Turangawaewae: Retaining *Tino Rangatiranga* in the Academy

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Māori academics struggle to retain Turangawaewae, a place to belong, and Tino Rangatiratanga, self-determination, in academic institutions. Retaining Turangawaewae can be a lonely journey and struggling to keep one's Tino Rangatiratanga and authenticity as a Māori academic, and gaining acceptance by non-colleagues for being an expert in a discipline, requires academic and personal strength. This battle takes place at an interface where Māori knowledge and Western knowledge intersect as a result of Western systems influencing Māori academics to modify their views of the world that impact on teaching practices. When this battle is examined, an imbalance of control between Māori and non-Māori is exposed regarding whose knowledge is valued and whose authority is privileged. Such a struggle for control spills over to academic programs and leads to debates over authenticity and acceptance. This struggle is emphasized in colleges or schools where the programs delivered demand a high input of Māori and their knowledge, but where their staff members are largely a population of non-Māori and non-Indigenous academics. The struggle is elevated when Māori academics debate amongst themselves over self-determination and authenticity. The Treaty of Waitangi can ease these conflicts when authentic partnerships between parties are agreed upon. This position paper identifies some of these battles and offers discussions about ways the academy can implement cultural knowledge in future plans. It addresses the question: How can a sense of belonging in the academy occur without giving up one's Indigenous knowledge and identity? It provides answers within the discussions around governance and an Indigenous curriculum, to talk about Indigenous cultural determination as a way for establishing a place to stand.

Timatanga—Introduction

In Aotearoa, locating oneself as a Māori person, in a story or from a story, provides an Indigenous context. The following proverb and figure of speech, written by Sir Apriana Ngata, is a process that Māori people engage in to establish a right to speak:

Whaia te iti kahurangi ki tuohu koe he maunga teitei
(Whakatauki, Na Ta Apirana Ngata, 1949)

Search for great things, pursue excellence,
If one has to bow, or stumble, let it be to a lofty mountain.
(proverb by Sir Apirana Ngata, 1949)

This *pepeha* (tribal saying) validates me as a Māori person.

Ko Tararua, rātou ko Hikurangi, ko Pukehapopo te Maunga,
Ko Manawatu, rātou ko Waiapu, ko Waiomoko te awa,
Ko Raukawa, rātou ko Ngāti Porou, Ko Ngāti Konohi te iwi,

Ko Poutu Pa, rāua ko Whangara te marae,
Ko author ahau.

Tararua, Hikurangi, and Pukehapopo are the mountains that overlook the tribes I descend from. Manawatu, Waiapu, and Waiomoko are the rivers that have nurtured these tribes, the land, the earth, the animals, and everything around it since the dawn of time. Raukawa, Porourangi, and Konohi are the names of prominent ancestors. Poutu Pa and Whangara are my parents' *marae* (meeting grounds) and the place where they are buried.

Validation of my being Māori in the academy is essential. Academics are constantly required to legitimate themselves through Western performance measures based on research, teaching, community involvement, and administration duties. Moreover, the *right to speak* is achieved through measurements, such as publications, successful research funding, and community recognition.

The pepeha is a way that people can introduce themselves, applying Māori customs (Mead & Grove, 2003). Those reading this pepeha are exposed briefly to the Māori language, mountains, rivers, tribes, specific Māori communities, Māori chiefs, and a Māori family. Immediately, the author is separated from non-Māori authors who write about Māori knowledge and Māori authors who do not know their tribes or marae. It brings forward the importance of ancestors, *mana* (status), and genealogy into the writings, and reinforces a validity to speak as a Māori. As Māori, I could not write this paper in any other way. Indeed, this cultural protocol legitimates my voice and authenticity.

This authenticity can be problematic for the academy and can cause unwelcomed encounters for Māori academics. For example, in the gathering of research data or the publication of literature on Indigenous issues in Aotearoa, the term Māori is used broadly. When Māori is placed in data or is used by authors, it is seldom checked for proof that those using the term are representative of a Māori perspective.

The term *self-identity* means the individual only needs to identify as being Māori and it is recorded in data as an acceptable voice to represent a Māori person. This process of identification stems from a social reality occurring in Aotearoa, whereby people preferred to create their own types of classification rather than rely on government policy and statutes.

