (Te Arawa, Ngā Rauru, Ngāti Raukawa). This relationship was essential for ensuring the research topic and process honoured tino rangatiratanga.

KEY TERMS

Knowledge of the collective relationships and overlapping power dynamics present in Aotearoa New Zealand is essential to understanding how these are elided in mainstream architectural practice, and integral to interviewees' culturally sustaining architectural practices. A brief glossary is provided for clarity:

Māori: The Indigenous people of Aotearoa. (Moriori are a smaller, second Indigenous people in Aotearoa who have not been considered in this research due to a lack of existing relationships with Moriori people.) Before the arrival of colonial settlers, Māori people did not use the term 'Māori' to describe themselves, and instead identified primarily and acted politically by hapū (kinship group).[7]

Tangata whenua: 'Tangata' means people, while 'whenua' translates both as land and a placenta. Tangata whenua means not just 'people of the land' but 'people born from the land', with a connection so deep the land is their ancestor.[8]

Te ao Māori: The Māori world, where interactions between people and the natural world are shaped by Māori cultural values.

White New Zealander: A person of British or European descent who may or may not identify as Pākehā. 'White' refers to British and European ways of living, which are presented as racially neutral despite over a century of systematic attempts to assimilate other cultural groups into this dominant culture.[9]

Tauiwi: Someone who is not Māori. Due to the prevalence of systemic racism, Tauiwi of colour are referred to as Tauiwi to distinguish them from White New Zealanders, the primary benefactors of systemic racism in Aotearoa.[10]

Pākehā: The Māori name for White descendants of early colonial settlers, this name has been adopted by a number of White New Zealanders as a place-based identity.

Te ao Pākehā: Spaces where White values and norms are imposed on people from other cultures. Euphemisms for White values and norms include 'standard practice' or 'mainstream'.[11]

Tangata tiriti: Literally 'the people of the Treaty', an inclusive term for all who are not Māori and see themselves in a collective relationship with tangata whenua, the people of the land. With this relationship come political responsibilities to uphold Māori people, culture and self-determination.

4. See Paul Tapsell's chapter 'Equity' in Paul Tapsell, *Kāinga: Tangata, Whenua, Taonga = People, Land, Belonging* (Bridget Williams Books, 2021), 99–117.
5. Uzma Z. Rizvi, "Decolonization as Care," in *Slow Reader: A Resource for Design Thinking and Practice*, ed. Ana Paula Pais et al. (Valiz, 2016), 85–95.
6. Intersectional theory is widely attributed to African-American civil rights advocate and law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw. For a useful summary of how intersectional theory challenges Western architectural practice and education, see Barlett School of Architecture, "International Lecture Series Autumn 2020: Intersectional Architecture, 7 October 2020," October 30, 2020, video, 1:31:02, https://vimeo.com/473449124
7. Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, rev. ed. (Penguin, 2004), 64.
8. Hana Burgess and Te Kahuratai Painting, "Onamata, Anamata: A Whakapapa Perspective of Māori Futurisms," in *Whose Futures?*, ed. Anna-Maria Murtola and Shannon Walsh (Economic and Social Research Aotearoa, 2020), 211–212.
9. Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, 146–148, 151–152, 172, 198–199.
10. Mengzhu Fu and Mahdis Azarmandi, "To Centre Constitutional Transformation for Asian 'Tangata Tiriti'," *Te Tangi a te Ruru* (blog), February 4, 2023, https://tetangiateruru.org/2023/02/04/to-centre-constitutional-transformation-for-asian-tangata-tiriti/
11. Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Porou barrister and solicitor Ani Mikaere connects a refusal to consider perspectives that sit outside one's worldview with limiting creative possibility. At a professional conference she observed that "the feature that marked many of the Pākehā contributions to the discussion was a staggering lack of imagination and profound resistance to change. A surprisingly common refrain was 'if it ain't broke, don't fix it' – in other words, there is nothing currently wrong with our constitution so there is no need to tamper with it. Pākehā continued to echo this refrain (or the related notion that while it wasn't yet broken, it was better to maintain it than to wait until it broke before tending to it) no matter how many times they heard Māori insist that it was broken and that it required urgent attention." Annabel Mikaere, "Racism in Contemporary Aotearoa: A Pākehā Problem," in *Colonising Myths – Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro* (Huia Publishers and Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2011), 88.

While useful tools for establishing who is Indigenous and who is not, and how Whiteness affects or might be invisible to those involved, the terms 'Tauiwi' and 'Pākehā' risk obfuscating the many cultural traditions encompassed within these overarching terms. For this reason, it is considered best practice in tangata tiriti ally work to refer to Māori people by their hapū, and to add cultural specifiers to Tauiwi and Pākehā where these are known (e.g., Tauiwi of Thai descent or Pākehā of Welsh descent).[12] This practice honours the rich cultural heritage of people in Aotearoa New Zealand and challenges mainstream practice that does not name settler cultures, thereby presenting non-Māori as normative.

METHODOLOGY

The small amount of published material available to Tauiwi and Pākehā wanting to support tino rangatiratanga in architectural practice exposes two knowledge gaps. The first is concrete design practices architectural practitioners can adopt to design as tangata tiriti, and the second is the way accounts of these experiences are understood and communicated.

Interview responses were analysed using intersectional theory to understand the overlapping power dynamics at play in settler societies, both in architectural practice and in the ways different groups of people communicate and interpret these dynamics according to overlapping identities. Crucially, the application of intersectional theory by a Pākehā researcher was initially conducted in the context of my supervisory relationship with kaupapa Māori researcher and lecturer Maia Ratana. Themes were then placed within the context of other professions in Aotearoa New Zealand with more established tangata tiriti literature, and in the context of relational, place-based approaches found in non-Indigenous decolonial literature in other countries with dominant White settler populations.

American archaeologist Uzma Rizvi concludes that because praxis is embodied, it is not possible to "step outside" these bodies, and, further, that "if the body that is creating systems of knowledge employs intersectional praxis – the episteme itself knows the diversity of possible bodies it must account for rather than just assuming one norm."[13] Interpretations of interviewees' responses, and the siting of these interpretations within Aotearoa New Zealand's colonial history, were subjected to rigorous discussion and continual reflection on how the researcher's positionality may obscure or distort this process and influence the shaping of broader themes drawn from the research. The relationship between myself and Ratana was essential for ensuring the research topic, process and presentation honoured tino rangatiratanga.

