



Maori participation in urban development: challenges and opportunities for indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand

John RYKS¹, Philippa HOWDEN-CHAPMAN, Bridget ROBSON, Keriata STUART, Andrew WAA².

¹ University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand

² Aria Research, Waiti Research

ABSTRACT

This paper outlines the effects of colonisation and urban growth on Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. It describes how recent developments in compensatory reparations, and legislative and policy changes have created new opportunities and challenges for Māori participation in urban development. Our analysis identifies three change catalysts for Māori involvement in urban development: Treaty of Waitangi settlements; central government policy change and local government reform; and disaster planning. We reflect on how these catalysts can enable Māori beliefs and values to be represented within urban landscapes. Our title, Tāone Tupu Ora, refers to cities and towns growing in a life-affirming and healthy way.

Keywords: Cities. Māori and indigenous planning. Urban development. Urban planning.

1. INTRODUCTION

*... urban iwi, may we rise up and be counted.
may our voices be heard in this whenua,
that is our home.
may we pull the mana of our tupuna from
within our globalised selves, and breathe again.
Tihei Mauri Ora! There is life within us!
(Cruickshank, 2003).*

Many cities in nations such as the United States, Australia and Aotearoa¹ New Zealand were established in areas traditionally inhabited or used by indigenous peoples. As a result, these cities were places where historically, indigenous peoples interacted, traded and came into conflict with settler groups, and where many became alienated from their land, resources and social structures. Today, tribes that originally inhabited these lands have, or are seeking the return of, lands and restitution for harms caused by colonisation.

The urban migration of indigenous peoples during the twentieth century has been recognised as a worldwide phenomenon (Del Popolo, *et al.*,

2007; United Nations, 2007, 2010). Factors influencing migration away from rural areas include dispossession of traditional lands, lack of employment opportunities in rural communities, deterioration of traditional livelihoods and perceived better living opportunities in cities. However, many of those who move to urban areas face significant disadvantages such as lack of employment, inadequate housing, and the discrimination and erosion of language, culture and identity (Gandhi & Freestone, 2008; Pestieau & Wallace, 2003; Sandercock, 2003).

For Māori (the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand), urbanisation accelerated following World War Two and has been recognised as one of the most rapid internal migrations by a population globally (Barcham, 1998; Kukutai, 2011). This was partly due to those urbanisation 'push' factors already described as well as concerted efforts by the New Zealand government to encourage Māori to move to cities as a workforce to boost post war industry. Policies and incentives included offers of

¹ Aotearoa (land of the long white cloud) is one of the original names for New Zealand. We follow a common practice of using both

names.

accommodation, employment and additional social assistance (Barcham, 1998; Meredith, 2000), which resulted in a rapid increase in life expectancy and a drop in relative inequalities in relation to the European population.

Māori experienced significant disadvantage as result of urban migration (Chapman, *et al.*, 2013), this disadvantage compounded by post-war government assimilationist policies. These policies included dispersing Māori families among other urban migrants and further discouraging Māori speaking their own language in schools and workplaces. Such policies resulted in the atrophy of traditional Māori social structures such as *whānau* (extended family) and led to a profound degradation of cultural, social and physical living environments. Today, Māori living in cities (urban Māori) experience poorer health outcomes compared to other New Zealanders, disproportionately feel the effects of economic recession, receive poor education, and are less able to access quality housing (Robson & Harris, 2007).

While much of the literature focuses on the negative impacts of urban living on the wellbeing of Māori it is important to recognise Māori as proactive actors in the urban environment. Over the last 30 years urban Māori have made gains including some material restitution for lost resources, taking advantage of investment opportunities for the collective good, improved (albeit limited) input into local government decision-making, and the establishment of new organisations to provide social and everyday support needs. These gains are accompanied by, and related to, a strong resurgence and reassertion of Māori values and identity (Byrnes, 1999).

