LANDSCAPE REVIEW

THEME

Māori Landscapes

GUEST EDITOR

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CONTRIBUTORS

VOLUME 19(1)

A SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE JOURNAL OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

LANDSCAPE REVIEW
A Southern Hemisphere Journal of Landscape Architecture

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Landscape Review aims to provide a forum for scholarly writing and critique on topics, projects and research relevant to landscape studies and landscape architecture. Articles are considered and published in three categories. 'Research' articles report on recent examples of substantial and systematic research, using a conventional format that normally includes a review of relevant literature, description of research method, and presentation and interpretation of findings. 'Reflection' articles undertake a more discursive examination of contemporary issues or projects and may be more flexible in format to suit the subject matter.

All published contributions in the 'Research' and 'Reflection' categories are subject to double blind review. Criteria for acceptance are critical insight, originality, theoretical and methodological rigour, and relevance to the aims of the journal.

A third category is entitled 'Reports'. This category is intended for shorter commentaries, reviews and reports on progress. Although not normally fully refereed, contributions in this category are nonetheless subject to editorial review.

The editor is particularly interested in contributions that examine issues and explore the concepts and practices of special relevance to the southern hemisphere, but welcomes contributions from around the globe. Contributions are encouraged from both academics and practitioners.

ISSN 2253-1440

Published December 2022

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Foreword

Jacky Bowring and Tanya Tremewan

This special issue of *Landscape Review* is a significant one in its focus on Māori landscapes, from a range of perspectives and through different lenses. Thinking of Māori landscapes brings reflection on place, identity and what it means to be here in Aotearoa New Zealand. And it also is a time for farewells and welcomes, as well as a pause for remembering ngā mate, those we have lost.

First, a farewell from Jacky Bowring as editor of *Landscape Review*. My first issue as editor was 14(1) back in 2011. It was a time of big changes for the journal, as we went fully digital, and for the first time had an Editorial Advisory Board. The journal also positioned itself with a southern hemisphere focus, as an attempt to recognise a gap in this half of the globe. The landscape journal was founded in 1995, as the vision of founding editor Simon Swaffield. Simon's drive and passion for the discipline saw the journal develop a reputation for high academic standards and production values, and a rich diversity of material. Simon always resisted the pressures to be absorbed into one of the large academic presses, and *Landscape Review* retains the dexterity and freedom that come with independence. The experience of shaping up thematic issues and working with guest editors has been stimulating, and a great manifestation of what it means to be part of an academic community. It is now time for some new eyes and a refresh.

Second, a welcome to incoming editor, Gill Lawson. Gill has many ideas about what she would like to achieve as she takes the journal forward. Originally from Australia, Gill has been with the School of Landscape Architecture at Te Whare Wānaka o Aoraki | Lincoln University since 2018.

And, finally, this issue brings a poignant and meaningful connection for Tanya Tremewan, one of our two wonderful editors. The final word is from Tanya, grounding the issue into connections and memory.

Jacky Bowring

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Way back in 1995, as a newbie editor of the recently formed Lincoln University Press, I subedited the first issue of *Landscape Review*. It was in the next issue that Dr Jacky Bowring, fresh from completing her PhD, grabbed my attention with the intriguing title of her paper "Pidgin Picturesque" and the relatable way she connected the high-falutin' concepts of landscape architecture to familiar territory I took for granted in Aotearoa New Zealand. Soon after that, my involvement with the journal was put on hold as I left for a new editing adventure at the University of the South Pacific but in 2011, when my colleague Jenny Heine asked if I would like to work with her on *Landscape Review*, my answer was an unequivocal "Yes!".

During those earliest days of *Landscape Review*, my mum, Dr Christine Tremewan, née Mosey, was working as an academic in the Māori Department of the University of Canterbury. She was not a typical candidate for the role: Pākehā through and through – born in England before migrating with her family after World War Two, first briefly to Geraldton, Australia and then settling in Whakatū Nelson, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Yet her brother-in-law Chris thinks he might have been partly responsible for putting her in touch with te ao Māori when he introduced her to the late Dr Hone Kaa during a visit to Tāmaki Makarau Auckland. He says he saw the light go on in her eyes as she talked with the charismatic Māori leader, priest and academic. I was present on that balmy summer evening outdoors, listening as a 12-year-old with tingling ears to the lively and wide-ranging conversation between three deep-thinking and often entertaining adults. Whatever Uncle Chris imagines, it was indeed soon after that magical evening that Mum returned to university to take up Māori studies, which eventually led to her PhD thesis, *Myths from Murihiku* (Tremewan, 1992), completed under the supervision of the late Dr Margaret Orbell.

As a freelance editor, I work on a wide range of texts, many of them not exactly riveting, so it has been all the more meaningful and moving to subedit this issue of *Landscape Review* and find so many connections with Mum's work and interests. She was captivated by Māori myths, landscapes and all things environmental, and every paper in this issue would have again fuelled that light in her eyes.

If she had been alive, I would have been checking with her constantly as I worked on this issue and she would have answered my many questions patiently and thoughtfully. For so many years, she agreed to be my willing 'consultant' who I repaid cheaply from time to time with a gin and tonic. I read and re-read the paper on karanga, recalling the sense of awe and yearning when her niece Tessa Maraea farewelled her with a karanga at her funeral last year.

Thank you to all the authors for making this such a special issue and for responding so helpfully to the numerous rudimentary questions that I would usually have put to Mum. A deep thank you also to Jacky for your constant support as Jenny and I have worked on this journal over the years – so much has happened since we met at the Lincoln University campus when you were wheeling baby Ella in her pushchair!

Tanya Tremewan

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Māori Landscapes

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Globally and across disciplines, a focus on Indigenous knowledge is rapidly evolving. For landscape architecture, this trend is of particular interest, as our discipline works at the intersection of people and land, a rich and fertile zone of Indigenous knowledge. For Aotearoa New Zealand, it is te ao Māori, the Māori world, that embodies the Indigenous presence, and within which landscape architecture is immersed. This special issue of *Landscape Review* – consisting of research papers, reflections and a book review – is dedicated to Māori landscapes.

The topic of Māori landscapes should be at the heart of landscape architecture because of the intrinsic relationship that people have with the whenua (land). Māori settlers turned Aotearoa into a place immersed in rich and meaningful stories that percolate from and through the whenua, and are expressed in pūrākau (myths and stories). In those years, the whenua was rich in placenames and trails that embedded the narratives in place. When Europeans arrived, they altered the landscape to fit their needs and they used their own knowledge instead of learning from Indigenous communities about how to live with the land. Not only did colonisation transform the landscape into a model based on European standards; it also renamed many of the places, erasing connections to cultural stories and traditions.

To the naked eye, many places explored in this issue are stripped of their original stories and meaning. Driving by Te Waihora | *Lake Ellesmere* in Waitaha | *Canterbury*, for example, one can no longer see the rich layers of the whenua and how it was once used as mahinga kai (a food-gathering place) for tangata whenua (local people). Walking through Kaikōura, other than a kūwaha (gate) to lead the way to the peninsula walk and the few posts along the way, very few landmarks tell the rich story of the abundance of food that these waters gave the early explorers. Usually it is not until the stories are told that one starts to appreciate the landscape and everything it has to offer. Yet every now and then some landscapes still do speak for themselves. Pātea | *Doubtful Sound* in Fiordland is a whenua that tells its own story, a story of silence. In te reo Māori (the Māori language), Pātea means 'unencumbered, freed from burdens, free' (Moorfield, 2003) and one can sense this freedom while surrounded by the silence that is exacerbated by the steeply sloping landscape.

Whether entering a site that is considered tapu (sacred), witnessing a karanga (ceremonial call of welcome) or stepping on to a marae (where formal greetings take place), it is clear that the overwhelming richness of Māori culture is everywhere. Every mihi (speech of greeting), where an individual tells of their whakapapa (genealogy) and their belonging to the whenua, maunga (mountain),

roto (lake) and awa (river), gives a clear sign of the integral relationship between tikanga Māori (customary Māori) values and landscape architecture.

In the first paper, 'Leaving Marks and Names on the Land: The Deeds of Tama Ki Te Rangi, Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua, Te Rakiwhakaputa and Rākaihautū', Lloyd Carpenter flies over Te Waipounamu, gives an overview of some key landscapes and tells the story behind the naming of these areas. While stating the historical facts behind the naming process, he reveals the layers of the cultural landscape behind the whenua in Te Waipounamu and how this reflects the culture of Aotearoa. From the mountains to the sea, 'ki uta ki tai', he follows the journeys of Tama Ki Te Rangi, Tamatea, Te Rakiwhakaputa and Rākaihautū, reciting the narratives behind these legendary explorers and how they related to each whenua. He finally points out that the names of the landscape 'establish tūrangawaewae' and a sense of belonging for tangata whenua. These names are at the core of the identity of Indigenous people in Aotearoa.

The second paper, 'Huaki: Cultural Landscape Recognition Needed for Māori to Flourish in Housing', brings together authors Diane Menzies, Matt Rout, John Reid and Angus Macfarlane. They discuss the importance of the cultural landscape for Māori in defining their relationship with the whenua and how it shapes their identity by looking at state housing in three Auckland neighbourhoods: Glen Innes, Ōtara and Māngere. The focus is on how urban design and planning policies can encompass Māori culture and values through co-design to reinforce cultural connections between people and place while promoting residents' wellbeing.

In 'Karanga: Connecting to Papatūānuku', Lynda Toki, Te Mamaeroa Cowie, Diane Menzies, Rangi Joseph and Rowena Fonoti portray the importance of karanga in bridging between old traditions and new ones. As the authors explain, this custom is more than a call: it is an 'expression of culture' that brings together the multiple layers that make Māori culture and traditions incredibly rich and engrained in the whenua and beyond. Karanga celebrates the importance of wāhine (women) within the iwi (tribe), the use of te reo Māori (the Māori language) and the culmination of natural forces within the environment. Karanga carries the cultural values of the past to the present to promote a more sustainable and equitable future to live with Papatūānuku.

Shannon Davis uncovers the complexity of landscape narratives and how one landscape can hold multiple stories in 'Stories from the Land: Revealing Plural Narratives within One Landscape'. The geological formation, topography and landform of Maungakiekie | *One Tree Hill* played an important role for Māori and the former presence of a pā there reflects its cultural significance. Alongside this maunga (mountain) is Cornwall Park, with a narrative that clearly designates it as a public park for all New Zealanders. Naming the landscape is one way of reflecting its stories and celebrating its past; but ultimately it is necessary to unravel the layers (of oral and written history) at the vertical and horizontal levels to fully understand the richness of Maungakiekie and Cornwall Park, where 'multiple narratives entwine through space and time'.

Showcasing the negative impacts of overtourism and colonisation on the landscape, Ben Carpenter, Rebecca Kiddle and Mark Southcombe propose a series of architectural interventions as a solution in 'Overtourism and Colonisation on Tongariro National Park'. The intense popularity of the Tongariro Alpine

Crossing has had devastating cultural and ecological impacts on the maunga. Concurrently, the ongoing influence of colonisation has prevented local iwi from acting as guardians (kaitiaki) of the maunga, stripping the whenua of its identity. The paper uses a 'design research' methodology to respond to overtourism with appropriate architectural structures modelled on a pōwhiri (traditional Māori welcome): waharoa (entrance), waiata (bridge), kai (the kai space), wharenui (the hut), wharepaku (toilets) and poroporoaki (farewell). These structures play a dual role of conserving and protecting the maunga and helping restore its sense of place.

Finally, Matthew Wynyard presents a review of the book *Kia Whakanuia Te Whenua – People, Place, Landscape* edited by Carolyn Hill. He states that the 'umbilical connection of Māori to whenua' is the unifying thread of the book. The book holds a hopeful look towards the future where te ao Māori is celebrated and is located at the heart of Aotearoa.

The intention of this issue is to highlight the importance of Māori landscapes and to incorporate a wide range of approaches and ideas. Its diverse papers showcase the strong connection between tikanga Māori and landscape architecture, as well as reflecting the need to publish more on the topic. Thank you to all the authors and reviewers who contributed to this special issue, and especially for your patience while waiting for it to be published. So many obstacles came our way in the process that at times it seemed like an impossible to mission to accomplish. A special thanks to Jacky Bowring for her continuous support and encouragement, and to Lloyd Carpenter without whom this issue would not exist.

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Leaving Marks and Names on the Land: The Deeds of Tama Ki Te Rangi, Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua, Te Rakiwhakaputa and Rākaihautū

Lloyd Carpenter

Stories of first explorations and the naming of landmarks, boundaries and resources by a renowned tipuna (ancestor) feature in most Māori pūrākau (oral traditions). The first explorer sets out captaining their great waka (ocean-going canoe), fighting battles with monsters or other explorers, enduring hardship to traverse the land and discover, name or create geographical features on their journey. In this way, the intrepid pioneer declares and defines the boundaries of the takiwā (area of responsibility) of their iwi (tribe), metaphorically throwing a korowai (cloak) of their mana (prestige or honour) and responsibility over the new whenua (land), embedding their nomenclature, collective tribal mauri (spirituality), traditions and whakapapa (genealogies) into the lands they anticipate their peoples will settle.

Naming confers the status of mana whenua (local people), but in the Māori (Indigenous New Zealander) world, it confers much more than that. Naming, especially when done by a prominent leader or explorer, is the step that sees the recent settlers accept the role of kaitiaki (guardian) for the environment of their new home, as well as the resources it can produce.

In this paper, I examine the deeds of the explorers of the past, comparing the kaupapa (methodology) of name-giving with the arbitrary nomenclature systems of settler surveyors and explorers in the nineteenth century, revealing the stories behind each original name and offering reasons for recognising them today.

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KEY WORDS
Landscape
Nomenclature
Pūrākau (legends)
Indigenous landscapes
Māori
Exploration
Migration

Names on the landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand are more than an arbitrary bestowing of a sponsor's name by a European visitor like the explorer Cook did for Mount Egmont (he named it on 11 January 1770 after John Perceval, Second Earl of Egmont, a former First Lord of the Admiralty; it is now known as Taranaki Maunga). The appropriateness of Governor Sir Thomas Gore Browne's actions in 1859, declaring that the port town of Waitohi in the Wairau region should henceforth be named after Sir Thomas Picton, a commander under the Duke of Wellington who fell at Waterloo, is only now being re-examined by the government and Geographic Board.

For Māori, these names never changed; in introducing themselves, they offer mihi that detail connections to tribal groups and to ancestral landmarks such as maunga (mountains), awa (rivers) and roto (lakes), establishing their ties to place and grounding their identity, providing tūrangawaewae (their place of belonging). Fundamental to the original names on the landscapes are the mythical and superhuman deeds of the early kaihōpara (explorers) and their work to imbue the landscapes with their mana (spiritual power and authority), so that when Māori recite whakapapa (genealogies) today, the landscape and the mythological naming bases are themselves invoked. The features we view today as mere landforms have layers of meaning, which successive colonial settlements

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and remapping or renaming have failed to eradicate. The original names establish tūrangawaewae, the right of tangata whenua (Indigenous people of the land) to stand on their lands.

Stories of first explorations and the naming of landmarks, boundaries and resources by a renowned tipuna (ancestor) are a feature in most Māori pūrākau (oral traditions). The first kaihōpara (explorer) sets out captaining their great waka (ocean-going canoe), fighting battles with monsters or other explorers, enduring hardship to traverse the land and discover, name or create geographical features on their journey. In this way, the pioneer declares and defines the boundaries of the takiwā (area of responsibility) of their iwi (tribe), metaphorically throwing a korowai (cloak) of their mana and guardianship over the new whenua (land), embedding their nomenclature, collective tribal mauri (spirit), traditions and whakapapa into the lands, in anticipation of settlement by their peoples. As Prendergast-Tarena (2008) observes in his thesis:

> A common dynamic in Māori oral tradition is for early ancestors to shape the land, such as the exploits of Māui who prepared the environment for human occupation. To a lesser extent this is also seen by early arrival figures who traverse the land, planting mauri, forming geographic features and spiritually colonising the landscape for their descendants. (p 273)

Naming confers the status of mana whenua (local people), but in the Māori world, it means considerably more than that. Naming, especially when done by a prominent leader or explorer, is the step that sees the recent settlers accepted and empowered in the role of kaitiaki (guardian) for the environment of their new home, as well as the resources it produces.

The legendary Tama Ki Te Rangi was one of the first and most renowned of these explorers. Captain of the *Tairea* migration waka, he was one of the many who departed from the ancient homelands in eastern Polynesia (celebrated in oral tradition as Hawaiki), setting out to explore the southern-most lands, which the early explorer Kupe's wife Kuramārōtini called Ao-tea-roa | *Land of the Long White Cloud* (New Zealand Government, 1998; Taonui, 2005b). Heading southwards down the east coast of the southern island – known variously as Te Waipounamu, Te Waka o Māui or Te Waka o Aoraki (the different names reflect the different foundational pūrākau of the iwi of the land) – Tama Ki Te Rangi became tired and hungry. He paused his travels at a peninsula where kaimoana (seafood) abounded, offering kina (sea urchin), tipa (scallops), pāua (abalone) and ika (fish of all kinds). However, it was the kōura (crayfish) thriving in the region that caught his eye, so he designed and wove basket traps from harakeke (flax leaves) to catch enough for his group, built a fire on the beach and cooked the feast. In celebration of the event, those with him and everyone since referred to the location as 'Te Ahi Kaikōura a Tama Ki Te Rangi', or the fires where Tama Ki Te Rangi ate crayfish (Taylor, 1950).

This story accounting for the naming of the modern Kaikōura is where the narrative of the deeds of Tama Ki Te Rangi ceases in most sources. However, in James Cowan's (1910) *The Maoris of New Zealand,* the historian's informant Ira Herewini of Moeraki describes how after the feast, the *Tairea* waka went south as far as Piopiotahi | *Milford Sound*. According to this legend, Tama Ki Te Rangi searched for his missing wives and at Piopiotahi found his favourite wife

transformed into pounamu (greenstone). As he lamented her loss, his tears flowed so strongly that they penetrated the rock, leaving inclusions in the otherwise clear bowenite found there, which created a form of the greenstone now called tangiwai, or water of weeping. Further, the kiekie (*Freycinetia banksii*) growing on the fringes of the fiord sprang from the shreds of Tama's pōkeka (rain-cape), which had been damaged in his forest travels as he searched the area (Cowan, 1910, p 61).

Naming and acts redolent with symbolism signify new kaitiaki and new mana whenua relationships, in a variant on the nomenclature theme. The name of Rāpaki, in the Ōhinehou | *Lyttelton* area, recalls rangatira toa (war chief) Te Rakiwhakaputa, who was part of Ngāi Tahu's move from the east coast of Te Ika-a-Māui | *North Island* to Te Waipounamu. Arriving in Ōhinehou, Te Rakiwhakaputa called the area at the eastern end of the harbour Whakaraupō, to acknowledge and claim the fine stands of raupō (bulrush) growing there. To Te Rakiwhakaputa, the promising-looking landscape offered a safe harbour with good fishing, most especially the renowned local delicacy of pioke (shark). It also had rich mahinga kai (cultivated food) areas, leading him to conclude that it was a suitable place to establish a new home for his people. After driving off the resident peoples, Ngāti Māmoe, he symbolically confirmed his take raupatu (seizure of new lands) by taking off his rāpaki (waist mat), laying it on the beach and thus claiming the land, declaring his mana over it and making the valley tapu (sacred). After this symbolic act, the area was called Te Rāpaki o Rakiwhakaputa | *The Waist Mat of Rakiwhakaputa* and was declared to be in the takiwā of Ngāi Tahu. Te Rakiwhakaputa brought peace between the new arrivals and the former residents by marrying Hine-te-a-Wheka, a high-born wahine (woman) with Ngāti Māmoe whakapapa. He went on to claim other areas, leaving his son Te Wheke to establish the settlement (Couch, 1987). Because Te Wheke constructed a kāinga (settlement) at Rāpaki, today the hapū (subtribe) of the Whakaraupō takiwā is known as Ngāti Wheke. Te Wheke is also memorialised in the name of the hill above Cass Bay, Te Moenga-a-Wheke | *The Great Tor of Wheke*. Te Rakiwhakaputa left his other son, Manuwhiri, to build Te Pā Whakataka (near the modern Governors Bay tennis courts). Today, the shortened version of the name Rāpaki is the popular name of the bay and marae, while Wheke is the name of the Rāpaki wharenui (meeting house).

Every reference that I consulted for the stories of Tama Ki Te Rangi mentioned that he was exploring the new lands at the same time – but never in the same place – as another legendary figure, Tamatea Ure-Haea (Hakopa et al, 2017, p 115). Hailing from the *Takitimu* waka,[1] Tamatea Ure-Haea is better-known under his later persona as the great explorer Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua | *Tamatea who circled the land*, and Tamatea-Pōkai-Moana | *Tamatea who circled the oceans* (Mitiria, 1972, p 58). After exploring as far south as Murihiku | *Southland*, Tamatea Ure-Haea began the long trip back north, pausing at Te-Oha-a-Maru | *Oamaru*, where the weather became very stormy.

Explorers like Tamatea took with them te ahi kā roa (long burning ancestral fires of occupation) as they travelled. These burning embers were more than merely the means to cook kai (food) along the way; they were how people established the rights to occupation. For the very first explorers, these fires were highly tapu and protecting them was critical to the exploration process. Te ahi kā roa were smouldering puku tawhai (beech bracken fungus), carried in a hollowed-

out log with holes drilled along it to control the airflow, and in this way the rate of smouldering, and with a sand nest as a fire guard. I grew up with stories from the Waitohi | *Waikawa* area of travelling groups carrying stone containers that held smouldering hinahina (māhoe) sticks. The tiaki (guardians) of this kind of travelling fire had a symbolic and practical role to play, maintaining the embers both for cooking and to establish te ahi kā roa (Te Maiharoa, 2017, p 105).

It was therefore a critical moment when the party made camp at Oamaru but failed to attend to the smouldering kauati (fire sticks), with the result that they rekindled in the storm and burned down into the ground. Only the charred remnants were found in the morning. Losing te ahi kā roa was a grievous and dangerous loss of mana, damaging the mauri of the explorer team. But unknown to the party as it headed north, Tamatea's sacred fires continued burning down deep into the ground, burning the soil and even the rocks. The subterranean ash that remained from the underground fires was compressed and consolidated over the ages to form what is known today as Oamaru stone (University of Canterbury, nd(b)).

Leaving the remnants of their te ahi kā roa in Te-Oha-a-Maru, Tamatea's group was cold, hungry and chagrined at having lost their fire when they arrived at the hills above modern-day Rāpaki (Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2019). Their prospects were looking dire, prompting Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua to recite karakia (prayers and incantations) to call to the atua (gods) of Ruapehu, Tongariro and Ngāuruhoe (the volcanic cones of the central North Island), asking that they help him (Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2019). Here, Tamatea's legend intersects with that of the famed northern tohunga (priest) and leader Ngātoroirangi | *The Traveller in the Heavens* because it was not the volcanic atua but Ngātoroirangi himself who heard and acted on the karakia.