Ethnicity welcomed by many as representing a closer alignment with the social reality of New Zealand ... This alignment with social reality also emphasised the need for self-identification, that is, for people to define their own ethnicity rather than have it prescribed by statute or another person. Self-identification underpins ethnic classification and is a principle of self-determination. It became the statutory procedure for the classification of ethnicity in 1975 for electoral purposes and for statistical purposes in the 1986 Census. (Robson, Reid, & Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare, 2001, p. 11)

Some disciplines that apply this self-identification process are nursing, psychology, and social work. The process is not without its flaws. Subsequently, academics using this process defend it as a justified methodology in research or writings. The *right to speak* for a Māori academic can become a battle if involved in debate with non-Māori academics in the academy over the production or education of Māori knowledge. The notion of non-Māori claiming Māori descent is not new.

> Those individuals who have no Māori descent, yet identify as Māori, challenge the assumption that one must have a Māori ancestor in order to identify as Māori. Anthropological studies provide clues as to why persons with no Māori ancestry might identify as Māori. These include being raised in a Māori family, residing in a Māori community, or marrying a Māori. (Kukutai, 2004, p. 93)

The challenge with claiming this space of authenticity is when it is perceived to be *absolutism*. Absolutism is a Western political theory that claims "that all power should be vested in one ruler or other authority" (Free Dictionary, 2014, p. 1). Absolute polarization of the terms *authentic* or *non-authentic* can be seen, for some, to be problematic; using a continuum or more flexible discourse is an appropriate way to interpret the words shown in Figure 1.

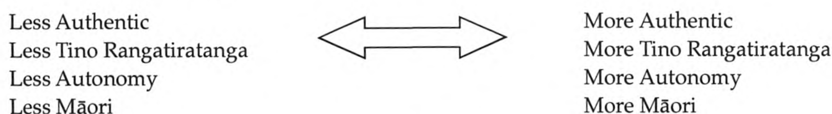

Figure 1. Example of a Continuum for More Flexible Discourse

For me, authenticity for this paper is achieved through *whakapapa* (genealogy connections) and *toto* (blood). A simple process such as the pepeha begins to eliminate questions of identity or *right to speak*. Without genealogy or bloodline to validate a Māori voice, it can become lost or replaced by those who have no Māori descent. In the academy, this self-identification can increase the numbers of non-Māori academics speaking for or on behalf of Māori. Therefore, Māori academics could be exposed to another form of colonization—the removal of an authentic Māori academic voice. This places Māori academics in an awkward place when they challenge a person who has no Māori blood but who wants to be recognized as a Māori person. Therefore, applying Māori customs in the academy to retain an authentic representation of a Māori voice is a way to alleviate awkwardness. Authentication was fought for in the history of Aotearoa by past Māori academic leaders, such as Sir Apirana Ngata, who developed curriculums in universities to educate people about Māori culture. (Sissons, 2000)

More than a hundred years ago, Sir Apirana Ngata, from the tribe Ngati Porou, was the first Māori academic. In 1893, he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in political science, followed by admittance to the Bar in 1897 after gaining his Bachelor of Laws (LLB) degree, and then in 1921, gaining a Master of Arts degree. Throughout his life, he battled resistance by Aotearoa's mainstream society that was against the inclusion of Māori culture, customs, knowledge, and language in education programs. Sir Apirana Ngata worked tirelessly to retain Māori culture at a time when the Māori population was at the brink of extinction. (Walker, 2001; Butterworth, 2005) He achieved great feats and the successes from his deeds contributed to Māori academic employment a century later. His *mahi* (work) reminds Māori academics that, as an Indigenous person struggling to exist in a dominant Western culture, the pathway is not one that is easy. The *whakatauki* (proverb) at the beginning of this paper tells a story for Māori that, despite the challenges one faces, and at times amidst enormous adversity, one must always strive for excellence; and if one stumbles, let it be to someone or something of greatness. When paraphrasing this whakatauki to reflect working in the academy, this greatness in academic environments represents, to me, the few learned Indigenous academics who have survived the battles and retained an authentic Māori voice for decades, such as those lecturers, Emeritus Professors, and researchers grounded in their communities. This paper presents stories of encounters and experiences of battling in the academy to retain self-authentication and to be valued as a Māori woman—Nga Pakanga: the battles retaining *Tino Rangatiranga* in the academy—in an attempt to indigenize the academy.