In light of traditional histories and indigenous responses to urban living, modern cities are rich with indigenous histories and culture. However,

²The definition of *sustainable development* is continually debated, especially as applied to urban centres. In this paper, we use Thompson-Fawcett's (2010: 13) elements of a sustainable city: "... people-oriented, equitable, participative, vibrant, resourceful, bio-diverse, energy-efficient, healthy, functional and regenerative." Drawing on indigenous development, community development and natural disasters research, we use *resiliency* in its broadest sense to describe the "human capacity to deal with, overcome, learn from or

the degree to which these histories and culture are valued and recognised by urban decision makers varies (Love, 2010). With changing population demographics and varying social, economic and environmental challenges, cities must, in order to survive, be dynamic, capable of adaptation and reflect the unique faces of all peoples living within them.

The experiences of Māori provide a case study of the effects of colonisation and urban growth on indigenous peoples. In this paper we explore three potential change catalysts for the way Māori are involved in urban development: Treaty of Waitangi settlements; local government reform and changes in central government policy; and disaster planning. These are used as case examples that exemplify many of the challenges and opportunities faced by Māori living in urban settings in the 21st Century.

Finally, we explore what is known about urban Māori, propose areas for future research and identify and propose better ways for urban authorities and Māori to work together to make Aotearoa New Zealand's cities more vibrant, resilient and sustainable.² Our title, *Tāone Tupu Ora*, conveys the meaning of towns growing in a life-affirming and healthy way.³

2. URBANISATION AND MAORI

Before European contact, Māori society was primarily organised around kinship ties: *whānau* (immediate and extended family); *hapū* (a clan of families), and confederations of *hapū* forming *iwi* (tribe). In the large part, *iwi* and their constituent *hapū* and *whānau* settled in specific geographical areas (Kingi, 2008; Sheppard, 2005). Most cities in Aotearoa New Zealand were built around, or on top of, existing Māori settlements (Love, 2010). For example, Auckland (Aotearoa New Zealand's largest city) has a rich history of occupation by various tribes. Within its boundaries

even be transformed by the inevitable adversities of life" (Grotberg 2003:1). In the context of Māori and their historical and contemporary roles in Aotearoa New Zealand's urban spaces and places, we extend this definition of resilience to also refer to how Māori have shown strength in the face of adverse experiences associated with colonisation (Homel, Lincoln & Herd 1999).

³We acknowledge the gift of Wiki Walker, who originated the name *Tāone Tupu Ora*.

Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill), an icon of the Auckland environment, was a small urban centre that developed from the sixteenth century and became one of the largest fortified structures in the Southern hemisphere (Blair, 2010; Kawharu, 2009).

Similar to other colonised nations, many of Aotearoa New Zealand's cities originated as ports or trading hubs. Foreseeing the economic benefits that such communities could bring, local iwi leaders often invited traders to set up alongside or inside existing settlements (Durie, 2009b). However, as towns evolved into cities during the 19th and 20th centuries, most of the lands originally held by local iwi were lost. Often this was through involuntary land acquisition and seizure (Kingi, 2008). Land wars, dispossession of resources, illness and colonial governance also eroded the economic base and mana (authority) of iwi (Barcham, 1998).

This period of urban development influenced significant demographic change for Māori. The effects of colonisation, including introduced diseases, land and economic loss, and social disruption, reduced the Māori population from around 100,000 in 1769 to about 42,000 in 1896 (Pool, 1991).

For Māori the process of urbanisation has been rapid. In 1926, 84% were living in rural areas, many in traditional tribal settlements that were directly connected to their iwi and marae (Māori community meeting place). Following the Social Security Act 1938, which initiated the first welfare state to include indigenous peoples, living patterns started to change significantly at the end of the Second World War. By 1966 the proportion of Māori living in urban areas (towns and cities) had increased to 62%. This increased to almost 80% by 1986 and almost 85% by 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). A side-effect of twentieth century urbanisation was accelerated population recovery, although growth has slowed since the 1970s.