Distinguished Professor Graham Smith (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Tahu, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Kahungunu) uses the phrase 'ringa raupā' (literally, toughened or blistered hands) to insist any theorising must be "linked to tangible outcomes that are transformative."[14] Associate Professor Hinekura Smith (Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi) builds on Graham Smith's work, validating theorising from experiences (rather than practising from theory) as appropriate in emerging fields of knowledge in te ao Māori, where knowledge is understood as developing within deeply relational practice.[15] Hinekura Smith's methodology esteems the experiences of people-in-relationships as a rich source of learning, and places theory in service to describing these experiences.

This highlights a tension in developing culturally responsive tangata tiriti methodologies. Relationships with Māori people are essential to ensure theories uphold tino rangatiratanga, yet not all Tauiwi and Pākehā architectural practitioners have relationships from which they can draw learnings. Given the disproportionate burden already on Māori architectural practitioners, it is preferrable that Tauiwi and Pākehā architectural practitioners with existing Māori relationships share their learnings with members of the wider profession. These relationships are a privilege, not a resource to be consumed merely for Tauiwi and Pākehā benefit.[16]

Multicultural education academic and research director Django Paris (Jamaica, Anglo-American) has critiqued the abstract tendency of 'culturally competent' methodologies, and a focus on intent rather than outcomes in 'culturally responsive' methodologies. In their place Paris proposes 'culturally sustaining' methodologies to insist this work must uplift the cultures of those the researcher/practitioner is in relation with, and what is considered 'sustaining' is defined by members of that culture.[17] This means listening to and 'sitting with' critique of practices we have assumed are culturally sustaining (or at least culturally neutral), when in fact these practices cause harm and require adjustment to keep relationships well. Culturally sustaining practices align with tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), where Māori practitioners define for themselves what character and behaviour they require from tangata tiriti partners.[18]

Non-Indigenous architectural research that places the tangata whenua–tangata tiriti relationship within the context of settler colonialism is under-researched, even though a small number of tangata tiriti have been working with Māori colleagues and clients in architectural practice for some time. To capture these experiences, Ratana and I asked Māori architectural practitioners within our relational networks to identify Tauiwi and Pākehā architectural practitioners. This follows whanaungatanga

12. Observed by the author in conversations with Tauiwi and Pākehā Te Tiriti educators and activists.
13. Rizvi, "Decolonization as Care," 87.
14. Graham Hingangaroa Smith, "Kaupapa Māori Theory: Indigenous Transforming of Education," in *Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Māori*, ed. Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones (Huia Publishers, 2017), 79.
15. Hinekura Smith, "Whatuora: Theorising a Kaupapa Māori Arts-Based Methodology," *MAI Journal* 10, no. 2 (2021): 193, https://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/content/whatuora-theorising-kaupapa-māori-arts-based-methodology
16. Avril Bell, *Becoming Tangata Tiriti: Working with Māori, Honouring the Treaty* (Auckland University Press, 2024), 82.
17. Django Paris, "Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy: A Needed Change in Stance, Terminology, and Practice," *Educational Researcher* 41, no. 3 (2012): 95, https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X12441244
18. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 9th imp. (Zed Books, 2006), 173.

as a value, where relationships, and the way one conducts oneself within them, are prized more highly than the project itself.[19]

Once participants were identified, hour-long qualitative interviews were held with these architectural practitioners, whose roles ranged from directors to architectural graduates in traditional architectural practice, cross-disciplinary work and academia. While more tangata tiriti were identified, eight were interviewed to fit within the research project timeline. Additionally, Pākehā participants were limited to half this number, for a broader tangata tiriti voice.[20] Indicative questions were approved by the ethics committee, and allowed me to adapt to each interviewee's specific context. These questions focused on their motivation to participate in the Māori world, and how this participation shaped their worldview and architectural practice. Emphasis was placed on factors that influenced their relationships with tangata whenua, and practices that attended to these relationships.

Interviews were conducted in person and online, and the recordings transcribed. The data was analysed using author and clinical therapist Jodi Aronson's pragmatic approach to thematic analysis.[21] The first step of thematic analysis is to "identify all data that relate to the already classified patterns," which in architectural practice could be beliefs, practices or kinds of experiences.[22] The second step is "to combine and catalogue related patterns into sub-themes" by paying particular care to language, naming, relational descriptors and agency expressed by the interview participant.[23] The researcher pieces together themes like a quilt-maker, "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences" to create a coherent whole.[24]

The essay "Onamata, Anamata: A Whakapapa Perspective of Māori Futurisms," by kaupapa Māori researcher and creative Hana Burgess (Ngāpuhi, Te Roroa, Te Ātihaunui a Pāpārangi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa) and science academic Te Kahuratai Painting (Ngāti Manu, Te Popoto, Ngāpuhi), describes a relational and place-based worldview where human agency is conceived in the context of relationships reaching into the past and future.[25] Working from this perspective, the themes that are pieced together are considered in relation to Aotearoa New Zealand's colonial past, and hopes for relationships with genuine power-sharing in Aotearoa's future.

The third step is to support the argument for the chosen themes by holding them up against the literature.[26] A review of the limited literature from a non-Indigenous position available within the architectural profession includes industry publications and webinar recordings. The final step of thematic analysis is to stitch the literature and interview findings together so "the story that the interviewer constructs is one that stands with merit."[27] The following results and discussion stitch the experiences of interviewees together with comparative literature found in the fields of education, sociology, sociolinguistics, law and health to construct a picture of an alternative architectural practice.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Pākehā academic Bill McKay's "Māori Architecture: Transforming Western Notions of Architecture" is not specifically about how Tauiwi and Pākehā architectural practitioners can design well alongside Māori practitioners; however, McKay observes that "an understanding of Māori architecture can lead to a questioning of Western values," and claims "Indigenous architecture has something to teach the West." McKay argues:

> An examination of Māori architecture and the buildings of the South Pacific should not aim to take and incorporate Māori architecture and art into the body of Western knowledge or conventional notions of architecture. Rather this architecture can influence and transform Western ideas of architecture, time, space and our methodology, open up the possibilities of new architectural form and enrich our understanding of how one can live in the world of the South Pacific.[28]

McKay sees the creative potential in designing out of adopted Māori values, and that willingness to design differently is a natural extension of learning to see with a Māori worldview. Instead of assimilating our observations of Māori architecture into the Western architectural canon, the Western canon is broken open and expanded to make space for new ways of living as people in the Pacific. Assumptions of universality in architectural practice are replaced by an acknowledgement of place.