Turangawaewae—Indigenous Cultural Determination

Cultural determinism is about creating *Turangawaewae* and establishing *Tino Rangatiratanga* in the academy. It is the belief that the culture in which one is raised determines who one is and where one is located in the world. (Woodward, n.d.) This determinism occurs at various levels, such as emotional and behavioural levels, and can be used to describe the way culture determines economic and political arrangements. Cultural determinism is defined "as the theory or principle that sole and group character trends are generated widely by a chosen society's economic, governmental, societal, and spiritual affiliations and organizations" (Psychological Dictionary, 2014). It has been repeated throughout the world among various Indigenous cultures. When Māori programs become successful, Indigenous communities, worldwide, celebrate in the achievements and look at ways of attaining similar outcomes. The success of educational achievements, such as Te Kohanga Reo (Ministry of Education, 2013), Kura Kaupapa

Māori Schools (Ministry of Education, 2013), and Te Whare Wānanga (university based on Māori philosophy), exemplify where Māori customs and languages built education programs to implement Indigenous curriculums, grounded in Māori culture. Williams, Broadley, and Lawson Te-Aho's (2012) research argues that bicultural competency is the fundamental foundation for quality teaching in early childhood education. The principles of cultural determination provide strength to their arguments that "arising from the research are several implications: teachers need to acquire further knowledge of kaupapa Māori theory; and they need to know their own culture before bicultural understanding can be embedded in early childhood contexts" (Williams, Broadley, & Lawson Te-Aho, Williams, 2013, p. 3). The application of bicultural competency is taught in the academy as a skill students need to learn in disciplines such as nursing, education, psychology, and social work. However, the academics teaching in these programs are either rarely or never tested on their ability to teach cultural competency, or challenged as to whether they know their own culture. Proving one's cultural authenticity is always present and part of Indigenous battles.

Māori in Aotearoa exercise aspects of cultural determinism in the workplace. When I considered the way to write this paper, the Western academic thought processes dominated my mind. Immediately, I reverted to the behaviour exercised in the academy, whereby literature and references are needed to support statements so that the writing is acceptable to a largely Western audience. My academic defence mechanism, to prove oneself as having sufficient expertise, became a primary mode of thought and the pepeha a way to indigenize the academy. I resisted reading various theories or quoting a number of authors to reinforce rights to speak as a Māori. The alternative would be to continue reinforcing a Western approach: another author who referenced 20 books who did not have to be Māori would be viewed as more culturally authentic in the workplace. Instead, genealogy and bloodline were forwarded as alternative ways to authenticate discussions.

The five-day International Indigenous Roundtable Conference on indigenizing the international academy, held at the University of British Columbia's (UBC) Vancouver campus in May 2013, provided a Turangawaewae to discuss Tino Rangatiratanga in the academy. The publications created a forum for Indigenous academics to share their experiences and knowledge. The statements made by UBC about the conference, such as "Indigenous cultures worldwide depend greatly on oral histories, the passing along of family and tribal histories, instilling a sense of identity and belonging by listening to creations stories and

finding out how we are related to one another" were welcoming for those attending. It was a warm reminder that there are academic institutions that encourage Indigenous academics to use cultural processes like the pepeha.

The academic space, Turangawaewae, for an Indigenous academic to be safe in is always needed. (Smith, 1999; Morrison, 1999) When academic institutions provide this space, it enables the freedom of speech to flourish and new knowledge to form based on Māori philosophies. I was reminded to put down my *taiaha* (Māori spear) and step back to breathe and write freely with the intention to share a story, from the heart, of a truth about the journey of a Māori academic woman. The journey is similar to many other Indigenous academics that have trodden a heavy trail, fighting for Indigenous knowledge to be included and respected in the academy and have weathered many storms along the way. (Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird, & Hetherington, 2013) This journey is interpreted as *Nga Pakanga*: the battles I have encountered trying to retain a Turangawaewae and Tino Rangatiranga in the academy.