According to 2012 estimates 682,000 (15.4%) people identify as Māori out of a national population of 4,433,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Projections indicate by 2026 the Māori population will increase its share of Aotearoa New Zealand's population to 17% (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Māori form a significant part of the current population of Aotearoa New Zealand that live in cities – in 2006 this ranged from 7.6% in Christchurch to almost 20% in Hamilton (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

Mana whenua and mātāwaka: Māori as traditional inhabitants and migrants to cities

Within an urban setting, Māori manifest as diverse groups with different experiences and interests (Wikitera, 2011). For the purposes of this paper 'urban Māori' is used as a collective term for any person or group living in an urban setting who identify as Māori. Urban Māori can be separated into two distinct groups. The first is *mana whenua*, the iwi or hapū that traditionally inhabited an urban area and who retain *mana* (traditional authority) over the *whenua* (land). *Mana whenua* are often incorporated as legally recognised *rūnanga* (iwi councils) and in larger cities there may be more than one *mana whenua* iwi. The second is *mātāwaka*, or non-*mana whenua* Māori migrants (and descendants) who have moved away from their traditional homes. *Mātāwaka* can be further disaggregated into those who continue to actively associate with their own iwi (*taura here*) and those who through decision or circumstance no longer do so⁴.

The *mana whenua* experience has largely been one of disenfranchisement from the material, social and political resources that enabled them to determine how to live and thrive in their communities. Over recent decades there has been some redress of these injustices and in many cases resources have been returned, although only a small proportion of what was held in pre-colonial times. A pressing theme for *mana whenua* has been attempts to regain their distinct status, to build new social and economic institutions, and to

heterogeneity of urban Māori.

⁴ We are currently finalising a paper that further discusses these definitions and explores the use of customised iwi data from the 2013 New Zealand Census to map the

preserve remaining traditional resources, such as land and waterways.

Among the challenges faced by *mātāwaka* (and especially *taura* here) has been the cultural dislocation brought about by distance from their own *iwi* and government policies that attempted to discourage the establishment of cultural enclaves within the urban environment. In response to the former and despite the latter, *mātāwaka* from the outset have created new structures that include tribally affiliated organisations, pan-tribal organisations, sports groups, churches and, for some, gangs (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). These networks help maintain important aspects of Māori culture such as *whānaungatanga* (maintaining relationships), *manaakitanga* (support) and *utu* (reciprocity), but are uniquely located within urban settings. As part of these networks urban *marae* (new community centres) have been built under the auspices of *mana whenua* to meet the cultural and social needs of *mātāwaka* groups as well as the wider community.

One of the key types of pan-tribal organisations that have been established are urban Māori authorities that represent the interests of *mātāwaka*. Comprising a mix of traditional and contemporary practices these authorities are seen as a permanent feature of urban Māori society (Keiha & Moon, 2008). They are associated with the emergence of a new set of ‘urban citizens’ whose collective association does not primarily rely on kinship ties but also include ties of location, cultural association and socio-economic status (Meredith, 2000; Barcham, 1998; Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

3. TOWARDS BETTER MAORI INVOLVEMENT IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT: CATALYSTS FOR CHANGE

It is evident that in the past Māori have been disadvantaged by the processes of urban development. Much of this disadvantage continues to be felt and raises the important

⁵There were in fact two versions of the Treaty – a version written in Māori and version written in English. The English version outlined somewhat less rights for Māori while extending the right of settler

question – how can Māori participate in urban planning and decision making so that development can better meet their needs? In this paper, we look at three catalysts for change – areas of opportunity and challenge where Māori can become more involved in urban development: Treaty of Waitangi dialogue and resultant settlements; changes in central government policy and local government reform; and, as recent experience has demonstrated following the Canterbury earthquakes in the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, engagement of Māori in disaster management. Each of these potential catalysts are described in this section.