19. Burgess and Painting, "Onamata, Anamata."
20. While the Māori term 'Tauiwi' refers to all people without Māori ancestry, the subset 'Pākehā' is separated out to better understand the responsibilities of this dominant cultural group.
21. Jodi Aronson, "A Pragmatic View of Thematic Analysis," *The Qualitative Report* 2, no. 1 (1 April 1995): 1–3, https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/1995.2069
22. Aronson, "A Pragmatic View of Thematic Analysis," 1.
23. Aronson, 2.
24. M. M. Leininger, "Ethnography and Ethnonursing: Models and Modes of Qualitative Data Analysis," in *Qualitative Research Methods in Nursing*, ed. M. M. Leininger (Grune and Stratton, 1985), 60, quoted in Aronson, 2.
25. Burgess and Painting, "Onamata, Anamata."
26. Aronson, "A Pragmatic View of Thematic Analysis," 2.
27. Aronson, 2.
28. Bill McKay, "Māori Architecture: Transforming Western Notions of Architecture," *Fabrications* 14, nos. 1 and 2 (2004): 1, https://doi.org/10.1080/10331867.2004.10525189

The dominance of White values and Western worldview is critiqued in Aotearoa New Zealand by Ratana, who believes Māori architectural practice has been, and can continue to be, both a "safekeeping of historical stories and whakapapa" and "an architectural statement opposing colonialism."[29] In a webinar recording between architectural practitioners Whare Timu (Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Arawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa) and Elisapeta Heta (Ngātiwai, Ngāpuhi, Waikato-Tainui, Sāmoa, Tokelau), a list is given to prompt architectural practitioners to reflect on their architectural practice. This includes "developing capacity around us," and "honouring history beyond the colonial notion and canon of time and what is considered valid."[30] As no distinction is made between Indigenous and non-Indigenous practitioners it is inferred that both parties participate in this work. Heta emphasises the existing unequal workload currently placed on Māori practitioners:

> Understanding that this time of transitioning to genuine understanding, respect and cultural shift is demanding of Indigenous members within the profession – double labour, emotional, spiritual, mental, cultural, physical.[31]

Heta's language adds a relational component to this place-based work, and the forms of labour listed carry intertwined relational place and time-based understandings.

In Australia, Rees describes her experience of mainstream architectural education and practice as firmly grounded in White values and a Western worldview that sought to define her indigeneity for her, an experience shared by Meriam and Kaurareg architect Kevin O'Brien.[32] O'Brien recounts how an influential White architect felt comfortable promoting themselves as an expert in Indigenous design, and the acceptance of this in the wider non-Indigenous architectural profession:

> There's an architect who … became associated with, I guess, being a bit of an expert in all things Aboriginal. I thought that was a curious thing. It'd be like a male architect becoming an expert in female architecture. It seemed a bit odd. But it did make me think about what I may have to offer, as a kind of counter.[33]

O'Brien also experienced non-Indigenous clients defining Indigenous architectural expression and terminating a contract when he refused to capitulate to their idea of Indigenous design:

> They wanted an entry pavilion. I knew full well what they actually wanted, and I said to them "I can't do sticks and stones." So they got … a very high tech thing, and they decided I wasn't the right person.[34]

While *Our Voices: Indigeneity and Architecture* was written for an Indigenous architectural audience, one chapter is particularly accessible for non-Indigenous architectural practitioners. Rees's "Closing the [Non-Indigenous] Gap" inverts the Indigenous deficit implied in the term 'closing the gap' to being a deficit that sits with non-Indigenous people, which she believes has implications for "the way we practice and teach architecture." Rees then asks, "how do we empower our non-Indigenous colleagues in order that all architects can operate meaning fully in this space?"[36]

Rees largely describes this gap-closing work as being generally considered a task for Indigenous people, although language like 'empower' suggests Rees sees this imbalance of labour as temporary. Eliminating this unfair distribution of work requires non-Indigenous people to see this work as their responsibility, and be prepared to experience discomfort as they participate in it.[37] In her Australian context, Rees also notes hesitation to acknowledge colonial history as a key difference between her "Australian and international" colleagues:

> My international colleagues expressed no fears or apprehensions as they had none of the political or social baggage associated with growing up in Australia. They did however express a curiosity and frustration at the lack of conversation and literature they had encountered so far.
>
> This disparity of fear and apprehension was again evidenced when asked how they would approach working with an Indigenous client or stakeholder group. The Australians' predominant response was again a feeling a loss of where to start and how to communicate, whereas the international response was predominantly, "I would approach it like any other project," and take the time to learn and consult with a variety of people that do possess this knowledge and especially those who will use the space.[38]

It is unclear whether 'international' refers to colleagues working overseas or who had moved to Australia after training as architects, and no distinction is made between settlers who are White and those who are not. Rees concludes her chapter with the long list of topics non-Indigenous architectural practitioners need to learn to "mak[e] up for what their education system lacked," which ranged from

29. Maia Ratana, "Māori Architecture: A Response to Colonisation," *Asylum* 2 (2021): 129, https://www.unitec.ac.nz/epress/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/ASYLUM-2021_Maia-Ratana.pdf
30. Elisapeta Heta and Whare Timu, *Te Kawenata o Rata*, Te Kāhui Whaihanga New Zealand Institute of Architects, Webinar Series, June 23, 2023, video, 52:40, https://vimeo.com/838797416/a0f449b595
31. Heta and Timu, *Te Kawenata o Rata*.
32. State Library of Queensland, "Game Changers with Kevin O'Brien," November 12, 2023, video, 1:15:33, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v9F8tquU1HE
33. State Library of Queensland, "Game Changers with Kevin O'Brien."
34. State Library of Queensland.
35. Rees, "Closing the Non-Indigenous Gap," 176.
36. Rees, 176.
37. Heta and Timu, *Te Kawenata o Rata*.
38. Rees, "Closing the Non-Indigenous Gap," 180.