The battles over governance in the academy for Māori are about Turangawaewae and Tino Rangatiratanga. The fundamental principles in relation to the university environment, which Turangawaewae and Tino Rangatiratanga spring from, are self-determination, absolute authority, and control over programs that deliver content in Māori culture, customs, knowledge, and language. If a school, department, college, institution, centre, or unit in a university and its reason for establishment, mission statements, and overall makeup are grounded in Indigenous principles (for Aotearoa, it would be Māori principles), then authority over the curriculum would be controlled by experts in Māori knowledge. For Māori academics, these experts would come from predominately *Hapū* (subtribes) and *Iwi* (tribes), and consideration would be given to those representing Māori leadership organizations (Māori councils and organizations), government agencies (specifically agencies that fund and support Māori programs), and academics (predominantly Māori). In Aotearoa, the schools, departments, colleges, institutions, or units that are still under names such as Māori studies, Māori development, Māori research, Māori public health, Māori health, or Māori visual arts continue to retain Tino Rangatiratanga in the academy. The extent to which this authority and control is exercised can vary from university to university. However, the measurement of success for Tino Rangatiratanga is when the academy supports and endorses Māori academics to lead Māori programs, and provides them with sufficient resources and not a token gesture as if only approached to *waiata* (sing) (Walsh-Tapiata, 1999).

Retaining a Turangawaewae and Tino Rangatiratanga over Māori programs is always challenged. The uniqueness of programs in Aotearoa comes mainly from Māori topics. Many of the programs delivered in Aotearoa are refashioned from or an imitation of British or American knowledge. In Aotearoa, therefore, claiming uniqueness for a syllabus that is distinct from Britain or America is largely achieved by including Māori culture, customs, knowledge, and language in degree programs. A challenge occurs when those seeking this uniqueness undertake steps towards growing Indigenous knowledge in programs without consulting or informing Māori academics in the academy. The challenge is increased when non-Māori academics seek advice from non-Māori who have published and/or researched Māori and who are acknowledged as the experts of Māori culture, customs, language, and knowledge. To reinforce this process to claim uniqueness, non-Māori academics bring in community members—Māori who are more than likely unaware of the politics in the background—to support their aspirations. The battle to retain a Turangawaewae and Tino Rangatiratanga becomes difficult and Māori academics encounter a dilemma. The dilemma is the taking back of control of the development of Māori culture, customs, language, and knowledge in the academy from non-Māori academics and reasserting Māori academics' expertise. At face value, in front of students and in lectures, it is hard to convince those who are learning that non-Māori academics are the experts of Māori knowledge. Students, professionals, and the community expect Māori academics to lead Māori programs as a reinforcement of authenticity. But on paper, this face value is hidden and behind the scenes it can be masked. The academy must enjoy and celebrate the value that Māori academics bring to these programs, and continue to allow Māori academics to have leadership in Māori programs. The outcome of this celebration and leadership is the continued delivery to students of authentic programs.

Māori academics, whose knowledge derives from traditional customs, transport this culture into the workplace. For example, my strength in Māori uniqueness comes from whānau and the tribes Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Konohi, and Ngāti Porou on the East Coast of Aotearoa in a small place globally known for the film *Whale Rider*. My grandparents are recorded as full-blooded Māori by the Ministry of Justice Registration of Birth, Deaths, and Marriages certification, making them and my mother unique. In our tribal district, Ngāti Konohi, culture, customs, knowledge, and language are paramount. We learn from our elders that when entering other tribal areas, their culture, custom, knowledge, and language must take precedent. And when outside Ngāti Konohi's tribal boundaries, asking permission from the tangata whenua of that area to work in their

communities is warranted and reinforces the respect for other tribal boundaries. When working in the academy, I transport this custom to the delivery and designing of programs.