Treaty of Waitangi settlements

“... any settlement of this nature has two essential goals, not just to pay off the past, but also to buy into the future. The Treaty, it must be understood, is primarily concerned with the latter. It is not the extinguishment of rights that is essential but the reaffirmation of them.” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992: 10)

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 between many (but not all) *iwi* and the then Crown (now government) marked a historical moment in the colonial history of Aotearoa New Zealand. It effectively established the right of settler governance while guaranteeing Māori on-going sovereignty and retention of cultural, social and physical resources (Orange, 1987)⁵. Unfortunately, for much of the 19th and 20th centuries the intent of the Treaty was largely ignored and Māori rights were actively suppressed (Durie, 2009a; Wheen & Hayward, 2013).

In recent decades greater recognition of the Treaty has helped define partnership rights between the New Zealand Government and Māori (Durie, 2009a). This began with the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975* that established the independent Waitangi Tribunal to hear claims of contemporary breaches of the Treaty. In 1985 the Act and scope of the Waitangi Tribunal was extended to historic claims (Wheen & Hayward, 2012). The impact of the Act on Māori

governance to absolute sovereignty. Given that most of the signatures were made on the Māori text and under international laws of *Contra proferentem* the Māori version should in principle take precedence.

development cannot be overstated. The Tribunal's role was to present all the evidence, not only legal but also tribal knowledge. In urban settings non-Māori New Zealanders were, for the first time, exposed to aspects of traditional knowledge about urban land and water, its deep history, uses and management (Blair, 2010; Wheen and Hayward, 2012). This has led to greater appreciation and valuing of traditional knowledge as part of local council planning (Walker, 2010).

Within many of Aotearoa New Zealand's urban centres significant Treaty settlements have included both the (limited) return of land, and financial reparation for iwi with mana whenua status. While the amount of reparation does not come close to offsetting resources lost (Durie, 2005), the settlements have changed the nature of urban development processes, offering both new opportunities and new challenges.

Settlements have significantly strengthened the resource base of urban iwi and hapū. This in turn has allowed them to develop infrastructure - for instance, to employ people with planning and resource management expertise, so that iwi and hapū can participate in urban planning. In addition, urban iwi now have the ability to manage their land holdings for economic growth, while still retaining collective ownership (Durie, 2005). Some iwi have become major urban landowners: for instance, the South Island iwi Ngāi Tahu is in the process of developing a large Greenfield subdivision in Christchurch, and in the North Island, Waikato Tainui has built a mega shopping mall.

Iwi have ensured that settlement packages include cultural redress. Examples of this include iwi and local authorities working to restore traditional waterways, and the restoration of ancestral place names (Hoskins, 2009). A consequence of these developments is that local authorities are now expected, and will soon be required (Ministry for the Environment, 2013) to have agreements with local iwi covering their participation in decision-making about resource use.

The settlement process itself has contributed to the renewal of iwi and hapū. Of particular relevance to sustainable urban development is

that funding has allowed iwi to collect and record history and traditional knowledge about their ancestral area (Walker, 2010). This has not only given younger Māori a greater understanding of, and identification with, their history but has provided a local and national base of knowledge on water, soil, land use and natural hazards (Awatere, *et al.*, 2008; Awatere, *et al.*, 2013).

At the same time, these settlements have created new challenges, or brought into the open issues that had previously been hidden. A major challenge for the future is whether the process has actually changed power relationships between government and Māori in any substantive way. Some commentators (Wheen & Hayward, 2012; Durie, 2005) provide a somewhat pessimistic view on what Treaty settlements have actually achieved, arguing that settlements may have only limited benefits:

Whatever else settlements achieved – and their contribution to tribal development and economic recovery should not be underestimated – they did not make substantial differences to the depleted state of total Māori land holdings. (Durie, 2005: 68)