Australia's colonial history to recognising the multiplicity of Indigenous peoples and cultures within Australia.[39] And here Rees places some of this work with non-Indigenous architectural practitioners:

> Their education requires self-driven initiative, collaboration with Indigenous designers, attending conferences that present keynote Indigenous speakers, reading books such as this one or utilizing resources such as the International Indigenous Design Charter.[40]

In July 2023 Indigenous architects and built-environment professionals collaborated on a magazine feature called "What Can Non-Indigenous Designers Do?," outlining what they would like to see from the non-Indigenous community, from reflecting on their positionality, learning to practice in a way that honours relationships above design projects, and understanding architectural practice as existing within systems that prioritised White values.[41]

After reflecting on Rees's phrase 'closing the non-Indigenous gap', I wrote "Hoa Mahi: Speaking Worlds in Being" during a guided research elective paper and ongoing dialogue with Ratana. This essay situated this 'non-Indigenous gap' in Aotearoa, and placed the responsibility of addressing this knowledge deficit squarely on Tauiwi and Pākehā architectural practitioners:

> We are responsible for educating each other in our architecture schools and practices. It is not up to Māori to teach us what practising architecture as tangata tiriti looks like. As Pākehā, I realise I need to hone an additional skill: how to navigate being a Treaty partner without framing other Tauiwi as somehow lesser members in the relationship.[42]

Distinguishing between settlers who are White and who are not recognises that this re-education does not occur in a racially neutral context. Being comfortable talking about the racial bias behind architectural practices is necessary for assessing and transforming that practice to one that is culturally sustaining.[43]

Education Professor Alison Jones observes two mindsets among Tauiwi and Pākehā. In the 'saviour' mindset, architectural practitioners view themselves as 'helping' Māori practitioners, abdicating responsibility while feeling "benevolent for donating time or resources."[44] This "results in more diverse conference speakers, but it does not require the the transformation of Tauiwi architectural practice."[45] The 'exploiter' mindset views Māori people and te ao Māori "as a resource for our research, design projects or firms," and to be consumed to boost the design capability and brand of architectural firms.[46] Both are rejected in favour of a relational approach that creates greater possibility for creativity:

> We assume we lack essential knowledge and prepare to question everything, from forms and use to spatial relationships. It requires working closely with the community/client and releases us from the pressure of always needing to appear the 'expert'. Design is one of the few professions where approaching projects as a perpetual learner is considered a strength.[47]

This echoes Rees's international colleagues, for whom 'not knowing' is perceived as an opportunity to explore creativity possibilities.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

DRAWN TO TE AO MĀORI

Interviewees first became aware of the possibility of participating in te ao Māori in varying ways. Some were welcomed by Māori cultural groups as new migrants at primary and secondary school,[48] and witnessed Māori friends reject aspects of a British-based architectural curriculum to protect their Māori identity at architecture school.[49] Some were moved by the teaching of certain lecturers and design tutors, who were often (but not always) Māori, to explore a genuine connection with te ao Māori.[50] Tauiwi interviewees formed an additional connection through "beneficial adjacencies," aware that supporting tino rangatiratanga resisted systemic racism that also affected them.[51] Some were drawn to te ao Māori after seeing how it aligned with environmental protection, and enjoyed working on their first project with Māori clients, despite feeling culturally unprepared.[52]

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39. Rees, 180.
40. Rees, 180. The International Indigenous Design Charter, like Te Aranga Design Principles, lays out goals of Indigenous-led design projects and concrete practices to achieve this work. Unlike Te Aranga Design Principles, and perhaps because it is intended for a broad international audience, the charter does not outline Indigenous cultural values from any Indigenous cultural group. This unmooring of concrete design practices from cultural values leaves the document at risk of being perceived as a list of performance outcomes and adherence to this based on an abstracted morality. See Russell Kennedy et al., *International Indigenous Design Charter* (Deakin University, 2018), https://www.theicod.org/storage/app/media/resources/International_IDC_book_small_web.pdf
41. Danièle Hromek, "Dossier: What Can Non-Indigenous Designers Do?," *Architecture Australia* 112, no. 4 (July 2023): 43–61.
42. Abigail Temby-Spence, "Hoa Mahi: Speaking New Worlds into Being," in *12 Stories: Writing about Architecture, Volume* 7 (Te Kāhui Whaihanga New Zealand Institute of Architects, 2022), 26.
43. Temby-Spence, "Hoa Mahi," 24.
44. Temby-Spence, 24.
45. Temby-Spence, 24.
46. Temby-Spence, 24–25. I am indebted here to Alison Jones's insight that behind the request to be taught is often the darker, implicit, "let me mine you for your discoveries." See Alison Jones, *This Pākehā Life: An Unsettled Memoir* (Bridget Williams Books, 2020), 197.
47. Temby-Spence, 26.
48. Participants B, E.
49. Participants A, B, E, G.
50. Participants A, B, D, E, G.
51. Participants B, D, G, H.
52. Participants C, F.

ABIGAIL TEMBY-SPENCE

Interviewees noted that in te ao Māori people wanted to know them beyond their professional role "to know them better as a person"[53] and everyone was expected to "bring more of themselves, and then you encounter the whole person."[54] An embodied, emplaced relationship with Māori honours the unique connections to the people, places, deities and more-than-human world whose lives, actions and ideas have made us who we are today. Ironically, adopting Māori cultural values encouraged tangata tiriti to connect more deeply to their own own cultures. Interviewees related how engagement with te ao Māori encouraged us all to "know where you're from, be proud of where you're from," and that strengthening connections to one's ancestry and culture is met in te ao Māori with respect.[55]

Whakapapa, connection, is at the heart of te ao Māori, the Māori world. Burgess and Painting assert, "Whakapapa weaves all of existence together into an ever-expanding web of intimate relationships, forming the basis of Māori ways of being, knowing and doing."[56] And this web includes tangata tiriti. In learning Māori ways of being, knowing and doing, tangata tiriti learn how to relate well to people within and outside their cultural and intellectual traditions, and how to relate well to the more-than-human world. These connections stretch back into the past and reach into the future, ever expanding and dynamic, like a murmuration of birds (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Whakapapa imagined as a murmuration of birds.