Ngātoroirangi's exploration and naming were as important for Te Ika a Māui as the work of the southern explorers was for Te Waipounamu. While Tamatea explored the south, Ngātoroirangi and his followers had sought Te Puku o Te Ika a Māui | *The Belly of the Great Fish of Māui* in the centre of the North Island. They landed at Maketū on the coast and moved east along the shoreline to a (then) unnamed river mouth at Matatā, now known as the Tarawera. Immediately this river was named Te Awa-a-te-Atua | *River of the God* in his honour, conveying the awe in which everyone who met Ngātoroirangi on his travels held him. He arrived at the plains surrounding Taupō-nui-a-Tia | *Lake Taupō*, where his kākahu (cloak) of woven kiekie leaves was left tāreperepe (tattered) by bushes. Such was his power that the shreds of cloak fell to the ground, took root and grew up into kōwhai trees (von Hochstetter, 1867, p 391).

Ngātoroirangi left the lake named for his explorer rival Tia (Wikaira, 2005), looked south and saw a maunga that he named Tongariro | *Towards South*. He travelled to the mountain's base at Rangipō | *Dark Sky* and began to climb it, aiming to claim the surrounding land for his people. Here Ngātoroirangi encountered another rival, Hape-ki-tūārangi, who likewise was seeking settlement lands for his own peoples. Ngātoroirangi chanted powerful karakia to Tāwhirimātea | *God of Storms and Weather*, bringing driving snow, howling winds and freezing rain. Hape-ki-tūārangi and his followers perished in this storm and the weather was so ferociously cold that Ngātoroirangi's own life was imperilled as well.

Realising the danger, he battled his way to the highest summit, looked over land below and, with his fading strength, called to his sisters Kuiwai and Haungaroa in Hawaiki[2] for assistance: 'Kuiwai e!, Haungaroa e!, ka riro au i te Tonga. Tukuna mai te ahi!' ('Oh Kui, Oh Hau, I have been captured by the southern winds. Send me fire!') (Delani, nd). Hearing his desperation, his sisters filled six kete (baskets) containing ngārehu ahi (glowing embers), the offspring of Rūaumoko | *God of Volcanic Energy*. To deliver these speedily, the sisters sent the demigod siblings (some versions of this story have them as taniwha (monsters)) Te Haeata and Te Pupu to bear the embers.

Te Haeata and Te Pupu plunged into the earth to travel from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. At intervals, they surfaced to check that they were headed in the right direction: first at Whakaari | *White Island* and Moutohora | *Whale Island*, then in sequence at Rotoiti, Tarawera, Rotorua, Waiotapu, Orakei-Korako, Te Ohaaki, Wairakei, Tokaanu and Taupō. At each place where they emerged from the earth's crust, embers spilled from kete, leaving ngāwhā (geothermal sites), puia (geysers) or waiariki (hot springs) – all volcanic or geothermal features for which the region is renowned today (Delani, nd). Because of these inadvertent spillages, just one of the six original kete of embers reached Ngātoroirangi on Tongariro, at a place that he named Ketetahi | *One Basket*, which is famed now for its geothermal vents and waterfalls. Raging that just one basket was not enough, he stomped his feet twice, violently shaking the entire surrounding area and breaking out steaming fissures in the landscape, which accounts for the name given to the neighbouring peak, Ruapehu | *Two Vents*. He was not finished, slamming his koe (paddle) deep into the earth, naming the next peak Ngāuruhoe | *Paddle Shaft and Blade*. Now Ngātoroirangi's fury exploded the last kete over Ngāuruhoe, releasing the full power of Rūaumoko and finally providing the rangatira (chief) with sufficient warmth to revive and restore him (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008, p 292).

The journey of discovery and the creation of the geothermal areas of the central North Island of Aotearoa remain linked to Ngātoroirangi's journeys. Moreover, Tongariro remains an important symbol of the claim of mana whenua by the peoples of Te Arawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa iwi. They name the taurapa (sternpost) of their epistemological Te Arawa waka *Tongariro* and the ihuwaka (prow) Maketū. This is declared in the whakataukī (proverb), 'Mai Maketū ki Tongariro' ('From the prow of the canoe at Maketū, to *Tongariro*').

It was as he was resting from his exertions and his brush with death at the hands of the snowstorm on Tongariro that Ngātoroirangi heard Tamatea's karakia from Rāpaki in the south. With both karakia and the heart of the petitioner appearing correct, Ngātoroirangi answered fulsomely; this time he requested that his sisters Te Pupu and Te Haeata respond to Tamatea. They changed themselves into fireballs, rushing across the landscape, and, in so doing, gouging out the riverbed of the Whanganui River. Leaping across Raukawa Moana | *Cook Strait*, they paused at Whakatū | *Nelson* to scorch the rocks, which formed the dark ōnewa (argillite) stone for which the Nelson mineral belt is renowned (Johnston et al, 2011; Rattenbury et al, 1998). They carried so much fire in their arms that some spilled as they passed, falling onto Mānia Rauhea | *Plain of the Shining Tussock*, a small plain inland from the coast and surrounded by a series of low hills (Cowan, 1932). The fires entered the whenua and began to heat the underground

strata, boiling up into a series of rock-lined pools, which then became known as Te Whakatakanga-o-te-ngaheru-o-te-ahi-o-Tamatea, or more typically Te Ahi o Tamatea | *The ashes of Tamatea's fires*. Today the tourist town is known by the far less romantic name of Hanmer Springs. It features a bronze statue erected to Thomas Hanmer, its plinth bearing a plaque that admits the surveyor's assistant did not visit the hot springs area, but instead farmed out on the coast near the Piri-tūtae-putaputa | *Conway River* and in 1867 moved to Australia, where he ended his days.

The sisters continued their rush south to Te Iringa o Kahukura | *The Port Hills*, then traversed the mountain-tops until they reached the shivering Tamatea at Rāpaki (University of Canterbury, nd(b)). The fires restored the health of the exploration team and allowed them to continue north. The fires also created Te Ahi a Tamatea – the hill next to Te Upoko o Kurī | *Witch Hill* – and then flowed down into the sea and across to Ōtamahua | *Quail Island*, where the heat scorched the cliff there, leaving it black. The fires flowed further, crossing the harbour where they burst onto and created the dramatic rocky landform called Ōtarahaka (Cowan, 1918b; Taylor, 1950), at the head of Waiake Stream, Teddington. The area where Tamatea was revived also became known as Te Ahi a Tamatea. Later the European settlers named it the Giant's Causeway and in recent years it has been known as Rāpaki Rock. The cone-shaped hill above Rāpaki commemorates this legend as Te Poho o Tamatea | *Tamatea's breast* (Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2019).

This series of events, however, is by no means the most famous of Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua's naming deeds. After circumnavigating the lands and oceans of Aotearoa, Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua, who was travelling with his brother on their return to the north, encountered a small group of warriors from an enemy tribe at Pōrangahau, near Waipukurau in southern Te Matau-a-Māui | *Hawke's Bay*. Tamatea's fighting prowess did not desert him, but his brother was killed, leaving Tamatea mourning his loss and spending several days sitting on a hillside playing a lament on his kōauau (flute). His impressive deeds and his musical tribute following this loss are memorialised in the name of a hill near Porangahau, near Waipukurau in southern Hawke's Bay: Taumatawhakatangihangakōauauotamateapōkaiwhenuakitānatahu / *The place where Tamatea, the man with the big knees, who slid, climbed and swallowed mountains, known as 'landeater', played his flute to his loved one* (New Zealand Gazetteer, nd; Pollock, 2015). Now recognised as the world's longest place name, it has appeared in celebration or renown on media spots ranging from the *Kenny Everett Video Show* on television to advertisements for the Seek employment website, as well as in folk songs in the 1960s and 1970s.[3] For Ngāti Kahungunu, Tamatea-Pōkai-Whenua is of primary importance because his son Kahungunu went on to be the eponymous creator of the iwi (Royal, 2007).

As momentous as the explorers discussed so far are, Rākaihautū of Waitaha looms even larger as a significant presence in the early history and landscape of Aotearoa and Te Waipounamu (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008, p 271). Rākaihautū's legendary deeds, both mythical and real, left their marks on the landscape and in the names of southern regions. First, it should be noted that despite the wondrous deeds attributed to him, it is generally agreed that Rākaihautū was a real person and his descendants locate him in their whakapapa today. The *Uruaokapuarangi*

waka he captained on the voyage from the Polynesian homelands of Te Patunuioāio (a land occupied before the traditional mythopoeic homelands of Hawaiki) was imbued with mana from the atua and rangatira (Rangipunga and Tamati-Elliffe, nd). Constructed with the atua Urutengangana's sacred toki (adzes) Te Haemata and Te Whiro-nui (Hīroa, 1949, p 446; Smith, 1913, p 121; Whatahoro, 2011), the *Uruaokapuarangi* waka was built as a large sea-voyaging canoe for the great chief Taitewhenua of Te Patunuioāio (Beattie and Beattie, 1994). Taitewhenua gifted the waka to the renowned tohunga kōkōrangi (astronomer navigator) Matiti, who in turn, when his daughter Waiariki-o-āio married Rākaihautū, gave the waka to the couple as their wedding gift (Beattie and Beattie, 1994). It was Matiti who imbued Rākaihautū with a thirst to explore, encouraging him to set out on a voyage of discovery to the new lands of Aotearoa and joining the crew himself as navigator to strengthen the younger man's resolve (University of Canterbury, nd(a)). Arriving in Aotearoa, they made landfall at Whangaroa in Te Tai Tokerau | *Northland*, finding it densely populated with the Muriwhenua peoples (Land Information New Zealand | Toitū te Whenua, nd; Orange, 2005). Despite being warmly welcomed in Te Tai Tokerau, they elected to head south to find new lands. Beattie (1941) describes how in Northland bays and in others they called into on the eastern side of Te Ika a Māui, not only did the crew members get hospitality in the form of food supplies and water, they were also instructed in the ways of harvesting, processing and weaving harakeke fibre into clothes, cordage and rope (p 30).

On board the *Uruaokapuarangi* waka were Rākaihautū and Waiariki-o-āio, their sailing master son Te Rakihouia (Beattie, 1918, p 140) and his wife Tapu-iti, the navigator Matiti, and an array of crewmen of varying repute and mana in different Ngāi Tahu and Waitaha pūrākau. In heading south into the unknown, this voyage was foundational. Waitaha tohunga Wī Pōkuku and Herewini Ira noted, 'There were no people on this [Te Waipounamu] island' (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008), a declaration repeated in nearly all sources that I encountered. Significantly, all sources then declare unequivocally:

> Ko Rākaihautū te takata nāna i tīmata te ahi ki ruka ki tēnei motu.
> (Rākaihautū was the man who lit the fires of occupation in this island.)

In this way, they locate the legend of Rākaihautū as essential and central in establishing mana whenua of Te Waipounamu. The 'fires of occupation' that this refers to translate from 'ahi kā roa', or the right of tenure established through occupation, declaring the Waitaha people's dominion over Te Waipounamu and its resources and establishing them as mana whenua. As quoted in Eruera Prendegast-Tarena's research (2008), Wī Pōkuku and Herewini Ira stated that it was 'here that the roots of the cabbage tree and the fern-root can be found as well as the birds and all other things that pertain to this island' (p 272).

Their first landfall was on Te Pokohiwi[4] | *Boulder Bank* at Whakatū | *Nelson* (New Zealand Geographic Board, 1990). Here, the party planted a karaka tree (Beattie, 1957) as a symbol of their arrival. The group then split: Rākaihautū and Waiariki-o-āio and some crew headed inland to explore the mountains, while Te Rakihouia and Tapu-iti took *Uruaokapuarangi* and the remaining crew to explore the island's eastern coasts. *Uruaokapuarangi* rounded Takapourewa| *Stephens*

Island and sailed through Te Moana-o-Raukawa | *Cook Strait*, negotiating their passage past Ngā Whatu Kaiponu | *The Brothers Rocks*, a sacred landmark. The name means 'the eyeballs that stand witness', referring to the remnant of a famed battle between the explorer Kupe and the mighty whekenui (giant squid) called Wheke a Muturangi. These rocks were so tapu that while passing them, paddlers had to shield their eyes and cover the whakairo (carvings) on their waka to avoid any chance that the encounter might blind them or becalm their vessel (Best, 1918, p 100). This is one of many Kupe exploration traditions still commemorated in waiata (song) as:

> Nga taero ra nahau, e Kupe! I waiho i te ao nei.
> 'The obstructions there, by thee, O Kupe! left in the world.' (Best, 1917, p 147)

Safely past this hazard, the waka then headed down the eastern coast to the bluffs and hills dominated by the peak known as Tapuae-O-Uenuku, north of the Kaikōura peninsula. Seeing the seaward cliffs contained numerous nests of kawau (shags), tākapu (gannets) and tarāpunga (gulls), Te Rakihouia brought the waka in below the highest bluffs to secure provisions for their journey (Taonui, 2005a). The party made ropes from muka (flax fibre), using the vast pā harakeke plantations that dominated the flatlands and marshes of the region. With the ropes, men were then lowered over the dangerously high precipices to gather the eggs and fledglings (Beattie, 1918, p 159). This prowess in obtaining the necessary foodstuffs is celebrated in the name that Rakihouia declared was from that time the name to be bestowed on the cliffs north of Kaikōura (Taonui, 2005a):

> Te Whata-kai-o-Rakihouia
> (The standing food storehouse of Rakihouia.)

Tā Tipene O'Regan (1987) comments that while enjoying the fruits of his fishing and food-gathering prowess, Rakihouia invented pōhā, the rimurapa (bull kelp, *Durvillaea poha*) bag wrapped in tōtara bark inside a flax basket used to preserve and store valuable foodstuffs such as tītī (muttonbirds, *Puffinus griseus*).

Progressing southwards towards the planned reunion with his parents, Te Rakihouia and Tapu-iti brought the waka into the river mouths and estuaries that they encountered down the eastern coast. At each place, Te Rakihouia set hīnaki (woven eel traps) secured to poupou (anchoring posts) that he and his crew drove into the riverbeds. This action of trapping tuna (eels) has prompted the often-quoted whakataukī expressing mana whenua status and domain over the island:

> Kā poupou a Te Rakihouia.
> 'Te Rakihouia's upright posts.' (Orbell, 1996, p 7)

Through Te Rakihouia's skill, he and his crew caught tuna (longfin eel), hao (shortfin eel) and kanakana (lampreys) wherever they built traps and erected pou. This activity was more than a fishing expedition: it was a statement of ownership of and responsibility for that resource. For this reason, the Waitaha | *Canterbury* coast is often referred to as 'Kā-poupou-o-Te-Rakihouia' (Ngāi Tahu, nd). When he came to the coastline of Kaitorete Spit, the isthmus between Te Moana a Kiwa | *Pacific Ocean* and the teeming abundance of mahinga kai (traditional food sources) in Waihora | *Lake Ellesmere*, Te Rakihouia specifically claimed this coastal region to fall under his mana by naming it 'Kā Poupou o Te Rakihouia' (Te Taumutu

Rūnanga Society Inc, nd). Extending this name to encompass a wider swathe of the whenua is a stronger statement of the mana of his deeds than any later imprecise nomenclature. I have heard this description of the eastern coast as far north as Kēkerengū, as well as along the seaward coast south off Te Taumutu.

After his arrival at Whakatū, as Te Rakihouia headed away on the *Uruaokapuarangi,* Rākaihautū led his group out overland to explore Te Waipounamu. Inland from Whakatū, he used his magic kō (digging stick) called Tū Whakaroria for the first time to dig three trenches in the middle of the northern mountains. As these filled with water, they became Lakes Rotoiti, Rotoroa and Rangatahi | *Tennyson* (New Zealand Government Office of Treaty Settlements, 2013, p 18; Taonui, 2005a). Rākaihautū carried Tū Whakaroria throughout his tour of discovery, leading to the figurative saying: Te Kari o Rākaihautū (The dug basins of South Island lakes) (Taonui, 2005a). From these new lakes in what is now Pourangahau | *Nelson Lakes National Park*, Rākaihautū and his group went south. With Tū Whakaroria, he created Hoka Kura | *Lake Sumner*, Whakamātau | *Lake Coleridge* and ō Tūroto | *Lake Heron*. Crossing Te Kopi Opihi | *Burkes Pass*, they entered the wide elliptical intermontane basin now known as Te Manahuna | *The Mackenzie Country*. He began to dig again, naming his first effort Takapō | *To Move About at Night* (and currently misnamed 'Tekapō'), Pūkākī | *The Source*, ō Hau | *of Hau* (a member of the party) and Hāwea, which was named after a member of the party called Hāwea Ki Te Rangi.

The work of creating landforms and shaping the whenua requires paying due deference to the atua, so just south of the newly formed roto called Hāwea, Rākaihautū and his companions paused to perform cleansing rituals, to say karakia and to rest (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008, p 276). These rituals had the purpose of protecting their group, emboldening their hearts for the quest, strengthening their bodies and acknowledging the domain of the atua. Creating an impressive roto to commemorate his time at the place and recognise its importance, Rākaihautū named it Wānaka | *Place of learning*.

Rākaihautū and his party then began a focused exploration of the centre of Te Waipounamu, criss-crossing mountain ranges and creating more landforms. They began with the arduous climb over Te Haumatiketike | *The Crown Range* to create Whakatipu Waimāori | *Freshwater Whakatipu*, before crossing the mountain range to the west, which Rākaihautū named Kā Mauka Whakatipu | *Ailsa and Humboldt Mountains*. To the east of Kā Mauka Whakatipu, Rākaihautū named the river flowing into Whakatipu Waimāori as Te Awa Whakatipu | *Dart River*. Crossing the mountain range and wielding Tū Whakaroria again, he dug out Whakatipu Waitai | *Saltwater Whakatipu* (Lake McKerrow) and then named the river that flows into the new lake as Whakatipu Kā Tuka | *Hollyford River*. As they headed south from these creative endeavours, the group apparently encountered very rough, wet weather because the next lakes to be dug out were named, first, Te Ana Au | *The Cave of Rain* (now 'Te Anau') and then Roto Ua | *The Lake Where Rain Is Constant*. Roto Ua as a name has entirely disappeared from the landscape and records today, due to an early New Zealand Geographic Board clerical error. Roto Ua became 'Manapouri', a corruption of Manawa Pore | *Trembling Heart*, which was actually the original name of North Mavora Lake.

Confusingly, southern Ngāi Tahu now refer to the lake as Motu Rau | *The Lake of a Thousand Islands* (Cowan, 1918a; Fletcher, 1929).

After reaching the southern tip of the island and pausing to look out into the rough waters of Te Ara a Kiwa | *Foveaux Strait*, Rākaihautū and his party began their trip back north to reunite with the other explorers and their waka, creating and naming the landscape as they went. When they briefly forged inland, the first roto created was Roto Nui a Whatu | *The Big Lake of Whatu*, just north of the mouth of the Mata-au | *Clutha River* (Waite, 1940). Roto Nui a Whatu is now Tuakitoto, a large remnant of wetland originally adjacent to the lake, famed as a place for preserving several threatened species, such as Clutha flathead galaxias, dusky galaxiids, kanakana, pomahaka galaxiid and giant kōkopu (Department of Conservation | Te Papa Atawhai, nd). Further north, Rākaihautū wielded his kō to create Maranuku | *Port Molyneux* at Kākā Point, and then Waihora | *Spreading Waters*, which later changed to the mistaken – and meaningless – local name of 'Waihola', as it is still known today (Land Information New Zealand | Toitū te Whenua, nd).

Close to what is now Ōteputi | *Dunedin*, Rākaihautū stopped at the mouth of a river to eat. His party killed and ate a seabird known as a kārae (petrel), so they named this place Kai-kārae. In another case of a name that Pākehā map-makers misheard, it became the nonsense 'Māori-sounding' Kaikorai Stream, which it remains today (Beattie, 1941, p 30; Potiki, 2011). Resuming their northward journey, the weary party led by Rākaihautū created and named Wainono | *Lake Studholme*, which is where they found and reunited with Rakihouia and his crew after at least two years apart. Their meeting was a reason for celebration and an exchange of pūrākau, each group telling the other of daring deeds and acts of establishing mana whenua status in their new home. Their meeting place of Wainono was, before Rākaihautū intervened with his powers of creation and naming, known as Waihao | *The Waters of the Shortfinned Eel* (hao). As with any location Māori named for a food source, Waihao teemed with that food – hao in this case – and Rakihouia's wife Tapu-iti had become a master of the art of preparing and cooking the eels to bring out the very best flavours (Beattie, 1941, p 29). She took their catch from that day, rekindled the cooking fires and soon offered a hākari (feast) to her in-laws and their footsore companions. The reunion feast was so joyful that the day is still commemorated in the whakataukī that any tangata whenua in the southern regions recite before they start on a kai (meal) of tuna or hao today:

> Ka whakapepeha a Waitaha ki te hao te kai a te aitaka a Tapu-iti.
> (Eel is the delicacy that belongs to the descendants of Tapuiti.)

Rested and fed, the recombined group headed back north, towards the richly forested peninsula, Horomaka | *Banks Peninsula*, that broke up the eastern coastline. Rākaihautū paused to wield Tū Whakaroria to create the lake at Ōkahu | *St Andrews* and then the lagoon at Te Aitarakihi, found on the land at the end of the 90-mile beach, south of the Waitarakao | *Washdyke Estuary* (Beattie, 1918, p 142; Te Aitarakihi Trust, nd). When they finally reached the wide, flat landscape that would lead them to the volcanic-origin peninsula that marked the end of their journey, they celebrated, naming the plains

after the collective peoples with whom they had begun to identify: Kā-pakihi-whakatekateka-a-Waitaha | *The plains that radiate the pre-eminence of Waitaha* (Land Information New Zealand | Toitū te Whenua, nd).

Kā-pakihi-whakatekateka-a-Waitaha has other translations. Margaret Orbell's (1996) informants offered '*The plains where Waitaha walked proudly along*' (p 19). When recording the traditions of Tare te Maiharoa and Henare te Maire in a series of interviews, Herries Beattie (2004) notes that his informants translated this as '*the flats where the Waitaha people dressed themselves gaily and strutted along joyfully when they saw the country was so level*' (p 115). My colleague Professor Hirini Matunga, who is Ngāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe, has always called Kā-pakihi-whakatekateka-a-Waitaha '*The seedbed of Waitaha*'. According to Margaret Orbell (1996), descendants of Waitaha still establish their credentials as mana whenua with the declaration 'Rākaihautū was the man, and Te Rakihouia, and Waitaha were the iwi' (pp 16–19).

The final two lakes that Rākaihautū carved out were Te Waihora | *Lake Ellesmere* and Te Roto o Wairewa | *Lake Forsyth*. The abundant mahinga kai resources – aquatic and waterfowl – of the prosaically named Te Waihora ('*spreading waters*') were so impressive that the lake became known instead as Te Kete Ika o Rākaihautū | *The Fish Basket of Rākaihautū*. The renowned resources of this region became critical to the mana whenua of the region, to the extent that a taniwha kaitiaki (guardian monster) named Tūterakihuanoa took up residence in the lake.

Even a great explorer like Rākaihautū will decide to settle, and the rich productive landscape of the region made his decision to stay there relatively easy. To symbolise that his creative journey was over, he decided to create a memorial for all time. He climbed a high hill named Puhai, overlooking his lakes and the plains to the south and Akaroa to the east. On the summit, he plunged his faithful kō Tū Whakaroria firmly into the ground and left it there to adorn the skyline, renaming both the kō and the hill Tuhirangi | *Adorning the Skyline* (the hill is now known as Mt Bossu). His great work of exploration and naming, followed by his settling in the area, saw his mana acknowledged with the naming of the richly resourced peninsula as Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū | *The Great Food Storehouse of Rākaihautū*. Rākaihautū lived out the rest of his life at Akaroa.