Transporting Indigenous customs to the academy is usually done habitually. Cultural boundaries can be exercised without speaking about them. In just over a decade, I have worked in four different schools in the academy and have delivered, in one form or another, educational programs on Māori knowledge. Topics I have covered are multidisciplinary and include social policy, social research, community development, Māori development, social services, whānau development, and whānau interventions. My disciplines are development studies, community development, volunteerism, Māori development, Indigenous development, and social science. The academy recognizes my Indigenous culture and employs me to represent this position. When programs from another discipline such as nursing or rehabilitation come before me, I invite experts in that area to take the lead. Handing over authority and control to the invited experts is normal for me and reinforces the custom of cultural boundaries.

Cultural boundaries can be broad. When programs have a Māori cultural component that is significant to the development of a curriculum, it is expected that an Indigenous academic participates in academic discussions and the relevance to the Treaty of Waitangi is tested. This notion of boundaries is extended to speaking rights, meaning that if a program arises where cultural knowledge from another race is needed, such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Samoan, then the same behaviour should be applied where representatives of the different ethnic group should be present. However, I find that academics who represent mainly Western knowledge are less likely to be confined to these cultural boundaries. This can be problematic for an Indigenous academic who believes in cultural determinism. And when one is Indigenous and a minority in a school, the result to remedy the problem is seldom successful, as the majority view takes precedence.

When deconstructing the majority view to understand the behaviour that hinders cultural determinism, external factors are found to be a leading cause, placing pressure on academics to act a certain way. Common examples or external factors that cause this pressure are the attempts of academic schools or individuals trying to access government funding. Another factor is the external ratings that society place upon an academic and the competitive environment of the academy. Academics who find it difficult to achieve highly in their own discipline start to look for an attractive point of difference. In Aotearoa, the Māori culture provides this point of difference; the option to advance knowledge in this area for non-Māori

academics is sought despite its crossover of cultural boundaries. While in the short-term this crossing of boundaries in the academy may be overlooked, in the long-term it is not sustainable because the foundation from which it is formed is not strong. More than likely, when the funding runs out or the attachment to Māori culture is no longer attractive, the interest is cast aside.

Implementing the Treaty of Waitangi in academic programs is a way to avoid crossing cultural boundaries. The Treaty of Waitangi represents a partnership agreement between two powers—the Crown (colonizers) and Hapū (Māori sub-tribes)—that formed a bicultural relationship. In the education system, the Treaty of Waitangi asks educators to consult and discuss matters relating to Māori culture with Māori representatives. In disciplines such as nursing or social work, registration demands that people be culturally competent and have knowledge of the Māori culture. A cultural determination in the academy would involve agreements that encouraged the development of individual papers, curriculum, and programs with a strong Māori cultural component. Gaining this agreement can flow into the communities outside of academia. For me, for example, teaching in the social work and social policy program and the whānau development program, means that the interface is a reality and that initiatives outside of the academy are always present. Work with iwi and *whānau* (families) also contributes to the growth of knowledge, praxis built on notions of theory and practice as founding principles to develop academic awareness. In Aotearoa, the Bicultural Codes of Practice within the social work policies for registration is an example of Māori communities contributing to the academic teaching and practice, and as a way of monitoring this agreement and guiding academic programs and policies. Identifying some battles and offering discussions about ways to implement cultural knowledge in future plans can be done by addressing relevant topics of discussion. Topics include being Māori, retaining authenticity, resisting tokenism, identifying injustices, cultural interface, treaty education, bicultural programs, maintaining indigeneity, surviving domination, and future academic plans.

Being able to live as a Māori is essential to a healthy identity. Durie (1985, 1995), a famous Māori academic, author, and leader, offers this belief in both literature and oral presentations. I agree with Durie's statements. The ability to live as a Māori means having access to cultural connections and being able to write, speak, think, and sing in the native language free of discrimination, racism, and criticism. More importantly and specific to this discussion, having the ability, in an academic institution, to teach, research, and educate staff and students as a Māori person is beneficial for all concerned.