Mana is a cultural value that describes the quality of these connections. There is no direct English translation for mana, which fills each relationship in this dynamic, interconnected web. Jenny Lee-Morgan, director of kaupapa Māori research centre Pūrangakura, begins with manaakitanga to understand mana:

> Manaakitanga is, in essence, the affirmation and enhancing of mana through the processes and practices that we undertake in the care and nurturing of others; the respect and generosity that we show others; and the reciprocity that is embedded within that practice.[57]

While mana is directly related to Māori origin narratives (and therefore not applicable to those who are not Māori), people from all cultural origins are invited to participate in relationships shaped by manaakitanga.[58] Upholding the honour and dignity of all people turns the architectural practitioner's eyes beyond the traditional fee-paying clients of our profession to all in need of our architectural skill. Interviewees spoke of working for services-in-kind, using relationships with people within government agencies to, for example, agitate for larger, culturally appropriate social housing, and a desire to shape the built environment to address systemic injustice.[59]

FINDING POINTS OF CULTURAL CONNECTION IN ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE

As interviewees engaged with te ao Māori, they found the honouring of whakapapa extended to cultural practices and ways of relating that had been supressed or seen as less desirable in architectural practices where Pākehā norms predominate. One Tauiwi architect had moved to Aotearoa and used architectural practices shaped by Western values in all projects for over a decade, regardless of whether their clients were tangata whenua or tangata tiriti. They described the slow realisation that a Māori-informed approach was not only appropriate in Aotearoa, but simultaneously affirmed aspects of their own cultural identity:

> I felt this kind of comfort, sitting around these meetings with Māori. It's the concept of time, the concept of kōrerorero, the backwards and forwards of people's ideas and whakaaro. Something made sense to me, something familiar: this was something that I hadn't seen for a long time. I had been practising architecture in New Zealand in the Pākehā world only.[60]

For this practitioner, architectural practice "in the Pākehā world" necessitated abandoning their own cultural ways of relating, while architectural practice in the Māori world restored these relational ways.

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53. Participant A.
54. Participant F.
55. Participant E.
56. Burgess and Painting, "Onamata, Anamata," 208.
57. Leonie Pihama, "Mana Atua, Mana Tangata, Mana Wahine," in *Mana Wahine Reader: A Collection of Writings, 1999–2019, Volume 2*, ed. Leonie Pihama et al. (Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa, 2022), 192.
58. Conversation with Maia Ratana and Irene Farnham (Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Tūhoe), October 16, 2024.
59. Participants B, C, E, F.
60. Participant H. Kōrerorero is to talk or converse, and whakaaro is to think, plan or make decisions together.

International examples appear to replicate this experience. Scottish Gael sociolinguist Paul Meighan-Chiblow uses the phrase 'emplaced ethical relations' to describe relating well as a non-Indigenous person working with Indigenous communities in Turtle Island (North America).[61] His approach incorporates something akin to whakapapa as he practices out of dùthchas, an ancient Scottish Gaelic way of relating as people deeply connected to land and responsible for its wellbeing.[62] For tangata tiriti who no longer have ancestral cultural knowledge, reclaiming this may offer a way of connecting relationally and in place with te ao Māori.

LEARNING TO SEE FROM A MĀORI PERSPECTIVE

In each account is the passing of time. The Tauiwi architect spoke of "making sense" of feelings of comforting familiarity in a 'series of meetings', not in a single moment; likewise, interviewees' relationships with Māori friends and lecturers took place over a semester or an entire degree programme. Gram-Hanssen, Schafenacker and Bentz list four aspects "embodying 'right relations': listening deeply, practicing self-reflexivity, creating space, and being in action."[63] Each of these embodied responses takes time, as listening deeply and self-reflexivity are a cyclical process "to uncover blind spots, question assumptions and allow oneself to be affected, even transformed."[64] As the listener allows themselves to be transformed, their new perspective makes it easier to accept the experiences of those that do not sit within their worldview, and this acceptance prompts further transformation.

Interviewees' language fits within this understanding. They see their practice within "a highly relational space"[65] where there is a "continual development of relationships."[66] They believe they have changed because their learning was not just exposure to "an idea, it's actually a human interaction."[67] Interviewees spoke of "allowing myself to be affected"[68] and the need to be "willing to unlearn"[69] Western practices, acknowledging the "anxiety and fear"[70] when "you have to feel your way"[71] and may "feel intimidated in their space."[72] Transformation occurred when interviewees participated in Māori spaces. Interviewees insisted "you need to authentically spend time with Māori, in the Māori spaces,"[73] and that "I've learned, just by being around te ao Māori."[74] Sitting with their discomfort means, over time, "there's a whole lot of [Māori] things that have become normalised for me."[75] Interviewees adopted Māori kawa (protocols) to guide them, as these offered "structural ways of dealing with human interaction"[76] and were designed for "cultural exchange … whether that's between iwi or [between] different peoples, different cultures."[77]

In te ao Māori, humans and the more-than-human world relate as whānau (family). As humans have existed for less time on this earth, humanity is the younger sibling who learns from the natural world how to keep it in balance.[78] This balance can also be called 'being in good relation', which is how Burgess and Painting translate whanaungatanga: when everything in existence is in a relationship with everything else, it is possible for those relationships to be good, even as they require work to keep them in balance.[79]

In a Western worldview it is possible to be deeply concerned with ecological imbalance without considering systemic power imbalance between settler and Indigenous populations. In te ao Māori, ecological, cultural and political balance is intertwined.[80] Interview participants recognised many Pākehā architectural practices caused imbalance, and they needed to learn new ways of being, thinking and seeing to work with Māori to restore balance (Figure 2).

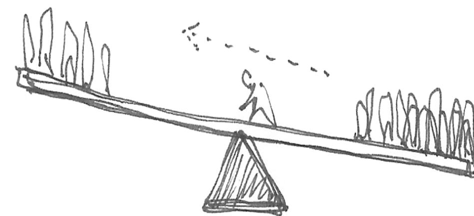


Figure 2. Tangata tiriti join the work to restore balance.

