Māori Cultural Landscapes in Otago; Acknowledgement, Recognition and Preservation

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Abstract

The landscapes of Otago are peppered with memorials and meaning. Meaning comes from how people perceive and have perceived their surrounds through time. The passage of time, geographical features, heritage, memories, and cultural perspective, all conspire to produce what can be described as a cultural landscape. The landscapes of the Otago Region, New Zealand, are no exception.

Otago has a rich heritage of human occupation, with an emphasis placed on Otago’s colonial past in historical literature, also evident in the museums of the region. There are a plethora of monuments to the bravery of soldiers in the two world wars, displayed on streets and on top of hills overlooking towns. At first glance however, there appears to be a lack of recognition given to the original occupants of Otago, Māori, and their contributions to the cultural landscapes of Otago. This study will explore the level of recognition afforded to Māori cultural landscapes in the Otago Region. This will be conducted through a comprehensive literature review, document analysis of three Otago district plans, as well as interviews with key informants. The project investigates the nature of what Māori cultural landscapes are, why they’re important and the level of care afforded to them by the councils.

The findings from the project indicate that a level of understanding and recognition by the councils exists towards Māori cultural landscapes, however there are traits of Māori cultural landscapes which non-Māori struggle to comprehend. Meta-physical aspects of Māori culture in general can prove to be hard to legislate for, or to understand in an intellectual capacity by those with limited exposure to tikanga Māori. The research highlights the inclusiveness and willingness of councils to engage with iwi on Māori issues, but also the inherent difficulties associated with accommodating an indigenous worldview within the Western Paradigm and worldview.

Recommendations centre on the strengthening of ties between the councils and iwi through continued engagement, the inclusion of provisions in the district plans for the recognition and protection of Te Ao Mārama, or the Māori worldview. The tangible aspects of Māori cultural landscapes are easier to protect, it’s the spiritual dimension of Māori cultural landscapes that need attention=. 
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my long-suffering partner John, for supporting me through this year of the lord, 2015, as he also graciously did for me in 2014. Apologies to you and Puku for not being free for our walks and hikes this year.

My supervisor, Michelle Thompson-Fawcett I wish to thank next, as she hauled me through (sometimes kicking and screaming) to get it finished. Michelle was, in the classical Greek parlance, one of the nine Muses, inspiring and eliciting work from me I wasn’t even aware I was capable of doing. Thank you for your wisdom and guidance Aunty Mich!

To all of my key informants, thank you all very much for your input into my thesis, you all collectively helped me find my argument and my way, and were a definite highlight of an otherwise arduous task.

To my classmates the class of 2016, Timbo, Ranui, Kath, Queen Bee, Sarah, Shenanu, James and Titiwhai, thanks for teaching me so many things, and for allowing me to impart my stories and knowledge for your entertainment! Finally, to the other members of MPlan that I had the privilege to meet (classes of 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017 and beyond!), it’s been a pleasure.

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Glossary of Māori Terms

**Note:** The variation of the spelling of Māori words, which exists in differing degrees throughout New Zealand as dialects, has necessitated a standard spelling regime be adhered to in this thesis. The author, hailing from the Bay of Plenty, would be inclined to spell Māori kupu in his own familiar way. However, considering the study is being conducted in Otago and is a study on the Otago hapū of Kāi Tahu, the spelling rules of the Otago rūnaka shall stand. The main difference is the changing of the ‘ng’ syllable to a hard ‘k’, i.e Kāi Tahu as opposed to Ngāi Tahu, as they’re known in other regions. When spelt ‘Ngāi Tahu’ in the study, it refers to their Christchurch-based operations. Where reference is made to ‘Pākehā’ in a contemporary sense, it refers to all non-Māori residing in New Zealand. This group can be further subdivided into sub-sets, such as recent immigrants for example, but for reasons of consistency I will keep Pākehā as meaning “all non-Māori”. Also, the basis for this thesis is the experience of Māori in relation to being colonized by the British. Thus, when I refer to colonialism or Western philosophies in relation to New Zealand, I am referring to the British model of colonialism, predominant in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Finally the two names for our country, Aotearoa/New Zealand are used interchangeably; duality honours a key tenet of Tiriti O Waitangi, which was founded on the principle of biculturalism, a partnership of two peoples.
1

Introduction

Māori cultural landscapes take into account the physical nature of past Māori occupation and use of land, as well as their spiritual connection to the land. The Māori worldview, a lens through which we can see the world in a different way, views the environment very differently from a Euro-centric perspective. Making allowances for indigenous worldviews in law has become more prevalent and widespread throughout the world as implications from Colonialism have become more apparent over time.

From Native American tribes in the US, the First Nation and Inuit peoples of Canada, as well as the plethora of other indigenous cultures around the world, a sympathetic stance towards their sacred objects and concepts, such as language, burial sites and traditional food gathering sites has highlighted the desire to protect and preserve these cultural treasures. In New Zealand, our local regulatory bodies, being District Councils, must make allowances for such sacred sites, concepts and objects to Māori, through the Resource management Act (RMA 1991), the Local Government Act (2002) and New Zealand’s obligations to Māori through the Treaty of Waitangi 1840.

1.1 Rationale for Research

The lack of verification in Otago’s built environment that Māori are indeed the original inhabitants of Otago is evident. One would be forgiven for assuming an Anglo-Saxon invasion somehow discovered and settled Otago and that they are the indigenous population. The difference in culture here to the upper North Island in relation to biculturalism is tangible. Otago does not have as strong a Māori presence as other parts of New Zealand do. However, Māori did make Otago their home prior to discovery and colonialism, and for this reason alone this study has validity.
The research will concentrate on biculturalism between Māori and Pākehā and biculturalism will be assumed throughout. Multiculturalism is an increasingly important facet of contemporary New Zealand, however Aotearoa was founded on a treaty that set up a dual system between Māori and Pākehā, thus biculturalism goes to the very heart of our identity and sovereignty as a nation. Getting biculturalism right first, as it serves as a building block to the very structure of our country as a whole, is an important first step. It defines us as kīwi, and how we see ourselves. From this self-awareness, we are able to govern ourselves and figure out what is important to us as a nation, a notion that has been evolving ever since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

As the researcher is a kīwi of mixed heritage, the desire to protect the unique kīwi culture that has evolved from the fusion of peoples populating New Zealand is the driving force behind the research. The motivation is to gauge the appreciation and understanding for Māori culture, in the form of their sacred landscapes in general, and how local governments in Otago have allowed for this recognition. Why cultural landscapes? An informal chat with a key informant last year yielded some sobering news. There appears to be various threats to areas in Otago of cultural importance to Māori, specifically cultural landscapes. Degradation of sites by development and other activities, and ignorance (or apathy) towards the importance of these areas to Māori were reasons enough to pique my interest in this as a potential thesis topic.

1.2 Scope of the Study

For a comparative perspective, the research shall incorporate international studies, literature and case law. However, the focus of the study is regional in scale, concentrating on the Otago Region. Otago has been chosen as it has the ideal combination of demographics, landscapes and economic factors that will allow for a varied test area. The research will be concentrating on the Central Otago and Queenstown regions, using Dunedin as a comparison. Results from key informant interviews and the relevant District plans of Otago will be dissected for the level of care given to Māori cultural landscapes, and observations made on the results. Recommendations will follow the review, as determined by the findings.
1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

Preliminary research through key informant meetings, as well as research of the various District plans would suggest that there is a need for further investigation. Based on the various factors that make this an issue, I have formulated three main questions; the research questions are:

1. What is the nature of Māori cultural landscapes and why are they important to Māori?
2. What events have influenced the Māori perception of Te Ao Mārama, and how has time changed the way Māori view Māori cultural landscapes?
3. How have relevant legislation, the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) and the district plans in Otago influenced the recognition, acknowledgement and preservation of Māori cultural landscapes in the present context?

Question 1 will be answered through the Literature Review and Context chapters, bringing together regional, national and international literature, and the corresponding worldviews of other indigenous peoples. The definitions gleaned from the literature will then be analysed and compared to the definitions attained in the key informant interviews in the results chapter. The second question will also be answered from the material researched in the literature review, and a comparative analysis with the empirical evidence gathered will be conducted. Question 3 consists of an analysis of the three district plans of the councils within the scope of the study to ascertain their level of care towards Māori cultural landscapes, and an analysis of wider national legislation which influences what needs to be in these plans. While attempting to answer the three questions posed, the research objectives and desired outcomes are as follows:

• To investigate whether best practice is being observed by councils in relation to Māori cultural landscapes, and the influence of legislation on the effectiveness of district plans
• To highlight the physical and meta-physical aspects of cultural landscapes, what they mean and why they’re important for Māori
• Ascertain recommendations based on best practice to acknowledge, recognise and preserve Māori cultural landscapes

This research will provide a useful guide between iwi expectations of how their cultural landscapes should be catered for, and the way corresponding councils are dealing with them. It will help in various ways; highlighting the issue to those unaware while making recommendations to bridge the gap in understanding between Māori and Pākehā in general on this topic.

1.4 Structure of Thesis

The structure and research strategy of the study is represented below, highlighting each chapter’s contents and showing succinctly the evolution of the research. Figure1 below presents the report’s structure.

| Chapter 1 Introduction | • Introduces the research topic, theory, strategy and structure  
|                        | • States the key research questions and objectives |
| Chapter 2 Context      | • Sets the study in the local context of the Otago region  
|                        | • Highlights the relevant regional geographical issues |
| Chapter 3 Methodology  | • Details the process of research  
|                        | • Discusses the use of key informant interviews |
| Chapter 4 Literature Review | • Researches global indigenous perceptions of cultural landscapes, sets the worldwide context  
|                        | • Highlights the spiritual component of cultural landscapes |
| Chapter 5 Document Analysis | • Assesses Otago councils’ district plans against best practice in relation to Māori cultural landscapes, using national legislation as a diagnostic tool to ascertain their legibility and intent |
| Chapter 6 Results      | • Analysis of data and connection of key themes, emphasis on the findings from the key informant interviews |
| Chapter 7 Discussion   | • Ties results to international theory  
|                        | • Holistic overview of study |
| Chapter 8 Conclusion   | • Concludes study with future recommendations, summary of key findings |

Figure 1: Structure of Thesis
Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter’s aim is to detail the rationale for employing particular methods in order to answer the research’s questions and objectives. The methodology chapter begins by discussing the approach taken, within the context of two worldviews, both Western and Māori. The detailed process for the collection and analysis of data is subsequently explored. The appraisal of the empirical data taken from primary sources is highlighted in the research section and analysed in the discussion chapter. Lastly, limitations of the research and the ethics involved in the harvesting of primary data are discussed.

2.2 Research Design

The research design establishes the methods used for conducting the research, the reasons why the research was conducted and the subsequent analysis of the results. The aim of this project is to consider options for recognition of Māori cultural landscapes. Recognition allows for the preservation, protection and acknowledgement necessary for the survival of Māori cultural landscapes. However, the attempted preservation of both the physical and the meta-physical characteristics that make up Māori cultural landscapes has its limitations. It has been revealed through interviews conducted and documents analysed that physical remnants are easier to legislate for than ‘concepts’. The spiritual and intangible aspects of Māori cultural landscapes can prove to be difficult to conceptualize and make allowances for by planners in councils with a limited understanding of Te Ao Mārama, despite legislation requiring them to do so. Understanding physical and meta-physical characteristics requires a methodology that spans very different ways of conceptualising and diverse pathways for the future.
The topic of this study was chosen for particular reasons. The aim of signing the Treaty of Waitangi was to set up a contract between The Crown and the indigenous population of Aotearoa, the Māori. In 1840 when it was signed, it is evident that: “…Māori were ceding a lot more than they thought they were” (Consedine, 2005:88). The ramifications over time from the signing have been exhaustively researched over the ensuing 175 years since. This research exists because of the perpetual need for restitution, until issues stemming from the Treaty have been sufficiently addressed.