While Treaty of Waitangi settlements have been beneficial for many iwi, the claims process has also had the effect of 'freezing' (in the legal sense) Māori social structures. Legislation required the settlement process to be between the government and iwi, and within the tribal boundaries at the time of the signing of the Treaty in 1840 (Barcham, 1998). In contemporary New Zealand cities, however, a significant part of the Māori population has migrated to urban areas from other parts of the country. These mātāwaka Māori, many long-standing city residents, have been excluded from Treaty settlements in the city they live in, as well from as the resulting relational, economic and cultural benefits settlements have brought (Tawhai, 2010). This is despite the Waitangi Tribunal recognising that all Māori, regardless of whether or not they are physically or socially connected to their ancestral hapū and iwi, should be accorded rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. Durie (2009a) recognises the effect that mātāwaka have had on urban development. He

suggests that once substantive Treaty claims have been settled there will be a shift away from claimant iwi towards collectives that reflect a broader picture of Māori society as it exists today. This would require urban authorities to interact with Māori in a very different way, requiring them to balance *mātāwaka* and *mana whenua* perspectives. Given that some local authorities are still struggling to fully include local iwi in urban development, this conceptual and operational shift could pose a challenge.

Local government reform and changing central government policy: challenges and opportunities for greater Māori involvement.

Recent legislative changes in Aotearoa New Zealand on the role and form of local government are changing its role and nature of relationships with Māori (Salter, 2010). Most recently, the Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Bill (2012) significantly narrowed the focus and role of councils' activities, replacing a broad emphasis on promoting the social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being of communities with a new role that requires councils to:

Meet the current and future needs of communities for good quality local infrastructure, local public services, and performance of regulatory functions in a way that is most cost-effective for households and businesses. (Local Government Act 2002 Amendment Bill 2012)

This narrower purpose, and a focus on local government amalgamation and reorganisation, may have major implications for Aotearoa New Zealand's cities and on Māori living in those cities. It will also have an effect on efforts to promote sustainable urban development. However, there are early indications that some local councils still see themselves as having a responsibility for social wellbeing and for the environment (Auckland Council, 2013).

The ways in which local governing authorities have interpreted and operationalised principles, mechanisms and opportunities for Māori participation have varied greatly. The Bay of Plenty, a region that includes the urban centres of Tauranga and Rotorua (Aotearoa New Zealand's

sixth and tenth largest cities respectively) was the first region to have formal Māori representation through three Māori constituencies, although this required a special act of Parliament. Similar seats have been proposed for other urban centres, and recently the Waikato Regional Council voted to have two dedicated Māori seats to represent the Waikato region.

The Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (2008) recommended that the Auckland Unitary Council (an amalgamation of Auckland region councils that occurred in 2010) include three Māori councilors. Two were to be elected by Māori residents and one appointed by *mana whenua*. Instead the government opted for an Independent Māori Statutory Board. In its current form, this Board is independent of the Auckland Council, and works to raise issues that are significant for *mana whenua* and *mātāwaka* groups, as well as ensuring that the Council complies with statutory provisions that refer to the Treaty of Waitangi (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2013).

To date, only Auckland has experienced large-scale amalgamation and reorganisation with limited recognition of Māori representation (Ryks, *et al.*, 2010). While the government has avoided formal policy announcements on the application of any Auckland blueprint for other regions, the legislation makes it clear that the Auckland changes are a forerunner to local government restructuring for the rest of the country (Ryan, 2010). Some regions such as Wellington have already identified amalgamation options (Wellington Regional Local Government Review Panel, 2012).

Parallel to the local government reform process, legislative and policy change at the central government level is influencing the ways in which Māori can participate in urban development. For example, the Resource Management Act 1991 is a key piece of legislation that enables Māori participation in the planning and management of natural and physical resources. The Act requires authorities to follow the principles of 'sustainable management', a concept that in terms of planning for Aotearoa New Zealand's urban spaces has resulted in very

different outcomes across cities and towns. The Resource Management Act 1991 recognises “the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu (sacred places), and other taonga (things or places of value)” (Resource Management Act 1991: 68). It also requires local government to “have particular regard to kaitiakitanga (the role or responsibility of guardianship, especially as applied to the natural world)” (Resource Management Act 1991: 69), and to take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Awatere, *et al.*, 2013; Ministry for the Environment, 2010; Tutua-Nathan, 2003).