Rākaihautū's importance in the twenty-first century cannot be overestimated. On marae ātea throughout Te Waipounamu, orators can be heard in their whaikōrero (speechmaking) declaring 'Rākaihautū was our ancestor. Rakihouia and Waitaha are the hapū.' They will inevitably refer also to the creative work of Rākaihautū, including a declaration of Kā Puna Wai Karikari o Rākaihautū | *The Springs Excavated by Rākaihautū* in whaikōrero and in their declarations of whakapapa establishing them as mana whenua.

The work of the explorer group was critical in establishing te ahi kā (the fires of occupation). By focusing on the coast and its resources, Te Rakihouia asserted mana over ki tai (the land's margin with the sea); by travelling through the mountains and shaping the lakes there, Rākaihautū asserted mana over ki uta (the mountain regions) (Beattie, 1918, pp 146–147). Between the two men and their actions to explore, shape and name the region, their mana covered the whole of the whenua,

embodying a phrase now often used in planning and environmental management in Aotearoa New Zealand, ki uta ki tai (from the mountains to the sea).

When current members of the iwi, marae or extended group of people who identify these explorers in their whakapapa repeat these sayings, they are declaring that the mana of the land first established by the ancients is maintained, that the mauri placed into the whenua is protected and that the statement of being mana whenua, first articulated in the distant past, remains the lived experience. Further, the recall and use of ngā ingoa tua whakarere (ancient names in the landscape) illustrate the spatial nature of taonga tuku iho (heritage) for tangata whenua in general and mana whenua in particular, revealing the embedding of tribal history in the local whenua. As Sinclair (1975) comments, names on the landscape commemorate a repository of 'long-remembered history, mythology and imagery' (p 86).

Māori introduce themselves by offering a mihi: greetings that detail connections to their tribal group, to significant ancestors and to ancestral landmarks such as maunga, awa and roto, establishing the framework that ties the people to a specific place and a specific identity, to their tūrangawaewae. Through this process, the speaker establishes interpersonal and inter-tribal connections, as well as fundamentally asserting roots in a particular geographic area. Ailsa Smith (2001, cited in Adams, 2013) comments on how identification with the landscape:

> conferred dignity and rank, providing the means for hospitality, the battlefield where prowess might be displayed and honour won, the resting place for the dead, and the heritage of future generations. It carried on its back the pa and the marae, the wahi tapu, or burial grounds, and the sacred places. Land was a giver of personal identity, a symbol of social stability, and a source of emotional and spiritual strength. (p 177)

Because of the mythical or super-human deeds of the early kaihōpara (explorers) and their work to imbue the newly explored landscapes with their mana, mauri, wairua and aroha, when tangata whenua of today recite whakapapa or quote whakataukī that invoke these people and deeds, they invoke the landscape itself. The features we view in the twenty-first century as lakes, peaks, rivers or significant landforms have layers of meaning, both hidden and apparent. The successive curved lines etched into the sides of glacial lakebeds carved by advancing and retreating glaciers look like the same excavation marks seen gouged into the sides of the rua (storage pits) of kūmara (sweet potato), so became linked in the emergent epistemologies with the creative work of the first people there.

The names bestowed in this way remain critically linked with who mana whenua are, with all sense of being, of belonging, and of responsibility as tangata whenua and kaitiaki implied and imbued in the names. The names on the landscape are more than names: they establish tūrangawaewae, the right of tangata whenua to so stand. To deny, forget, minimise or ignore these names as mere pūrākau or myth is to recolonise the whenua, disenfranchising and denying agency, epistemologies, cosmologies and oral histories of the people who remain passionately linked through the charge on each life to be kaitiaki and protector of the land that the stories name. This then is what being Indigenous means in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Author's comment

These pūrākau were first told to me by my favourite aunt, Hine Tui Waitai Wanhalla of Te Taumutu Rūnanga. She told me the first tale of Rākaihautū when I was around six years old, while we were standing on the shores of Lake Rotoiti in Nelson Lakes National Park. She added the rest over the years, telling more of the interwoven tales each time we met. It was a privilege in 2006, not long before she passed away, to see her stand again on the shores of Rotoiti to tell another young lad these tales, this time my son Jeremy. It has been a rare privilege for me as tangata whenua with whakapapa to Ngāti Apa Ki Te Rā Tō, Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui and Ngāti Toarangatira ki Whakatū to retell the stories she was so generous in gifting to me. Everything she did was a process of whakamana to all around her; I trust that I have carried on her legacy of retelling these precious stories to see others learn of the importance of names on our landscape.

I further note that there are many more detailed stories of individual places in Te Waipounamu. Ngāi Tahu ki Waihora scholar and researcher Dr George Haremate noted in an email that the iwi has a number of particular examples intrinsic to who they are that it would be inappropriate to outline as an outsider. Therefore this article deliberately omits these, such as the Aoraki Maunga traditions, the Moeraki boulder stories, the Takitimu ranges/waka traditions and others. Those interested in finding out more are encouraged to seek out these stories by visiting papatipu marae on open days, consulting histories published on rūnanga websites and in Iwi Management Plans (the latter are generally available through local council websites) and asking elders.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Georgina Fulton and Dr George Haremate for their patient and incisive review of this paper before its publication.

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NOTES

1 There were at least two *Takitimu* waka. This Tamatea is frequently (and erroneously) conflated with his grandfather, Tamatea Arikinui, captain of the original *Takitimu* waka that journeyed from Hawaiki. See HeiHei et al (2014), p 4.

2 Some versions of this legend have the sisters resident on Whakaari | *White Island*.

3 See, for example, Peter Cape's song of the same name on YouTube: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kvg9AKvgGqQ.

4 Also known among mana whenua as 'Te Taero a Kereopa – Te Tāhuna a Tama-i-ea'.

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Huaki: Cultural Landscape Recognition Needed for Māori to Flourish in Housing

Diane Menzies, Matthew Rout, John Reid and Angus Macfarlane

Cultural landscape is important for Māori identity and connections to place (Fleming, 2016; Menzies and Wilson, 2020). However, the New Zealand government did not take this into account when it belatedly began to provide Māori with access to state houses. While having a rental house or being able to build a house with state assistance enabled Māori whānau (families and extended families) to form attachments to secure home environments, government planners did not consider either the tangible or the intangible aspects of place, both of which are generally seen as significant for Māori. Instead, they adopted plans and designs that fit with the dominant western culture.

This paper investigates the approach of governments over time to policy, planning and design for state housing, arguing that recognising the tangible and intangible cultural landscape could benefit Māori tenants by addressing historical trauma and ameliorating cultural alienation without excluding others (Kennedy, 2019a, 2019b). This work is part of a government-funded research programme, Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities National Science Challenge, and aims to identify which policies have achieved the best outcomes for Māori housing. This paper considers how Māori culture and values could be incorporated into state policy and urban design for housing in ways that increase the wellbeing of residents and support their attachment to place and to Māori cultural landscapes.

In exploring the relevance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (L Henry, 2021) and Māori cultural values in the context of government-planned suburban development, this paper interrogates the opinions of Māori living in the suburbs of Glen Innes, Ōtara and Māngere in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. The theoretical method of He Awa Whiria (Macfarlane et al, 2015), implemented as co-design, is an opportunity to implement urban design responsive to Māori culture. Its recognition of the interrelationship of all aspects of the community, including people, place, nature and water, would lead to better housing outcomes for Māori spiritually, emotionally and culturally.

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KEY WORDS
Māori housing
Māori identity
Cultural landscapes
Cultural values
Housing policy
Planning and design

The New Zealand government has provided housing for its citizens for over 100 years. The first major initiative in 1935 to address housing quality and supply was to provide large-scale greenfield developments in major metropolitan areas. Initially the vision was for diversity, with infrastructure planning and design inspired by Howard's City Beautiful (Miller, 2018), dotted with distinctive family cottages. This vision gave way to expedient architectural repetition, establishing minimal facilities for communities. Quantity and density rather than quality became the target (Boyce, 2010). This emphasis on quantity has been a feature of government housing provision ever since.

Initially, Māori residents in the Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland suburbs of Glen Innes, Ōtara and Māngere welcomed a home despite the limited amenities

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and lack of connections to their hapū (extended tribe) or a traditional kāinga (village). With security of tenure, Māori could develop strong connections to place, build urban marae (the communal and sacred complex of buildings around the traditional courtyard in front of the meeting house) and form a pan-tribal Māori identity, all of which facilitated social cohesion (RJ Walker, 1970). Yet the state's initial vision of diversity failed to include Māori values in urban design, a consideration that only came much later (Goodwillie, 1990; Hoskins et al, 2002). Also important was that the focus was on housing rather than the broader landscape setting. Today, Kāinga Ora – Homes and Communities (formed in 2019 from three government agencies: Housing New Zealand Corporation; Homes, Land, Community; and Kiwibuild) now considers Māori in its decision-making process but the benefits of implementing this approach are yet to be seen.

This project uses a kaupapa Māori research methodology (Barnes, 2004; LT Smith, 1999; S Walker et al, 2006). It draws on the definition of cultural landscape as set out during the investigation into reforming the Resource Management Act 1991 (Resource Management Review Panel, 2020) and builds on the work of Māori who are leading cultural landscape practice, through developing identification techniques such as cultural mapping. Anticipating that recognition of cultural landscape may soon become a necessity for housing and other forms of development, this paper presents ideas on how this change in outlook might be translated into practice.

Background: policy and planning for housing for Māori

The state's responsibility for Māori housing is often traced back to the 1840 signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi), which saw Māori become citizens of the new state. Te Tiriti is regarded as the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand. While the precise meaning differs between its English and Māori versions, the undisputed effect of Te Tiriti is to guarantee Māori rights and privileges. Its explicit inclusion of kāinga (villages and housing) affirms that the Crown has a duty to house Māori. Te Tiriti also provides for Māori to have undisturbed possession of lands but for many reasons this did not occur and the consequences of colonisation have included land loss, poverty and repression (L Henry, 2021; Rangihau, 2017).

While the Waitangi Tribunal is currently considering claims about many aspects of housing relevant to the Crown's Treaty obligations, cultural justice already supports the contention that where Māori were negatively affected by land and kāinga loss, trauma, dislocation and cultural violence, including loss of secure housing, then the government should be providing for culturally appropriate housing for Māori in need. However, in the many decades since the Treaty was signed, the state has never fully met its obligations. Māori were impoverished as a result of colonisation and their housing situation became increasingly dire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A number of health crises led the state to conduct housing surveys across the mostly rural Māori communities in the 1930s and 1940s, which revealed the substandard state of Māori housing in comparison with non-Māori communities, but even then the state response was slow and insufficient (Krivan, 1990).

Before Sir Āpirana Ngata's land development schemes began in 1929, the state had provided little to no housing assistance to Māori. Then in 1935 the First Labour Government started an ambitious initiative to provide rental houses. Previous governments had built homes for state employees, but this was the first large-scale housing programme, which saw more than 30,000 houses built in just over a decade (Ferguson, 1995). Yet although this programme was often portrayed as providing housing for all who needed it, in reality it was 'designed to foster the growth of a particular type of family: the ideal, nuclear family unit' (Duff, 1998, pp 2–3). Māori did not fit this ideal, and while not explicitly excluded, in practice they were denied access (Ferguson, 1995). The government's expectation was that the Department of Māori Affairs would provide housing through a separate scheme for Māori (ibid) but it did not provide funding for this. By the late 1940s, as the substandard living conditions of Māori became more apparent and Māori urbanisation exacerbated the housing pressures, it became obvious that further state intervention was required (Krivan, 1990). The return of 28th Māori Battalion servicemen after World War Two added to the pressure for housing, prompting the government to consider making state rental housing more readily available to Māori, but inequality remained (Webb, 2018, p 297). Māori finally began to be integrated into the mainstream state rental housing programme from 1948, which included access to houses – as they came on line – in Glen Innes, Ōtara and Māngere in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland (figure 1).

Ever since this integration into the mainstream housing scheme, the state's provision of housing for Māori – be it through state rentals or schemes facilitating ownership – has been largely insufficient, although some periods have proved better than others. In the 1950s, very few Māori were housed through state rentals or loans (Krivan, 1990). Then the 1960s to 1980s reached the high mark in state support for Māori housing, when Māori home ownership peaked – even though the number of houses available still never met the demand (ibid). What followed was a decades-long decline in both ownership and state rental provision that runs into the contemporary period (Rout et al, 2019). While the Hunn Report of the 1960s sparked an increase in housing support (Krivan, 1990), a similar report written for the Board of Māori Affairs in 1986 (Douglas, 1986) that identified a crisis in Māori housing failed to generate the same response. Thirty-three years later a report again addressed the shortfall in Māori housing (Rout et al, 2019), indicating that no marked progress in policy and construction for Māori housing has been made. In the last 10 years or so, government agencies have been leading the renewal and intensification of state housing developments – which is now the role of Kāinga Ora – but the shortfall has yet to be adequately addressed.

While Māori have the same fundamental need for shelter as every other citizen, another critical component of housing has particular resonance for Māori: their connection to and relationship with their land – often conceptualised by the term tūrangawaewae, or a place to stand. As Lena Henry (2021) writes, 'there is no part of Māori culture that is not influenced by the relationship to land and the environment' (p 107). Increasing Māori urbanisation had repercussions for the connection to land (Kiddle, 2018), in particular with two main impacts. First, Māori continued to need suitable housing near whānau (family, extended family or close friends) and hapū (a section of the wider tribe), as the population grew.

Second, they experienced trauma, alienation, disconnection and loss of resilience as they became minorities in often hostile settler communities (L Henry, 2021, p 117). In effect, Māori had become internal refugees (Awatere, 2008), driven from or leaving their tribal areas and moving to cities. The need for housing increased in cities over time, but the housing built did not reflect Māori customs or culture. The policy instead was to assimilate Māori into colonist culture (Rangihau, 2017). Today assimilation may no longer be a policy objective, yet Māori culture and customs are still barely recognised in the planning and urban design of state housing even if change is indicated to be on the way.

Urban Māori are often dislocated and disconnected from their tribal land, with the result that they can lose their knowledge of tribal connections. Matāwaka refers to those who are living within the land of other iwi (tribes), in contrast to those who are mana whenua, with traditional authority over that land (Local Government (Auckland Council) Act 2006, section 4). While the Auckland Independent Māori Statutory Board includes matāwaka representation, generally matāwaka have little voice in urban affairs. In some cities, matāwaka may be the majority of Māori living there, lacking the connection to land or iwi that would give them a voice in the way the local council operates.

The research programme

This paper has emerged out of the Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities National Science Challenge, in a project that is cross-referencing housing data with government housing policy to examine how and under what circumstances this has resulted in housing security for Māori. The aim is to identify which government policies have achieved the best outcomes for Māori housing, so that those successes may be replicated, in a modified form if needed. While the wider project is primarily focused on material housing outcomes, considerations of cultural match are also salient, prompting this paper to address the following question:

> How could state urban design and planning incorporate Māori culture and values in ways that increase the wellbeing of residents and encourage attachment to place and connections to Māori cultural landscapes?

To examine this question, the paper investigates qualitative aspects of state housing development in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. In doing so, it explores the perceptions of residents through literature, interviews and case studies of three state housing developments that began between the 1950s and 1970s and that, after years of neglect, have been or will be redeveloped for more intensive land use and urban renewal. The scoping information identified includes oral histories of early Māori residents and the extensive research already undertaken on state housing development in different decades (although less is available on the subject of Māori tenants and homeowners).

Methodology and methods

Te Tiriti provides the overarching context for this paper. While the research was conducted according to the ethical approach that received the University of Canterbury's approval, the values of tika, pono and aroha (correct approach, with integrity and love) were also applied as far as was possible in the COVID-19 climate.

This project adopted kaupapa Māori rangahau (Māori-themed research), an approach developed as a means for Māori researchers to investigate issues through a Māori lens (LT Smith, 1999), after dissatisfaction with the outcomes of the western-oriented research that is often applied to Māori. Māori research methodologies have developed with an understanding of the responsibilities and accountabilities of the researchers (Barnes, 2004). The Māori principles this project adopted as the basis for its methodology are: tino rangatiratanga (self-determination and independence), social justice, te ao Māori (a Māori world view), use of te reo Māori (Māori language) and whānau (S Walker et al, 2006), as well as Te Tiriti o Waitangi and āta (growing respectful relationships) (Cram, 2016). Kaupapa Māori rangahau has been developed for diverse applications, becoming richer and more detailed, empowering researchers as part of the National Science Challenges (E Henry, 2017, p 1), which have taken an explicit mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) approach to research. For this paper, the Māori researchers, interviewers and project leaders are part of a mixed cultures team.

An additional methodology adopted was He Awa Whiria, developed by Macfarlane et al (2015), which integrates Māori and western science and values. In this braided approach to research into mixed Indigenous and western cultural matters, scientific and Indigenous cultures can complement each other, co-exist and blend to provide an enhanced outcome. This methodology is ideally suited to topics where there are shared resources as it enables mutual recognition of different understandings of epistemology and axiology. Wilkinson and Macfarlane (2021) provide an example of this approach.

Methods adopted for the research include a background literature review, research commissioned to expand sources (Adam, 2020), oral history recordings from Auckland Library, meetings and dialogue with community members and housing providers, and interviews with residents and those with knowledge of state housing in the case study communities. The three case studies of state housing developments in Glen Innes, Ōtara and Māngere describe the local context of housing development. The semi-structured interviews asked community contacts, who were located through word of mouth, to tell their stories as they applied to state housing, explicitly referencing cultural values. Their values were also inferred from responses to other questions. The interviews were transcribed, checked with participants and then coded using interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). IPA was adopted for ordering and understanding the transcribed interviews as it sets out to 'explore in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social worlds' (Smith and Osborn, 2009, p 53). The IPA coding provides for line-by-line analysis of each narrative to identify themes and super-themes, while observing context, language used and content.

Why culture and context are relevant to housing for Māori

This discussion considers the links between state housing, which was built on land once cared for by mana whenua, and Māori cultural values. It also examines the context of the broader cultural aspects of the planning, urban design and cultural landscape. The purpose is to address why culture, land connections and location are relevant to housing for Māori.

Māori culture and beliefs derive from founding stories of the atua (deities, primordial ancestors) Ranginui | *Sky Father* and Papatūānuku | *Earth Mother* and the understanding that all things – including people and the environment – are interconnected and share whakapapa (genealogy) (Penetito, 2021). In pre-contact times, Māori used whakapapa to express the connections of kinship groups, particularly whānau and hapū, to their environment. All aspects of the environment have a whakapapa. Through these kinship bonds, Māori see land not as a possession to own but as a tupuna (ancestor) who they care for and who in turn takes care of them. Language, custom and ritual reinforce this interconnection: the word for land, whenua, also means the placenta, which is buried soon after birth to maintain the newborn's tie with land (Knox, 2021, p 72), and hapū also means pregnant, so it maintains the extended connection

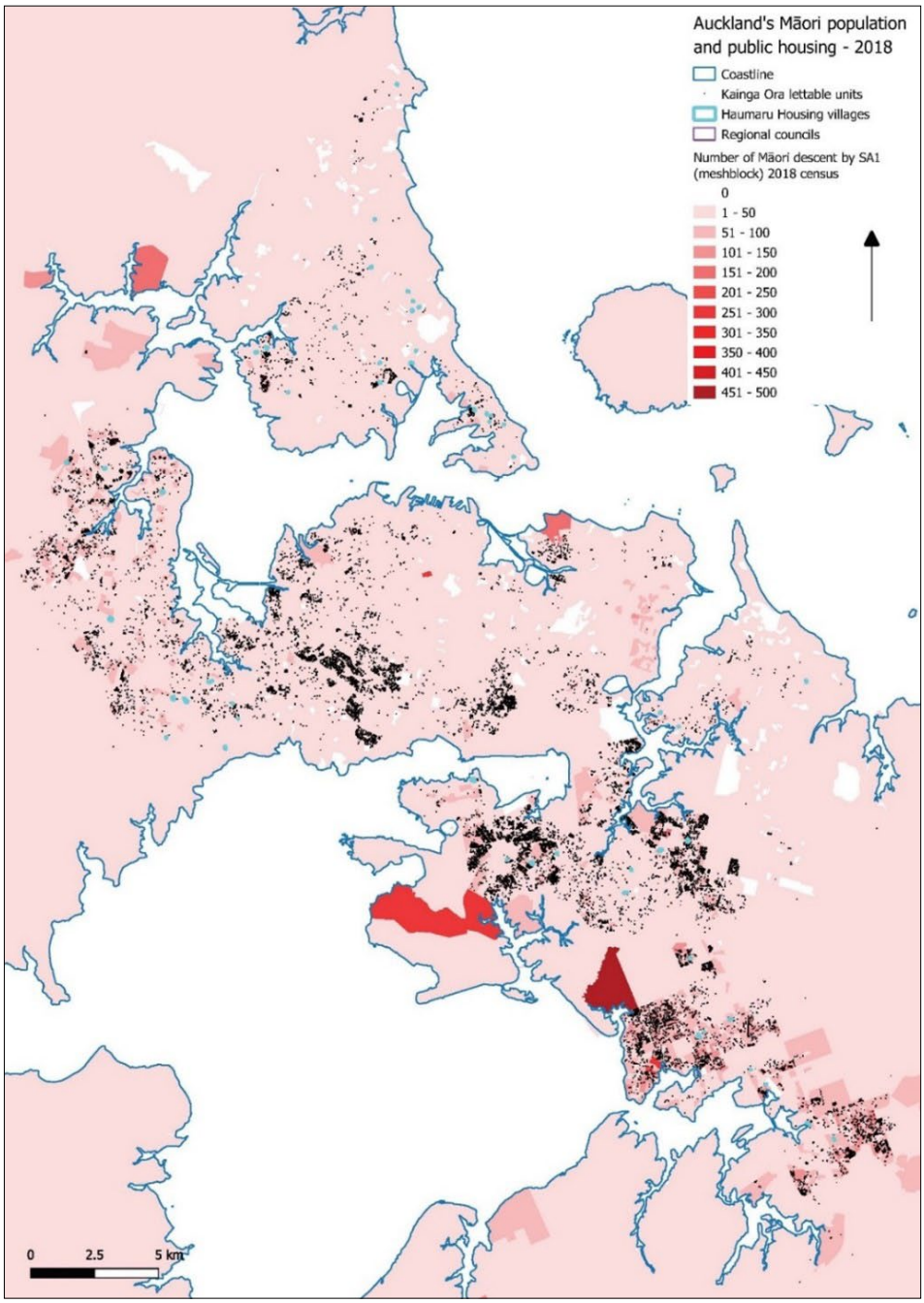

Figure 1: Location of Māori in social housing in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland, 2018. (Image: Nathan Kennedy, Auckland Council.)

between people and land (in contrast to the more prevalent western nuclear family). Ancestral knowledge, mātauranga, has been developed through centuries of observation, response and adaptation to sustainable living in Aotearoa New Zealand; it is a knowledge of context and place. This understanding, together with the concept of mana whenua and kaitiaki (responsibility to care for and nurture the land), supports a mutual sense of affection for the integrated ecological family emerging from this kinship. The meaning of land or environment has a more human and spiritual significance: a source of life and development of one's own wairua (spirit) and peace of mind. It is this spiritual connection that is often the inspiration for design (Thompson, 1988).