From the researcher’s perspective and being a native of the Bay of Plenty, Māori culture appears to be under represented in Otago in comparison to areas of the North Island. This observation is endorsed by some of the key informants that were interviewed. This situation, coupled with the interesting history and uniqueness of Māori occupation in this part of New Zealand also inspired the researcher to pursue the topic, and ascertain if research on the topic of Māori cultural landscapes was viable. After talking to representatives of Kāi Tahu in Dunedin, it was determined that indeed this was a topic needing attention.

2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Interviews from key informants constitute the empirical evidence and primary data gathered. The information gleaned from transcriptions of the interviews was disseminated and filtered into common themes, then used to answer the three key questions the researcher set out to address. The interview analysis was completed prior to the examination of the various legislative documents, as the key themes derived from interviews were required for the process of document analysis.

2.4 Approach Taken and Information Sources

As this study is concerned with both physical and meta-physical concepts, a qualitative approach was favoured over a mixed-methods or quantitative method approach. Interviewees’ opinions, observations and beliefs would have been too difficult to quantify in a survey or questionnaire. Nine key informants
were interviewed and their perspectives form the basis of the empirical evidence of the research. Various styles of interviewing were employed, depending on the individual dynamics of each key interview.

Commonly, individual versus group interviews was the main style chosen, with direct and indirect questioning from the researcher used to elicit responses. One interview was a group interview situation, with two key informants participating in the one interview. Excluding one interview, the rest followed a structured guide, using indicative questions. One interview was predominantly a receptive interview, whereby the informant was allowed to talk, without interruption, for the majority of the interview, with encouragement from the researcher in the forms of non-verbal encouragement (Sarantakos, 1998).

The key informant interviews helped determine the key themes and perspectives that were examined in the results and discussion chapters (Neuman, 2011). Gleaning ideas and opinions on Te Ao Mārama from iwi and Māori academics was important, as they also have an in-depth understanding of the Western Paradigm within which contemporary New Zealand exists. Paradigm also means ‘worldview’, a term used to describe the set of beliefs, experiences, and values that influence the way an individual perceives reality and responds to that perception.

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<th>Key Informant</th>
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*Figure 2 Affiliation and Ethnicity of Key Informants*
Key Informants were selected based on their esoteric knowledge relating to Māori cultural landscapes in Otago. As shown in Figure 1, some informants were academics from Otago University, both Māori and Pākehā, who had specific knowledge of the cultural landscapes of Otago. Other informants were iwi or representatives of iwi with their unique insights into Māori cultural landscapes. Representatives of local councils, detailing their council’s stance on the topic, formed the last group of interviewees. The informants were approached via email, to allow time to accept or decline the invitation. Of the fifteen potential participants approached, nine interviews were conducted in the end.

The researcher did not hear back from four potential key informants, and two potential informants were receptive but clashing timetables meant a meeting never occurred due to time constraints. This effectively shortened the number of key informants to nine (out of fifteen approached), however the amount of data gathered was sufficient for a varied cross section of perspectives. The data gathered from the interviews consisted of the key informants’ specialized knowledge, opinions and points of view. This information, in conjunction with the analysis of the district plans and relevant legislation, was essential in determining the level of care afforded to Māori cultural landscapes in the Otago Region.

**2.4.1 Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a qualitative analysis of forms of verbal, visual or written communication (Sarantakos, 1998). For the study, this method has been employed in the analysis of the district plans of the Dunedin City Council, Central Otago District Council and the Queenstown Lakes District Council. Parts of the Resource Management Act 1991 and the Local Government Act 2002 were also included in the assessment of planning provisions for Māori cultural landscapes. Analysis was crucial for answering the key questions of the study, and achieving the objectives set out in the Introduction Chapter.
Research question 2, as set out in the Introduction Chapter, seeks to analyse how thorough each plan is in protecting, enhancing and preserving Māori cultural landscapes. Each plan was analysed for the extent to which Māori cultural landscapes are acknowledged, protected and provided for throughout the plan. The district plans each had their own strengths and weaknesses, however some were more comprehensive than others in their provisions.

The RMA’s statutory purpose is to ensure the sustainable use of resources in New Zealand. The purpose of a district plan is “…to assist territorial authorities to carry out their functions in order to achieve the purpose of this Act” (MfE, 1991). This alludes to a relationship between the RMA and district plans where the latter must adhere to the former. Analysis of the district plans in relation to Part 2, Section 6 (e) of the RMA, emphasized by Key Informant 7 as being of particular importance, was also undertaken. Of particular importance was the analysis of the objectives, policies and rules of the district plans relating to Māori cultural landscapes, from which recommendations could be made. The analysis of each plan and the findings from the interviews were the tools with which recommendations could be formulated.

2.4.2 Secondary Research - Literature Review and Context Chapters

The literature review covered the research focus areas, including the connection between the Indigenous Worldviews and the Western Paradigm, a paradigm introduced across the world by the process of colonialism. Relevant international examples were explored, further cementing the relevance of the research here in New Zealand by situating it in a global context. From the analysis, it was clear that this is a relevant issue with indigenous peoples across the world. The Discussion Chapter draws upon the findings of the literature review to help answer the research questions and interpret and explain the results. The Context Chapter's purpose was to ‘set the scene’, exploring the issues in relation to the regional environment. Acting as an extension to the literature review, its findings are also drawn upon in the Discussion Section.
2.5 Ethics

An essential component of the thesis is the ethical considerations in place related to conducting the interviews. As required, an Ethics Application to the Department was submitted, to ensure no foreseeable breaches of ethics would occur, and was subsequently approved. An ethics information sheet and an ethics consent form (see appendix) were sent with the initial email, thus giving the interviewees time to assess whether they would be comfortable with a recorded interview, from which quotations would be taken. Informants were informed that their anonymity would be preserved, unless requested otherwise. All nine informants chose to remain anonymous. Questions were a mixture of generic and specific (see appendix), anticipating both the similarities and the uniqueness of each informant’s perspective.

2.6 Limitations

From the fifteen individuals approached for their perspective, a total of nine agreed to be interviewed. As the key informants were the sum of the empirical evidence gathered, the extra six informants’ perspectives would have added new dimensions to the study, and this is considered by the researcher to be the most significant limitation. The high quality of the information gleaned from the nine participating informants was such that the researcher can only imagine the comprehensiveness of the results had all fifteen potential interviewees participated.

It was a conscious decision to keep the study regional in scope, as this area of New Zealand does not have a large proportion of Māori living here. To research whether this was a factor in the level of recognition given to Māori cultural landscapes, and whether it affected prevailing attitudes towards them in this part of New Zealand was a goal of the researcher. If the study had been larger in scale with more time allotted to researching, the results could have been more relevant and significant on a national scale. However, this was not the overall aim of the researcher.
2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodology utilized in this study. It highlighted the reasoning for the adoption of the qualitative research design and the approach taken to record the views, opinions and beliefs of the key informants in an effort to answer and understand the issues surrounding Māori cultural landscapes. Key informant interviews formed the entire empirical data gathered, which were coded, themed and organized for interpretation in the results. These findings were analysed against secondary data sources to highlight the similarities with and the difference from the theoretical framework for the research. The research findings are presented in Chapter 6, discussed in Chapter 7 and concluded in Chapter 8 respectively.
3

Context

3.1 The Lie of the Land, Otago Today

The Otago Region lies in the south-eastern corner of New Zealand. It is approximately 32,000 square kilometres in size, and has a population of 210,000 people (Statistics NZ, 2015). It has two distinct climatic zones, the temperate coastal climate of the coastal regions and the continental climate of the interior. Summer temperatures can reach 30 degrees Celsius and higher regularly in the interior, while the coastal areas in the summer months are cooler by an average of 10 degrees. During the winter, the coastal areas are cool and moist, while the interiors have cold, frosty weather. Geographically, the western portion of Otago has high alpine mountains with glacial lakes, from which the largest river by volume in New Zealand, the Clutha, finds its source. The Clutha moves through a varied landscape of tussock and sheep land, down to the dairy country near and on the coast. Rainfall fluctuates greatly, from the temperate coast that harbours the dense temperate Catlins Rainforest, to the semi-arid continental interior. It is within these conditions the earliest occupants of Otago existed, influencing what they ate, where they lived, and how they lived.

3.2 Pre-European Otago

The first Māori to occupy the south-eastern portion of Aotearoa were the Waitaha, Kāi Tahu, and Kāti Mamoe peoples who through intermarriage and conquest became Kāi Tahu, as they are known today (Wright, 1994). It is estimated Māori have occupied Otago for about 800 years. Prior to European occupation and discovery, they established a network of coastal, river and inland routes by which they were able to harvest the bounty of the southern third of Aotearoa. This was born out of a necessity to maintain a semi-nomadic lifestyle, to supplement their diets with other food sources. The limited growing season of the southern latitudes hindered year-round growing and harvesting of crops. The areas where Māori harvested non-cultivated food sources are known
as mahika kai. The bounty included weka, eels, lampreys, ducks and kereru (wood pigeons) harvested from the repo raupo (wetlands and swamps) and rivers of Southland and Central Otago (see figure below). Mutton Birds were gathered from the Titi islands off Southland, Pounamu stone from Westland, and their perpetual kai moana sources of seals, seaweed (karengo), fish and kaimoana (shellfish) from the coast. Kaimoana was readily available near their kaika (permanent settlements), located along the coast and close to the mouths of rivers and harbors. At one stage, Moa were on the menu and were part of the harvest too.

Figure 3 Traditional Mahika Kai areas of Central Otago (CODC, 2008)

The trails, known as ara tawhito, established a seasonal pilgrimage route to areas where pounamu was collected and food was harvested, gathered and
hunted. Mahika kai served a two-fold purpose, they were highly prized and precious to Kāi Tahu as they served as the ‘bread-baskets’ for the iwi, without which they would have likely faced hardship, starvation, or not be able to survive in that part of Aotearoa at all. Secondly, mahika kai represented independence for Māori. It was for them an essential element in being able to support their hapū, however the loss of access to them during colonization took their mana whenua away and tied Māori to Pākehā constructs such as commerce for their survival.

During expeditions, the reactivation of seasonal landmarks was part of their sojourns. The landmarks ranged from wāhi tohu (location markers), wāhi kohatu (rock outcrops used for shelter) tauraka waka (canoe mooring sites) and kaika nohoaka (seasonal settlements). Along the ara tawhito they traversed, and vestiges of themselves were left, documenting their occupation of Otago. Umu (earth ovens), middens from which archaeologists are able to see shells of the kai moana they took to feast on during their treks, and tuhituhi nehera (rock art) are physical reminders of past Māori occupation. These physical reminders, along with kaika nohoaka and urupa, make up the sum of the physical remnants of Māori cultural landscapes in this part of New Zealand (Queenstown Lakes District Council, 2009).