When the Act was introduced it was considered world-leading and innovative, including its new mechanisms and provisions for enabling Māori leadership and a Māori voice in decision-making (Hayward, 2003). Some 22 years on, there has been little progress in increasing Māori participation in decision-making (Awatere, *et al.*, 2013; Cheyne & Tawhai, 2007; Love, 2001). For example, the Act allows for the formal transfer of decision-making to iwi, but to date, there has only been one instance of this provision being used. The Act has led local councils to develop their own objectives and local models for engagement to ‘enable’ Māori communities to incorporate cultural perspectives, such as cultural issues and values, into planning and policy (Henderson, 2011). However, Harmsworth (2002: 6) found that “to date, most staff in district and regional councils continue to be largely non-Māori, and Māori input really only comes about through external engagement (e.g., iwi liaison), consultation, working groups”, a view supported by others (e.g. Cheyne & Tawhai, 2007).

The proposed changes to the Act propose strengthening the requirement that local councils have a formal agreement with mana whenua (Ministry for the Environment, 2013), other potential changes such as allowing less time for consultation on proposed environmental impacts, and giving central government more control over environmental decisions, may reduce the ability of Māori to have real input to decisions that affect the land and water over which iwi continue to

assert kaitiakitanga - the right of guardianship or stewardship (Love, 2001; Tutua-Nathan, 2003).

The existing and emerging mechanisms and provisions for Māori involvement in local and central government decision-making described here represent both challenges and opportunities for urban Māori. The challenges partly relate to the need to find ways to increase utilisation of these mechanisms and provisions over current levels. The opportunities relate to the fact that these mechanisms and provisions simply exist and that many urban Māori are more resourced and positioned to make use of them (Human Rights Commission, 2010; Ryks, *et al.*, 2010).

Disaster management: building more resilient urban settings for Māori

Pre-colonisation, indigenous peoples have had to understand, be resilient to, and even take advantage of, natural disasters such as flooding, hurricanes and earthquakes in order to survive. For example, for many indigenous peoples, flooding came to be seen as an important source of water and essential nutrients for horticulture (Quarantelli, 2003).

In a contemporary urban context, disasters are usually defined in relation to their impact on human lives. In cities, a disaster’s potential impact is magnified by the concentration of people, infrastructure and economic resources (Quarantelli, 2003). Therefore, there are strong incentives for urban planning processes to focus on reducing the risk of disasters occurring, their immediate impact and facilitating longer-term recovery.

Disaster management includes identifying hazards, mitigating hazards, preparing for disasters and putting in place short, medium and long-term recovery plans once a disaster has occurred (Richard, *et al.*, 2004). The human-centric nature of disasters means that prioritising hazard risks and their impact is as much a socio-political constructed endeavour as it is scientific (Quarantelli, 2003). An outcome of disasters for indigenous peoples in colonised nations is that they have often become economically, socially and politically marginalised from mainstream society (Campbell, *et al.*, 2012; Estes, *et al.*, 2000; Hirini, 2005). Such marginalisation may predispose

indigenous peoples to greater risk before a disaster and inhibit recovery following a disaster (Berke, *et al.*, 1993). Greater vulnerability to risk is partly attributable to living in low-income neighbourhoods that are more likely to be exposed to hazards and with less access to social and economic resources to aid post-disaster recovery (Norris and Alegría, 2006). Recent experience among Māori living in post-earthquake Christchurch supports these claims as researchers found that local and central government needed more formalised engagement with local iwi to help facilitate the recovery process (Lambert, 2012).

While disasters are by definition negative events, preparing for and recovering from disasters can strengthen communities and build resilience to future challenges they may face – often referred to as ‘bouncing forward’ (Manyena, *et al.*, 2011). For example, disaster recovery may provide opportunities to develop more affordable housing stock, improve transport infrastructure, develop and make better use of open spaces, modernise public facilities and stimulate the local economy (Berke, *et al.*, 1993). Actively engaging indigenous peoples in disaster planning and recovery can be an opportunity to address underlying factors that increase vulnerability to disaster (e.g. infrastructure and access to support services), improve recovery prospects and improve resiliency within communities. As many of these factors fundamentally impact on wellbeing in general addressing them as part of pre or post disaster planning can yield additional benefits.