Retaining authenticity in the academy is exercised by employing Māori academics who affiliate to whānau, hapū, and iwi. The definition of Māori, as recorded in the 1953 *Māori Affairs Act*, is that they had to be aboriginals of Aotearoa/New Zealand, half caste, and pure descents. Further Acts and statistical data broadened these categories to place the term Māori in categories: biological, self-identity, and descent. (Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora Māori o Ngai Tahu and the Christchurch Health and Development Study, 2000). Currently, validation of whether a person is Māori, whether via hospital, census, or university data, is now based on self-identification and allows for non-Māori to be identified as Māori. There are non-Māori fluent in the native language and professors across the world who have been honoured by the academy for their academic achievements in research and publication of Māori knowledge. Experts in Māori culture can be non-Māori in the eyes of the academy. Despites all these achievements, at the grass roots level and among the Māori communities, in te Ao Māori they are still novice. However, a measuring bar used by the academy, to determine whether the Māori academic they seek to employ is authentic, is through their affiliation and mahi with whānau, hapū, and iwi.

Strong Māori academics are needed in the academy to resist token practices. These academics draw strength from their whānau, hapū, and iwi. Without this strength, Māori knowledge, customs, and culture may be compromised to make way for the dominant ideology of Western culture. This compromising more than often leads to tokenism. When Māori are put in lecture, research, or academic positions where they are not strong in their Māori culture and do not support the teaching and research of Māori language and customs, they cause harm to the Indigenous people they are representing. The tokenism is reinforced when they seek approval for things Māori from non-Māori professors, claiming the qualification of the individual justifies the rationale for their behaviour. While these academics may be suitable for the academy to control the dissemination of knowledge, their engagement with the Māori communities would be challenged by Māori in general. Also, they do not have the whānau, hapū, or iwi to support them when competing with their non-Māori counterparts for contracts, funding, and employment. Those who affiliate with whānau, hapū, and iwi can draw strength from the Māori communities in difficult times.

Māori academics are quick to identify injustices in the academy. This is a strength in the social science disciplines because of Māori academics' ability to identify injustices and to deconstruct the systemic failures of the academy and bring these issues to the fore, allowing growth to occur. This ability of Māori is attributed to their experience of growing up in a colo-

nized country where they have been the subjects of discrimination, marginalization, oppression, and social injustice. Therefore, they can recognize when these injustices occur. An injustice in the academy that occurs unnoticed many times is the comparison of Māori and Pacific Islands people. Non-Māori and non-Pacific Islands staff and students continually assume Māori and Pacific Islands people think, act, and behave in the same way. They justify their assumptions based on the statistics regarding poor health, failure in the education system, high conviction rate for crimes, and their brown skin colour. Many times it is the Māori academic that reminds the academy that the two races are different; Māori represent many different tribes whereas Pacific Islands people cover various islands and races across the Pacific Ocean and are not linked by tribal boundaries but are representative of independent countries.

The *cultural interface* is a term gaining usage by Indigenous writers to explain the interaction between two cultures. The cultural interface is a point where two cultural systems meet and interact. Nakata (2002, p. 285) calls the "intersection of the Western and Indigenous domains, the cultural Interface." He contends:

> I see the Cultural Interface as the place where we live and learn, the place that conditions our lives, the place that shapes our futures and more to the point the place where we are active agents in our own lives—where we make decisions—our lifeworld. For Indigenous peoples our context, remote or urban, is already circumscribed by the discursive space of the Cultural Interface. (Nakata, 2002, p. 285)

For Māori academics and Western academics, this cultural interface can be a collision when Western academics have little respect for Māori culture or customs and show it openly. The outcome of disrespect can be the cancelling of programs that educate students about Māori culture. Another way this interface unfolds is when Western academics are not strong in their own culture and try to leverage themselves from the work effort and knowledge of their Māori colleagues. In the 1990s, non-Māori academics slowed this collision because Māori academics stepped forward and criticized this behaviour. Subsequently, the non-Māori academics lessened their research, publication, and speeches of Māori knowledge. Currently in 2014, non-Māori academics are moving forward in their quest to claim Māori space in the academy. These non-Māori academics can be identified through their behaviour because they resist discussing Māori matters with their Māori academic colleagues in the workplace. If non-Māori academics meet with Māori communities they avoid inviting their Māori academic colleagues whereas Māori academics who are strong do not have the same insecurities. At the cultural interface, Nakata (2002) suggests:

> This notion of the Cultural Interface as a place of constant tension and negotiation of different interests and systems of Knowledge means that both must be reflected on and interrogated. It is not simply about opposing the knowledges and discourses that compete and conflict with traditional ones. It is also about seeing what conditions the convergence of all these and of examining and interrogating all knowledge and practices associated with issues so that we take a responsible but self-interested course in relation to our future practice. (Nakata, 2002, p. 286)

Therefore, in the context of the academy, the cultural interface becomes a space for Māori and non-Māori to negotiate the development of subjects, programs, and the curriculum.