3.3 Otago, 1844

The period between late 18th century and 1844 was an era of adjustment and upheaval for local Māori as they came into contact with the first Europeans in Otago, the whalers and the sealers. From an estimated population of 2000 takata whenua in Otago prior to engagement with Pākehā (Wright, 1994), the Māori population ebbed and declined as introduced diseases took their toll on a population with no natural defences to them. After years of intermarriage between the European seamen and some of the local wahine, the Otago Block offer was signed in 1844 between representatives of the New Zealand Company and local chiefs. It was for the purpose of establishing a colony of mainly Scottish settlers, with plans for a ‘New Edinburgh’ being the crown jewel of the proposal. Dunedin became the city it is today from the purchase of land from local Māori.
Māori initially prospered from the influx of colonists cultivating European crops and selling them back to the settlers, as well as for export to Sydney (Wright, 1994). Their flare for entrepreneurship meant they took to the principles of commerce willingly. However, with the sale of their lands to the colonists, economies of scale meant the colonists were soon able to produce more at a cheaper price, making Māori grown products uneconomical. This development, coupled with the bigger and more efficient colonist’s boats meant the smaller waka were not able to compete with their contemporaries’ boats for the fish stocks, further marginalizing local iwi. The death knell to Māori self-sufficiency was their loss of unfettered access to mahika kai, robbing them of access their traditional fishing and gathering areas, and the draining of repo raupo and lagoons robbed them of others.

3.4 The Takata Whenua of Otago

The loss of tradition and the loss of connection (whakapapa) from past generations began with the introduction of the Western paradigm; the world of the colonists:

“...When the waves rolled in upon us from England, first one post was covered, then another till at last the water scared us and we tried to protect ourselves. That is, we entered into agreements with those who purchased our lands for the Queen, but when the flood tide from England set in, our barriers were cast down and that is why you find us now clinging to the tops of these rocks, called Native Reserves which alone remain above the waters” (Dacker, 1994:82)

For Kāi Tahu, more so than more northerly iwi, intermarriage with Pākehā became unavoidable over time: “…In 1891 the ratio of Māori to European in the Provinces of Canterbury, Otago and Southland was one for every 179, while for the whole of New Zealand it was one for every fifteen” (Dacker, 1994:82). It was also a way to strengthen iwi as those of mixed descent had a greater resistance to introduced disease than full-blooded Māori, thus intermarriage was actively encouraged by some chiefs and elders (Dacker, 1994).
The colonial construct, adopted quickly through processes like intermarriage, introduced concepts like private land ownership and the financial and judicial systems that would govern over their lives from that time forth. The lack of substantial land and the evolution of the landscape through ‘ecological imperialism’ (Crosby, 2004), where introduced flora and fauna changed the landscape forever, have had dire consequences for native species, and as a consequence the traditional food sources of Kā Tahu.

The discovery of gold in Otago in the 1860s triggered the rapid development of the region. This helped Dunedin become the largest and richest city in New Zealand, a title it held for the rest of the 19th century. During this time, the Māori population and their cultural influence in Dunedin continued its decline, through deaths from infections, intermarriage with Pākehā (with some families hiding their Māori connection out of fear of discrimination), (Dacker, 1994) and the inevitable adoption of European standards (Wright, 1994, Crosby, 2004). Over the coming years, the takata whenua did not die out as predicted by colonists and Māori alike, as this anonymous Māori prophesized during the period of colonialism and ecological imperialism in Aotearoa:

*As clover killed the fern, and the European dog the Māori dog- as the Māori rat was destroyed by the Pākehā rat- so our people, also, will be gradually supplanted and exterminated by the Europeans* (Bonwick, 1870:380).

Through activism and a rebirth of Māori culture from the 1970s onwards, claims over land sales have been honoured, as part of the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. From these circumstances, the current situation exists where recognition and acknowledgement is sought for Māori cultural landscapes, indicating the positive steps Māori and Pākehā have made in the last 175 years.

### 3.4 Te Ao Mārama

Te Ao Mārama is defined as ‘the Māori worldview’. It encompasses both spiritual and physical elements of the world, is seen ultimately as ‘reality’ and is
the third phase in the creation of the world myth. The first phase, Te Kore, is identified as ‘the void’ while the second phase is Te Pō, symbolizing a world of eternal night. Te Ao Mārama heralded in the era of light and reality and is seen as the plane of reality within which man dwells. The transformation from darkness to light occurred through the separation of Papatūānuku and Ranginui by their son, Tāne, creating a plane of existence where all living things could exist. From this mythology comes the basis for the Māori worldview (Ministry of Justice, 2001).

The Māori traditional knowledge system expands on this. Māori view the world through a unique lens, a lens that starts with the belief that the barrier between the spiritual realm and the physical world of the living is not set, and that there is constant interaction between the two. The link exists through Whakapapa, a central tenet of Māori culture that defines an individual’s genealogical connection to the past (the ones that have gone before), the present (the living) and ‘ngā uri kei te heke mai’, the generations to come.

The unbroken link between the three aspects of Whakapapa influences all aspects of Māori culture, none more so than their relationship with the land (Ministry of Justice, 2001). The land is symbolized in Te Ao Mārama as the physical body of Papatūānuku, the earth mother, the nurturer and provider of life. The yang to Papatūānuku’s yin is Ranginui, the sky father, father to her children, the gods of Māori lore. Together, the land, the sea and the sky/heavens make up the realm within which Māori cultural landscapes exist.

In relation to Māori identity and its connection to land, Ūkaipō is an important concept to highlight. It means ‘to feed’, and has powerful spiritual and emotional links to Papatūānuku nurturing the takata whenua, through to mothers breastfeeding their children. To extend the metaphor, the suckling of a baby by the mother, in their home amongst their family and extended family on ancestral land, wrapped in the history, culture and traditions that the child will be brought up in shows both the physical and spiritual nurturing Māori traditionally received. It is about an individual’s identity being connected to their ancestral
home, with the obligations and responsibilities that go with ensuring the system continues. Failure to maintain essential ties could result in the loss of self-esteem and identity, and was intricately linked to connections with ancestral land (Ministry of Justice, 2001).

Land ‘ownership’ was a communal undertaking within iwi and hapū. The Waitangi Tribunal has identified 6 criteria that emphasizes Māori thinking toward land:

• A reverence for the total creation as a whole
• A sense of kinship with fellow beings
• A sacred regard for the whole of nature and its resources as being taonga from the kāwai tipuna (revered ancestors, the Gods)
• A sense of responsibility for these taonga as the kaitiaki and rangatira
• A distinctive economic ethic of reciprocity
• A sense of commitment to safeguard all of nature’s taonga for future generations (Ministry of Justice, 2001).

The above list highlights the intricate part Māori have in fulfilling their role as kaitiaki in the environment. It also highlights their spiritual convictions around looking after the welfare of the environment (as part of their obligation to future generations), and also their sense of kinship with each other through manākitanga. Looking after guests was an extension of their kaitiaki over the earth as people were part of the environment, as much as the birds and the trees and the earth itself. All of these factors make up the components of Te Ao Mārama, as highlighted in this quotation:

*Land provides us with a sense of identity, belonging and continuity. It is proof of our continued existence not only as a people but also as tangata whenua of this country. It is proof of our tribal and kin group ties. Māori land represents tūrangawaewae. It is proof of our link with the ancestors of our past, and with generations to come. It is an assurance that we shall forever exist as a people, for as long as the land shall last* (New Zealand Māori Council, 1983).
Subsequent belief systems that have evolved over time have inevitably had an influence as well. Amongst these influences, Te Ao Mārama acts as an anchor for Māori, a traditional worldview by which Māori culture is defined, with or without contemporary influences. According to the International Council for Science, ‘traditional knowledge systems’ are the “…cumulative bodies of knowledge, know-how, practices, and representations maintained and developed by peoples with extended histories of interaction with the natural environment” (Migus, 2011). It is their relationship with the environment that sets Māori culture apart from the prevailing Western Paradigm in contemporary New Zealand.

There have been myriad paradigms and belief systems to influence Māori over the years, none more so than Christianity. The conversion of Māori to Christianity was a goal of Christian missionaries, keen to convert the ‘savages’ (Hokowhitu, 2004). There even exists two versions of the creation of the world in Māori culture, one pre-European, the other influenced with Christian ideals post European contact (Ministry of Justice, 2001). The ‘cultural genocide’ attributed to Christianity in general is summed up by First Nations professor George Tinker as “the effective destruction of a people by systematically … destroying eroding or undermining the integrity of the culture and system of values that defines a people and gives them life” (Tinker, 1993). For Māori to hold onto their beliefs (either partially or fully), as well as embrace aspects of Western philosophies is testament to their adaptability.

3.5 The Western Paradigm

The Western Paradigm is a traditional worldview influenced by the Greco-Roman civilization and Christian influences. ‘The West’ refers loosely to the Judeo-Christian first world countries of Western and Northern Europe and their colonized countries of the New World (The United States, Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand and others). It is the way people from the West view the world, and it influences choices they make in relation to the land and the environment, as well as how they interact and deal with the human world. Western constructs like land ownership, the judicial system, the Judeo-Christian attitude towards animals and the environment are all parts of the Western
Paradigm. In a contemporary sense, the Western Paradigm has evolved over time to take into account gender equality, minority rights et cetera, but for the purposes of the study the Western Paradigm as it existed in the 19th century is what will be discussed.

The belief that the earth’s resources (be it human, animal, mineral et cetera) were placed here by the Judeo-Christian God for humans to use as they saw fit has persisted through the centuries of Christianity’s reign: “Be fruitful and multiply; fill the earth and subdue it; have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the birds of the air, and over every living thing that moves on the earth; Genesis 1:26-30” (Nelson, 1982) Since Christianity was the faith of the most powerful and influential imperialist powers, it has been transported around the world with them. The combination of Victorian-era mores and Christian values transpired to assume dominance over the multiple indigenous worldviews across the New World.

Colonial Governor George Grey’s ‘native policy’ was introduced during his 1845-53 term as Governor of New Zealand and was hailed a success. Its aim was “the systematic assimilation of the Māori to a Western cultural ideal, as well as their rapid incorporation into the workforce” (Gump, 1998:89). It is within these parameters Māori were expected to navigate. For indigenous cultures, interacting within this paradigm when first introduced put them at a distinct disadvantage. For Māori, it would mean negotiating the sale of their land in a system they were not educated in, with concepts such as individual ownership, private property and the true value (in a monetary sense) of what their land was worth to take into account. The Westminster judicial system from England was a concept completely unfamiliar to Māori, further disadvantaging them during negotiations. The end of their way of life was inevitable and was a period of great upheaval, resulting in many unfavourable outcomes for Māori.

3.6 Theoretical Framework

Knowing and acknowledging the circumstances that have transpired in Otago’s history is an essential element in resolving current shortcomings in recognizing
Māori cultural values. The researcher’s motivation for improving the planning process to promote the enhancement of Māori cultural landscapes has resulted in a theoretical framework firmly situated within the context of a post-modern planning paradigm. “Narrow scientific rationalism” has given way to “planning as a democratic enterprise, aimed to promote social justice and environmental sustainability” (Healey, 1992:143) Sandercock’s missive to the post-modernist paradigm, ‘Towards Cosmopolis (1998) highlights her views of empowering indigenous groups by enabling them choices and desires: “…to be respected, acknowledged and honoured…” (Sandercock, 1998).