Indigenous communities also play important roles in aiding disaster recovery. Indigenous peoples are typically organised around kinship-based collectives, and in contemporary urban settings, indigenous organisations may also include urban authorities, health and social centres (Shaw, *et al.*, 2009). The presence of such community organisations enables resources to be quickly mobilised following a disaster (Klopotek, *et al.*, 2008), such as the mobilisation of tribal and pan-tribal marae (traditional community centres) for community residents and organisations following the 2010-11 Canterbury earthquakes in Aotearoa New Zealand (Lambert, 2012). If

opportunities presented within disaster management processes are not able to be taken, indigenous peoples can remain vulnerable to disaster (and other factors affecting wellbeing) and even become subject to greater risk (Bolin, 2006).

There is a growing body of literature providing perspectives on traditional knowledge and disasters, responses to potential disaster hazards, and how they can be included in disaster risk management processes (King and Goff, 2006; McCubbin, *et al.*, 2008; Mercer, *et al.*, 2010). However, much of this literature is derived from developing countries, or it is not specific to urban settings. In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand there is a need to better understand how Māori can be meaningfully engaged in disaster management.

4. MOVING TOARDS TAONE TUPU ORA: HEALTHY CITIES OF THE FUTURE.

This paper has provided an overview of Māori involvement in urban development in Aotearoa New Zealand. We have outlined Māori experiences of urbanisation from pre-colonial urban development, and the impacts of colonisation on the Māori population, to the development challenges that urban Māori currently face. Drawing from these experiences we have identified three catalysts (Treaty of Waitangi settlements, changing central government policy and local government reform, and disaster recovery) that can facilitate change. They represent a range of opportunities and challenges for genuine Māori involvement in urban planning and development.

As a significant part of the urban population, and as Treaty of Waitangi partners with specific rights and interests, it is clear that Māori aspire to and should be able to take an active role in planning for urban futures (Blair, 2010; Hoskins, 2009). For mana whenua, the people who are ancestrally and spiritually connected to the lands cities are built upon and the natural environments they affect, that role includes reclaiming their mana and being empowered and participating in decision-making (Blair, 2010). For mātāwaka, that

role and place is still being defined, but will have to be taken into account for the future. Processes that include all urban Māori in decision-making will need to be developed to avoid legal, moral, or other challenges to the validity of urban plans.

For Māori (and other indigenous peoples) their interest in urban development is not solely, or even largely, economic, but includes other dimensions of wellbeing. This is because the negative impacts of colonisation and migration have not just been felt in economic terms but in social and health terms as well (Durie, 2009; Robson and Harris, 2007). Therefore, a major driver for full Māori participation in urban planning and development is achieving equity across the social, economic, and political spectrums. Love (2010) conceptualises this as a desire among Māori for a 'cultural footprint' in the city.

At the same time urban planners are beginning to recognise that the 'Māori face of the city' is not just decoration or tourist attraction, but an integral part of a city's social capital (Auckland Council, 2013; Greater Wellington Regional Council, 2012). Alongside this is the growing recognition of traditional indigenous knowledge as both a part of a city's real history, and as an asset in preparing for its future (Thompson-Fawcett, 2010).

The challenges and opportunities for greater Māori involvement in urban development described in this paper, and the catalysts for change that have been introduced, represent important areas for future research. Little is known about the likely impacts of the local government reforms and central government policy changes on Māori. Similarly, there is a lack of research about how, or if, Treaty of Waitangi settlements will position urban Māori to take a leading role in shaping Aotearoa New Zealand's urban centres. Further work is also needed to understand the role of Māori in response to natural disasters and the resilience of Māori communities.

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