Māori customary values and practices are defined in law as tikanga, coming from 'the accumulated knowledge of generations' (Mead, 2016, p 15). Mead (2016) explains that Māori values are those expected standards of behaviour that Māori hold to be important, and that key values include whanaungatanga, which is about relationships and obligations, and manaakitanga, generosity and hospitality. These customary values differ from western values concerning the land and people's relationship to it (Rangihau, 2017, p 1). Western societies' understanding of land as a commodity now plays a major role in Aotearoa New Zealand, coming into conflict with Māori customary values. Mead's definition of tikanga is complicated somewhat by the use of such values as manaakitanga (identified by Mead), also understood as principles in kaupapa Māori research and Te Aranga Principles (described later). Value and principle terms are applied in different ways in te reo Māori.

The idea of cultural landscape has an international genealogy, with American geographer Carl Sauer defining it in the 1940s (Hayden, 2001). As Domosh (2001) explains it, cultural landscape:

> refers to the three-dimensional patterns that cultures imprint on the land, such as agricultural field systems, transportation networks, residential and commercial buildings, and urban forms. It also refers to an approach to studying those forms, an approach that uses interpretative strategies for understanding cultural meanings embedded in landscapes.

Cultural landscapes are also defined and protected by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Convention. Tongariro National Park, which for Māori has spiritual and religious significance, was the first place so inscribed. In its review of current resource management legislation, the Resource Management Review Panel (2020) proposes to define cultural landscape as:

> [a] defined area or place with strong significance for mana whenua arising from cultural and historic associations and includes natural, physical and metaphysical markers of features. (p 487)

Although the international approach to cultural landscapes applies to all cultures, this definition of cultural landscape in relation to mana whenua only has weight in relation to the Crown's obligations under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In 2016, 80 per cent of Heritage New Zealand listings were for colonial built heritage, indicating that current policy does not support Māori cultural landscapes well (Menzies and Short, 2018), even though there has been no legal barrier to recognising Māori cultural values, as the cultural landscape inscription for Tongariro National Park

makes clear. Explicit recognition and protection of significant mana whenua cultural landscapes should serve as affirmative policy action.

Māori cultural landscapes are about the intangible connections to landscape passed down through stories of ancestors extending back to Papatūānuku, and the physical and metaphysical features or markers of those stories in the landscape. Landscape features include symbolic markers by which to remember ancestors and spiritual aspects important to tangata whenua, as identified in pepeha (a speech used in introduction). Mana whenua, whose stories relate to their landscapes, have developed their connections over centuries of living in those places. The word ūkaipō, referring to ancestral lands that have nurtured Māori, is relevant to cultural landscapes, conveying a sense of belonging, a place of connection. The stories and connections remain even though the land is held by the state and may have been developed for housing. Those Māori who live outside their own rohe (traditional territory) also form connections to the place and land in which they are living over time, as they overcome the trauma of dislocation, and take pride in that place, be it Glen Innes, Ōtara, Māngere (figures 2 and 3) or elsewhere.

In this paper, we understand land (whenua and its associations) and landscape (a European cultural construct for which no Māori word or term exists: Makhzoumi, 2002; Wu, 2010) in terms of layers of whakapapa, events, names and places extending back to founding stories, as well as in terms of mātauranga and whakaaro (thought). All aspects of land, including people, are connected and hold mauri (life force). The house is not an isolated object for Māori but rather it is part of an integrated, interconnected and broader lived entity – intimately connected to social habits and spiritual beliefs, among many other components. As Thompson (1988) explains:

> Sometimes built structures are envisaged to provide support for relationships between *land and people*. The relationships between buildings and land, or people and buildings is often secondary … Elements … are expressive of physical/meta-physical forces present in the site. (p 24; original emphasis)

Figure 2: Lavinia Crescent, Māngere in September 2020, which was built for state rental housing in 1960s. (Photo: Diane Menzies.)

When the state does not recognise the relevance of Māori culture to land and what it means to Māori, or does not recognise previous Māori land loss and trauma (Reid et al, 2014), it excludes rather than includes Māori. In addition, as local residents told us, when the feeling of alienation continues, it can discourage Māori from purchasing a house. Māori need to maintain their culture, customs and rituals in order to become part of a vibrant community. As Tarena argues:

> [Y]ou've got to believe it comes at a social cost for Maori youth to be growing up in an environment where your culture's alien, where it's invisible – not just marginalised, it's not even there. (cited in Puketapu-Dentice et al, 2017)

Urban and suburban development for state housing was largely addressed through the lens of town and country planning up until 1990. However, this system was based on British notions of separating uses, separating environmental aspects, and arranging land as commercial parcels following the Torrens land transfer system. This does not recognise Māori understanding of land, its interconnections or people's relationship to it.

> The relevance of land for Indigenous communities is particularly significant; it acts to cement and affirm rangatiratanga, or Indigenous rights within an environment. Through that affirmation of Indigenous rights a sense of place and identity is created and cemented within that environment. The need for land is paramount to Indigenous communities; without land it is difficult to swim the tides of a community's spiritual and cultural traditions. (Puketapu-Dentice et al, 2017)

The Resource Management Act 1991 identifies matters of national importance that need to be recognised and provided for in planning and environmental management. Water and air resources are dealt with through regional plans and decision making, while local authorities address land management. Aspects of value to Māori include ancestral landscapes. While the legislation currently does not recognise cultural landscapes, the recent Resource Management Review Panel (2020) report does propose doing so for Māori cultural landscape.

Urban design and Māori culture

The state-developed urban policy framework adopted contemporary ideas and expertise from the start of the state's involvement in 1935, with the aim of including quality and diversity in design (even though the ideals were often not

Figure 3: Ōtara Road's attached rental housing is an example of the Ōtara development's emphasis on cost and quantity, September 2020. (Photo: Diane Menzies.)

reflected in the performance on the ground). Master planning addressed broad-scale landscapes but ultimately the developments did not have the budget to bring these ideas to fruition and the layouts of the new estates were generally utilitarian and often unfinished. Relative to the bold western-centric design and planning for greenfields, the suburban developments were bland and generic.

> Rather than tikanga being embraced as valid, important and potentially enhancing to the wellbeing of our communities, economy and environments, Māori must battle on a daily basis for even token recognition of our ways of being. This is the slow and grinding wheel of colonisation that still turns today. (Knox, 2021, p 67)

Provision for Māori cultural values, particularly those relating to whenua and landscape, has occurred only sporadically if at all. While state development agencies (such as Kāinga Ora) do reference such values in their literature, the main proponents thus far have been Māori architects and planners, such as Rewi Thompson and Rau Hoskins.

Today's developments with increased densities are being undertaken on land that was previously Māori land, or estates for state, social or public housing in a model that now includes private purchase for rental and private purchase for ownership. The result of this change is threefold.

First, Māori families who are in social housing are separated from extended families and other Māori families, so become dislocated (again) from their culture. Further, through state policies of social mixing, their community life is undermined, with spatial injustice as a consequence (Gordon et al, 2017).

Second, through both state and public–private partnerships, architecture and planning still largely ignore Māori values such as cultural tikanga and interconnections with the cultural landscape and environment, natural thriving green places, and space for extended family socialisation. Instead, they give preference to dense development, neutral building colours, and limited neighbourhood community space and protection of nature, while amenities such as some built structures in play areas for children serve as a substitute. Planning and design staff at Kāinga Ora indicate that co-design and community consultation do receive attention, though this seems to occur at a late stage when fewer opportunities are available to achieve a coordinated approach to open space design. Māori are not usually recognised as partners in planning and design, and their participation may depend on available community volunteers. Outcomes of the experience of being excluded from participation may include frustration, tokenism, resident demand for change or rejection by residents (as with marker posts or pou for Glen Innes residents, discussed below).

Third, gentrification (Gordon et al, 2017) conflicts with the enactment of cultural rituals and the encouragement of the use of Māori language in the community. While recent documents available from Kāinga Ora (Karlovsky and Bark, 2020) indicate that the design of new developments does consider Māori as tenants, Māori living in those developments dispute that they reflect Māori values and note that their stories are not being told.

Māori were scarcely accounted for in urban design at the broad-scale landscape, neighbourhood and local levels, other than with some sporadically inclusive housing design. As Puketapu-Dentice et al (2017) note:

> Urban design and planning practice have significant roles to play in reconnecting the Indigenous past with ever-evolving contemporary urbanisation and in doing so, articulate a right to the city … that reshapes urban experience for all urban residents. Integrating Indigenous cultural values within the built environment can provide a vehicle for advancing Indigenous aspirations for spatial justice by creating a sense of identity through direct association to a place that is often dominated by Western design and planning practices.

Māori were a significant tenant of state housing from the 1950s as returnees after the war and arrivals from rural areas seeking work, but the houses did not 'support the extended family structures that Māori were used to and subtly defined men's and women's spaces in the city' (Kiddle, 2018, p 47). Further, the policy of 'pepperpotting' aimed to intersperse state-financed homes for Māori tenants in

Figure 4: Plan of development for Ōtara. The colour codes indicate: proposed group housing – brown; state rental – blue; and planned Māori Affairs house sites – black. (Map: Seidel (1971).)

a predominantly non-Māori area. Developed by the Department of Māori Affairs and State Advances Corporation in the 1960s, the policy deliberately spread Māori through developments at the master planning stage in Ōtara and other locations as a means of encouraging integration (figure 4). Yet, despite the policy, some neighbourhoods had greater concentrations of Māori and have formed strong communities.

The diversity of housing design emphasised in the First Labour Government's housing scheme failed to eventuate. The government assembled over 400 house designs, assisted by the New Zealand Institute of Architects (Te Kāhui Whaihanga) and Fletchers, which commissioned designs from Australia. Ultimately, however, expediency and cost took precedence, resulting in architectural and planning uniformity. The houses were highly standardised (to minimise costs) and had certain mass-produced components. All houses had roofs made from the same available material and all had the same pitch (figure 5). Nonetheless, the actual houses were a vast improvement on earlier housing: they were warmer, drier and sited within interconnecting open spaces.

The state did consider including Māori cultural values in housing in the 1970s and 1980s but nothing came of it. By the 1990s some responsive designs, largely led by Māori architect Rewi Thompson, emerged (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014). However, the state failed to consider Māori in the overall land context for the developments, which is of as much importance to Māori as the houses themselves, as they perceive it as part of an integrated whole. Māori have been adjusting to changing housing circumstances and impacts on their different values and ways of living over the last 80 plus years, but recognition and provision for Māori cultural values now are likely to lead to better relationships in the community and greater social cohesion (E Henry et al, 2019). In turn, this could enable Māori to identify significant stories for places. As Kiddle (2018) points out, 'Placemaking is a fraught process. It is intertwined with social norms and expectations. It is at root an intensely value laden, political process' (p 57).

However, it might be argued that placemaking is a relatively benign activity in state housing areas, rather than moving to more political considerations of spatial justice, Crown ownership and placekeeping.

Views from the residents

During our interviews, residents discussed culture, including tikanga and whakapapa, and the importance of spiritual wellbeing, with the understanding that all things are interconnected. Topics such as language, customs and marae were interspersed with comments about land, family and housing, as well as memories of how they had arrived in Glen Innes and Māngere, and what they would like to see their suburb become in the future. Applying traditional Māori thinking, a resident looked back as a means of anticipating the future.

> If we want to go back to the wellbeing of our hinengaro [mind], our wairua [spirit] and all those aspects, we need to go back and develop a system where we are able to live as Māori and to speak our language and to practise our tikanga. (Resident 2)

The residents spoke of intergenerational connections to their place, after migrating from Ponsonby, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland.

> My grandparents and my great-grandparents lived together. They came from Ponsonby as well. So they moved into this area in the 1940s, and so she brought her children up and had her children in this particular area. And of course our aunties and our parents also had us in this particular area here … we were one whānau. So we were very well connected in our street and then became connected very well to our whole community. (Resident 3)

The residents in this dialogue were describing their place in their street and beyond as interconnected with family and community. Moreover, while mothers had buried placentas in Glen Innes, they made the point that younger generations who had been born and bred in Glen Innes also acknowledged this connection.

> When they stand up and introduce themselves, when they mihi (greet people) on the marae, they say I'm from GI, born and bred. So you know that's an aspect of being really proud about this place. (Resident 1)

However, pride of place and connections to place were still hampered by feelings of cultural displacement and alienation, the residents explained. Houses have been demolished and residents moved into other buildings. All those displaced from their long-term homes, who have wanted to remain in the suburb, have been moved into the increased-density housing in that same suburb in order to maintain their connections with place. They have found their open space diminished and their connection to nature, landscape and neighbours greatly reduced.

Insecurity of tenure is a major issue with both state and private housing even though having a home for life was the initial state housing policy. It is an issue that particularly affects Māori, who have a more limited ability to compete in the housing market because they generally have less income and fewer resources. As state tenants, they are vulnerable to tenancy termination or relocation (Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, 2020; Rout et al, 2019). The new landscape has a much greater destructive impact on cultural connections and Papatūānuku.

> Where is the incentive to own the home when issues around displacement have happened from your whenua, from your papakāinga [ancestral village], when you have been moved from pillar to post, when [you see] the impacts on our reo and our culture? (Resident 1)

In the face of the repeating cycle of dislocation today, residents reflected on their early days in state housing with positive memories.

> It was a great area, it was safe and yeah, we had a great childhood. I have got so many great memories of just playing outside, feeling safe and just loving our friends. We would all go to each other's houses, just walk in and spend time, and then go to the other person's house. It was community. (Resident 4)

The opportunities to grow vegetables in their gardens were part of the memories they valued.

> My mother was a fantastic gardener and so is my father and so both our parents, that was the other benefit of growing up in Māngere. There was a lovely patch of lawn, but Mum had gardens and we took pride in keeping our areas tidy and clean. (Resident 5)

> Your backyard catered for your gardens because we didn't have any fruit shops in the area at the time. (Resident 2)

These descriptions suggest the process of forming a community was open and interconnected. Moreover, in referring to connections to land, one resident said:

> I am happy to be in this area again, because where my house is, we look directly to the maunga [mountain], to Māngere Maunga, and so that is connection for me because that is where we grew up. (Resident 4)

However, residents acknowledged that they were a somewhat unseen culture within the larger community. While understanding that Māori values and connections to significant mountains or specific landscape features were important to Māori residents, they recognised others did not share their values.

> The maunga, these are parts of our heritage, and these are part of our pepeha [speech identifying ancestry] and they are very important to us. But what does our community around us think? They are not important to them. (Resident 1)

The residents saw themselves as living within a wider community but disconnected and perhaps excluded from it; a community that did not have the same social cohesion as those within the Māori community.

> We are here at this marae that has been here for over 40 years, yet people are still saying, 'Oh, I didn't know there was a marae there.' So really, that's telling me that people don't realise there is a marae here because we are not deemed part of the community. (Resident 1)

The residents spoke about connection to place as being about stories. Stories connected to the whenua were important to them, perhaps more so than the physical landscape. One said, 'I think our stories haven't been heard … we need our voices to be heard' (Resident 2). They explained that designs could relate to their stories in the same way as stories relate to tūpuna identified in wharenui (carved meeting houses). All residents expressed a desire to contribute to new master planning through co-design.

Figure 5: State housing from 1950s onward, showing uniform roof materials and pitch. View from Glen Innes to Maungarei, November 2020. (Photo: Diane Menzies.)

> As Māori we would like to be part of any kōrero [talk] pertaining to our rohe [tribal area]. And I think we have the right to be there because who knows the story better than us? (Resident 1)

> I would like to take part in some of that kaupapa [topic]. Why? Because I have lived here for many years and I have some kōrero to add to it … Or any whānau that has been here and has a good knowledge of the area, I am sure they would also like to be part of it as well. (Resident 3)

The residents spoke of recent landscape design through which Māori carved pou (marker posts) were installed in a landscape setting, which they saw as inappropriate because the stories of the pou had not been communicated and had no meaning for them. The designs should tell the residents' stories, they said, and residents should have been part of a conversation at the planning stage.

> We have got a brand-new walkway that has just been designed. I know it's a bit off the subject, but my point is that there is some hope that as you walk along the path, there's some Māori pou that have been carved and placed along this walkway. There is no connection for people because the story or the tikanga that comes with the pou has not been given … I don't get it, why has somebody put this carved pou on this huarahi [pathway]? It makes no sense to me … So they have to be of significance; they can't be just placed there and just for people to look at. (Resident 2)

Considering changes in Tāmaki Makaurau, the growing population and the increasing density of housing (figure 6), one resident commented, 'And that is something with the changing landscape of Auckland; that you don't have that much physical land' (Resident 5).

While all residents expressed concerns about the density of new development, a specific concern was about its impact on Māori in terms of culture, dislocation, mental health and physical health.

> I fear for a lot of our Māori whānau because to be put into a box again and not have that … mental and physical support of other organisations to come in and talk to our whānau about living in a matchbox, let alone living in a

Figure 6: Recent urban renewal in the Fenchurch Street area of Glen Innes, November 2020. Buildings include state rental, private rental and affordable (to some) homes. (Photo: Diane Menzies.)

> matchbox and being able to have their children play within that matchbox. A lot of our family have passed away because of being put into such smaller matchboxes. (Resident 2)

A housing advisor in Māngere had similar concerns.

> Kāinga Ora [KO] or government need to be looking at research around culturally appropriate housing and what does that actually look like in the sense of developing cohesion in the community. Because at the moment KO are building what I call the numbers game, and sadly they're going to create ghettos rather than a strong healthy community because we haven't thought about the open spaces, we haven't thought about communal living and ultimately we haven't thought about culturally appropriate builds.

In summary, the residents sought space in their homes and surrounding spaces for families and neighbours to carry out cultural practices such as sharing food and company. For Māori who are living in their rohe, their whakapapa and stories, as well as their connection with cultural landscapes such as mountain, harbours, rivers and marae, were markers for wellbeing. For the many living outside their rohe, connection to place has developed through cultural associations, marae and pride in place.

A way forward

What is particular about a Māori cultural landscape when the same features in a landscape or townscape may be significant for both Māori and non-Māori? A Māori cultural landscape is landscape that has symbolic meaning to Māori, a landscape that signifies stories connecting Māori to ancestors, events and whakapapa, and that helps to connect them to place. It is a matter of perception. The difference lies in cultural appreciation of the tangible landscape. Māori in Glen Innes understand tangible landscape for its symbolic meaning; for this reason, the stories connected to the landscape are important.

Open spaces provide places for children to play but also provide opportunities for greater connection to nature and other living things, for enhancing the mauri of the environment. Strong evidence points to health and wellbeing benefits from green outdoor space for all cultures (Souter-Brown, 2021). This evidence appears to be in conflict with the current model of increased-density state housing and needs to be addressed.

A recent notable trend has been for Auckland Council, as well as Christchurch City Council, to consider Māori principles in developing city environments as a way of making more inclusive responses to urban design, including for infrastructure and housing. For this purpose, Auckland Council has adopted Te Aranga Principles and local hapū are adapting them to recognise their own specific place-based values. Te Aranga Principles aim to incorporate Māori values at the core of decision making and design, including aspects such as ahi kā (a living presence), mana (prestige and authority), whakapapa (genealogy – including names and signs), mauri tū (environmental health) and tohu (the wider cultural landscape). The Principles originated from Ngā Aho (Māori designers' network), which was formed in response to the Ministry for the Environment's Urban Design Protocol 2005, developed without Māori input or the recognition of Māori values. Ngā Aho began with the aim of enabling application of Māori values in urban design, which led to the development of Te Aranga Principles in 2008 as a tool for recognising Māori voice and values (Paul, 2017).

The cultures exist together and the key issue is to enable the telling of the stories that connect with local landscape features. It is for this purpose that He Awa Whiria model of thinking has value in uniting western and Māori approaches to urban design. With this model, it is possible to take design steps that recognise diverse communities while acknowledging Māori values. Such urban design can be achieved through symbolism and contrasting forms and placement of buildings in the landscape (Thompson, 1988). For housing more specifically, design could indicate its acknowledgement of Māori values by protecting cultural markers such as waterways, by acknowledging the appropriate stories in naming, construction and artworks, and by taking particular care with landscape health such as through providing interlinking native vegetation to help birds, insects and people to thrive.

Although Māori culture was not considered when the first state housing developments were built, the generous open spaces enabled Māori residents to make the new places their homes over several generations, despite the persisting trauma from dislocation. Mana whenua retain their stories that connect them to these landscapes and Māori residents who are not mana whenua have stories to remember as well. Urban design can tell all of these stories, especially when residents share their stories and connections with planners and designers through collaborative co-design. Co-design would address the current western-centric urban design, which in turn may alleviate feelings of exclusion and enable residents to have a stronger stake in the future community.

Developing connections to place can be a particular barrier for Māori through insecurity of tenure in state housing as well as private rental housing. Government policies would improve spiritual and emotional wellbeing if they were directed towards security of tenure in cultural landscapes significant to Māori for emergency housing (Menzies, 2021) and rental housing.

As design capacity develops, local Māori whānau may have opportunities in future to partner with urban designers and landscape architects for the purposes of: identifying and protecting Māori cultural landscapes; achieving placekeeping by telling key stories relating to the place; and protecting physical aspects such as maunga, enabling waterways to breathe, and enhancing mauri by ensuring it is considered during infrastructure planning and construction. Placemaking might be better achieved through the idea from He Awa Whiria of braiding cultural approaches so that all can recognise places of comfort to them. Māori planners and designers have advocated co-design of master planning so that new housing has an integrated approach, inclusive of Māori values, as a means of addressing inequality and social cohesion (E Henry et al, 2019; Mark and Hagen, 2020). By working as partners in state housing master planning with the state designer Kāinga Ora, mana whenua could take a lead role with matāwaka in support.

Māori culture includes recognition of the interrelated aspects of life rather than separation of housing from culture. With this, recognition of the wider community context of cultural landscapes, intangible and tangible (Renata, 2018), seems likely to produce better housing outcomes for Māori, spiritually, emotionally and culturally. As one Māori advisor, describing the design of new developments, put it, 'I want to see housing and places that make my heart sing.'

Considering tangible and intangible cultural landscapes early in the design process to provide an inclusive relationship with whānau, community, culture and nature would help to address deficiencies in planning and urban design for Māori housing, without excluding other cultures. In this approach, the environmental connectedness of Māori cultural values and recognition of significant cultural landscapes could be interwoven with western approaches to open space in public or social housing that induce amenity and wellbeing.