![Diagram of theoretical framework]

Figure 4 Theoretical Framework of Recognition of Māori Cultural Landscapes

This model of post-modernist thinking can be interpreted as iwi’s desire for recognition and acknowledgement of Māori cultural landscapes, concepts that were not taken into account in the past. Figure 2 shows ‘recognition’ as the pivotal cultural value around which the tenets of preservation, acknowledgement, protection and knowledge sit. The theoretical framework’s aim is to highlight and define concepts while referencing them to relevant scholarly literature relevant to this study.
‘Acknowledgement’ relates to methods of educating the general public of the existence of Māori cultural landscapes. Methods involve including the Māori names of areas of cultural significance, an initiative that Kāi Tahu are interested in expanding (see Chapter 6). ‘Knowledge’ refers to the desire by Māori to both release some information to councils, while keeping some knowledge for themselves in an effort to preserve cultural landscapes from desecration. The concept of particular knowledge as an almost tangible, sacred taoka and kept within the confines of iwi and hapū is expanded on in Chapter 6. ‘Protection’ refers to the conservation of Māori cultural landscapes through regulation, which is further explained in Chapter 5. Finally, ‘Preservation’ refers to systems in place to enhance, preserve and retain what Māori cultural landscapes are left, which is detailed in Chapters 5 and 6.

To be able to make recommendations in Chapter 8, the current planning regime needs to be critiqued alongside the matters that are inherent with historical issues. Māori cultural landscapes, being a construct of Māori culture, have fared through time as well as Māori have. The uniqueness of indigenous cultures as part of humanity’s heritage is being recognized as traditional rationalist theories are questioned. This recognition has come from debate, analysis and research over time as theories have evolved and given birth to new ones. Post-modernist theory is one such principle.

Sandercock (1998) in ‘Towards Cosmopolis’ has established five principles that promote the indigenous voice within the planning sphere. The first is ‘practical wisdom’, which champions the application of indigenous knowledge bases not simply the rationality of modernist dogma. The purpose of the principle is to voice the indigenous perspective and to view it as an alternative to conventional methods. The second principle Sandercock postulates is planning becoming ‘less document oriented and more people centred’. Chapter 5 will explore this concept more as the various district plans are analysed, and the recommendations section in Chapter 8 will analyse the practical application of this principle in theory.
‘Other ways of knowing’ is the third principle, and can be related to Māori culture’s meta-physical and spiritual aspects, passed down orally from generation to generation through song, stories, and legends. This concept runs throughout the study, as it constitutes a key element of the research, the meta-physical dimension of Māori cultural landscapes. The fourth principle is ‘community empowerment’, and advocates for more of a grass-roots approach to planning, leading to better outcomes in the preservation of Māori cultural landscapes. Information garnered from key informant interviews has been able to be used to shed light on better methods for their protection, which will be expanded on in Chapter 8. Lastly the principle of ‘multiple publics’ explores the concept of multiple communities with their own needs and aspirations. In the context of the study, the dual parties existing in New Zealand are Māori and Pākehā, as stipulated in the Treaty of Waitangi. The ‘Pākehā’ group consists of all other peoples in New Zealand that are not Māori. The multiple voices of the various hapū that reside in Otago can be seen as following this principle when coming together on a uniting issue.

The Context Chapter offers the reader a glimpse into the geography and history of the Otago Region in relation to Māori cultural landscapes. It also explores Te Ao Mārama and the Western Paradigm in the regional context, concepts expanded on in the international context in the Literature Review Chapter. The Context Chapter’s aim is to introduce the level of influence colonization has had on Māori and their relationship with the Land, the platform which their lives, culture, stories, myths and tikanga are played out on.
Cultural Landscapes; the Indigenous Perspective

4.1 Introduction

In contemporary society, cultural landscapes are now recognized the world over. This acknowledgment is however a relatively recent phenomenon, and comes amid a period of increasing cultural sensitivity and a celebration of difference. Cultural landscapes speak to our inherent need to feel a sense of belonging, and traditional landscapes can offer that as well as a sense of identity (Taylor & Lennon, 2012). The subjective nature of ‘landscape’, owing to the internalized nature of one’s perception of it, makes defining it virtually impossible. Cultural, generational and geographical factors, to name a few, influence the way an individual ‘sees’ landscapes, whether it be a personally important landscape to the observer, or not.

Existing indigenous cultures all have their own version of how they ‘see’ the landscapes of their lands and settlements. Through tradition, protocol, myths and legends, and the passing of time, intricately woven histories have evolved, telling stories of the land and sky, and all things that exist between the two (KTKO, 1995). They tell of indigenous people’s place in this landscape, as well as their place in the cosmos. The meta-physical aspects surrounding the landscape imbue their environments with perceived marvels and curiosities, dangers and peril, and give them a sense of wonder and awe (Stephenson, 2014). The strong connection between cultural landscapes and guardianship towards the land cannot be denied. For many people, their land is a living, breathing entity unto itself, and all of its occupants are part of a holistic system of equal measure, reliant on each other (KTKO, 1995).
This chapter will highlight indigenous people’s points of view as to their interpretation of what defines ‘landscape’, with emphasis on their own lands and places of standing. The review aims to open a window on the indigenous worldview and to research why it is important to recognize these worldviews. An analysis of current and past attitudes of the dominant cultures towards Indigenous rights will also be conducted. The varied worldviews of indigenous cultures from Australia, Canada, Scandinavia, the US and New Zealand will be presented, and the idiosyncratic similarities that link them all will be highlighted. Subsequently, a look at Imperialism and Colonialism, two processes which have transpired in all of these areas of the world, will be conducted, showing the implications of their introduction to these indigenous cultures with regards to their relationships with their traditional lands.

Finally, the chapter seeks to provide a holistic perspective of cultural landscapes, showing how philosophies from Europe sought to usurp these traditional views, and how indigenous views on their lands have fared post-colonisation. Amongst this, the perspectives of leading academic writers will be included, developing a body of literature to help devise the framework of the research and to contribute to the contemporary perspective on this topic.

4.2 Definitions of Cultural Landscapes

There are a plethora of definitions in literature for ‘cultural landscapes’. An example of an archetypal contemporary example of a definition reads thus; “…that combination of natural landforms and buildings that defines a particular place or Region” (Alanen & Melnick, 2000:9). What happens when there are no, or few, physical remnants of past occupation though? A perspective from one academic shows the main elements that make up cultural landscapes are ‘place’, the anthropological history of that place, and various other facets of landscape. The landscape model in Fig.1 (below) shows Stephenson’s viewpoint on the “myriad points of view” of landscape (Stephenson, 2014). She postulates that a combination of two or more perspectives from Fig.1 would define an individual’s perception of a landscape. It is a useful tool by which the reader can define or even grade landscapes in relation to their own set of held beliefs and sense of aesthetic.
Rapoport (1992) in his missive on cultural landscapes, further breaks down the definition of what a cultural landscape is. He makes the point that people often associate “beautiful landscapes” (Rapoport, 1992:34) with what they would define as a cultural landscape. However, in parts of the Rust-Belt of post-manufacturing America, rusted out cars along abandoned streets are part of the cultural landscape of the Mid-West, he argues, which are anything but “beautiful” to most. They have however become part of the culture of the United States, even if they represent decay, deprivation and a visual reminder of a failure of the economy. Rapoport also highlights how different cultures see landscapes differently; golf courses in Japan are seen as ‘natural’, whereas in America they are not (Rapoport, 1992). The rigidly anthropomorphised landscapes of Europe as opposed to the wilds of New Zealand for example, both have their own set of characteristics, but could be seen as both ‘natural’ and ‘beautiful’ in their own ways, depending on the observers perspective.
Rapoport extends his definition of cultural landscape further by saying: “In all cases it designates the result of the interaction of human action and the natural landscape” (Rapoport, 1992:34). He argues that a cultural landscape cannot, by definition, be a landscape that hasn’t in some way been manipulated in some way by man and man’s presence. This definition however fails to take into account the spiritual element indigenous cultures may have designated to landscapes they had very little to do with, if at all. There is also the Romantic Movement, born from the ravages of industrialised England, which saw the bucolic English countryside in a purely emotive way; “Romantics abandoned principles of science and reason and stressed the power of imagination, feeling and emotion” (Suckall, Fraser, Cooper, & Quinn, 2009).

In the Māori world, a sacred mountain may be so tapu that they don’t set foot on it, yet it would be seen as a taoka to the local iwi. This lack of physical interaction with a pristine natural environment would not detract from their relationship with the sacred area. It would still be seen by Māori as part of their cultural landscape, and would not affect their cultural bond with their mauka.

Cultural landscapes can be places that have a combination of mystical, spiritual, physical, cultural and natural elements to them. The UNESCO World Heritage Centre, which under its 1972 World Heritage Convention designated places in the world of outstanding cultural value to humanity, has mused about landscapes thus so:

> There exists a great variety of landscapes that are representative of the different regions of the world. Combined works of nature and humankind, they express a long and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment (UNESCO, 2015).

UNESCO goes on to make the distinction that some landscapes are culturally significant to peoples because of the biological diversity that exists in tandem with their human-modified landscapes (rice terraces in South East Asia for example), as well as those areas with a spiritual significance through beliefs and customs handed down through generations. There is often a crossover between the two when the physical and spiritual aspects of landscape, forms a holistic
viewpoint by an indigenous culture (Gulliford, 2000). Landscapes have, and will continue, to influence and shape the world’s cultures (Stephenson, 2014).

It is postulated that there are a multitude of facets of cultural landscapes. The very moniker ‘cultural landscape’ suggests a marrying of the physical and the intangible, the viewpoint of the occupier of place, observed through their own cultural lens. Rossler (2008) and Cosgrove (1993) lean towards the intangible aspects of cultural heritage in their definitions. Spiritual, intellectual and cultural determiners are strong influencers on how people view landscapes. J.B Jackson’s view in 1984 about landscape highlights its vernacular characteristics: “[A landscape]… is never simply a natural space, a feature of the natural environment… every landscape is the place where we establish our own human organization of space and time” (Jackson, 1984).

In relation to cultural landscapes, traditional western thinking has been challenged by post-modernist philosophies (Andrews & Buggrey, 2008). It has been shown that the myriad of indigenous worldviews are variable as well as intangible, but they are all united in their differences to traditional Western views that operate within the rigid confines of scientific and economic fact (Angel, 2002; Rapoport, 1992). Seeing the world in spiritual rather than economic terms is the traditional indigenous perspective (Andrews & Buggrey, 2008; Angel, 2002; Gulliford, 2000; Parker, 1989).

Rapoport argues that for a cultural landscape to evolve, a homogenous group within a common area must have occupied it over a period of time undisturbed. In those conditions, a schema would have occurred, where through repetition, story-telling and their unique indigenous culture, everyone would have seen cultural landscapes in the same way (Rapoport, 1992). Ritual, myth and custom would have strengthened attachment to place for indigenous cultures (Stephenson, 2014). Since first contact with the colonial powers that wished to usurp these traditional cultures, their worldviews have been influenced ever since. From religion (primarily Christianity) to secularism, to the Western ideal for scientific proof, traditional worldviews have inevitably been prejudiced.
According to Jane Lennon, since the late 1970s, a shift has been occurring away from the monuments and artefacts that used to define cultural landscapes, to the landscapes themselves in their holistic and authentic entirety. Lennon goes on to point out that, since the late 1980s, the collaboration between archaeological, anthropological and heritage management perspectives have created new, evolving theories and perspectives on the concept of cultural landscapes (Taylor & Lennon, 2012). Over time, the definition of cultural landscapes has, and continues to evolve and change, depending on their type: natural, lived-in, historic, pastoral, ordinary (Stephenson, 2014).