Treaty of Waitangi education continues to be a debatable topic in the academy. After 170 years, the Treaty of Waitangi is a document that academic institutions seldom wholeheartedly embrace. The history of the academy's approach to the Treaty of Waitangi is likened to the sea's ebbs and flows. There was a time when the academy embraced the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori gained much traction in education programs. The number of subjects that had Māori content, specifically to increase Māori knowledge and enhancing Māori learning, was buoyant in the 1990s. Learning and teaching Māori in the academy was fashionable. Post-millennium, the struggle to retain this buoyancy began. However, professional programs such as nursing and social work continued to promote the Treaty of Waitangi in education. This promotion can be attributed to the high intake of end-users who access the services of nurses and social workers in Aotearoa and to the existing programs and services implemented in the industry that highlight the need for providers to learn about the Treaty of Waitangi. It was through publications, research, academics, educationalists, and the support from a number of non-Māori nurses and social workers that launched the importance of Treaty of Waitangi education (Te Ao Māramatanga New Zealand College of Mental Health Nurses Inc., 2012; Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 2014).

Bicultural programs delivered in Aotearoa must stem from the Treaty of Waitangi, such as those in the nursing and social work disciplines. This means that the academy must devise principles to accommodate the Treaty of Waitangi in bicultural programs by addressing the relationship between Māori and the Crown as the initial foundations, followed then by Māori and the academy. The academy has accommodated the Treaty of Waitangi in health programs delivered in universities across Aotearoa and has educated students using the term *by Māori, for Māori*. In the professional programs, for example, this has been interpreted to mean that, in educating staff and students, the best people to deliver health services to Māori communities are Māori people. Since the majority of students who are enrolled in professional programs such as social work or who are employed as edu-

cators to teach social work as a service to be delivered in Aotearoa are not Māori, then providing ways to up-skill non-Māori staff and students to be culturally competent to work with Māori people is important. A bicultural program teaches staff and students that cultural competency is important when working with Māori clients. It also is an opportunity for those who are learning to work with a culture other than their own. Macfarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, and Bateman (2008) explain that it is about staff and students learning the importance of whānau to their well-being.

> The concepts of whānau (extended family) and whakawhanaungatanga (building family-like relationships) are central and critical because they underpin Māori understandings of human development and learning. They indicate both a sense of belonging to and a sense of relating to others, within a context of collective identity and responsibility. The whānau structure is a living entity, reaching across all contexts in Māoridom. In Māori medium learning settings in particular, the concept of whānau provides the school with a synergy, enabling students, teachers, family and community members to assume a degree of agency over education, to articulate their aspirations, and to develop their capabilities together. However, for Māori, this approach to education is more than just an imperative to work and talk together. Educators need to ask—What do we do when we enter the school gate? How can we integrate these school values and practices with our home values? (McFarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, & Bateman, 2008, p. 107)

Culturally safe practices are enhanced when one is taught about biculturalism in an academic environment.

Maintaining indigeneity includes managing issues that would comprise Indigenous integrity. It can be lonely for a Māori academic in a department where the majority of staff members delivering educational programs and students who are enrolled are non-Māori. When Māori problems arise in communities or protests occur around the country associated with Māori, the Māori academics are expected to provide staff and students explanations for these occurrences. This explanation can place Māori academics in the firing line of critical feedback because of the dominant ideology in Aotearoa which sees Māori people who fight to be compensated for historical injustices as receiving or seeking special treatment. Also, Māori are predominantly compared. for example, to the Pacific Islands people, migrants, the disabled, and to gay and lesbian groups. The status of Indigenous is considered to be equal to these groups of people. When government policies encourage this comparison, meaning Māori issues about injustices are seen to be the same as those of Pacific Islands people, migrants, the disabled, and gay and lesbians, then resources and support that were once allocated to Māori are lessened and divided among these groups. Māori, however, have fought for their rights to receive resources as compensation for a dishonoured Treaty of Waitangi agreement for over a century. Māori, historically, were stripped of their resources of land, water, minerals, sea, air,