ORIGINAL RESEARCH ARTICLE

61. Paul J. Meighan, "Dùthchas, a Scottish Gaelic Methodology to Guide Self-Decolonization and Conceptualize a Kincentric and Relational Approach to Community-Led Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 21 (January 2022): 10, https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221142451
62. Meighan, "Dùthchas," 4–6.
63. Irmelin Gram-Hansse et al., "Decolonizing Transformations Through 'Right Relations'," *Sustainability Science* 17, no. 2 (March 2022): 673–685, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-021-00960-9
64. Gram-Hanssen et al., "Decolonizing Transformations Through 'Right Relations'," 679.
65. Participant F.
66. Participant C.
67. Participant F.
68. Participant F.
69. Participant H.
70. Participant F.
71. Participant C.
72. Participant E.
73. Participant H.
74. Participant E.
75. Participant C.
76. Participant F.
77. Participant E.
78. Burgess and Painting, "Onamata, Anamata," 211.
79. Burgess and Painting, 210.
80. For a sense of how all three intertwine in architectural practice, see Kake and Paul, "Developing Indigenous Design Principles – Lessons from Aotearoa," 220–227.

ACCEPTING THAT WESTERN ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE IS NOT RACIALLY NEUTRAL

Interviewees saw the "normal structures"[81] of mainstream architectural practice as "perpetuating colonialism,"[82] which hindered "Māori and their reclaiming of their culture in Aotearoa."[83] Rejecting the myth that mainstream architectural practice is racially neutral allowed interviewees to overcome "not feeling like you know enough to take that first step," as the alternative is "your inaction is causing further harm."[84] Interviewees experienced resistance among architectural practitioners who did not want to acknowledge "harm and pain in the past,"[85] and experienced the "defensive and closed mindedness of people if you talk about anything like racism and white supremacy and decolonisation."[86]

Although interviewees noticed attitudes towards genuine engagement with te ao Māori have "changed a lot in the last five years," they still observed a tendency towards the "abstraction" of concepts instead of an embodiment of these concepts within relationship. This led to architectural practitioners being "quite performative,"[87] particularly if they saw engagement with te ao Māori as "a trend" that can "benefit you from a transactional point of view."[88]

This led to practices that made architectural practitioners culturally destructive: outsourcing responsibility for educating oneself to a cultural advisor (and omitting the advisor's contribution when accepting awards),[89] demonstrating a "lack of respect" by deprioritising te reo Māori pronunciation,[90] and assuming Pākehā time-constraints and design processes were appropriate when employed in Māori contexts, when they were interpreted as disrespectful[91] or intimidating.[92] One noted, "it's usually Māori that get sidelined" as projects progress, and "the first thing that falls off is those important relationships."[93] The language and body language of participants reflected a sense of shame in the lack of reciprocity among Tauiwi and Pākehā architectural practitioners.

Non-Indigenous linguists Shoshama Dreyfus and Anne Hellwig studied non-Indigenous people's land acknowledgments in Australia and found a clear speech distinction between those who viewed colonial history abstractly, and those who understood this history as having a material impact on people in the present.[94] Those who viewed settler colonialism as abstract were likely to offer land acknowledgements in a "perfunctory manner," and used the past tense and passive voice.[95] In contrast, non-Indigenous people who acknowledged the on-going theft of Indigenous land and systemic attempts to assimilate First Nations and Torres Strait Islanders into White Australian culture used the present and active tense. They were also more likely to speak on behalf of their cultural group by using 'we', and used much more particular language to connect colonialism to the specific context in which they were making the acknowledgement.[96]

Interviewees avoided abstraction by ensuring that their practice is worked out in the context of relationships, and in the geographical, cultural and political context of place. Being emplaced requires acknowledging that land theft by the Crown severed not just cultural and spiritual wealth, but devastated the economic wealth of hapū, removing the possibility of building intergenerational wealth while settlers built intergenerational wealth on the foundation of this stolen land.[97] A Pākehā interviewee recognised that "some of my family history goes back to early colonisers of Aotearoa … you have to acknowledge that to move forward."[98] A Tauiwi interviewee viewed Indigenous experiences through the lens of place to distinguish between the experience of their cultural group and Māori people's experience: "We have had colonial forces shape the tracking of our current existence, but in terms of Aotearoa, I think that's an important distinction for me to make, we haven't experienced the loss of our lands here."[99]

A third interviewee, with extensive knowledge of te Tiriti o Waitangi and Aotearoa's colonial history, clearly rejected the idea of obligation-based practice: "The notion of doing this as a Treaty obligation has never occurred to me … To me it's about respect, personal relationships. Building those connections."[100] The language of interviewees acknowledged material harm and a desire to restore what has been destroyed.[101] This was consistent, regardless of whether the interviewee had directly benefited from intergenerational wealth gained from stolen land, or had simply been complicit in systems that continue to benefit White New Zealanders over other racial groups.

81. Participant F.
82. Participant D.
83. Participant H.
84. Participant A.
85. Participant A.
86. Participant H.
87. Participant D.
88. Participant H.
89. Participant G.
90. Participant C.
91. Participants B, C, E, G.
92. Participant E.
93. Participant B.
94. Shoshana Dreyfus and Anne F. J. Hellwig, "Meaningful Rituals: A Linguistic Analysis of Acknowledgements of Country," *Journal of Australian Studies* 47, no. 3 (July 3, 2023): 590–610, https://doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2023.2236618
95. Dreyfus and Hellwig, "Meaningful Rituals," 594.
96. Dreyfus and Hellwig, 597, 606–610.
97. Tapsell, *Kāinga: Tangata, Whenua, Taonga = People, Land, Belonging*, 73.
98. Participant A.
99. Participant D.
100. Participant E.
101. Participants A, B, D, E, F, H, G.

STEPPING UP AND STEPPING BACK

Interviewees saw their allyship as two-fold, working to support Māori aspirations, and educating themselves and fellow architectural practitioners in culturally sustaining practice.