An important determining factor between an indigenous perspective of the environment and a Western worldview, especially at the time when colonialism was occurring, was its ‘transportability’, or lack thereof (Gulliford, 2000). In stark contrast to indigenous peoples, who were rooted physically and spiritually to their lands (Asher, 1987), colonists were able to transport their ideals and religious beliefs to their new homelands, abandoning graveyards and churches in Europe and building anew in the New World, which was well within the realms of possibility for them (Gulliford, 2000). Even nomadic peoples or seasonal food gatherers had their home base/ bases. Moving continents would have been unthinkable for indigenous peoples, especially (Asher, 1987), for whom land was the “spiritual, economic and cultural base” for them (Kelsey, 1985:2) The predominantly Western utilitarian view of nature as a resource to be utilized and exploited is polar-opposite to the indigenous worldview (Berkes, 1999), which includes humans as a part of the environment, not apart from it. A quote from Gulliford sums up this point in relation to traditional Native Americans:

*By contrast, what is important for traditional Indian religious believers is not the sacred space of a church or cathedral but rather a landscape made holy by the Creator, by ancient and enduring myth, by repeated rituals such as sun dances, or by the presence of spirits who dwell in deep canyons, on mountain tops, or in hidden caves. An entire landscape may be sacred because Indians migrated from place to place in search of food, on seasonal rounds that took them into the high country in the summer and to lower elevations in*
winter. Sacred sites remain integral to tribal histories, religions and identities (Gulliford, 2000:69).

A key concept Gulliford has highlighted is the unshakeable connection indigenous cultures have with their ancestral lands, whereas other peoples throughout time have been able to leave behind their traditional lands and start anew in another country. The introduction by colonists of exotic plant and animal species to Australia and New Zealand was an attempt to ‘familiarize’ the native landscapes to look more like Britain (KTKO 1995; Rapoport 1992) and make the colonists feel more at home. It can only be imagined the trauma for indigenous peoples as they witnessed their familiar landscapes evolving before them, as the hard-working ethic of the Christian religion the pioneers brought with them helped them to break-in the land and get it ready for agriculture and horticulture (KTKO, 1995).

4.3 The Influence of Imperialism and Colonialism on Indigenous Cultures

The origin of modern day countries such as New Zealand, Canada, Australia and the United States comes from the diaspora of Europeans, unhappy with instability caused by war and/or famine in their home countries (Blagg, 2008). Their numbers contributed to the mechanism of colonisation, a process after which an Imperial European power took control of these areas and made them a part of their empire.

Groogovi’s (2011) definition of Imperialism from the International Encyclopedia of Political Science includes; “… The term imperial also conveys the character of rule by a sovereign state over its dependencies or a commanding quality or manner of that rule. For these reasons, the term imperial has been associated with despotic, highhanded, and/or authoritarian rule.” (Badie, 2011)

The concept of imperialism is wrapped up in the history of Europe, and the evolution of economic, scientific and theological philosophies from the Continent. Harking from the age of Enlightenment, imperialism had three main drivers for its inception; the spread of empire, the spread of religion, and the
insatiable hunger for knowledge (Smith, 2012). Arm in arm with Imperial armies, the Catholic Church helped to accelerate the colonisation process (Consedine, 2005) of large swathes of the world. The ideology of superiority that existed was from a combination of the strength of the Christian faith, as well as scientific progress and the Age of Discovery that had been occurring in Europe since the fifteenth century (Miller, 2010) This point of view of where the ‘white race’ sat in the pecking order of ‘divine destiny’ was widely held at the time (Smith, 2012). According to Jeff Ostler, the pioneers that pushed westward across the Great Plains of America “… possessed a destiny, the “Red race” had only a fate” (Ostler, 2004:39). Collateral damage from the colonisation process was the seemingly disposable and ‘savage’ cultures of indigenous peoples (Smith, 2012). An attitude of ‘assimilation or annihilation’ was the prevailing thought of the day (Consedine, 2005; Miller, 2010; Ostler, 2004; Varennes, 1996)

Military force, mentioned previously in the Oxford Dictionary definition of imperialism, was a consequence of imperialistic endeavours. The need and desire for land by imperial powers would be sated either through legitimate means, or through force. ‘Legitimate means’ of land acquisition can be disputed when considering what indigenous cultures knew about the concept of ‘ownership’, future ramifications of disposing of land and what a fair price for land would have been (Asher, 1987). Today, in New Zealand, disputes over some controversial Māori land sales centre around land sold in the 19th Century by Māori who weren’t the actual owners of the land (Mikaere, 1988), chiefs that sold communal land without consulting their hapū and the cheap sale of land by Māori who then saw it on-sold for many times its original sale price (Consedine, 2005) The taking of Māori land by force and the subsequent dispossession of ancestral lands and food gathering areas over the slightest sign of resistance, or through deception, could not be legally fought by Māori, due to a legal structure adapted from the British model, under the control of Pākehā men, and biased towards Western interests, values and priorities (Kelsey, 1985).
Fourchard’s (2011) definition of Colonialism from the International Encyclopedia of Political Science is as equally confronting as Grovogui’s: “Colonialism is usually understood as a political doctrine promoting and justifying the exploitation by a colonizing power of a territory under its control either for its own benefit … In this sense, colonialism refers mainly to the unequal relationships developed between European colonizers and their respective colonial empires”

From a distant 21st Century perspective, colonialism, or colonisation appears to have been an essential step in human progression and evolution (Blagg, 2008). Since humans have existed, there has been a process of conquering, assimilation, absorption (of better technologies, techniques, cultures and people), resulting in the continued development of peoples and cultures. This knowledge of inevitability (Blagg, 2008; Said, 1993) would have been cold comfort to the subjugated, enslaved, butchered and capitulated amongst our ancestors (Blagg, 2008). So it was with indigenous cultures that have survived intact today.

The superiority of European colonizing powers was taken for granted due to the prevailing attitude of the day towards the ‘inferior’ indigenous peoples of the world. The perception was based around, from their perspective, indigenous people’s inability to invent, create, imagine, design, practice the arts, cultivate, or forge the resources of the natural world (Smith, 2012). According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, they were deemed ‘not fully human’. The more sophisticated (and attractive) the primitive culture was deemed, the higher on the racial hierarchy they were placed, with Caucasians at the apex. Progress “…could be ‘measured’ in terms of technological advancement and spiritual salvation” (Smith, 2012:57).

The Doctrine of Discovery, a piece of legislation drafted in the 15th and 16th centuries, was created by England to justify their Imperialistic aspirations, and to claim ‘newly’ discovered lands and their native populations for Mother England (Miller, 2010). The implications of this law on native populations in the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand can still be felt today, with these four
countries the only ones out of 147 to not vote in favour of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, at the UN in September 2000 (Miller, 2010). What unites all four countries is that they each have substantial populations of indigenous people with similar histories of exploitation, subjugation and of their governments ignoring the land rights of their respective indigenous populations.

According to Sylvia Wynter in her missive “1492- a New World View” (1995), similar attitudes towards indigenous cultures of the Americas started during their discovery by Christopher Columbus. Wynter muses that Columbus saw his discoveries as a vehicle for expanding Christianity to the ‘heathen’ masses in the New World who had not had the chance to know of and then accept Jesus as their saviour. The age of Discovery imbued the explorer with a righteous zeal to spread the Word of Christ, as well as make their respective Empires richer. Columbus’ modus operandi was to ensure the security of State, Christendom and himself, as well as his fellow Christians over the differing indigenous worldviews they were encountering (Wynter, 1995).

4.4 The Decline of Indigenous Peoples

For the native peoples of colonized countries, their decline came as no surprise to the colonist populations. It became common folklore in Australia that the Aborigines were a doomed race, with an expectation of their integration into contemporary Australian society (Blagg, 2008). There were a multitude of reasons for the demise of indigenous cultures, introduced diseases being the most ‘passive’, while prevailing colonial attitudes towards them being the most destructive in the long-term. Jane Kelsey points out that the sheer volume of colonists, swamping Aotearoa with their numbers, effectively relegated Māori to a minority group within their own country (Kelsey, 1985). This formula was repeated across other colonized countries, with indigenous groups bowing under the pressure and involuntarily putting on hold their fight for sovereignty (Blagg, 2008; Parker, 1989).

As mentioned previously, the perception at the time of indigenous peoples as less than human, uncivilized and thus less than equal needed to be perpetuated
and promoted by the authorities, so the atrocities committed in the taking of land could assuage any guilt felt by the perpetrators or the ‘passive’ public, also complicit in their silence (Finzsch, 2005; Smith, 2012). It has been argued in ‘Discovering Indigenous Lands’ that colonists, with their European aesthetic, would have at the time looked down upon the more rustic indigenous people’s appearance, judging their physiques, facial features and clothing (or lack thereof), whilst feeling an elitism in their perceived superiority. In those unpolitically correct times, the indigenous people would have been made to feel ashamed of their appearance, culture and beliefs and would have been encouraged to adopt their oppressor’s way of life wholeheartedly (Fletcher, 1999). The pressure to conform and to convert to Christianity would have been immense. Hokowhitu (2005) postulates that the ‘savagery’ of the Māori race would have been in the minds of miss-informed colonists even before stepping foot onto Aotearoa, further widening the gap between the two cultures (Hokowhitu, 2004). The Indigenous peoples would have known their place, and the colonists would have made sure they knew (Miller, 2010).

The nomadic tendencies of North American First Nations and Native American Indians, as well as Australian Aborigines and New Zealand Māori (iwi from south of present day Christchurch especially), was a concept that did not fit in with Western ideals of land ownership. According to Gilbert, “Nomadism refers to groups of people who practice spatial mobility to enhance their well-being and survival” (Gilbert, 2014:3).

Norbert Finzsch points out that colonists saw Aborigines as idle and lazy, whom couldn’t hold ownership over the land because they didn’t cultivate it. This has been a point of view that haunts indigenous cultures to this day; if they didn’t have permanent settlements that were continuously occupied, then they, (in the eyes of western culture at the time), couldn’t ‘own’ the land nor lay claim to it (Finzsch, 2005; Ostler, 2004). The Māori term for continued occupation, ahi kaa, which literally means ‘keep the home-fires burning’, was used to solidify ownership of land amongst Māori, as well as secure the land from colonial interests (Smith, 2012). Because of the permanency of most Māori villages,
Māori were able to hold onto more of their land than their more nomadic Australian and North American contemporaries.

Overtly racist attitudes of colonists, whom perceived indigenous cultures as incapable of ‘breaking-in’ and manipulating the land to earn a living from, gave some settlers a self-justification for land squatting on ancestral lands (Finzsch, 2005), which was exaggerated by the volume of colonists flooding into New Zealand, in relation to the number of Māori in residence in New Zealand at the time. Government policies such as the 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act saw the acquisition of much needed fertile Māori land, with justification for taking it coming from a clause that states it could be taken if Māori were believed to be in ‘rebellion’ (Consedine, 2005) According to Bob Consedine, the 1.3 million hectares of Māori land confiscated under this Act was an effective tool the Government used to subdue Māori, to ensure the balance of power was tipped ever in favour of the colonists and not Māori, and the most effective way to gain control of New Zealand from Māori.