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Karanga: Connecting to Papatūānuku

Lynda Toki, Te Mamaeroa Cowie, Diane Menzies, Rangi Joseph and Rowena Fonoti

Karanga is the formal call of welcome in Māori culture. Māori are tangata whenua, the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. Karanga as an expression of culture is more than a call: it is an aspect of intangible heritage. The call is performed by women, representing specific roles within traditional Māori culture, to transfer expertise and information (Ruwhiu, 2009). Karanga is the first voice heard when groups are ceremonially meeting, traditionally occurring as an exchange between senior and trusted women on behalf of the groups. In taking this role, the women assert their place in the extended section of the tribe or group, as well as in Māori ritual and protocol. The karanga may also be sent out to other indivisible life forms such as forests, creatures, mountains, rivers and metaphysical deities. It is an exchange between people, and between people and nature. The elements of nature – birds, insects, land, all life – hear and respond (Menzies and Wilson, 2020, p 60). Adopting a kaupapa Māori rangahau methodology (S Walker et al, 2006, p 331), this paper is based on wānanga karanga which took place at Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka, held quarterly with practitioners. Karanga is practised as personal and group expansion of life experiences and knowledge of language, tikanga and customary traditions. This is related to land, place identity, and healing. Ancestral knowledge enables cultural practice in a contemporary world that can point to solutions for more sustainable ways of living with Papatūānuku | Earth Mother. This paper addresses how karanga as a cultural practice can enhance landscapes through relationships with land and by offering strategic ways to tackle wicked manmade problems, including biodiversity loss, climate change and pollution.

Karanga to Papatūānuku

Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangatahi, nei ra ngā Māreikura e tū ana i tā mātou wā i runga i te whenua o Rangimatarau.

Te tū hei māngai tuku i te wā o nāianei. E tū nei hei kaitiaki mō te taonga whenua, rākau, wai Māori e hora nei i te whenua o Rangimatarau. E tuku mihi ana ki te taiao ki ngā taonga e whakaora ana i te ao o ngā ngāngara, ngā ika o te wai Māori, ngā tupu o Papatūānuku ki ngā Pā Harakeke.

Kia tata mai tonu e te whaea Papatūānuku, homai te kaha, te oranga ki te taiao i runga i a Rangimatarau kia tū tika, kia ora tonu ngā taonga o kui o koro ma, tiakina. Tiakina mai te taonga e hora nei Rangimatarau mo ake tonu.

Haumia hui e!

Taiki e!

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KEY WORDS

Karanga
Mana of wahine
Ritual
Cultural practice
Intangible heritage
Pōwhiri
Cultural landscape

RESEARCH

‘Nau mai, haere mai, whakatau mai.’

The high-pitched call is sent out to assembled visitors across the sacred space of the Marae Ātea. At a conscious level, the echoing cry is one of welcome. At a higher level of consciousness, the call resonates with the first voice of creation, linking to all who have gone before. The call joins us to place and nature, conveying cultural knowledge and metaphysical understanding, rich in metaphor, spiritual ideas and life essence. The call creates reverberations in the mind; it alerts those who hear it and it carries power. Karanga, the call, is a solemn and practised ritual that draws callers and responders back to Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, the great ocean, the Pacific. Sailing canoes arriving in Aotearoa 1,000 years ago (S Walker et al, 2006, p 331) brought explorers and then settlers from East Polynesia. This culture, later termed Māori, held nature and people to be indivisible. The first ceremonies when landing were ‘to give offering to a place’ with prayers, as well as names connecting these new lands with those from the north east (Douglas and Bremner, 2017, p 37). Ancestral knowledge expanded as those settlers learnt about the new lands, better understood nature in Aotearoa and linked their identity to place and nature, and the place to people.

Karanga is an intangible aspect of cultural heritage that has been handed down from Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother. Karanga is a woman’s role in traditional Māori culture and protocol. The first voice customarily heard is that of a woman, signifying her importance. Through their procreation role, central status in the family, and role in maintaining and transferring cultural knowledge, women communicate spiritual aspects (Ruwhiu, 2009). Sharman (2019) explains:

> The power of Māori women rests with the whare tangata, the house of humanity also encompassing the womb. … It is therefore irrevocably linked with the life-giving soil of Papatūānuku and the whare tangata as the potentiality for new human life. (p 26)

Traditionally viewed as a connection between the living and spiritual worlds, the karanga is steeped in tikanga (custom) and epitomises the mana of wahine — the power of women within the marae. It is a spiritual call that has been heard through generations of whānau (families) across the country (Rewi, 2012). Karanga is the voice of women that Papatūānuku and her children recognise and to whom they respond. Birds, other creatures, water, mountains, the earth and other aspects of our world respond to karanga that are directed to them.

The purpose of karanga may be to welcome, celebrate, grieve, recognise, give thanks and converse with nature. Karanga to Papatūānuku is delivered with great respect, but the call goes out loudly so that we can communicate on the level of tangata whenua (peoples of the land), bringing in all aspects of the natural world.

> We are creatures of te taiao [the natural world] that belongs to the whakapapa [genealogy] and includes all plant life, water life, things that fly, crawl, swim, breathe and move. And like all things we possess mauri [life force]. (Penetito, 2021, p 37)

Karanga is most frequently heard at official cultural welcomes, exchanging information through dialogue between kaikaranga (practitioners of karanga), to acknowledge the visitors on their arrival at a traditional marae or meeting place. It

is also used today to welcome births, for celebration at important occasions such as awards and to farewell the dead. Karanga is led by the deity Hine-te-iwaiwa, as Sharman (2019) writes:

> Hineteiwaiwa provides authority for those things pertaining to women … Her role is one of utmost importance for Māori women … Her attributes as a performer suggest that she could represent mana wahine forms of creativity, such as kapahaka, raranga, writing and other art forms. (pp 38, 41)

Karanga can be heard greeting the day, recognising deities of nature such as Hineahuone, the first woman, and Hine-te-iwaiwa, the deity of childbirth, weaving and the cycles of the moon; Hinemoana, the deity of the ocean; or Tangaroa, the great immortal of the sea. Karanga can be regarded as a way of life.

Karanga wānanga, as with other wānanga, are structured learning forums for in-depth discussion to achieve deeper understandings. Wānanga may be held to compose karanga, learn about the environment and each other, share skills, extend language ability and uplift women within the cultural context of marae and sacred learning. They are also conceived as expert forums for healing and cultural transmission. Participants may share their experiences, learnings, skills and individual journeys in karanga wānanga. They communicate the joy of Māori culture and the challenges and despair of colonial impacts on their land (Fleming, 2016, p 53), as well as language, customs, practices and previously repressed knowledge of healing, such as rongoā. Karanga practitioners, like other Māori practitioners of cultural skills such as moko (cultural markings), weaving, celestial navigation, massage and healing techniques, may pass their knowledge on through wānanga and other events.

As the first colonial government was establishing itself in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1850s, it implemented policies of assimilation that began a succession of breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This treaty, the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand, was signed between representatives of the Crown (the Queen of England) and some 500 Māori chiefs in 1840 (Ka'ai, 2004). Through policies that continued until recently, successive colonial governments crushed Māori customary knowledge, suppressed Māori language and confiscated their land. Laws forbade cultural experts, tohunga, from fulfilling their roles and responsibilities. An example was the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, which introduced punishments for practitioners. This strategy of assimilation was repealed in 1962 but while in force provided for jail and fines, particularly for traditional Māori health practitioners, and suppressed the application of Māori knowledge. The Act stated:

> WHEREAS designing persons, commonly known as tohunga, practise on the superstition and credulity of the Maori people by pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment and cure of disease, the foretelling of future events, and otherwise, and thereby induce the Maoris to neglect their proper occupations and gather into meetings where their substance is consumed and their minds are unsettled, to the injury of themselves and to the evil example of the Maori people generally.

The intrusion and dominance of western philosophy and ideologies continue to impact and show disregard for Māori cultural practices. However, karanga and other Māori cultural rituals and skills are now more openly practised, passing

on the previously suppressed ancient knowledge and adapting understanding for contemporary situations. Karanga has supported the restoration of a Māori philosophy and a Māori praxis. Further, a Māori world view is applied while western ways of being and doing are rejected.

This paper begins by outlining the methodology and methods of karanga wānanga. It then sets out the themes of karanga practice and ritual, and the learning processes of the karanga wānanga previously held regularly at Unitec, a polytechnic in Auckland (now Te Pūkenga Unitec), Aotearoa New Zealand. The themes that follow explore the connection of people to space, place and nature and the communication of spiritual and metaphysical understandings; and the relevance of karanga to the current environmental crises. This section considers how people's knowledge that intertwines nature and healing may contribute to better ways of sustaining our world. The environmental crises are understood as biodiversity and habitat loss, environmental pollution, climate change and consequent impacts on nature.

The knowledge and experiences of five kaikaranga who participated in the regular wānanga are voiced individually as well as merged through the themes. However, these kaikaranga, who attended Tuu Puna Wānanga Karanga (which has now concluded after five years), speak with one voice to address the question:

> How does the ritual of karanga help to link people and cultural landscape, and how can this knowledge assist in the current environmental crisis?

The discussion and conclusion point to karanga ritual and the range of allied cultural practices enabling closer contact with nature and the living land through ancient and contemporary knowledge-sharing and dialogue. This responsive contact included monitoring cultural landscapes. By improving understanding of an interconnected relationship with the environment and encouraging closer observation, the sharing of knowledge of Indigenous wisdom could enable us to modify the world's current environmental trajectory.

Figure 1: Puketāpapa | Mt Roskill, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland, one of the several volcanic cones from which kaikaranga call to the environment, August 2020. (Photo: Estelle Lloyd.)

Methodology of karanga wānanga

The basis of the karanga wānanga methodology is that the source of our knowledge comes from Papatūānuku and it is the role of women to communicate with her.

> We are called to Papatūānuku in good times and bad. She heals us and nurtures us … And we honour and celebrate her when we access her rongoā. (Penetito, 2021, pp 37–38)

In response to the cultural context and practice of karanga, we adopted kaupapa Māori rangahau as our research methodology. Māori researchers developed this approach to investigate issues through a Māori lens rather than that of a western culture. 'The kaupapa Māori movement critiqued the dominant hegemony of westernized positivistic research' (Smith, cited in S Walker et al, 2006, p 331). The underlying principles and processes of kaupapa Māori rangahau are complex. They were developed as a response to previous research practice, which showed scant respect for mātauranga Māori (traditional Māori knowledge) or recognition of its legitimacy. Yet much of Māori knowledge is developed in the same way as western knowledge or science; that is, by conducting acute observation over long periods, testing ideas and developing bodies of knowledge as the basis of interpretation for further new knowledge.

A range of Māori principles provided a basis for the methodology, enabling research alignment, together with collective ownership and decision making. As Shayne Walker et al (2006, pp 333–334) initially identified, these principles are:

- tino rangatiratanga (self-determination and independence)
- social justice
- te ao Māori (a Māori world view)
- whakawhanaungatanga (relationships)
- use of te reo Māori (Māori language)
- whānau (family and extended family) centred.

Later additions to the principles are Te Tiriti o Waitangi and āta (growing respectful relationships) (Cram 2016). Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) terms kaupapa Māori a social project that is concerned with the most immediate issues that Māori are facing (p 193). Whakapapa, or genealogy, as a foundation of mātauranga Māori is adopted as a concept to assist Māori researchers to interpret journeys and understandings (Mika and Paki, 2015; R Walker, 1990). In addition, Ngā Aho (Māori designers) have adopted three ethical principles for their writing, research and relationships: tika, pono and aroha, meaning using the correct approach, with integrity and love (Atatoa-Carr et al, 2012; Schollum-Whaanga et al, 2020). Those same ethical principles are applicable to the karanga wānanga.

Methods of karanga wānanga

Apart from wānanga and pōwhiri (traditional welcome), the protocol for our wānanga included a contribution, such as bringing stories, traditional songs and other knowledge to share. At the end of the session, a whakawātea (a farewell ceremony or, in our case, reflection) encouraged all to speak about experiences of karanga as applied practice. It was an opportunity to feel the wairua (spirit), and to look forward to returning to home places with greater knowledge and a stronger sense of connection.

Other methods of learning and communication include leadership and mentoring by kuia (female elders), who may be visitors with skills to share. Te Raina Ferris of Ngāti Kahungunu shared her leadership knowledge through Poupou Karanga from 2014–2016. Kuia Wharetatao King (until her death) shared her extensive knowledge through applied practice. Whaea Lynda Toki and Te Mamaeroa Cowie then led the wānanga. Their applied practice of cultural rituals and mātauranga emphasised te reo me ōna tikanga, karanga me ōna kawa (calling in the appropriate language and correct custom and protocol); wāhine (women) who are capable and willing to stand as kaikaranga.

Karanga as practice and ritual

How do you explain the intangible? How do you talk about bubbling spirit from deep inside and the nervous energy and tension (and later exhaustion) that come with the responsibility of calling on behalf of ancestors? How do you communicate responses received from deities, from the environment and from the landscape?

The karanga may be a welcome from the hosts of a marae, both to the living manuhiri (visitors) and to the spirits of the dead. The kaikaranga from the marae starts proceedings by piercing the air with her call, delivering her greeting to those who have passed on and the living, on one held breath. Kaikaranga from the visiting group – the kaiwhakautu – return the karanga on behalf of the manuhiri. Each group honours the other, weaving a continuous 'spiritual rope' that 'pulls' the manuhiri on to the marae (Rewi, 2012). Karanga is the indivisible link between women and te taiao (environment), women and Kurawaka (the place where the first woman was shaped and moulded), women and Papatūānuku. Karanga expresses values such as caring and the interrelationship of people with te ao tūroa (the natural world).

> Tiahuia Grey helped me take my first shaky steps into the ritual of karanga in the 1980s. Tiahuia was adopted as whāngai [foster child] to Princess Te Puea and spent her early years on Tūrangawaewae Marae. She was a leader at Te Herenga Waka, the Victoria University of Wellington Marae, a kaikaranga, and encouraged me to shout to the quarried cliffs behind the marae to strengthen my voice and confidence. Later I learned the rhythm of karanga, like a surging incoming and outgoing tide, as the breath repeats that rhythm. Although I was learning te reo [Māori language], I knew that my fluency was inadequate. That is why, when I heard there were karanga wānanga at Unitec 25 years later, I was keen to take part even though through work commitments and lack of application, my te reo had all but disappeared.

Another wahine tells her journey with karanga, which began when she was a rangatahi (young person) attending Waitakere College. Her commitment to learning te reo Māori and participation as a proud member of her school's kapahaka (Māori cultural performance) group were of utmost importance to her.

> It was also at this time when Linda Keogh (our kapahaka teacher) pulled me under her wing and began to teach me how to karanga. Every time we returned to either of our marae (as a family) after gaining this knowledge, I found myself being asked by kuia to karanga. Although not comfortable doing so, it would be seen as disrespectful had I said 'no'.
>
> As a kaiako [teacher] working within a kōhanga reo [an early childhood centre that uses the Māori language], I have been privileged to implement my learning of karanga alongside children under the age of five. From the first

time I called to the landscape within the kōhanga reo, I witnessed various tamariki [children] give their own expression of karanga. One little girl aged four used two dolls as she mimicked a conversation through karanga between the two. This went on for a few weeks before she acknowledged the sun. One morning I had arrived at work to witness the same little girl asking the sun to shine through karanga as she was cold: and the sun shone on her. This was witnessed by two other staff members.

Other examples of children learning from karanga include boys walking around with their spades in the air making deep voices as if they were doing a whaikōrero [speech]. And last but not least, under-two-year-olds mimicking my actions and words as best they can. The expression 'poipoia te kākano kia puāwai' [nurture the seed and it will blossom] best illustrates the development that has occurred for these tamariki. The practice of karanga within my place of work has also connected these tamariki to their cultural identity as young Māori who will also be our future leaders.

Karanga wānanga processes

The karanga wānanga were held four times a year as weekend events to enable those who were far away to travel to the Unitec marae, our venue (figure 2). Each karanga wānanga commenced with a pōwhiri, which in turn was initiated by the first call of the kaikaranga from the hau kāinga (host people from the marae) and followed the kawa (protocol) of the Unitec marae. For our wānanga, we generally started our pōwhiri late afternoon on the Friday, partly so that those who travelled a long distance could attend, but also so that we followed the custom of being welcomed on to the marae before dusk. The pōwhiri also enabled us as students to apply in practice our learning and build confidence.

In 2017 I heard about a karanga wānanga that would be under the direction and guidance of Lynda Toki and Te Mamaeroa Cowie. Although I attended part of the first three wānanga, I did not commit to these wānanga until the fourth wānanga of that year. Five years on I have realised the importance of

Figure 2: Ngākau Mahaki, Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae, with the ātea extending to the morning sun, at Te Pūkenga Unitec (as it is now known), September 2020. (Photo: Diane Menzies.)

> my relationship to our atua [deities] and our taiao or natural environment. Karanga has ignited within, the spiritual connections developed with our atua and the taiao. As taonga [treasures] of our atua are acknowledged, my personal connections with them have enhanced; therefore, an understanding of self has occurred.

The kaikaranga at the wānanga were experts in a range of fields that are relevant to the practice: midwifery, childcare, design, environmental management, botany, weaving, management and counselling are examples. The combined knowledge, together with careful observation over time, contributed to a deeper understanding of the environment, as well as the impacts on her.

> We are the callers to Papatūānuku and her children, the women who assemble for a weekend noho [overnight stay] on a marae. We arrive to share our lives over the interim, to learn and communicate healing customs handed down from Papatūānuku, which enhance health. Through our personal and group responses to our welcome, we attempt to reflect the ihi [power and force], the wehi [awe] and wana [excitement] of karanga. Nothing is as it appears to be in karanga wānanga, but is as it should be.

Mornings were always started with karakia (prayers) and often karanga at dawn on the ātea, when we greeted the pūkeko (figure 3) and other creatures outside, including the ancient rocks and pā harakeke (flax garden) nearby. The day concluded in a similar way, with kōrero (conversation), waiata (songs) and karakia.

Figure 3: Whānau Pūkeko at Rangimatarau, Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae, October 2020. (Photo: Diane Menzies.)

Figure 4: Kaikaranga send out messages to Papatūānuku and deities of the sea, early morning at Taiaharau, August 2020. (Photo: Diane Menzies.)

The karanga wānanga encouraged participants to build relationships with tūpuna (ancestors) by composing karanga. Participants then practised their new karanga within the landscapes and the natural world, calling in and to forests (figure 5), from the top of ancient mountains such as the volcano Puketāpapa (figure 1), from the seashore (figure 4), to the animals at the zoo (figure 6) and to sacred streams.

The regular experience of visiting the foreshore to honour Hinemoana, the creator of all the species of the sea (Sharman, 2019, p 42), was a highlight. We called to her and her uri (offspring), the gravels, sands and sea creatures, and monitored the health of the water, and te ngau o Hinemoana, which nibbles away at landforms, more so now through human-induced climate change (Turei, 2020).

One visit was an opportunity to share our practice with a family who had arrived at the beach with ashes of their nanny, who had wished to be returned on her death to her beloved beach where she walked and fed the birds every day. The family planned to scatter the ashes in the sea where people were swimming. On hearing of how this nanny had walked the beach and cared for the birds, our kuia gently explained that we should let the birds decide where the ashes were to be placed. Out went the karanga, which received an immediate response from pigeons: they flew towards a pōhutukawa tree at the back of the beach. The ashes of the family's nanny now nestle among the roots, where flax was later planted. We as a group of students joined the family with karakia and waiata. They departed, having carried out their obligation to their nanny, feeling elated, supported and nurtured through a cultural process.

As passionate women, we practised and shared knowledge in composing and performing karanga. While intensely serious about our own tikanga (correct practice) and cultural beliefs, we also enthusiastically learnt from other cultures such as in dancing hula, carrying out voice practice through joik (Sami traditional calls) and having instruction in yoga as a way of releasing tension and increasing fitness. The karanga wānanga emphasised key principles such as manaakitanga (generosity and hospitality), whanaungatanga (relationships, which provides a sense of belonging), kaitiakitanga (responsibility to ensure the practice of karanga continues) and mana tangata (respect for each other). Wairua is fundamental to karanga, the link between the human spirit and the environment and the significance of that link. The energy and essence regularly beckoned the women back to these karanga wānanga for 'grannies', wishing that they could be there more often.

Connection of people to space, place, nature and the metaphysical

Article two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi acknowledges that Māori are to maintain rangatiratanga (chieftainship) of that which is taonga (Kā'ai, 2004). As well as seeing te reo Māori as a taonga, Māori consider the landscape, all waterways that surround Aotearoa and all creatures that inhabit these areas to be taonga under article two. Māori view their relationship with the land and waterways as one of kinship – therefore, the land and waterways are taonga. Land has never had a price tag on it for Māori; rather, they acknowledge the relationship they share with the landscape as whakapapa (R Walker, 1990). The whakataukī (saying) 'Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au' (I am the land and the land is me) further enhances this cultural belief.

> One of my first learning experiences at Te Noho Kotahitanga was accompanied by a feeling of confusion when calling to stones. After thinking about the whakapapa of stones, I understood that they are ancestors from a very long time ago, and geology is a platform for nature. This changed my understanding and removed mental barriers. I am still learning tikanga, te reo and customary practice but the ritual and rhythm of karanga, like a tide moving in and out, is gradually flowing into and through me.

Place – that is, being on the marae Te Noho Kotahitanga and in the wharenui (meeting house) Ngākau Māhaki – is vital for tika, pono and aroha. The wharenui has a special essence or wairua imbued in it by the carvers, whose skill and art tell innumerable stories and histories of events and people, and about the people who have visited and shared their emotions. In addition, being in the taiao – whether visiting the sacred puna (spring) in the Unitec campus, Te Waiunuroa o Wairaka, or the pā harakeke, Rangimārie, or whether stepping into the sea or calling from a mountain during a blizzard – heightens the experience and forces focus on the words and vibrations, and to whom they are sent. We travelled regularly to nearby mountain tops (figure 1), forests (figure 5) or the seaside to call to the land, water and nature, and linked these visits with fortuitous events such as support for the sacred land at Ihumātao.

Ihumātao is a cultural landscape on the coastal edge of the Manukau Harbour in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. Its rich volcanic soils were treasured by Māori settlers ever since the first of them arrived here 700 years ago. Many legends of metaphysical discovery link this land and mana whenua, who identify with the land. The colonial government confiscated Ihumātao (along with much other Māori land) in 1863 for what it considered to be opposition to the government. The land was made available to a colonial farmer, whose family 100 years later sold the remaining 32 hectares in their ownership to Fletchers Construction, an international development company. Mana whenua were deeply concerned that the processes of earthworks, subdividing the land into 480 small building sites and constructing houses would affect the intangible connections between the landscape and the existing papakāinga (village) and so alienate the land. A group of Māori 'cousins' (SOUL) occupied the land and their protest gathered passionate support from other Māori. More recently the government agreed to purchase the land and to negotiate a means for mana whenua to reconnect to their land (Short and Menzies, in print).