They recognised that Māori bore the brunt of resisting culturally destructive practices in the architectural profession, and understood allyship as being the person "willing to get into trouble with you – or for you."[102]

They agreed that "it's not on Māori to be teaching us anymore,"[103] and that "we need to be educating ourselves"[104] on "how to do things collectively"[105] and about "privileges and how privileges embed bias."[106] Deepening the architectural profession's understanding of Aotearoa's colonial history and its present-day ramifications is an essential part of this.[107] One interviewee mused, "Imagine if Aotearoa's history had been taught for the last thirty to forty years … how we may all see ourselves culturally, and what our attitudes to tangata whenua would be like."[108]

Interviewees noted "there's quite a lot of ego in architecture," and that culturally sustaining practice required architectural practitioners to "step back a little, and listen"[109] to ensure "we're not imposing into anyone's space, and that everything we're doing is mutually beneficial."[110] Several interviewees spoke of waiting to speak until they had heard from everyone else, to create space for others to volunteer cultural knowledge,[111] and that they were trusted because they demonstrated "respect, humility and [I] don't pretend to know the answer."[112] They believed their culturally sustaining practice was "all about partnership,"[113] where their role was to allow "people to harness those [design] skills."[114]

Sociologist Avril Bell (Pākehā) uses the language 'stepping up and stepping back' to describe how tangata tiriti gauge whether listening or acting is more appropriate in each situation, and suggests that listening while being open to being changed by what is heard takes considerable physical energy.[115] What appears outwardly passive is inwardly a form of acting on oneself.

LAYERS LOCATING KNOWLEDGE IN TIME AND SPACE

Interview participants saw knowledge existing across time and anchored to place and space. That is, they understood that mana whenua are holding the most extensive knowledge through living in connection with their whenua over a great period of time. Even if an individual's knowledge had been severed through colonial violence, this did not render the collective knowledge irrelevant, but was an imbalance that needed to be put right. Participants' views mirrored those of Burgess and Painting:

> Being in good relation occurs in place. Those who have mana whenua [status] have deep, intergenerational relationships with these areas, practised and refined over generations. Mana whenua know best how to be in good relation in any given area.[116]

Participants understood the question 'No hea koe? Where are you from?' is not asked to define who belongs and who does not, but to discern the strength of these connections, and honour those who hold the deepest knowledge about a particular area. Mana whenua have laid foundational knowledge in Aotearoa, and other peoples may lay their knowledges over the top. Even if these later layers offer vital insight, they may neither subsume Indigenous knowledge (by distorting it to fit different cultural aims), nor appropriate it (act as if this knowledge is now theirs), override or erase it. This way of seeing knowledge could be thought of as strata (Figure 3), where later layers do not affect, destabilise, erase or alter deeper layers.

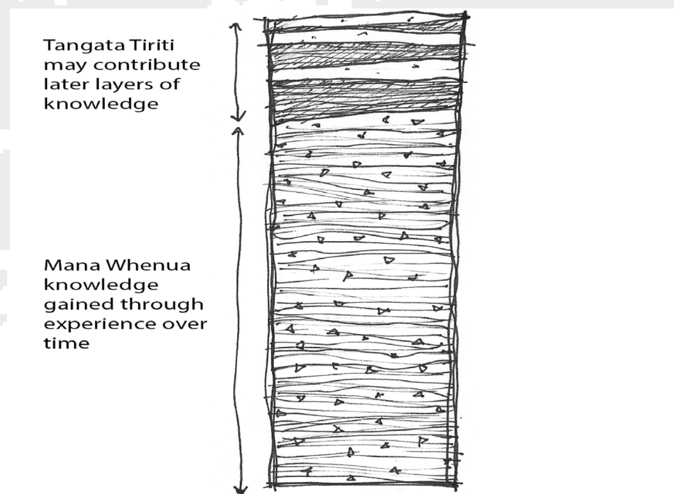
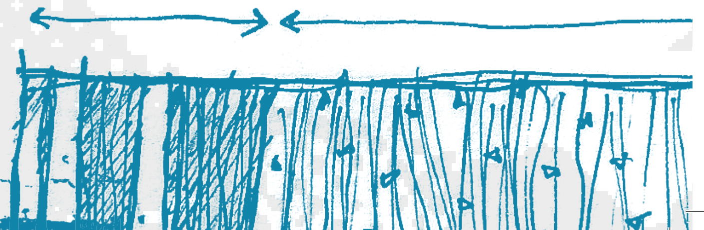


Figure 3. Knowledge as strata.

102. Participant D.
103. Participant F.
104. Participant G.
105. Participant F.
106. Participant D.
107. Participants A, B, D, E, F, H, G.
108. Participant H.
109. Participant C.
110. Participant B.
111. Participants A, B, E.
112. Participant E.
113. Participant G.
114. Participant E.
115. Bell, *Becoming Tangata Tiriti*, 95.
116. Burgess and Painting, "Onamata, Anamata," 212.



Reorienting architectural practice does not equate to rejecting all mainstream design practices.[117] Instead, each practice is evaluated for its efficacy in affirming tino rangatiratanga, and uplifting tangata whenua and tangata tiriti alike.[118]

Valuing whakapapa extends to celebrating the lineage of architectural practices and theories that are culturally sustaining. In a conversation with Pākehā architectural practitioner Maurits Kelderman (the Netherlands), he shared how, as an architectural student alongside Rau Hoskins (Ngāti Hau, Ngāpuhi), they were introduced to the concept of co-design by the English architect and lecturer Tony Ward, who in turn learned this design practice in California.[119] While Hoskins and subsequent Māori architectural practitioners continue to refine co-design practice, whakapapa honours the people and places connected with how it came to be taught and incorporated into Aotearoa architectural practice.

In the same way, interviewees believed the whakapapa of Māori consultants' and clients' knowledge and practices deserved to be recognised. Omitting acknowledgement of Māori consultants' contributions when accepting awards was considered disrespectful and dishonest, as "we've done the design and presentation work, but the knowledge belongs to them."[121]

EMBODIED AND EMPLACED: STITCHING ONESELF INTO TIME AND SPACE

Interviewees proposed a relational, place-based architectural practice and called this a "genuine, more embodied response," and a "wellbeing oriented" approach to "power sharing."[122] They believed "keeping relationships well," with the goal of investing in each other and journeying together, was more applicable in embodied practice than an abstracted "morality around labour," which "creates a climate of anxiety around right or wrong."[123]

Interviewees described their architectural practice as both facilitatory and like quilting, piecing fragments of cultural, architectural and environmental knowledge together so each knowledge remains identifiable, with its own distinct whakapapa, while contributing to a cohesive whole that is embodied and emplaced: "I feel our job is to give expression to those things [of cultural significance]," regardless of whether they are "recognised or not – they're there in the fabric of the building."[124] Centring relationships with people and place motivated interviewees to experiment with their architectural practices, knowing "it won't be perfect, but it is like beachhead."[125] Practices develop over time, involving building and refining what has come before: "You're nervous the first time, you overreach in certain places or you get things wrong, but in the next revision … the subtleties come in as the details develop."[126]