4.5 The ‘Evolution of Humanity’

In contemporary society, with the power of hindsight argues Maldonado-Torres, the ills of the colonisation process can be viewed through a sympathetic lens. We are able to understand what transpired in the past through the wisdom of time, distance and the ‘evolution of humanity’. He postulates that a counter concept is needed; decolonisation. In this modern age of enlightenment, the ills of “Eurocentric modernity” (that being environmental degradation and ethnic and cultural assimilation), has birthed this counter-concept. Maldonado-Torres makes the point that genocide, slavery, and segregation, symptomatic of the spread of colonialism, has caused social issues that have reverberated through time (Maldonado-Torres, 2014). According to Linda Tuhiiwai Smith, decolonisation encapsulates two main sets of ideas, an analysis of how colonisation occurred, and how authentic, intact and whole indigenous peoples were prior to being colonized. Smith points out how indigenous peoples, born into a universe that was created entirely by them, had not wanted, nor needed to be ‘discovered’ by the imperialistic European powers (Smith, 2012).
The ethical and moral implications caused by imperialism and colonisation on indigenous communities across the world is numerous. Genocide, assimilation, introduced diseases (either intentionally or unintentionally) have in the past either destroyed some indigenous groups or severely depleted their numbers (Consedine, 2005; Kelsey, 1985). Decolonisation seeks to redress the imbalance (Smith, 2012). Decolonisation as a concept has come from the postmodernist philosophical movement, the questioning of traditional constructs around Western philosophy being its *modus operandi* (Wikipedia, 2015c).

Decolonisation is part of a universal process of recognizing human rights, as well as recognizing indigenous cultures as being an active part of the concept of ‘natural rights’. Louis Henkin speaks about the fact of ‘constitutionalisation and internationalisation’ of human rights, yet also makes two key points. He argues that universal legal and political acceptance doesn’t equate to the universal respect for human rights, nor does it guarantee acceptance as a concept by indigenous cultures that may view it as another construct of Western society. Some cultural anthropologists have even referred to it as an example of ‘cultural imperialism’ (Henkin, 1989).

Humanity has come to this point in time, where the indigenous voice is spoken and listened to and is seen as a valid perspective, or even an alternative to the dominant Western ethos of exponential and perpetual growth and profits through the expansion of ‘natural rights’. Natural rights, a term coined by Englishman John Locke in the 17th century, has been incorporated into the U.S Declaration of Independence and has been credited with the origins of universal human rights as a concept (Henkin, 1989).

The evolution of human rights has been a process that can be traced back further, to the drafting of the Magna Carta in 1215, which has had an influence on common law to this day. Since 1215, there have been a myriad of milestones in the progression of human rights; the English Bill of Rights in 1689, French and US Revolutions of the 18th century, Geneva Convention of 1864, the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919, and the establishment of the
United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights after World War Two (Wikipedia, 2015a). National Liberation movements saw countries around the world succeed in driving out colonial powers, with Mahatma Ghandi’s peaceful protests in India seen as the most successful example of this (Poulter, 1999).

Post World War II saw an exponential increase in understanding of human rights; building on from the suffragette and worker’s rights movements of late 19th/early 20th centuries, came the fight for racial equality in the 1960s, feminism and animal rights in the 1970s, and gay rights from the 1980s onwards. (Wikipedia, 2015a). Within this fertile environment of mutual understanding and tolerance, has came an evolved mentality towards the needs and rights of indigenous cultures, especially in relation to their cultural landscapes.

4.6 Contemporary Issues for Indigenous Cultures

Assimilation, defined as “to cause (a person or group) to become part of a different society, country, etc” (Merriam-Webster, 2015) has been perhaps the most controversial aspect to eventuate from colonialism. Closely related to ‘paternalism’ (protection and looking after people with no autonomy or freedom of choice) (Merriam-Webster, 2015), assimilation has proven to be not as benign as perhaps intended. Aboriginal activist Mick Dodson’s thoughts on assimilation in Australia are particularly scathing:

*Assimilation was and is a massive abuse of human rights. The ridiculous thing is that human rights had no application to Indigenous Australians in 1951 unless they were fully assimilated into the dominant culture. Despite the existence of international human rights instruments, human rights did not inherently accrue to Aboriginal people but were, instead, a reward if they would renounce their aboriginality and embrace the dominant status quo. It was equality based, not on respect for racial difference, but on the denial of your race* (Havemann, 1999:342).
The paternalistic attitude of the Australian Government, handing out rights, privileges and benefits only to those that attempted to fit in with contemporary society, was part of their indigenous policies. The taking of fair and half-caste aboriginal children to be assimilated into Australian society, away from their peoples and culture was seen, at the time, as giving these children the best chance at life in contemporary Australian society, and is often cited as one of the most tragic examples of past attitudes towards the plight of indigenous groups within colonized society (Blagg, 2008).

Today, in retrospect, assimilation can be seen for what it was. At the time, assimilation was considered an inclusive, interventionist positive step towards an integrated world (Blagg, 2008). An imperialistic view at the time was that a spiritually and technologically advanced Christian nation had a natural right to subjugate and conquer indigenous peoples and their lands (Parker, 1989). During this time, assimilation was a tool used to achieve various imperialistic goals; to ensure a homogenous society so as to avoid divisiveness and promote social cohesion, to solve the moral issue of how to incorporate and deal with the native population into society without committing genocide, to promote the purchase/taking of native lands without resistance, to spread Christianity’s influence (and by doing so, ‘saving’ the souls of the indigenous population), to promote paternalism as a way to ensure dependency on the state (and thus taking away their ability to self-govern and to quash the idea of Sovereignty), and to convince through stealth the relinquishing of their native beliefs and culture so as to make the transition into civilized society for indigenous groups that much easier (Blagg, 2008; Evans, Grimshaw, Phillips, & Swain, 2003; Havemann, 1999; Henkin, 1989; Maldonado-Torres, 2014; Parker, 1989; Poulter, 1999; 2010; Said, 1993; Wynter, 1995).

How have the consequences of assimilation played-out over time for Indigenous peoples? How have they been able to preserve their culture in the face of policies and societal norms that have beckoned them into the paternalistic arms of their enslavers? How much assimilation has occurred and how are they able to reconcile with a past that has cast them as the outsiders in their own land? Each
Indigenous group has their own story, and the degree to which each has fared varies, from full assimilation to total annihilation. I shall talk here about the international perspective, leaving the Māori perspective for my context chapter.

In the Australian context, Aboriginals have struggled in contemporary Australian society. Government policies in the mid-20th Century actively sought to segregate light-skinned or part-Aborigines from their darker hued relations, housing them in missions and reserves to await assimilation (as mentioned previously, the re-homing of children) into a white Australian culture (Havemann, 1999). The notion that Aborigines were a dying race had become widely held across Australia, and their absorption through eventual integration would get rid of the stigma of being a ‘native’. Assimilation by coercion were government policies, set on turning aborigines into native versions of white Australians, with programmes devised to teach them how to wear shoes, use cutlery and proper table manners, live in houses, and spawn pale-skinned children through intermarriage with white Australians (Havemann, 1999). One perspective is it was an active programme of cultural extermination and cultural genocide, the other is that it was a way to achieve equality for Aborigine in a highly segregated nation.

A common theme that is prevalent among colonised indigenous cultures, are the health disparities between the native and the introduced populations, as it is for the First Nations people of Canada (Leeuw, Maurice, Holyk, Greenwood, & Adam, 2012). Leeuw et al highlight the three main obstacles for First Nation people living on reserves; the distance between reserves and essential health services, the reasons behind them living on reserves in the first instance, and the disparity between their worldview towards healing and the western medical model. The dependency on and uncomfortable-ness leaving the reserves for them is an outward manifestation of how the paternal system defines them as Status Indians, given to them in 1876 under the Indian Act. Leeuw et al, make the connection between colonialism and the dependency on the State, with Status Indian classification giving them special benefits not open to ‘Aborigine’-status First Nations people.
In the northern reaches of Europe, the Indigenous Saami people are viewed in the same light as their colonialized indigenous cousins in the new world, in relation to the similarities of their status as a minority group in their own land. Their subjugation was because of colonisation, but not at the time of the Age of Discovery, but as part of the fluid conquering of Europe by countless groups over centuries (Grote, 2007). The Saami are a people whose traditional lands stretch across the northern regions of Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia. Grote makes the distinction that the Saami are the last of the ‘untouched’ indigenous peoples of Europe because of their remote location in an inhospitable part of Europe, as opposed to indigenous groups in warmer, more accessible parts.

For the protection of Indigenous rights in Europe, Convention No. 169 exists. Drawn up by the ILO (International Labour Organisation), 20 countries so far have ratified it, however Russia, Sweden and Finland are yet to, while Denmark and Norway have ratified, but have restrictions around land rights for Indigenous peoples (Grote, 2007). Grote highlights the variations in rights for Indigenous peoples, between countries that the Saami reside in, with Sweden lumping them together with ‘national minorities’. This is essentially denying them their status as Indigenous.

### 4.7 The New Zealand Perspective

According to figures from Treasury (Treasury, 2012), New Zealand is part of an enviable elite that has enjoyed one of the highest living standards since 1870, when the Human Development Index (HDI) figures were first gathered in New Zealand. New Zealand has ranked first or first equal in the HDI figures in 1870, 1913 and 1950. It ranked ninth equal with France in 1975, and in 2012 it ranked sixth in the world. There are however, caveats to the figures; it is noted that the statistics get worse “the further back you go” (Treasury, 2012:1), highlighting that the figures in 1870 and 1913 were for Pākehā New Zealanders only.
Māori have not enjoyed the fruits of a modern society to the same extent as Pākehā (Smith, 2012). Many theories are given for this gap between the two sides, from Pākehā pigeon holing Māori into low skilled labouring jobs (as “that is all they are capable of”) (Hokowhitu, 2004:268), to the link between land-loss and abject poverty resulting from this loss (Consedine, 2005). Māori have also born the heaviest burden from the neo-liberal reforms of the late 20th Century (Consedine, 2005, Smith, 2012, Hokowhitu, 2004). Without the will to bridge the gap in understanding, Māori are in danger of being relegated further down the Human Development Index, especially in a country moving away from biculturalism and towards multiculturalism (Butcher, Spoonley, & Gendall, 2015).

One of this study’s aims is to explore the level of care and recognition given to Māori cultural landscapes in a part of New Zealand not renowned for having a strong Māori cultural base and population. The intention is to explore and highlight possible gaps in local government legislature (if they indeed exist), which may be lacking in initiatives and ideas to promote and acknowledge the rich Māori heritage of the Otago Region. This will be a challenging undertaking, as district and regional councils exist in a dominant western legislative world where Te Ao Māori can be incongruent with western thinking, especially in relation to land. However, the contemporary penchant for post-modernist thinking and philosophy, where established structures such as colonialism are challenged and questioned by academics of both Māori and Pākehā heritage, is a cause for hope. A collaborative approach between the two very different ways of thinking of both Māori and councils, could see Māori having a more important and influential role in aspects of the planning process.

Document Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The Document Analysis Chapter is a way of measuring the sanctioned level of care towards Māori cultural landscapes that exists in statute and plans. The first step was to analyse two pieces of legislation, the RMA (Resource Management Act) 1991 and the LGA (Local Government Act) 2002 for central government expectations of what district plans should include, in relation to providing for Māori cultural landscapes. Second, there was an analysis of what the Otago district plans’ provisions are for Māori cultural landscapes and how in-line they are with what is ‘expected’ of them by the RMA and the LGA. Iwi expectations of district plans will be assessed against what the plans present. Policies, Rules and Objectives will be analysed for mention of cultural values in relation to landscape, as is their obligation under the RMA and the Treaty of Waitangi. Case law will also be introduced to assess how effective the RMA is at protecting Māori provisions it is entrusted to protect. The three council plans analysed are those of the Dunedin City Council, the Queenstown Lakes District Council, and the Central Otago District Council.