Illustrating the importance of place, Renata (2021) wrote:

> An ironically timed unplanned visit to Ihumātao triggered an immediate reminder of what the wairua of whenua sends through a Māori soul. Because if hearing a kuia karanga whilst standing on sacred whenua that is facing imminent contested development does not snap one's mindset back to a te ao Māori perspective, I am not sure what could. (p 40)

Karanga incorporates aspects of ancestral knowledge and pepeha (speech identifying ancestry) to connect people to place, and landscape to identity (Knox, 2021, p 67), and are imbued with metaphorical and poetic references as well as those of deep history. Family and tribal identity is known by the mountain (and her stories), by the river and other waters and by other markers in those landscapes. Karanga also recognises the trauma of colonisation, the loss of land and land connections, the damage continuing to be done to the environment, the impotence of poverty, the continuation of racial violence and discrimination,

and lack of social cohesion and justice in Aotearoa. It is deeply emotional and spiritual as Shearer (2021) explains of an artwork:

> We understand her as the kaikaranga, the woman who performs the karanga. Her call welcomes the visitor, creating a safe passage for them to enter, while simultaneously opening the portals that bring the living, the dead, the whenua and the present moment all together. (p 62)

As an example of the application of karanga, Ngāti Whātua Ōrakei sent out a pānui (notice) in 2020 for kaikaranga to meet on Ōwairaka (Mt Albert), an extinct volcano. The purpose was to recognise the attack of a young woman who had been abused for her Māori moko kauae (traditional markings on the jaw) while walking on Ōwairaka. Hundreds responded and assembled in a large circle to address this wrong through peaceful karanga and karakia. Others walked to the top of the mountain to call as well.

Karanga creates a spiritual portal between people and environment, nature and place. In connecting to place, karanga speaks to place attachment, the affective bond or link between people and specific places (Shroder, cited in Fleming 2016, p 35). It also incorporates the concept of whakapapa (genealogy and connections), an essential element of belonging and identity.

Whakapapa 'is how Māori understand the creation of the universe and all its elements', including place and space (Fleming, 2016, p 47). This is interconnectedness. Encapsulating the soul or spirit of a person, wairua is fundamental to the world view of Māori (Fleming, 2016). Wairua is a 'profound sense of connectivity between Māori and all aspects of the universe' (Elder, cited in Fleming, 2016, p 56) and is felt by those calling. Men engaging in whaikōrero also connect with nature. Knox (2021) explains how he practises in this way:

> Connecting to the environment by acknowledging the atua (for example, Tangaroa when by the sea, or Tāne-mahuta when in the forest); the mountains, streams, kaitiaki (spiritual guardians, including taniwha, plants and animals); and the tūpuna of that place. This allows us to enter a space harmoniously, to weave the energies of the place into our kōrero and enhances the quality and efficacy of the whaikōrero. (p 67)

Figure 5: Niho Tapu Kei Runga – the top dam ripples as kaikaranga call to water and skies in Te Wao Nui o Tiriwā, August 2019. (Photo: Estelle Lloyd.)

The karanga may recognise that 'a landmark, a river, a mountain, a rock, may be an ancestor' (Salmond, 2021, p 27), and may greet the new day, respecting deities, nature and people. The voice and ritual of karanga and karakia are directed to the natural and metaphysical world and all within and beyond, carrying and receiving important messages.

All kaikaranga understand what cultural landscape is, although they may express the concept in different terms. Ūkaipō (source of sustenance, origin, real home) is a term significant to one's sense of belonging, a place of connection that is heartfelt. It is one's cultural landscape with historical, meaningful memories and often where intergenerational placenta have nurtured growth of whānau, hapū (subtribes) and iwi (tribes) over the centuries. Cultural landscape is where many of the calls are sent and where many responses and signs are received.

Karanga in response to the current environmental crises

Kaikaranga respond to the beliefs, rituals and understanding required for cultural landscape, and to the wisdom derived from practice that is needed to resolve the current environmental crisis. They share their learning and memories, and explain how karanga can link those lands and landscapes that teach and form the people – whose knowledge and connections for their part made the land (or landscape) a cultural landscape – and how Indigenous knowledge might guide the contemporary response to environmental impacts.

> Through ongoing experiences of karanga as a tauira [student] of both Lynda and Te Mamaeroa, I continue to observe the environment with care. Having experienced the wonder and magic of karanga during these wānanga, I further understand my commitment to Papatūānuku. Such experiences include fish jumping out of the water, birds flying and singing, trees waving and rocks showing us their faces/bodies.
>
> All this occurs in response to karanga and other answers have other impacts, such as a rāhui [restriction] on people being able to visit the Waitākere ranges when their presence is impacting the forest; or barriers being placed at certain maunga [mountains]. Tangata whenua have placed a rāhui on the forest in the Waitākere ranges to try to limit the debilitating spread of a bacterial disease in the soil (*Phytophthora*), which has caused many ancient (and young) kauri trees to die, and is spread by visitors' boots on forest tracks. 'Toitū te whenua, whatungarongaro te tangata' (people come and go but the land remains): should we all do our work in caring for Papatūānuku through the generations of our families, Papatūānuku will continue to provide.

With or without treaties, advocates of the invaders' instruments need to confront the insecurities that encourage delusions of grandeur and emphasise perceived threats that work against ceding the balance of political power to the voices of cultural landscape. That is, if governments genuinely gave legislative effect to cultural voices of landscape, populations would not be distracted by the futility of the 'majority versus minority' debate and the state of humanity would once again be a priority. One needs only to reflect on the present state of the health of the planet to recognise that it is the cultural voice that honours landscape and it is the cultural voice that speaks to the landmasses and waterbodies through karanga, karakia, ceremony and other cultural instruments.

Furthermore, it is the cultural mind, body and soul that hears and responds to the call of cultural landscapes. For this reason, the cultural practitioner need not be of my landscape to hear her cries, concerns and pain; nor do I need to be of theirs when I'm there. Consequently, the balance in reciprocity is distinctly recognised due to the cultural relationship with one's own landscape. Unfortunately, responsibility in reciprocity remains a struggle for foreign policies to keep that balance – balance being the operative instrument!

> When I left for overseas, Whaea Lynda encouraged me to karanga at each conference I attended. I found in Morocco (and everywhere I called) that the ritual was respected and in tune with local people and visitors. In calling to animals and creatures, we become more attuned to changes, seeing their reaction to increasing traffic, population pressure and pollution. Observation, rather than continuing to consume more, to rush, to ignore, enables us to realise that devastation is occurring to plants and animals, that action needs to be taken, and this calls for unity as we have not previously known it.
>
> Not only has karanga reinforced cultural connections with space, place and time but it has reinforced for me and others who we are as Māori. It has made clear our roles and responsibilities as Māori in the care and protection of the landscape and waterways. Karanga is a valid and practical exercise in restoring a cultural identity.

Discussion: connecting to cultural landscape

As a response to context and landscape, the vibrations and sounds of karanga go out to the landscapes of Aotearoa, and help to keep the interconnections with people alive, in a similar way to keeping the home fires burning. The sounds, words and vibrations are adapted to contemporary situations, and can be linked with and support western scientific solutions to current issues. An example of how the two

Figure 6: A well-fed kererū (wood pigeon) listens to kaikaranga as we acknowledge birds and animals in their constructed habitats at the Auckland Zoo, August 2019. (Photo: Estelle Lloyd.)

world views can work together is the custom of rāhui, which is similar to ancient Arab conservation techniques of rest and recovery for stressed biodiversity. Karanga have supported iwi and hapū initiatives for protecting Te Wao Nui o Tiriwā, Waitakere. Kaikaranga also might confront or call on metaphysical beings or address cultural justice issues.

'Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au' (I am the river and the river is me), like other prophetic expressions, is indicative of the distinct Māori relationship with cultural landscapes. It is because of this relationship that Māori are able to empathise with other Indigenous nations regarding the constant interference of post-colonial ideologies and methodologies that continue to subjugate the relevance of cultural voices to their landscapes.

That is, environmental courts worldwide fail to uphold the integrity of their respective treaty obligations to the original peoples of cultural landscapes, and subsequently fail to recognise the entire landmass (including continents) and associated waterbodies as cultural landscape. One need only to reflect on the health and wealth status of cultural landscapes that existed before colonial invasions to recognise the significance of cultural relationships, applications and expertise. It is only when the courts and their respective political bodies accept this evidence and the definition of cultural landscape as we have explored it in this paper, that they may evolve to a position of trust to give meaningful effect to their instruments of engagement with tangata whenua.

The kaikaranga who took part in the wānanga had a diversity of professional training, skills and backgrounds as well as considerable experience. Together, it was possible to consider and develop different responses and ideas for protecting place and making connections with people and place, and then take those ideas back to diverse places. This in turn brought us back to listening to the whenua, to Papatūānuku, to birds, to shellfish in the sea, and especially to the soil, to better understand environmental impacts.

Shearer (2021) writes:

> When we listen closely, we can hear not only different frequencies of vibrations but also the whakapapa of beings, ideas and 'spaces' resonating within them. While different understandings of the world are revealed in the different creative sonic responses to a listening of the sounds of the whenua … there are, at times, recognition and resonance across cultures and genres, and at other times there are profound differences that need to be acknowledged. If we listen closely to the sounds of the whenua, what might we learn from her network of relationships? (p 63)

Conclusion

We asked: How does the ritual of karanga help to link people and cultural landscape, and how can this knowledge assist in the current environmental crisis? In response, we have explained how the custom of karanga maintains old and contemporary reo. The daily use of te reo Māori through karanga supports culture and other rituals. Exploration and repetition of narratives of inseparable nature and people, events, whakapapa and connections support the presence of hapū and iwi in cultural landscapes, as a stake in the ground. The observational and listening roles of kaikaranga also provide opportunity for monitoring and practice to sustain cultural landscapes, and for planning and policy, enabling further progress towards self-determination for hapū and iwi.

Restoring the balance of the natural environment inclusive of its ecological and human communities will not be achieved without restoring the balance of power to the Indigenous peoples of cultural landscapes. As long as political powers continue to exacerbate this imbalance and prioritise western science over Indigenous expertise, along with profit over humanity, the global environmental crisis will continue on the current trajectory towards spontaneous combustion. Of what value then would financial or political profit be if humanity and the planet are no more?

By tapping into ancient knowledge, new perspectives can be understood. This in turn can be augmented by western science and policy when that may be helpful to broaden understanding. We need to work together with all available knowledge and deep understanding of and respect for people, place and environment, if we are to have a future. Acting as the eyes and ears connecting gateways to worlds, kaikaranga can suggest options for unity in tackling wicked problems for those in decision-making roles to take up.

Karanga

Karanga Te Ao

Karanga Te Pō

Ki a Ranginui e tū iho nei

Ki a Papatūānuku e takoto ake nei

Ki a Rangimatarau e hora nei

Ki ngā taonga a Te Waonui a Tāne e tipu ake nei

Ki ngā wāhine pūrotu e mahi i te reo karanga ki ngā maunga whakahī

Ki ngā awa tapu, ki ngā mātāwaka, ki ngā marae maha o te motu

Ki ngā whakatipuranga nō tuawhakarere, a whānau, a hapū, a iwi e

Ki a rātou mā kua mene atu ki te pō, haere atu rā

Ki ngā taonga puukenga hei whakamana ngā taonga kaitiaki a Rangi rāua ko Papa

Tēnei te mihi maioha me te manaakitanga ki a koutou katoa

Kia kaha rā, kia manawanui ake ai te maia me te rangimārie

Ki te noho kotahitanga i runga i te ngākau mahaki e

Tēnā koutou katoa!

Glossary of Māori words and phrases

(te) ao Māori	a Māori world view
(te) ao tūroa	the natural/established world
aroha	love, empathy and kinship
āta	growing respectful relationships
atua	deity
hapū	subtribe
hau kāinga	home, local people of the marae, home people
Hineahuone	the first woman who came from the soil
Hinemoana	the ocean personified, a deity
Hine-te-iwaiwa	the deity of childbirth and parturition
ihi	power and essential force
iwi	tribe
kaiako	teacher
kaikaranga	caller, the woman (or women) with the role of ceremonial calling
kaitiakitanga	responsibility to care for and nurture the land (and people)
kaiwhakautu	the person who replies on behalf of the visitors
kapahaka	Māori cultural performance
karakia	invocation, prayer
karanga	a ceremonial call; call
kaupapa Māori rangahau	a Māori research methodology
kawa	ancient protocol
kōrero	talk, conversation
kuia	elderly respected woman
Kurawaka	the place where the first woman was carved out of the soil
mana of wahine	authority and prestige of women
mana whenua	(those who have) customary authority over the land
manaakitanga	generosity and hospitality
manuhiri	visitor, guest
maunga	mountain
marae ātea	courtyard – the open area in front of the meeting house, where formal greetings and discussions take place
mātauranga Māori	the body of Māori knowledge originating from ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives

mauri	life force
moko kauae	traditional Māori jaw tattoo, which is regarded as an assertion of tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake
nau mai, haere mai, whakatau mai	Welcome, come and meet us.
noho	overnight stay in a meeting house
pā harakeke	flax garden grown for weaving
pānui	announcement, notice
papakāinga	village
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
pepeha	a speech identifying ancestry
pono	true, honest, sincere
pōwhiri	the ritual ceremony of encounter
pūkeko	swamp hen or rail, *Porphyrio porphyrio melanotus*
puna	spring
rāhui	restriction
rangatahi	youth
rangatiratanga	chieftainship, right to exercise authority
Ranginui	Sky Father
(te) reo Māori	the Māori language
rongoā	Māori medicine and medicinal practices
(te) taiao	the natural world, environment
tamariki	children
Tangaroa	the great immortal of the sea
tangata whenua	peoples of the land
taonga	treasure
tika	appropriate, right
tikanga	correct procedure or customs, deeply embedded in the social context
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination and autonomy
tohunga	priestly expert or healer
tūpuna	ancestors (singular tupuna)
ūkaipō	source of sustenance, origin, real home
uri	offspring, descendant
wāhine	women (singular wahine)
waiata	song
wairua	spirit, soul, essence
wana	excitement

wānanga	an in-depth discussion
wehi	awe
whaikōrero	oratory
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataukī	proverb, saying
whakawātea	farewell ceremony, reflection
whakawhanaungatanga	the process of establishing relationships
whānau	family, extended family, close friends
whāngai	the traditional act of fostering
wharenui	meeting house

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Lynda Toki, Ngati Maniapoto, Master of Applied Practice (Social Practice), Cultural Supervision, Kai Mirimiri, Kai Rongoa, Reiki Master, Aquarian Healing, Kaiawhina and Ruuruhi, Cultural Elder at Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae, the newly formed tertiary institution Te Puukenga, Te Whare Wananga o Wairaka, applies in practice her global perspective on health and safety to wellbeing. Through karanga, she encourages staff and student interaction with sustainability through their 'Outdoor Classroom' and 'Living Library', where they have access to their health and wellbeing 'Medicine Cabinet'.

Te Mamaeroa Cowie, currently kuia and senior cultural advisor Regional Forensic Psychiatry, has a background in employment and teaching in secondary and tertiary education spanning over two decades. Her role as kaitiakitanga of te paparahi o Rangimatarau (guardianship of the land of Rangimatarau and all it encompasses) is a selfless commitment to uphold its inherent foundations with the ancestress Wairaka. It is the sacred responsibility to ensure those future generations not yet born will experience the taiao and its wairua within urban life: a living spirit co-existing within all elements of Rangimatarau is the taonga to be preserved for eternity. Karanga provides all opportunity to entreat Papatūānuku to call in everything that is from above, below, within and the outer worlds to heal all within the latitudes. That leads to enlightenment and harmony to all that is!

Dr Diane Menzies, Rongowhakaata, Aitanga-a-Māhaki, ONZM, has a PhD in resource management, and qualifications in horticulture, landscape architecture, business and mediation. She has worked for local and regional governments, and has been a director for Ministry for the Environment and an elected local government representative. Other past roles include Commissioner of the New Zealand Environment Court, contributing to judgments and mediations, and President of the International Federation of Landscape Architects (IFLA). Diane is a member of Ngā Aho (Māori designers' network), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)–IFLA International Scientific Committee on Cultural Landscapes and ICOMOS New Zealand, and a trustee of the Landscape Foundation. She is a director of Landcult Ltd and her research focuses on Indigenous cultural justice.

Rangi Joseph, of Māori, Irish and Jewish descent, is a cultural practitioner and kaikaranga of indigenous landscape. A former kaiako of environmental management with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Maniapoto, she has a passion for the protection and preservation of cultural land and waterscapes that inspires her continued defence of and advocacy for indigenous therapeutic jurisprudence and the elimination of post-colonial interference. Rangi is not intimidated by political administration processes, making her a formidable advocate for the lawful recognition of the significance of indigenous voices, expertise and relationships with cultural land and waterscapes.

Rowena Fonoti is of Māori and European descent, with iwi affiliation to Ngāti Kahu and Ngā Puhi. A former kaiako and lecturer, she has a background in early childhood education (ECE), holding both a Bachelor of Teaching ECE and a Master of Education. In her current work with mokopuna in a kōhanga reo, she makes karanga part of her cultural practice on a daily basis. An active participant in a karanga wānanga, Rowena recognises the importance of te reo Māori, tikanga Māori, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the relationship Māori share with the landscape. Through active implementation of karanga, Rowena believes these relationships continue to grow and deepen.

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Stories from the Land: Revealing Plural Narratives within One Landscape

Shannon Davis

Landscape narrative theory initiates new ways of understanding landscape. This paper explores the concept of landscape narrative within a case study site rich in the cultural history of Aotearoa New Zealand: Maungakiekie | *One Tree Hill* and Cornwall Park, in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. It discusses the complexity of narrative representation within historically significant public spaces and considers the research question first asked by Potteiger and Purinton (1998a) in *Landscape Narratives: Design Practices for Telling Stories:* 'how can pluralistic landscape narratives be revealed within shared public landscapes, responding to multiple histories, and relating to a diverse contemporary culture?' This paper concludes by proposing an 'open' narrative approach to revealing historical landscapes, as a method to elicit plural 'readings' that traverse conventional boundaries of governance, time and 'official' interpretation. In so doing, the approach promotes greater connection, across time, with people and place.

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KEY WORDS
Landscape narrative
Narrative representation
Historical landscapes
Public spaces
Plural meaning
Landscape connection

In *Revealing Change in Cultural Landscapes,* Catherine Heatherington (2021) states, 'There is a tendency to romanticise the timelessness of landscapes but, in reality, they are all about change' (p 1). In addition to the 'physical' change revealed through natural and cultural processes over time, landscapes are keepers of the 'intangible' – of memories and of stories (Heatherington, 2021; Potteiger and Purinton, 1998a, 1998b). Landscapes are inherently full of 'stories', forming the backdrop, the context and the spaces where people interact with the land, with each other, with our ancestors, even with our generations to come by way of intergenerational planning. The term 'landscape narrative', according to Matthew Potteiger and Jamie Purinton (1998b), designates the interplay and mutual relationship between story and place: 'We come to know places because we know their stories' (p 16).

Forty-six volcanoes are located within the landscape of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand. Of these, 14 are considered Tūpuna Maunga (ancestral mountains), which hold principal cultural significance for Ngā Whenua o Tāmaki Makaurau (the mana whenua tribes of Auckland). As the Tūpuna Maunga Authority (2019) describes them, 'The Tūpuna Maunga are among the most significant spiritual, cultural, historical and geological landscapes in the Auckland region. The Tūpuna Maunga are sacred to mana whenua as taonga tuku iho (treasures handed down the generations)' (p 4). Commanding primary status in the cultural identity of Ngā Whenua o Tāmaki Makaurau, the Tūpuna Maunga also contribute intrinsically to the contemporary landscape identity of Aotearoa New Zealand's largest city.

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> The Tūpuna Maunga … of Tāmaki Makaurau stand as the essence of Auckland. They are central to Auckland's identity and a point of difference around the world. Human occupation of the city spans around 1,000 years, and over that time the interaction of people with the Maunga has changed from monumental and defendable settlements, to strategic maritime locations and resources (rock and water) through to an unparalleled network of openspaces that all Aucklanders draw a sense of identity from. (Tūpuna Maunga Authority, 2019, p 1)

See figure 1 for the locations of these Tūpuna Maunga.

Maungakiekie | *One Tree Hill* (location 9 in figure 1) is one of the 14 Tūpuna Maunga. The scoria cone was created more than 67,000 years ago when Maungakiekie erupted. Following the 1600s, when Ngāti Awa made it into a defendable settlement, it became the most extensively developed Māori pā (fortified settlement) in Tāmaki Makaurau. In the early 1700s, the Waiohua people shifted on to the maunga and developed extensive productive gardens, making use of the fertile volcanic soils. Later the people of Ngāti Whātua settled the pā but by the late 1700s it had been vacated. Today, it is one of the largest pre-European archaeological site complexes in Aotearoa New Zealand (Tūpuna Maunga Authority, nd).

After colonial settlement of Aotearoa during the 1800s, John Logan Campbell and his business partner William Brown bought the land from Thomas Henry in 1853 (Cornwall Park, nd). It was a productive farm unit until, in 1903, Campbell (who then owned it outright) gifted the farm, setting it aside as a public park for the 'people of New Zealand'. The land now known as Cornwall Park, together with Maungakiekie, today forms Auckland's largest metropolitan greenspace. Until 2014, the Cornwall Park Trust leased Maungakiekie (spatially identified within the box shown in figure 2) from the Crown. In 2014, Maungakiekie, along with the 13 other Tūpuna Maunga, was returned to mana whenua (those with authority over the land) through Ngā Mana Whenua o Tāmaki Makaurau Collective Redress Deed established as part of their settlement under Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi). From that point, management of the maunga returned to mana whenua by way of the Tūpuna Maunga o Tāmaki Makaurau Authority (Tūpuna Maunga Authority, 2016).

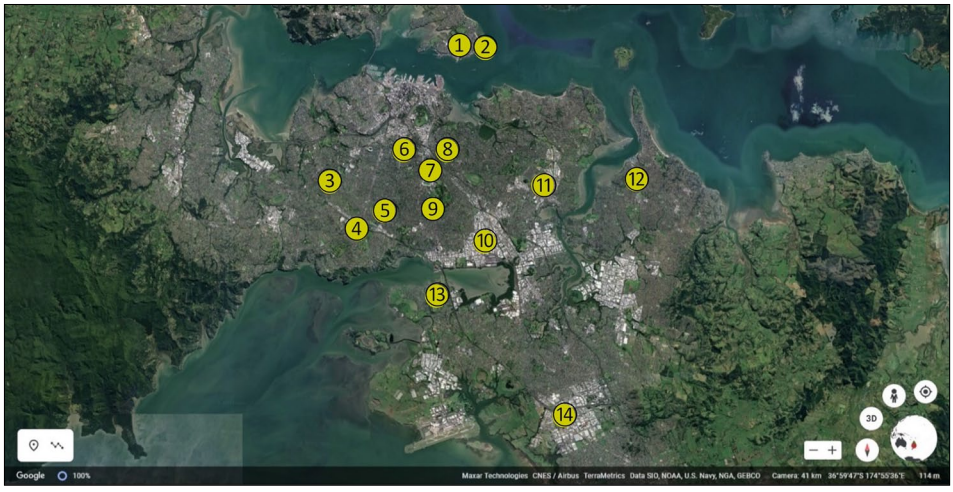

Figure 1: The 14 Tūpuna Maunga of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland:

1. *Takarunga | Mount Victoria*
2. *Maungauika | North Head*
3. *Ōwairaka/Te Ahi-kā-a-Rakataura | Mount Albert*
4. *Oukewīwī/Puketāpapa | Mount Roskill*
5. *Te Tātua-a-Riukiuta | Big King*
6. *Maungawhau | Mount Eden*
7. *Te Kōpuke/Tītīkōpuke | Mount St John*
8. *Ōhinerau | Mount Hobson*
9. *Maungakiekie | One Tree Hill*
10. *Rarotonga | Mount Smart*
11. *Maungarei | Mount Wellington*
12. *Ōhuiarangi | Pigeon Mountain*
13. *Te Pane-o-Mataoho/Te Ara Puere | Māngere Mountain*
14. *Matuku Tūruru | Wiri Mountain.*

(Image: Adapted from Google, Maxar Technologies CNES / Airbus TerraMetrics; Data SIO, NOAA, US Navy, NGA, GEBCO.)