To place this process of 'feeling your way' in time as well as place, Burgess and Painting explain that the temporal concept of 'the present' is not part of Māori reality, with "no direct translation of the present in te reo Māori."[127] They continue:

> We comprehend the present as that fleeting moment where the past and future meet. By meeting, the past and future interact. At this point of interaction, whakapapa is laid down … Time is not linear, and the 'present' is not the centre of existence, there is no centre. In laying down whakapapa, we are not standing on top of our whakapapa, we are immersed in it … Each and every thing in existence is a fleeting embodiment of the meeting of past and future generations, in what Moana Jackson describes as a 'series of never ending beginnings.'[128]

From this perspective, the present is a series of moments where we choose which practices and values to reflect into the future: which values to uphold, reject or adopt, and which practices to maintain, learn or cease. Architectural practice is shaped by our agency, as we sort through our values and practices to decide what to stitch together to form this, our practice.

The scrap-quilt is more applicable as a metaphor than woven fabric for the conceptualisation of culturally sustainable practice, where the inter-weaving of warp and weft could be mistaken for blending. One interviewee insisted that the architectural profession reject the "blending of worldviews," as blending ignores unequal power-relations and does not honour the rich legacies behind the "contradictions" and "variations" within te ao Māori worldviews and the many worldviews of tangata tiriti.[129] The challenge is how to "consciously create this third space where there's understanding that not all perspectives will merge, beautifully and cleanly."[130] As non-Indigenous architectural practitioners bring their relational, place-based practice to support Māori aspirations, one interviewee noted, "you are stitching the two together, and I think that's where the skill lies."[131]

This commitment mirrors work in other fields where protecting the distinct cultural identities of people on both sides of the tangata whenua–tangata tiriti relationship

117. Smith, "Kaupapa Māori Theory: Indigenous Transforming of Education," 93.
118. Smith, 93–94.
119. Maurits Kelderman, conversation with the author, July 4, 2023.
120. Participant G.
121. Participant A.
122. Participant D.
123. Participant D.
124. Participant F.
125. Participant C.
126. Participant C.
127. Burgess and Painting, "Onamata, Anamata," 218.
128. Burgess and Painting, 218–9.
129. Participant A.
130. Participant A.
131. Participant E.

acknowledges how "the hyphen both joins and separates."[132] Just as hapū come together without losing their distinct identities, differences between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti are to be acknowledged, celebrated and protected, as are differences within tangata tiriti.[133] This is the beauty of kotahitanga: working together with unity of purpose, without any expectation that different parties share the same cultural traditions, methodologies or practices.

The inclusive nature of whakapapa makes space for culturally sustaining practice among the diverse cultural and intellectual traditions of tangata tiriti. Variation among traditions offers different points of connection, and the possibility of rich and varied architectural expression in this process of creating-in-relation (Figure 4). By viewing ourselves as a place where the past and future collide and interact, we work with agency towards a built environment shaped by Māori cultural values and at home in Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, the Pacific.

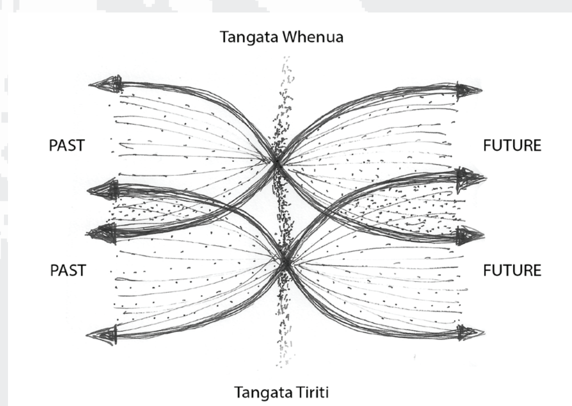


Figure 4. A culturally responsive methodology in which tangata tiriti adopt Māori ways of relating in their architectural practice alongside tangata whenua.

CONCLUSION

The research found that it is possible to appreciate and apply Māori cultural values as Tauiwi and Pākehā architectural professionals, and in doing so find one's own cultural identity affirmed as people-in-relation to Māori. Interviewees recounted that as their relationships with Māori people deepened, and they allowed themselves to be shaped by their growing understanding of mātauranga Māori, their sense of connection and responsibility to Aotearoa New Zealand grew. This glimpse into culturally sustaining, relational, place-based architectural practice offers an alternative way of working for architectural practitioners prepared to acknowledge the ongoing material harm caused by Aotearoa New Zealand's colonisation. It is a vibrant alternative to mainstream architectural practice and its tick-box approach to cultural competencies.

Several significant limitations affected this research. The first is the anonymous nature of the interviews as a condition of the research ethics approval. This meant that it was not possible to explore how interviewees' culturally sustaining practice impacted their built work, as this would have made it possible to identify them. The second is the time and space constraints that limited the ability to explore the connections between tangata tiriti allyship here and non-Indigenous decolonial practice internationally, or the potential to reconnect design practice with supressed cultural knowledge such as the Scottish Gaelic concept of dùthchas or disused construction methods. All three areas would benefit from further research. In the meantime, this research is offered to future researchers as material to refine and extend.

What may be perceived as a third limitation is the way in which the methodology used to gather, analyse and arrange this research into themes is not distinct from the relationships acknowledged in this research, and as such remains subjective. In kaupapa Māori research this is considered inevitable and desirable, as researchers do not work in abstracted isolation from their research communities, and knowledge is pursued primarily for what it contributes to people. Theories and methodologies are developed and tested in the context of relationships and serve the work of blister-inducing transformational change. I believe this subjectivity is equally appropriate in tangata tiriti research.

Finally, this research explores the possibility of designing alongside Māori, Aotearoa New Zealand's largest Indigenous group. In terms of future work indicated, relationships with Moriori people also deserve considered attention.

132. Bell, *Becoming Tangata Tiriti*, 85.
133. Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones, "Indigenous Inclusion and Indigenising the University," *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 57, no. 2 (December 2022): 305–320, https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-022-00264-1

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