5.2 Māori Cultural Landscapes and the Requirements of District Plans

The RMA serves as a framework, not a blueprint. Accordingly, it gives local authorities enormous responsibility and flexibility to identify the most efficient means of achieving the goals of the Act and meeting the needs of communities (Frieder, 1997:17).
The RMA 1991 and the LGA 2002 are the main pieces of legislation which district councils draw upon in administering their district plans. Each district council in New Zealand must meet the requirements of this legislation in relation to their plans. However, each council has a certain degree of autonomy, and they can shape their district plans to reflect the issues and context of their regions. District plans are in a constant state of change through updates, amendments and the assessment of public submissions on plan changes, making them a perpetual work in progress. Councils translating the requirements set out in the RMA and LGA into District Plans have had varying degrees of success, in relation to providing for Māori interests.

5.2.1 The Resource Management Act 1991

Part 2 section 6, Matters of national importance, states: “In achieving the purpose of this Act, all persons exercising functions and powers under it, in relation to managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources, shall recognise and provide for the following matters of national importance: (e) the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu and other taoka; (f) the protection of historic heritage from inappropriate subdivision, use, and development, and (g) the protection of recognised customary activities” (MfE, 1991).

Part 2, section 6 (e) is, according to Key Informant 7, the most significant section in the RMA for protecting Māori interests in their cultural landscapes. In relation to Māori interests however, the intangible and spiritual aspects of taoka and waahi tapu have proven difficult to accommodate in case law. In ‘Friends and Community of Ngawha Inc v Minister of Corrections, and Winstone Aggregates LTD v Franklin District Council, case law has managed to define only aspects of Māori taoka and waahi tapu, excluding other aspects from protection. The first case, known as the ‘taniwha case’, had the environment court rule in favour of the Ministry of Corrections to build a prison near where a taniwha resided; it was deemed the Ngawha residents’ belief needed protecting, not the ‘mythical’ creature so dear to them. Waahi tapu were defined in
Winstone Aggregates Ltd v Franklin District Council as limited to those areas “that have a religious or spiritual dimension, such as burial grounds, rather than secular areas such as pā” (Warnock, 2013). The limited definition of taoka and waahi tapu by the judicial system shows the limitations of cross-culture understanding, intangible and spiritual qualities of Māori cultural landscapes are difficult to translate for non-Māori. This limitation relates to the Otago District Plans’ where iwi are wanting the intangible aspects of waahi tupuna to be protected. The case law emphasises how difficult it is to be able to accommodate the Māori cultural paradigm of spiritual beliefs into the secular judicial law system, a Western paradigm.

Part 7, Other Matters states “In achieving the purpose of this Act, all persons exercising functions and powers under it, in relation to managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources, shall have particular regard to- (a) kaitiakitanga. Part 7 (a) kaitiakitanga was also part of the ‘taniwha case’. In the case, there were two groups claiming kaitiaki status over the area concerned, and the Environment Court decided one group was the kaitiaki after hearing all the evidence. The Friends of Ngawha argued that this was the wrong approach to take, and on appeal, the court was able to determine differing levels of kaitiaki; the primary kaitiaki group and auxiliary kaitiaki group/s, if any. Kaitiakitanga is also accommodated in law case ‘Haddon v Auckland Regional Council (ARC)’. Consent was granted to the ARC to dredge off the Pakiri coast for sand, once the Ngātiwai iwi were granted involvement in the monitoring of the resource as part of the conditions placed on the ARC. By being the kaitiaki over the resource, as well as acknowledging Ngātiwai as the kaitiaki over the resource, protocol was not breached and mana and control was retained by Ngātiwai. This case highlights a way of involving iwi in relation to the extraction of sand from the seabed, which is part of Ngātiwai’s cultural landscape.

Part 8, Treaty of Waitangi states: “In achieving the purpose of this Act, all persons exercising functions and powers under it, in relation to managing the use, development and protection of natural and physical resources, shall take
into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi”. There has been considerable debate over the phrasing of the generic terms “shall take into account” in Part 8, and “shall have particular regard to” in Part 7, as they do not hold councils legally responsible for addressing the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, which may partly explain the variation of engagement that exists in New Zealand between councils and iwi. The role of iwi as kaitiaki is an easier principle to fulfil, as it translate well into the Western paradigm. “Shall recognise and provide for” in Part 6 is clear and strong wording stating clearly the obligations councils have towards Māori, which is why Key Informant 7 sees it as the pivotal statute between Māori and the Crown, in relation to the preservation of Māori cultural values and landscapes.

5.2.2 The Local Government Act 2002

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*Invercargill City Council, is not at a level of comfort when they think about or discuss issues Māori, they’re prepared to sit back and to let the other councils to write up a context document or a paragraph re: ‘Building Capacity for Māori’ which are one of the requirements of the Local Government Act, get other councils to write the report and then put it in their document- they’ve got no ownership of it, they’re not really applying themselves to it.

The quotation above is from Key Informant 9, who makes the distinction that the requirements and expectations placed on councils in relation to the content of their district plans are achieved with varying levels of commitment and success. The LGA is very specific in its expectations in relation to district councils and Māori in ‘Part 6, section 81, Contributions to decision-making by Māori’: “A local authority **must** (a) establish and maintain processes to provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to the decision-making processes of the local authority; and (b) consider ways in which it may foster the development of Māori capacity to contribute to the decision-making processes of the local authority” (New Zealand Government, 2002).

It is clear that the **intention** is for a genuine collaboration between councils and iwi; however it is apparent that there are differing degrees of engagement between councils and iwi. The RMA has granted councils “enormous flexibility”
(Frieder, 1997:17) in what they include and emphasise in their plans: “The legal framework of the RMA was carefully constructed. Implementation of the law did not receive the same degree of attention” (Frieder, 1997:52). From the following analysis of district plans in Otago, it is apparent that some councils have a better working relationship with iwi than other councils, and have chosen not to “take ownership” in dealing with Māori cultural values and landscapes in their district plans.

5.3 Analysis of the Central Otago District Council District Plan

The Central Otago District Council did not have a key informant take part in the interview process for the present research. Agreement to meet was obtained but possibly due to time constraints the meeting never occurred. However, the researcher was able to glean information from Key Informant 1 about plans The Central Otago District Council has for future cultural mapping of the waahi tupuna of Central Otago.

The Central Otago District Plan has been operative since 2008. It has two sections that are relevant to Māori cultural landscapes: Section 2.2 ‘Kāi Tahu ki Otago’s Historical Links with the Central Otago District’, and Section 3: Manawhenua. As they are, both sections are highly informative and well written, with comprehensive sections on the history of Māori occupation in the Central Otago Region. Section 2.2 talks extensively about the original iwi groups that utilised the area on a seasonal basis, the physical remnants of Māori cultural landscapes that still exist, historical mahika kai rights and acknowledges the original Māori names that exist for every geographical feature there. There is no mention of a possible initiative to have dual Māori and Pākehā names for geographical features, which would be an initiative Ngāi Tahu would endorse. However, Section 3.5.4 Reappraisal of Plan Provisions upon Settlement of Ngai Tahu Claim states that Kāi Tahu Ki Otago would be used in the event of a plan change to take into account any changes awarded through a Ngāi Tahu settlement. Dual names of Central Otago geographical features may be one future initiative under this policy of the District plan (CODC, 2008)
Section 3, **Manawhenua**, explains the purpose of the section as being a requirement under Part 2, section 8 The Treaty of Waitangi, is succinct and states what is required under the RMA. Section 3 is divided into 7 parts. The first part, **Significant Issues** states the importance of five key issues for Māori: Kaitiakitanga, Waahi Tapu, Waahi Taoka, Water and Mahika Kai. All are mentioned in both the **Objectives** and **Policies**, which are aspirational in tone and sentiment with phrases such as ‘To recognise and provide’ setting the tone. Key Informant 4 from The QLDC states: “those non-tangible aspects and values of Māori are very difficult, firstly, to explain to non-Māori, and secondly very difficult to place in a 2 dimensional mapping system which is the trigger for most involvement”. This highlights an issue councils can have with accommodating Māori provisions in their plans; translation of one worldview into the written medium of another. Below is the Central Otago District Council accommodating Māori provisions in their district plan:

3.4.2 Policy-Waahi Tapu and Wahi Taoka- Explanation

“Section 6(e) of the Act requires Council to provide for the relationship of Māori with their lands, waters, sites, waahi tapu and other taonga. This policy provides for the relationship of Māori with their waahi tapu and waahi taoka. **Processes will be developed** to ensure that the cultural values of each site are protected in the appropriate way. Close consultation with runanga and iwi will be necessary to determine appropriate methods of protection” (CODC, 2008).

It is clear the council have good intentions, but there are no specific rules stating what, how and when these processes will be developed or when consultation will occur. This is a common theme throughout Section 3, it only goes as far as aspirational statements without necessary rules to make them a reality. Key Informant 1 from KTKO has commented on the district plan, stating that:

*The current COD [Central Otago District] Plan is a classic example, where the tangata whenua chapter sits quite separate from the rest of the plan, and you’ll have objectives and policies but you can’t see this golden thread, you know it’ll say protecting kai tahu values but you can’t see in any of the district plan chapters where there are any mention of Kāi Tahu values.*
She also stated that: “they’ve been quite receptive to that [cultural mapping] and they’ve included that into the initial consultation document that will map out what might be in the new COD Plan, so that indicates some good support”, hints at their intentions towards Māori cultural landscapes. Going by the current level of engagement the Central Otago District Council has with issues Māori, KTKO would most likely be the driving force behind such an initiative.

**Methods of Implementation** 3.5.1 “The development of an active process of consulting with KTKO regarding anything that involves iwi”- ‘development’, no process presented on having an action plan and timeline on when and how this will occur. 3.5.2 “Identification and Listing of Important Sites” states that waahi tapu and waahi taoka will be identified by KTKO and included on the register of Heritage Items, which is lumping them together with other heritage items. A precursor for the current method of cultural mapping perhaps; they would be better served in their own register in the Schedules, as is the practice in other councils.

(iii) “The assistance of KTKO in the development and implementation of strategies designed to encourage landowners to protect archaeological sites, waahi tapu and waahi taoka on their property”- deferring responsibility to KTKO is not an effective method for taking ownership of this by the Central Otago District Council. 3.5.3 Rules. (a) Riparian margins and water bodies, (b) Mahika kai and access to Mahika kai, (c) Archaeological sites, koiwi tangata, waahi tapu and waahi taoka, and (d) ‘Landscape values of significance to KTKO that are identified as an Area of Outstanding Landscape Value as shown on the Planning Maps’ (CODC, 2008). As the Central Otago District Council relies on KTKO when dealing with issues relating to Māori, it shows they either don’t have the capacity themselves to deal with it, or don’t have the experience, knowledge or motivation. It appears that KTKO will need to lead any change made by the Central Otago District Council in relation to Māori cultural values and landscapes, if this is indeed what the council wants to happen.
5.3.3 Summary of the Analysis of the CODC District Plan

...And you get a consent application and the poor old consent planner every time he thinks, 'oh my goodness, does this affect Kāi Tahu values'? No idea!