Landscape as narrative

Landscape narrative theory opens new ways of understanding landscapes. Potteiger and Purinton (1998a) explore narrative as a combination of both 'story' (content) and 'telling' (expression), stating, 'Stories do more than explain, which comes from the Latin "to flatten"' (p 4). They cite from the 1968 essay 'The Storyteller' by Walter Benjamin:

> The value of information does not survive the moment in which it was new. It lives only at that moment; it has to surrender to it completely and explain itself to it without losing any time. A story is different. It does not expend itself. It preserves and concentrates its strength and is capable of releasing it even after a long time. (ibid)

In their 1998 paper 'Landscape Narratives: Crossing Realms', they continue their thinking on the concept:

> Narratives intersect with sites, accumulate as layers of history, organise sequences and inhere in the very materials and processes of the landscape … . The term 'landscape narrative' designates the interplay and mutual relationship between story and place. (Potteiger and Purinton, 1998b, p 16)

In her paper 'In Search of Landscape as a Medium for Integration', Sylvie Van Damme (2018) describes 'landscape as a changing and multi-interpretable phenomenon that engenders stories' (p 103). The term 'landscape narrative' can therefore be considered at the intersection of sites, people and stories, with the emerging 'narratives' playing a critical role in the creation of meaning and connection. 'We come to know a place because we know its stories' (Potteiger and Purinton, 1998a, p 6).

In *1,000 Years of Gardening in New Zealand,* Helen Leach (1984), a historian specialising in food anthropology, muses, 'You might wonder how it is possible to write a history of gardening covering … 1,000 years for a country like New Zealand, where there are no written records of any sort of the first eight centuries of human occupation' (p 1). The information needed is available, however, not only from an abundance of rich oral histories, but also through techniques for recovering evidence and stories from the land itself (ibid).

Figure 2: Maungakiekie | One Tree Hill (indicated within the white box) is located at the south-west boundary of Cornwall Park.
(Image: Adapted from Google.)

The historical description and imagery of such photographers as Gordon Ell and Kevin Jones elucidate the 'silent' stories of the land. Ell (1985) observes, 'There are times of the day, as the sunlight falls low and harsh, when the history of New Zealand is revealed in shadows on the land' (p 5). Developing on this theme, Jones (2004) explains that the 'cultural dimension of the New Zealand landscape is as important as its coastal or mountain scenery' (p 9). Maungakiekie and Cornwall Park provide landscapes rich in cultural history, both through visible remnants on the surface and 'silent' stories revealed by the land (figure 3).

Introducing Maungakiekie | *One Tree Hill* and Cornwall Park

The shadows visible today on the landscape of Maungakiekie tell us stories of its past – including significant narratives of settlement and civilisation, of food production and storage, dating back to the pre-colonisation period of Aotearoa. Illuminated by the light at different times of the day, the extensive terraces and landform that can be readily observed beneath the windswept grass show themselves as artifacts of the former Māori pā and associated living areas, gardens and storage pits for kūmara (*Ipomoea batatas*). These earthworks are the most extensive to be found on any of Auckland's 48 volcanic cones and are described as 'one of the great cultural monuments of Aotearoa' (Bulmer, 1999, cited in Kearns and Collins, 2000, p 177). The building of Māori pā like the one on Maungakiekie is generally believed to date from the time when people began to rely on kūmara gardens for an important staple food.

Figure 3: Shadows of Maungakiekie revealing the history of the land. The Māori landscape of complex terracing and kūmara storage systems is evident during the late afternoon, 2020. (Photo: Author's own.)

> The sweet potato needed to be cared for while it grew, so people lived beside the gardens. When the crop was gathered in the autumn, then it had to be defended from those who would steal it. Kumara were often stored in pits dug within the protective palisades of the pa. (Ell, 1998, p 89)

Such scenes can be imagined through evidences portrayed by the deep shadow cast across the terraced slopes of Maungakiekie. Because Aotearoa New Zealand has a much harsher climate than Polynesia, storage pits, which provided a constant temperature and dry environment, were essential if the harvested kūmara were to keep through the winter. As Ell (1985) describes it:

> The storage pit … is perhaps the easiest feature to recognise in the field. The terraces of Maori pa are pock-marked with them, particularly at the top, where they could be defended to the death. (p 35) … The kumara is fittingly the cause of some of the most distinctive shadows left upon the land. (p 33)

The pā landscape of Maungakiekie (figure 4), with extensive terracing for housing and food storage, supported by once sprawling productive gardens spilling out and over the land now known as Cornwall Park, housed and fed a population of 5,000 people living there.

Today, the land designated as Cornwall Park is located to the north and east of Maungakiekie (figure 2). After purchasing the land and farming it for several decades, in 1903 Sir John Logan Campbell gifted it to the people of Aotearoa and set about creating a public park. He commissioned landscape architect Austin Strong to design a park, modelled on the Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, that offered public amenity and recreational opportunity in a growing city.

The past 170 years have seen parts of Cornwall Park used for many purposes in addition to being a public park, including as farmland, market gardens (1892–1899), a stone quarry to mine the basalt scoria resource and a golf course. In addition, from 1942 to 1944 it housed the 39th General United States Army Hospital to care for injured World War Two soldiers, which after the war was transformed into a hospital for women's health and operated as such until 1973. Today Cornwall Park includes a large variety of public amenities and open space functions and is unique in its integration of a working sheep and beef farm into an urban greenspace. Along with fields for grazing animals, the park offers a variety of other facilities including sports grounds, walking/cycling tracks, recreational open space, a café, a restaurant, an arboretum and an education centre (figure 5).

Figure 4: Stories of past occupation elucidated in the shadows drawn by significant land terracing and kūmara pits on and around Maungakiekie and Cornwall Park as seen in 2021. Earthworks, land use and construction over the past 120 years have eliminated many of the pre-colonial land markings indicating garden and growing landscapes that once draped the land now known as Cornwall Park. (Image: Google.)

One landscape – plural narratives

The history and stories of the landscape of Maungakiekie and Cornwall Park are complex and detailed in their settings both before and following colonisation. What is 'revealed' by a landscape, what is exposed (or concealed), what is retained (or removed), what is added or substituted, and what is narrated affect the experience and understanding visitors have of a place. Recognising that 'open' and 'closed' narratives are a way to consider narrative representation within the landscape, this paper now looks at how 'opening' landscape narratives as a strategy to engage widely with our diverse contemporary culture can enable the complex and often multilayered narratives of landscape to converge and diverge naturally, weaving together and standing alone, securely within the same space and time, finding meaning with individuals or groups. Landscape narratives, as Potteiger and Purinton (1998b) express it, 'may not have a single author or narrator, but instead develop from multiple and often competing groups, becoming multi-layered "sets" of narratives' (p 16).

Identifying the distinction between landscape narratives and the more traditional notion of narratives as spoken or written texts is important in understanding the opportunities and constraints offered by exploring narratives within public space. Unlike verbal narratives that may differ and change over time, depending on who is communicating, the representation of narrative within the landscape can be 'open', engaging the 'visitor' as interpreter, traversing the narrative across conventional boundaries of space and time. Potteiger and Purinton (1998a) suggest that 'these conditions offer distinct opportunities for different forms of narratives such as the gathering of past and present into a synoptic view, parallel or intersecting story lines, collages that create nonlinear associations, [and] multiple layers of stories' (p 10).

The dual identity of the Maungakiekie and Cornwall Park landscape, both pre- and post-colonisation, is reflected explicitly in the alternative names of the maunga (mountain): Maungakiekie and One Tree Hill. Before the Europeans

Figure 5: Cornwall Park, illustrating how walking paths, specimen tree plantings and recreational lawns are integrated with grazing fields for sheep, 2020. (Photo: Author's own.)

arrived, the maunga was known as Te Tōtara-i-āhua ('the solitary tōtara'), named for the tree (*Podocarpus totara*) growing at the summit in the seventeenth century, and then became known as Maungakiekie, translating to 'mountain of the kiekie' (*Freycinetia banksii*) – a native epiphytic climber that once flourished there (Vennell, 2019, p 76). Today the Māori name 'Maungakiekie' is commonly used alongside the English name 'One Tree Hill', which was given to the maunga by John Logan Campbell and his business partner on purchasing the land. Again the name referred to a solitary tree – this time a pine – that grew at the summit. Campbell (1881/1987) wrote of his first visit to the land:

> An hour's walk brought us to the base of a volcanic mount, some five hundred feet high, rising suddenly from the plain, the name of which Waipeha told us was Maungakiekie, but as it had one solitary large tree on its crater summit, we christened it 'One-tree Hill'. (p 60)

The tihi (summit) became a potent political point within the landscape in Aotearoa New Zealand's recent past, which prompted a chainsaw attack on the Monterey pine in 1999, after which the tree was removed. In 2015 it was replaced with a small grove of native trees including pōhutukawa and tōtara.

Campbell bestowed the name Cornwall Park when transforming his farm into a public park in 1903. The renaming was to honour the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York to Aotearoa in the same year.

The contemporary landscapes of Maungakiekie and Cornwall Park are today understood largely by predetermined narratives directed through the visual and informational content communicated on site. Although they are separated spatially through governance boundaries, and in time by the dominant narrative each site conveys (for example, Maungakiekie as the pre-colonisation Māori pā and Cornwall Park as the post-colonisation farm and public park), it is undeniable that, through the stories and physical shadows of the land, the two landscapes are entwined in multilayer narratives that sit beneath the surface.

The narrative complexity of Maungakiekie and Cornwall Park raises questions about the effectiveness of expressing 'closed' or dominant narratives within the landscape, which Potteiger and Purinton (1998a) describe as being representative experiences, predetermined, commodified, private, separately framed, within selected time frames, and scripted with intended meanings that the author controls. In contrast, 'open' narratives attempt to engage multiple layers of history, entwined in space and across geological and generational time, resisting any attempt to narrow the potential of a landscape to engage and connect a wide variety of individuals and groups. 'Opening' narratives are characterised by lived experiences, non-scripted, indeterminate, participatory, public and integrated, layering time and 'reader interpreted'; they celebrate diversity and equity in interpretation. In this way they invite opportunity for deeper engagement, and therefore broaden the impact of connection of land and people who are part of a diverse contemporary culture.

> Opening is a strategy for denaturalizing ideology that appears natural, inherent, or closed to interpretation. Finding and negotiating the multiple and interrelated stories of place is a way of challenging privileged points of view and questioning what is taken for granted. (Potteiger and Purinton, 1998a, p 189)

Whether landscape in all its complexity is able to portray 'consistent', 'linear' or 'closed' narrative is challenged within the case study site. The land today designated as Cornwall Park wraps around the base of Maungakiekie and has been in the jurisdiction of the Cornwall Park Trust, with the maunga itself, since 2014, governed by the Tūpuna Maunga Authority. Before 2014, the Cornwall Park Trust leased the maunga from the Crown. The exception to this spatial governance arrangement is the tihi of the maunga, where the towering and monumental Egyptian obelisk stands, installed at the wishes of Sir John Logan Campbell and now with Campbell himself buried at its foot (figure 6). The obelisk dominates the visual identity of the maunga, revealing a different narrative to the volcanic geomorphology or the sophisticated pā landform. This area remains under the authority of the Cornwall Park Trust (Cornwall Park, nd). On closer inspection of the obelisk and its context, it is revealed that Campbell provided for the monument in his will (Stone, 2001) for the purpose of honouring the Māori people of Tāmaki Makaurau, 'bestowing on the people of the land (tangata whenua) the highest of praise' (Stone, 2004, p 132).

As historian Russell Stone (2004) explains, however, to understand the actual origin of the proposal to erect an obelisk on Maungakiekie, it is necessary to go back to 1906. In that year, at the public unveiling of his own statue (which is located at the entrance to Cornwall Park), Campbell, then blind and aged, announced his ambition to erect 'a towering obelisk … uprearing heavenward from the summit of One tree Hill in memoriam to the great Maori race' (Stone, 1987, pp 252–253). The intention was, therefore, less to recognise the Māori into the future than to memorialise them as a people of the past, a view that communications at the time suggest was widespread.

Figure 6: The obelisk, designed by Auckland architect Atkinson Abbott. The bronze figure of a Māori chief, designed by sculptor Richard Gross, stands at the base of the obelisk, looking out over the city of Tāmaki Makaurau and over Campbell's grave (seen at the base of the photo within the iron surround), 2020. (Photo: Author's own.)

This complex interpretation of landscape is also performed within the boundaries of Cornwall Park, where the display of the Rongo Stone *Te Toka-i-Tawhio* (figure 7) stands, in Graham's (1925) words, as 'a curious relic' (p 175). According to Graham, 'sacred stones' were often placed 'as shrines or abiding places, temporary or permanent, of spirit gods whose protective influence was considered desirable' (p 175). Dating back to the earliest settlements in Aotearoa, a Rongo Stone is said to embody the essence of Rongo – the Polynesian god of agriculture and peace – and to encompass the mauri (the energy that binds all things in the physical world).

Graham's 1925 paper, 'Te Toka-Tu-Whenua: A Relic of the Ancient Waiohua of Tamaki', records what little is known of the history of the stone, the meaning behind its name *Te Toka-i-Tawhio* and how it came to rest within Cornwall Park, based on the narrative offered by Eru Maihi, a Ngāti Whātua chief, in 1909. The narrative describes how the chief Tahuhu landed near Te Arai and set up this stone as a tūāhu (altar or ceremonial place), where he made ceremonial offerings to the spirits of the land to avoid offending them and to safeguard his people. The stone was thereafter known as *Te Toka-tu-whenua,* becoming a famous tūāhu and uruuruwhenua (a place where visitors make their offerings before entering the village of the local people). Graham (1925) states, 'Such was the nature of a tuahu, and every village of importance in former time had such a ceremonial place' (p 177).

The tūāhu was eventually taken from Te Arai to Tāmaki and set up in several places in turn, before eventually being placed on the ridge at Te One-kiri near Te Tatua around 1660. Because it had been carried from one place to another, it was renamed *Te Toka-i-Tawhio* (the stone that has travelled all around). In his recall of the chief's description, Graham explains that the hua (prestige) of the tūāhu was removed when the village at Te One-kiri was destroyed around 1790.

Figure 7: Te Toka-i-Tawhio, 'the stone which has travelled all around' – the Rongo Stone – displayed in Cornwall Park within the vast park landscape, 2020. (Image: Author's own.)

By 1840 and as the European settlement of Tāmaki Makaurau began, the stone still stood on the hill at Te One-kiri, on land then known as 'Cleghorns Farm'. About 1865 the stone was dislodged and rolled down the hill. After staying where it came to rest for some 40 years, it was moved to Cornwall Park and placed in its current position 'so that it might be preserved' (Graham, 1925, p 176).

Interrupting the dominant narrative of the Victorian-style park and western agricultural landscape, the inclusion and display of *Te Toka-i-Tawhio* illustrate how Campbell valued Māori heritage. He was, in Graham's (1925) words, 'interested in all matters appertaining to the Maori history of the district' (p 176). This important heritage feature interrupts the dominant narrative of the park and provides a prompt in the landscape to ask questions of layered history, culture and meaning.

Accompanied by on-site text explanations, both the obelisk and Rongo Stone sitting within the landscapes of Maungakiekie and Cornwall Park highlight the complexity of representation within landscape more generally. When 'closed' didactic information and explanations of what might be termed 'official history' are tied to landscapes, they limit the opportunity to support open reading and self-connection to the land. Yet in providing a 'disruption' to the dominant narrative of each 'place', the obelisk and stone create opportunities to 'open' the dominant narrative about each site, revealing the multiple layers of history and the complexity, intricacy and density of meaning held within the land.

Conclusion

Once inseparable in their use and experience, the two landscapes were entwined, with the boundary between them non-existent. Today, however, sitting side by side in horizontal space, defined spatially through legal boundaries and operationally through governance, the dominant narratives of these landscapes are also divided. For Maungakiekie, the narrative tells of the long and significant history and connection of Māori to this land, communicated through the protection of landform – the terraces, dips, mounds and craters, speaking to the past Māori settlement and fortification of this Tūpuna Maunga. As Ell (1998) explains:

> The physical heritage of the Maori past is fragile. Most was never built to last; a fortress abandoned soon crumbled under the onslaught of storms, its banks eroded, its ditches filled with slippage. The timber posts in the defences outlasted the nikau houses but fire and rot tumbled most within a century. (p 12)

The landform of Maungakiekie, however, is undeniable. Terraces, irrigation ditches, stone walls and modified soils all provide lasting testimony to Māori heritage within this landscape (Dawson, 2010). For Cornwall Park, by contrast, the importance of Campbell's legacy in providing a public park for all New Zealanders directs the dominant narrative.

The monument at the tihi of Maungakiekie, along with Campbell's grave, introduces complexity to the dominant narratives of these landscapes, as does the Rongo Stone located within Cornwall Park. Through its visual presence as the dominating architectural form, the towering Egyptian-style obelisk at the summit of the former pā site demands a questioning of the dominant narrative of the maunga, and prompts enquiry into the history and multiple layers of this landscape. Likewise, the Rongo Stone reveals an important layer to the story of the land now known as Cornwall Park.

The reorientation of narrative into the vertical terrain provides an opportunity for plurality to exist. Here multiple narratives entwine through space and time – removing legal, administrative and temporal boundaries, and providing an environment to 'open' landscape narratives, and therefore to open interpretations, allowing multiple readings within the same place and within the same time. As Potteiger and Purinton (1998a) conclude, 'Opening shifts the production of meaning from the author to the readers so that the vitality of the work is created by the active and multiple engagement' (p 188).

An open narrative that considers this landscape as one, looking vertically through the multiple layers of geomorphological structure, of soil, settlement and cultural interaction, and of land-use change within an urbanising context, invites visitors to this landscape to engage, to enter the 'story' at differing points and from diverse angles, bringing their 'lived experiences' to the interpretation of the landscape. In doing so, it encourages individual engagement and connection with the land. Crafting a space where landscape narrative is participatory and undetermined creates the opportunity for a shared public realm across our diverse and pluralistic contemporary culture. Considering landscape narrative 'vertically' acknowledges the multiple layers that have shaped it and engaged with it through time, both physically and culturally.

Gordon Ell, in 1998, wrote, 'The story of human settlement in New Zealand is written in the landscape' (p 9). The subtle signs shown by the land reveal a heritage layer reaching back a thousand years to the Māori landscape narrative of Aotearoa that is written in the land. Allowing a landscape to reveal itself, to be 'open' to interpretation, and participants to be unhindered in their exploration of multiple narratives provides an opportunity for creating spaces that promote diversity, equality and belonging.

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Overtourism and Colonisation in Tongariro National Park

Benjamin Carpenter, Rebecca Kiddle and Mark Southcombe

On a busy day 3,500 people jostle along the track that winds its way over the craters and ridges of the Tongariro Alpine Crossing in the centre of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. The influx of people who undertake this one-day walk has brought the need for infrastructure to protect the mountain landscape from the sheer number of people that use it and from their detrimental effects on the maunga (mountain). Rubbish and human waste have littered the track in the past. New and expanding developments implemented by the Department of Conservation (DoC) are required as the overtouristed track explodes in popularity and struggles with the volume of sightseers and reservationists.

Alongside the problem of overtourism, colonial processes have undermined the mana (prestige) of local iwi (tribes) and continue to limit their role as kaitiaki (guardians) of the maunga. Te Heuheu Tūkino IV Horonuku, paramount chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, gifted the nucleus of Tongariro National Park to the Crown. Since the Crown accepted this gift, the government has, until recently, run the park on its own without consultation with Ngāti Tūwharetoa. In recent years, the park management has been working with iwi to deliver a representative strategy; however, much of the infrastructure and track layout was established before this time and is not fully representative of Ngāti Tūwharetoa values and ideals for the region.

This paper explores two related questions:

> How might architecture play a role in helping to address the impacts of colonisation and overtourism in Aotearoa New Zealand's national parks?
>
> How might this architecture inform and evoke a sense of Māori landscape in these sites of significance for Māori?

Tongariro, in particular the Tongariro crossing, is the case study used here. This project has been developed as part of a Master in Architecture, Professional Practice.

Methodology

The research uses a 'design research' methodology where 'the process operates through generative modes, producing works at the outset that may then be reflected on later' (Rendell, 2013). Also described as an 'inquiry by design' (Zeisel, 2006) approach, it centres design as a tool for illuminating key problems, through iterations, alongside developing solutions for those problems.

As part of a data gathering and testing process, nine interviews were carried out with key Tongariro stakeholders including DoC, outdoor education providers, Ruapehu Alpine Lifts and a Māori planner. These interviewees were chosen to

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KEY WORDS

Tongariro National Park
Overtourism
Colonisation
Decolonisation

RESEARCH

represent a range of views from groups that use and value the mountain, each with different roles, insights and needs from the mountain. Given the already noted kaitiaki role of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, the project included much effort to identify and interview iwi representatives. However, given iwi representatives and officers receive many requests for comments and invitations to be involved in issues of concern for the iwi, engaging iwi representatives in the project proved difficult. As researchers, we felt it more ethical to stop pursuing iwi for further involvement so as not to put further strain on their resource. While not seeing it as a replacement for direct iwi voices, we worked extensively to research and gather background information from Waitangi Tribunal documents from the Ngāti Tūwharetoa settlement and other iwi resources so that we could, as much as possible, include their voice in this student project.

Any writing on Māori landscapes requires those undertaking it to acknowledge their own positionality. This paper is led by Ben Carpenter, a Pākehā architecture researcher. Rebecca Kiddle is Ngāti Porou and Ngāpuhi and a researcher focused on issues of place and decolonisation. Mark Southcombe is a Pākehā architect with research focused on design-led research and collective housing practices. We are cognisant that none of us is Ngāti Tūwharetoa and so we speak from an etic perspective with respect to this particular Māori landscape.

The sacred 'gift' – a koha for Aotearoa

Many New Zealanders have visited the park, and many know the history of Te Heuheu Tūkino Horonoku's gift to the Crown in 1887 for all New Zealanders. The current Tongariro National Park Management Plan explains: 'it was unique in that its nucleus was the gift of an indigenous people. Thus, a major new dimension was added to the national park ideal with the gift of the sacred volcanic summits creating a three-way bond between land, Māori and Pākehā' (Department of Conservation, 2006).

In Ngāti Tūwharetoa's view, the gifting of the peaks 'imposed reciprocal obligations and conditions on the Crown' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013). There would be a partnership to care for the maunga and both Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the Crown would hold the title (ibid). The gift did, however, come with strings attached, contrary to the view of then Native Minister John Ballance, who saw them as an English-style gift. In reality, the gift was an offer of partnership, in which Queen Victoria was joint trustee. Generally until recently, one result of this lack of a shared understanding around the nature of a koha or gift has been that the Crown has believed it has sole responsibility for the park. Even today, although DoC consults and negotiates with hapū (the local subtribe) over infrastructure changes, it still has the final say as to what happens in regard to the crossing.