and of everything above the land and below the earth, and left in poverty. Consequently, the academy has experienced a similar reaction and categorizes Māori issues with that of other groups. When this occurs, Māori academics assume a defensive mode and try to retain the resources that were once allocated to them. Also, they take the role of being the critical conscious to remind the academy that Māori are different because they are Indigenous and should not be classified in the same way as other groups.

It is crucial that future academic plans in the academy include support for Māori academics and Māori programs. This support involves ensuring that Māori have a Turangawaewae and a way to implement Tino Rangatiratanga. Schools in the academy whose primary role was to educate students in Māori customs, language, and culture provided a Turangawaewae and Tino Rangatiratanga. In the last decade, these schools specifically designed to study Māori culture are closing across Aotearoa and their existence is constantly under threat. They battle to remain part of the academy, intact, and to not have schools, departments, colleges, institutions, or units from other disciplines take over and teach their papers and programs. This struggle is exacerbated when colleges and schools employ non-Māori to deliver Māori content in academic programs. Finding a solution to this threat remains a constant issue for Māori academics.

Whakamutunga—Conclusion

Turangawaewae and Tino Rangatiratanga are universal concepts for Māori. These concepts are not always easily transported into the academy, however. Retaining a Turangawaewae and Tino Rangatiratanga, a place and space to be an authentic Māori academic, and gaining acceptance by non-colleagues as an expert in a discipline, is ongoing. This challenge occurs at various levels, both at the top level, where decisions are made at the senior governance level in the academy and where Māori are invited to provide an opinion or view, and at the lower level, in the lecture rooms, where non-Māori academics continue to teach and educate students in Indigenous knowledge. However, it is essential to have a place to belong and the academic freedom to be self-determining in the delivery of Māori cultural content in the curriculum.

The interface where Māori knowledge and Western knowledge collide will always be present. This is a result of a Western culture that desires to control Māori academics and the knowledge they impart to students. The battles over this control appear in various places, such as the modification of teaching delivery and practices, and the embracing of processes that seek to globalize and/or homogenize Indigenous cultures. Such exposure shows control that favours Western systems and non-Māori academic processes. By rejecting

these processes, avoiding programs where Māori knowledge becomes a token gesture, and seeking support from non-Māori academics who understand Indigenous people, an Indigenous academic can have the assistance to survive these collisions. Securing support from non-Māori academics is essential.

The Treaty of Waitangi remains an important document that can provide leadership and guidance in the academy. The Treaty of Waitangi reminds Māori academics to keep ties with their whānau, hapū, and iwi; the academy must ensure that this relationship between Māori and their communities is supported, as it sustains authenticity in the communities. The academy must also be sympathetic towards Indigenous academics when, for example, whānau, hapū, and iwi protest against the injustices that are done to them and it must deter from expecting Māori academics to not engage in the protest and remain neutral to the issues. The strength of an Indigenous person in the academy derives from their Indigenous knowledge, culture, customs, language, and ability to support their whānau, hapū, and iwi.

Māori academics must continue to act as the measuring indicator and critical conscience of programs within the academy. Allowing Māori academics a Turangawaewae and ability to exercise Tino Rangatiratanga ensures that academic programs develop with a social conscience and that help is provided to retain their cultural identity. In doing so, the future outlook for Māori academics to retain a place to belong and indigenize the academy is realized.

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Iwi	Tribe
Mahi	Work
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Pepeha	Proverb, tribal saying
Rangatiratanga	Leadership
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Timatanga	Beginning, starting, introduction, start, commencement
Tino Rangatiratanga	Self-determination, sovereignty, domination, rule, control, power
Toto	Blood
Turangawaewae	Place where one has the right to stand—place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa
Waitangi	Name of a place; when put alongside the Treaty of Waitangi, refers to an agreement between the Crown and Hapū
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakawhanaungatanga	Building family-like relationships
Whānau	Family

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