In 1993, Tongariro became the first World Heritage site to be inscribed on the heritage list for natural and cultural World Heritage status. Tongariro is 'directly and tangibly associated with events, living traditions, ideas, and beliefs of universal significance and is representative of the culture of Ngāti Tūwharetoa' (Department of Conservation, 2006).

Overtourism in Aotearoa

In a 2019 report, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment highlighted that each year Aotearoa had 4 million international visitors and the number

could rise to 10–13 million annually by 2050 (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2019). The report looked at the effects of the sheer number of tourists within Aotearoa, which is eroding the image of the pristine, tranquil environment that draws people to our shores.

Our own research found that a 'more of the same' (ibid) approach would have an adverse outcome on areas like the Tongariro crossing. For Tongariro specifically, interviewees suggested that 750 visitors per day was the maximum that the track could handle before it became overcrowded. Today, numbers of 3,500 are seen on the busiest days of the year and the track becomes a single-file line of visitors through some sections (figure 1).

To reduce visitor impact, DoC has hardened the track surface over most of the crossing to protect against erosion. Toilets have been installed at three-hour intervals of walking to reduce defecation in the environment and new information displays alert visitors to the need for adequate clothing and water. Despite these efforts, anti-environmental behaviours – such as littering, defecating and displacing rocks – still occur. As visitor numbers increase, the high volume of people on the track compounds their effect on it.

The uncanny opportunity of the pandemic

By March 2020, Covid-19 was spreading around the world, becoming a global pandemic. As countries were crippled by the virus, and global travel and tourism ground to a halt, Aotearoa shut its borders to all non-residents to try to protect itself from the pandemic (Cooke, 2020). Some called for a rethink of how to envision the country's tourism economy (Fyfe, 2020). Strains on infrastructure and congestion of tourists, particularly in conservation areas, were highlighted as unsustainable. With only the domestic market available, the pandemic opened up the opportunity to explore and create more carbon-neutral and less intensive tourism models to follow when the world borders began to open again (Littlewood, 2020).

The Crown's recent acknowledgement of the need to partner with Ngāti Tūwharetoa over management of the maunga, the ongoing impact of overtourism and the opportunity to rethink the tourism sector that Covid-19 indirectly brought about provided the backdrop for this study. Against this, we explored the issues

Figure 1: Visitors descending from Red Crater, the highest point on the Tongariro Alpine Crossing. (Photo: Ben Carpenter.)

of overtourism, the promotion of Māori landscapes – in this case, those of Ngāti Tūwharetoa in particular – and the role architecture might play in provoking visitors to rethink and reassess their relationships with the whenua which they have come to draw enjoyment from.

Dealing with overtourism

The interviews reinforced that the Tongariro Alpine Crossing is a fragile environment and that great care is needed to help it withstand the pressure of the huge number of people completing the trail every day. Interviewees were split between whether to limit numbers on the track or to keep the numbers high solely on the crossing as a way of preventing overcrowding elsewhere.

One of the easiest ways to control numbers would be to use a USA-style permit system. Under this system, prospective walkers would apply for a permit to walk on a chosen day and a cap on the number would be set at an environmentally sustainable level.

One of the interviewees, Shaun Barnett (author of *Tramping: A New Zealand History,* Federated Mountain Clubs), noted, however, that while the Tongariro track was overcrowded, its popularity eased the pressure on the rest of the park and allowed the Round the Mountain track that encircles Ruapehu to stay comparatively quiet and free from the impact of overtourism. If the number using the crossing was capped, this could channel tourists into the low-use parts of the park, moving the problem elsewhere.

It is unlikely that a permit system would be popular with New Zealanders as free access to our national parks seems to be part of a New Zealand identity, held as a cherished right. A backlash on a similar issue was evident when DoC introduced four-hour limits to the Mangatepōpō car park, leading trampers to complain about DoC's ability to cut off access on its own terms (Rangi, 2017). In addition, the extra layer of bureaucracy gives those who are more aware of the system a higher chance of obtaining permits, at the expense of first-time users. Overseas tourists could also take up permit spots, excluding New Zealanders from their own national parks.

Given the problems inherent in a permit system, this project developed an alternative response to deal with overtourism on the Tongariro crossing. This response focused on better educating those walking the crossing so that they have an opportunity to teach or be taught and 'listen' to the culture and ecology that already surrounds users. We thought this was a more democratic response to the use of a place that is important to iwi, New Zealanders and international visitors alike. Another important element of the response, though, is to give added weight to the values and identity of Māori as a way of acknowledging the importance of the maunga for Ngāti Tūwharetoa and promoting better relationships with and respect for the maunga from tourists.

As stated in the iwi's environmental management plan, 'As kaitiaki, ngā hapū o Ngāti Tūwharetoa have an intrinsic duty to ensure that the mauri [life force] and therefore the physical and spiritual health of the environment is maintained, protected and enhanced' (Ngāti Tūwharetoa Māori Trust Board, 2002). Reducing the impacts of overtourism through an educational model was explored as a way of maintaining the mauri and physical and spiritual health of the mountain.

To promote this respect among all visitors and a more careful interaction with the maunga, we decided on a strategy that encouraged self-policing while also providing educational opportunities. This model encourages social learning and incentivises genuine social connection between different tramping parties. Anecdotal evidence suggests that social connections between parties and strangers are more likely to happen on less popular tracks where the number of users is small enough that it is worth investing time in conversing with others because the chance of seeing them again is high. This situation, where users are likely to recognise each other if they meet again elsewhere in the journey, creates a sort of social accountability. In contrast, on the Tongariro crossing, where the number of users is so high and the structure of the walk is for one day only, most users will never speak to another person outside their party and therefore they feel less accountable to other users.

Currently educational strategies in settings like this take a few forms. The most direct option is to locate information signs throughout the track that tell visitors about their responsibilities. This conveys information directly but does not necessarily create the visceral response or cognitive dissonance required for visitors to gain a sense of ongoing accountability to meet those responsibilities. If a strategy is to create a positive attitude change or reinforce existing positive behaviours, it needs to evoke a deep-seated response in visitors so that they actually follow through. This is particularly true for overseas visitors who are unlikely to know the value of tikanga (Māori protocol).

To create a meaningful change in attitude away from visitors' current disregard for the maunga, there must be a shared sense of social accountability. In the same way that a sign has no moral directive, visitors will be more inclined to follow behaviours that benefit the environment and the mana of the maunga when they have a shared responsibility created by social learning opportunities (Bandura et al, 1961) and feel part of a wider group with shared interests and goals. Benedict Anderson's (1983) notion of 'imagined community' is useful here: it suggests that when we feel part of a community (even if a large one, such as a community of New Zealanders), we are more likely to feel a sense of responsibility to that community without necessarily knowing all of its members. Wokje Abrahamse's (2019) study on social norms also tells us that when the actions of some people make these norms salient, others are much more likely to follow them.

Currently, the physical infrastructure of the Tongariro crossing, including the buildings and structures on the maunga, provides little opportunity for learning; nor does it help to create a sense of place. DoC tends to use the same building design for its structures over most of Aotearoa, so the architecture and infrastructure are generally not context specific. We assert that architecture has an important role to play in representing the rich history and landscape of Tongariro National Park and in reasserting the Māori landscape that this place represents.

An architectural response

The aim of this scheme is to provide an extended journey along the mountain that gives users more opportunity to socialise, learn and reflect on their maunga context, the histories of that place and their accountabilities within it (figure 2).

While we acknowledge that architecture is not deterministic of people's behaviour, we contend that it does have some role to play in reasserting identities lost, capturing imaginations and nudging people towards behaviours that are positive for the whenua. That is, architecture can contribute to decolonisation and better visitor behaviours. Alongside these physical interventions, we acknowledge the role that iwi and hapū, as mana whenua of this place (with customary authority over the land), need to play in the ongoing processes that govern the management and control of the park. Fulfilling that role requires structural change.

The scheme is modelled on a pōwhiri (welcome), with each design intervention corresponding to a stage in the pōwhiri process. The pōwhiri was chosen to acknowledge the koha of the maunga to the people of Aotearoa, showcasing the manaakitanga (generosity and hospitality) and welcoming inherent in that koha.

Waharoa | Entrance

The entrance is an opportunity to prepare for the walk ahead. It offers a gathering place where groups share their knowledge with each other on how to plan, how to prepare and how to look after the mountain (figures 3 and 4). The design is predicated on the idea of the architecture becoming a vessel for this knowledge, providing opportunities to linger and transfer it between the groups to create the social accountability needed to protect the whenua. This is akin to the waharoa at

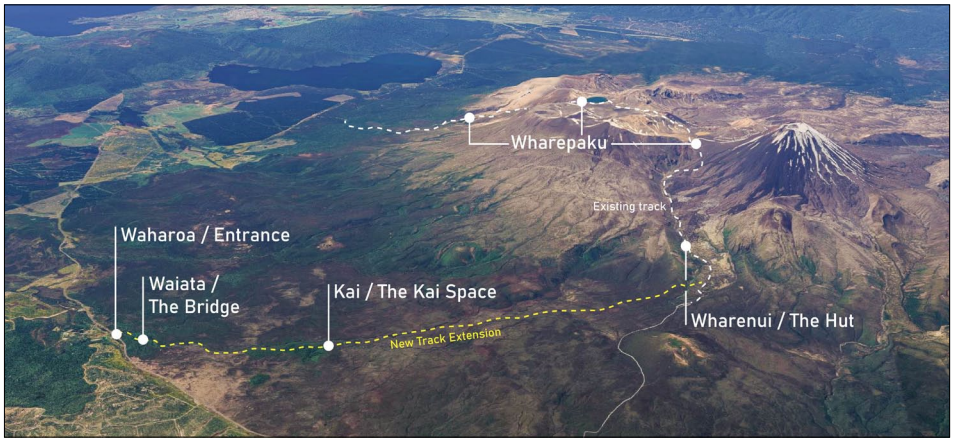

Figure 2: Location of proposed infrastructure along the track. (Image: Ben Carpenter. Map data: Google. Imagery: TerraMetrics.)

Figure 3: The waharoa during rainfall. Water falls through the oculus into the central crucible, where visitors can use it as drinking water. (Image: Ben Carpenter.)

which, before the pōwhiri starts, a certain amount of discussion and negotiations occurs. Who will do the karanga (welcome call)? Who will be the kaikōrero (speaker)? What waiata (song) will we sing? Has anybody got an envelope to collect the koha (offering) for the marae? Providing space for preparatory discussions builds accountability across groups. As people travel forward on their journey, the walk to the next intervention represents the karanga and the whaikōrero (speech) that continue to welcome people to this place.

Waiata | The bridge

The bridge represents the kīnaki or the relish to the whaikōrero inherent in the waiata of the waters that pass under it. The bridge provides a quiet moment of reflection after the hubbub of the kōrero that has just taken place. With all the bustle and awe involved in being in the mountains and starting out on the journey, reflection on your place and what you are going to be doing is often not given much importance. The bridge sits in contrast to the nature around and provides a place not just to move through along the journey but to sit and listen to the awa (river) with the hope of provoking cognitive dissonance, a shift in thinking in those who arrive (figures 5a and 5b).

Kai | The kai space

The final act of the pōwhiri process is to eat in order to make noa (profane) those who have arrived, moving them from waewae tapu (sacred feet) to being part of and accountable to this place. The kai space is the first opportunity for the different parties to come together and share food. This gathering around

Figure 4: Areas for groups to share knowledge and transfer it between parties. (Image: Ben Carpenter.)

Figures 5a and 5b: The bridge over the Mangatepōpō.
(Images: Ben Carpenter.)

the shared space can create social bonds between the different parties. The architecture also confines users to a particular space so they do not impact negatively on the surrounding whenua (figure 6).

Wharenui | The hut

Sleeping communally in the wharenui extends and reinforces a shared sense of accountability to each other and the maunga. The larger huts that are typical on the great walks of Aotearoa have been shrunk here into two smaller huts, sleeping 14 people each so that they bring people together for a closer-knit experience (figure 7). The choice of 14 as the maximum number is drawn from the outdoor education industry. Kurt Hahn – the founder of Outward Bound who shaped the outdoor education industry – used watches (limited groups) of up to 14 (Veevers and Allison, 2011). According to Hahn, at numbers above 14, it is difficult for each person in the group to meet everyone else personally and it encourages the feeling of being one of the crowd.

The smaller huts are designed to spark conversation and social accountability as they rely on hut users having mutual respect for each other. The routed interior takes its inspiration from the rocks and volcanic activity of the Mangatepōpō landscape and the forces of creation that produced the landscape. The curved flowing of the bunks, cubbies and benches breaks down the traditional use of 'my bunk, my shelf, my cubby-hole'. Instead, the collective sharing of space forces people to work together and communicate to give a sense of group ownership: 'our shelf, our kitchen bench'. This is not a solution to all the problems people have in communal living – piles of gear and food are a common one – but shared spaces and small numbers of visitors allow accountability of behaviour in a communal environment.

Figure 6: A place of kai, drawing people together to create social connection and keep them away from the fragile whenua. (Image: Ben Carpenter.)

Figure 7: View from Mangatepōpō Stream. The poled huts minimise the area of landscape that they disrupt. (Image: Ben Carpenter.)

Wharepaku | Toilets

The pragmatics of human living mean providing ablution facilities is important to protect the wider maunga landscape. Defecation on the mountain was a big issue before DoC placed toilets along the Tongariro Alpine Crossing (Blaschke and Pauline, 2007, p vii). These toilets were implemented following consultation and were printed with images of the surrounding landscape. The architectural language of the toilets when seen as a landmark from the alpine areas was underdeveloped and groups would often stop and eat while waiting for their party to use the facilities, mixing tapu and noa activities. This project's proposal to separate the two activities would advance Ngāti Tūwharetoa's aims of protecting the mauri of water and prohibiting all discharge of human waste directly into waterways (Ngāti Tūwharetoa Māori Trust Board, 2002).

Volcanic activity, particularly after the eruption of Te Mari, has also highlighted the ongoing danger of this volcanic landscape. The new designs add a steel framework around the wharepaku. One reason for doing so is to blend the design into the surrounding landscape and separate tapu and noa activities (figure 8), but another is to provide suitable shelter if the volcano erupts. The Corten steel structure took inspiration from the volcanic landscape features (figure 9).

Poroporoaki | Farewell

The poroporoaki is a time of farewell, where those who are leaving the space farewell their hosts and discuss and reflect on the time shared. As people wait for their buses to arrive, they have time for parting words to share with those who they have journeyed with.

Figure 8: The wharepaku unit sits on the surface so no digging on the maunga is required. (Image: Ben Carpenter.)

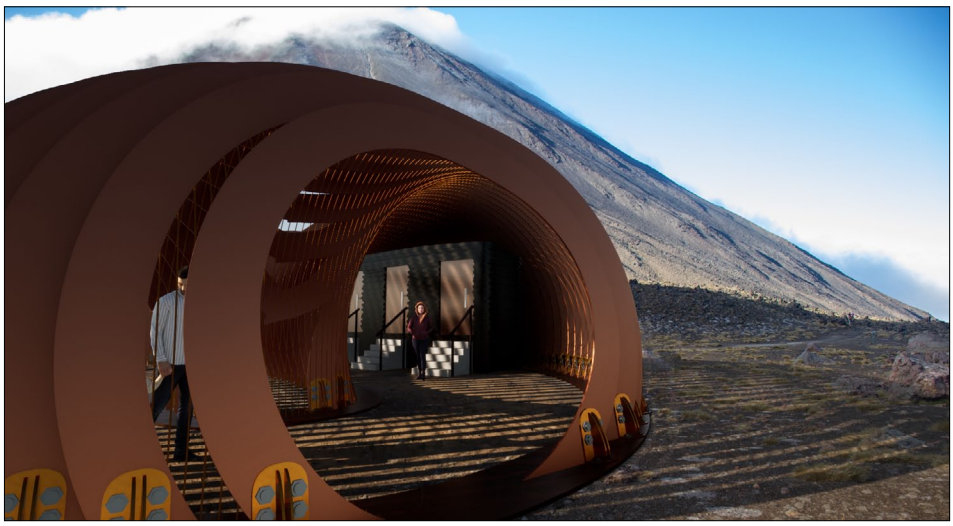

Figure 9: The Corten steel and organic shape blend in with the volcanic environment. (Image: Ben Carpenter.)

The structure is almost identical to the waharoa | entrance, with the same details symbolising a circular process that occurs on a linear track (figure 10). The centre of the structure is now a space for people, the architecture inviting a space for discourse between parties and a place for them to reflect on the landscape they have travelled through and the knowledge they have gained along the way.

Conclusion

The project described in this paper is a response to overtourism through architecture that provokes us to rethink our relationship with the whenua. It has also attempted to reassert the identity of Tongariro as a Māori landscape. The research highlights how architecture can play a role in re-orienting visitor thinking through creating opportunities for social learning and cognitive dissonance. It demonstrates that design interventions and their associated rituals and patterns of use can facilitate a sense of a wider accountability to those around us and to the whenua on which we walk. This culturally and ethically based change in the tourist experience would help contextualise and mitigate current problems with overtourism in Tongariro National Park.

Alongside this, in order to fully recognise the kaitiaki role of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, further work is needed to enhance iwi oversight and management for the maunga. Recent efforts that are forging a new precedent to give due mana to both the unique landscape itself and the local iwi who belong to that landscape have seen the personhood of the landscape acknowledged by enshrining it in legislation – Te Urewera Act 2014 for the area of Te Urewera and Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017 for the Whanganui River. Ultimately, for all of us to be good kaitiaki of Tongariro Alpine Crossing, as a unique Māori landscape and tipuna (ancestor), we must work towards preventing overtourism from negatively impacting on the maunga and engage in arguing for management systems that serve to decolonise all precious taonga that are our Māori landscapes.

Figure 10: The form of the poroporoaki structure facilitates interaction. The design references the waharoa | entrance. (Image: Ben Carpenter.)

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Of People and Place: (Re-)Making Aotearoa

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Kia Whakanuia Te Whenua: People, Place, Landscape, Carolyn Hill (ed) for Landscape Foundation, Auckland: Mary Egan Publishing, ISBN: 9780473532376 (softcover).

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In the fields of Indigenous critical theory and settler colonial studies, it has been argued that colonisation is a failed project, that the myriad attempts to eliminate Indigenous peoples, sever their connection to ancestral land and destroy their ways of knowing and being have not succeeded. That despite the hideous violence of colonisation, Indigenous peoples remain; their deep ontological and spiritual attachments to land have not been severed (see Brown, 2014; Moreton Robinson, 2003).

To speak of colonisation as a failed project is not to deny its impacts on Indigenous peoples. No indeed, the intergenerational trauma of colonisation can be counted in all manner of heartbreaking social statistics from incarceration rates, to poorer health and mental health outcomes, to the elevated incidence of learned behaviours such as domestic violence and substance abuse. Rather, to characterise colonisation as a failed project is to highlight the enduring connection of Indigenous people and place; to stress, in the context of Aotearoa, the 'inalienable' connection of Māori to the whenua (land).

Nowhere is this enduring connection more plainly visible than in the pages of *Kia Whakanuia Te Whenua: People, Place, Landscape*. The umbilical connection of Māori to whenua is the unifying thread that ties together the diverse chapters of this work. The volume is a snapshot of an Aotearoa, familiar to some but emerging for others, in which that connection between Māori and the whenua is acknowledged as at once central to the past and vital to the future. It is an understanding of this enduring and reciprocal connection to place that provides us with the knowledge we need to perform our role as kaitiaki (guardians) and steward the land for subsequent generations.

That this future is by no means guaranteed is elaborated in Kim Himoana Penetito's impassioned and elegant exploration of the intimate and symbiotic bonds between wāhine Māori (Māori women) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and the ways in which that relationship is crucial as a bulwark against the exploitation of nature. Alayna Renata similarly brings a wahine Māori perspective to the fore in her discussion of the wairua of the whenua – of the ways in which the land speaks to those of us who are prepared to listen. It is a stunning insight into the types of knowledge that will likely prove essential if we are to protect the whenua and the whakapapa (genealogy) it can sustain from our worst excesses.

BOOK REVIEW

If this is not the century of Indigenous knowledge, then it might well be the last century of humankind.

Rachel Shearer too explores the ways in which we might listen to the whenua, and in particular to the silences created through biodiversity loss. It is sobering to reflect on the nothingness left in our wake. Māori have likewise been silenced, te reo Māori (Māori language) beaten out of our tīpuna (ancestors), our ways of knowing archived by the forces of colonisation and assimilation. The assertive reclamation and reawakening evident in these pages do not and should not obscure the ongoing and pernicious impacts of colonisation, impacts explored in Wayne Knox's discussion of whenua and identity. Knox highlights the rupture between many Māori and their ancestral whenua, awa (river) and maunga (mountain). Yet Knox also hints at the possibility of reconnection, of opening ourselves up to the interconnectedness of our personal wellbeing and our natural environment.

Lena Henry's chapter on whenua Māori and the state provides a useful background on traditional Māori land tenure and the extensive battery of legislative weapons deployed against it by successive Pākehā (European) governments. That Māori retain just 4 to 6 per cent of their whenua even after the majority of historical Treaty of Waitangi claims have been settled is pause for thought indeed – the settlement process formally extinguishes the right of Māori to seek further redress from the Crown and indeed Māori landholdings have diminished since the settlement process began in the early 1990s (see Wynyard, 2019). The ongoing struggle of Māori to have their ancestral lands restored to them is also explored in Mere Whaanga's poignant and personal account of her as-yet unsuccessful struggle to have her ahikāroa rights to her whānau (extended family) land restored. Sadly, it is a tale of frustration depressingly familiar to Māori in many parts of Aotearoa.

William Hatton and Jacqueline Paul catalogue the efforts of Indigenous peoples to have their treasured 'cultural landscapes' protected or returned to them. Their chapter connects the struggle of Māori at Ihumātao with the struggles of Kanaka Maoli over Mauna Kea in Hawai'i and with those of the Hunkpapa Lakota, Sihasapa Lakota and Yanktonai Dakota tribes over the Standing Rock Reservation in the mainland of the United States of America. By making explicit the connections between these various contestations over culturally significant landscapes, the authors highlight the ongoing centrality of land to the colonial project and, crucially, to Indigenous resistance against it.

The legacies of colonisation also haunt Fleur Palmer's chapter. Palmer notes that colonisation is not an historical event; rather it is an ongoing structure that continues to prove toxic to indigeneity in myriad disparate ways. For Palmer, Indigenous knowledge is key to a more sustainable and non-exploitive future. Central here is the idea of connection: we are, Palmer notes, all part of, not separate from, the natural world. This connection is also crucial to the work of Sterling Ruwhiu and Hōhepa Waenga, educators at Auckland Zoo, whose work centres on connecting students to the living world around them. Together these chapters offer a vision of tūmanako, of hope. A hope for the future in which Indigenous knowledge nurtures a relationship between people and place that is not based on exploitation, degradation or the relentless pursuit of profit over all other concerns.

It is precisely that vision of hope that makes this volume such an enriching read. Here is a vision of an emerging Aotearoa where Māori ways of knowing, doing and being are no longer marginal but, rather, central to the ongoing wellbeing of all New Zealanders.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Matthew Wynyard has iwi affiliations to Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāpuhi, as well as Pākehā ancestry.

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