The above quotation is from Key Informant 1, in relation to their observation of Central Otago District’s level of care toward Māori cultural landscapes. It is apparent from the analysis conducted that there is not enough information for a planner at the Central Otago District Council to be able to recognise when an infringement will occur on areas of significance for Māori; a certain level of information needs to be available to planners:

So whenever an applicant goes to the city council and says ”I want to apply for an earthworks consent on mauka atua”, they look over their wahi tupuna overlay and they’ll click in earthworks in this area and it will flash up alerts, you know Kāi Tahu values in this area and earthworks are a threat which will trigger a specific set of assessment criteria so it means that (the) person (who) is assessing that earthworks application has to consider Kāi Tahu values which means they have to go to Kāi Tahu and say can you explain your values in this area and can you explain how this activity, how this person’s application is going to threaten, or not, your values (Key Informant 1).

The Central Otago District Council is not a large council, and having a planner acting as a Māori liaison or spending more time on Māori issues may not be a practical proposition for them. The council does need to prioritise initiatives like cultural mapping and taking ownership more on matters relating to Māori cultural landscapes; legislation, literature, iwi and key informants demand this. The Central Otago District Council has a good working relationship with Kāi Tahu Ki Otago, the council needs to work with them to forge a way towards an integrated district plan with the provisions for waahi tupuna taken into account.

5.4 Analysis of the Queenstown Lakes District Council District Plan

The Queenstown Lakes Council District (QLDC) Plan became operative in 2009, and is currently in stage two of a plan review that commenced in April 2014. Under the RMA, Schedule 1, Part 1 (3) (1) Consultation, it states:
“During the preparation of a proposed policy statement or plan, the local authority concerned shall consult- (d) The tangata whenua of the area who may be so affected, through iwi authorities” (MiE, 1991). The Queenstown Lakes District Council has taken a proactive approach and is in regular contact with KTKO, they have been working in tandem with them on the process of cultural mapping, and as the quotation below from Key Informant 4 of the Queenstown Lakes District Council states, they are now waiting on Kai Tahu to come to them with the information of where the waahi tupuna are located:

...Iwi groups ... wanted to have more direct input, and waahi tupuna are one of the issues they’re very concerned about and want it reflected in the plan, and we feel that we now have got a very good deal for iwi in terms of their inclusion in our plan, granted it’s our plan, it’s not an iwi management plan, I feel we’ve covered everything relevant in here including waahi tupuna, the bit missing is that they haven’t mapped it and given it to us yet.

The process involves waahi tupuna being mapped and put onto overlays, showing planners the potential infringements on waahi tupuna when they are assessing resource consents. Cultural mapping is not an activity proposed by local government as it is not a specific requirement under the RMA, it is an iwi initiative and thus can prove to be difficult to accommodate by councils:

... The QLDC [Queenstown Lakes District Council] Plan is going through a plan change process, and the difficulty that KTKO has is that within the RMA policy framework, to be able to protect places of significance and to develop policies and rules around them, you have to be able to map them, though cultural mapping has been ongoing, particularly through the iwi authority in Christchurch, that mapping has never been translated into the RMA context. (Key Informant 2).

As the new system of cultural mapping will be comprehensive, it is new territory for the Queenstown Lakes District Council, however KTKO has already mapped waahi tupuna for the Dunedin City Council, so will be the guiding force in this process. The Queenstown Lakes District Council has made allowances for the mapping as there are two chapters being reviewed that are concerned with Māori cultural landscapes; ‘Part 2, Strategy- Tangata Whenua’,
Sites of Significance to Māori, has been left blank and is awaiting the input from iwi in the form of a register of waahi tupuna.

Chapter 5, Tangata Whenua, starts with a comprehensive history of early Māori, much like the Central Otago District’s does. Their objectives and policies all aim to foster genuine collaboration and consultation between the council and iwi, utilising KTKO in Dunedin, and Te Ao Mārama in Invercargill. They list the methods of how they will implement mitigating measures when needed, such as mapping waahi tupuna, and consulting Kāi Tahu when developments may impact on waahi tupuna. 5.8 Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 Cultural Redress Provisions, lists geographical features that Ngāi Tahu would like recognition for, both in acknowledgement of their status as part of the Māori cultural landscape by statute, and the acknowledgement of Mt Aspiring/Tititea and Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi having both Māori and english names officially.

These two chapters are not in the operative plan as they are under review, they do however show that the Queenstown Lakes District Council is taking its obligations under the RMA and the LGA seriously and is engaging and collaborating with local rūnaka via their consultants KTKO and Te Ao Mārama. The operative chapters are however a contrast from the collaborative and innovative tone set in the proposed chapters. Chapter 13, Heritage, states as an objective: (c) “Inclusion of takata whenua sites identified in the Kāi Tahu Ki Otago: Natural Resource Management Plan on the council’s Geographic Information System”. This is the precursor system to the cultural mapping system Kāi Tahu Ki Otago is keen to introduce to the Queenstown Lakes District Council.

Because of the changes proposed by Queenstown Lakes District Council to their district plan, it would be counter-productive to suggest any other changes to the existing document. Key Informant 4 from the Queenstown Lakes District has acknowledged the difficulty in making provisions for the intangible qualities of
Māori cultural landscape but acknowledges that genuine collaboration between the council and iwi agencies will help the council accommodate them in their plan:

*The way to do that is to increase the involvement of KTKO (Kāi Tahu Ki Otago), Te Ao Mārama to come here, we’ve invited them to come and we’ve set up meetings for them to brief our planners, and the idea of those meetings is not to replicate what is in the iwi management plan, not to say what is already here, it is to explain types of management and types of risk, to those areas that contain values and how they may affect them.*

The political will is there to improve the status quo, and in collaboration with KTKO will improve the situation, on top of the work already done by the Queenstown Lakes District Council.

5.5 Analysis of the Dunedin City Council District Plan

When the researcher was ascertaining the scope of the study area, KTKO identified the districts needing analysis as the Central Otago and the Queenstown Lakes Districts. As the Dunedin City Council is further along the process of possibly implementing cultural mapping into their district plan, they are used as a comparison for the other two councils. Talking to KTKO last year established the topic and the areas of concern, the researcher was also able to ascertain that the Dunedin City Council has an already established working relationship with Kāi Tahu Ki Otago (Key Informant 1 from KTKO):

*The 2GP is not notified, and these provisions could get kicked out through the submission process, but the DCC have been extremely supportive, we’ve had an incredible level of consultation with them.*

At present, Dunedin City Council is in the advanced stage of their cultural mapping process, pioneering the system Queenstown Lakes District will likely be utilising in the near future. Key Informant 3 from the Dunedin City Council explains further where they are at in the mapping process:
We are just rewriting the District Plan at the moment, so the cultural landscapes were first mapped back in 2006 I think was the initial project, the DCC [Dunedin City Council] were quite proactive in approaching and looking at every aspect of the landscape for a plan change of visual landscape, and cultural landscape was a part of that, so they engaged KTKO to map the cultural landscapes as they saw them and they produced a report. Nothing happened to it as that plan change did not proceed”

As the Dunedin City Council is going through the rewrite of their district plan (known as the 2GP or Second Generation Plan), the cultural mapping they have conducted with KTKO will likely appear in the new plan. As noted from the two key informants, the proposed changes to the 2GP Plan are subject to the assessment of submissions made on the changes. The inclusion of a register of Māori cultural landscapes did not proceed in 2006. Dunedin City Council may not have the level of disengagement that occurs elsewhere with councils with a poor working relationship with iwi, it does however have urban landscape issues that show a lack of recognition to Māori cultural values:

Some of the things Kāi Tahu were wanting were better recognition in the built environment, the Octagon is a case in point, you have Robbie Burns but there’s nothing reflecting Kāi Tahu, and actually I had the urban design team leader out from the DCC earlier and he couldn’t think of any public art in Dunedin that reflected Kāi tahu culture (Key Informant 1)

The blocking of a register of Māori cultural landscapes in 2006, as well as the lack of public art to reflect Māori as the original people of Otago, is a vestige of a time when such considerations were not a priority for the Dunedin City Council. Councils have a moral and legal obligation to engage with iwi, and public sentiment towards Māori issues has evolved over time. The possibility of councils being taken to task over not adequately addressing Māori issues by the Auditor-General is not high, as this prior quotation from Frieder reiterates: “The RMA serves as a framework, not a blueprint. Accordingly, it gives local authorities enormous responsibility and flexibility…” (Frieder, 1997:17). In general, it would be futile to demand a public inquiry by the Auditor-General
into an inadequate district plan, as the RMA gives councils the flexibility to focus on what they deem priorities.

5.6 ‘Goals Achievement Matrix’- Analysis of the Councils’ District Plans

A ‘goals achievement matrix’ is a way to visually assess the actions and intention of the councils in their district plans, in how they are managing to accommodate Māori cultural landscapes. Each council has been assessed based on a mixture of district plan document analysis, iwi and central government expectations and the key informant feedback.

Down the left column of the matrix are the ‘goals’- achievable initiatives that the councils can utilise to improve their level of engagement with iwi and iwi’s aspirations for the recognition, preservation and acknowledgement of Māori cultural landscapes. The quotations below highlight a tangible desire for the telling of the stories of the landscape; bridging the gap in understanding between two world views while promoting the preservation of these landscapes:

There now seems to be consensus that “landscape” comprises more than the purely visual, and encompasses the ways in which individuals and the communities they are part of perceive the natural and physical resources in question... in the case of Te Waka... when one knows something of the lore and legends, the landscape becomes the more significant and memorable (Warnock, 2013:19).

I think for me personally you just want to learn more, you want to hear more of the story, and I think it would be really nice if there had been more history and description other than just a very brief line on it... I think that it makes it more real you know? The more of the story you know, the more significance it gives to a place (Key Informant 3).
### Goals

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Central Otago</th>
<th>QLDC</th>
<th>DCC</th>
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<tr>
<td>Meaningful Consultation</td>
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<td>Cultural Mapping of Waahi Tupuna</td>
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<td>Preservation of Sites</td>
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<td>Recognition of Key Māori Sites</td>
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<td>Visibility of Māori Culture in the Landscape</td>
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<td>Dual Māori/Pākehā Place Names</td>
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<td>Māori Provisions Throughout District Plans</td>
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<td>Intangible Qualities of Māori Cultural Landscapes Acknowledged in District Plans</td>
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<td>Initiatives to promote Māori Cultural Landscapes</td>
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<td>Future Collaboration with KTKO/ Iwi</td>
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**Key:**

- 😊 Achieved
- 😊 Partially Achieved
- 😊 Not Achieved

*Figure 6 Goals Achievement Matrix for Otago Councils*

Key Informant 3 from the Dunedin City Council in the above quotation is referring to her desire to include more information in the district plan around areas of significance for Māori, as the stories personalise the landscape. However, the Dunedin City Council is reliant on what information KTKO gives them. Consultation and engagement between KTKO and the rūnaka they
represent would determine what information was given to the council; Key Informant 3 may yet glean more information from KTKO to include in the Dunedin City Council’s District Plan during future consultation. A key recommendation from Key Informant 5 was a suggestion for Ngāi Tahu to have a guide/ kaitohutouhu telling the stories of past Māori occupation of Dunedin/Otago to tourists and locals alike. This would be an effective method of acknowledging and recognising Māori cultural landscapes while educating non-Māori on a Te Ao Mārama.

Figure 6 above shows how each council compares in relation to the level of engagement each has with iwi, and the allowances each makes in their district plan for Māori cultural landscapes. The Dunedin City Council has a well-established relationship with KTKO, and this is reflected in their statistics. The Queenstown Lakes District Council has work to do in future collaboration with KTKO and Te Ao Mārama, however the recent proposed changes to their district plan reflects favourably their current level of engagement. The Central Otago District Council has a way to go before they can claim to be acknowledging, recognising and promoting Māori cultural landscapes as prescribed by iwi and by central government legislation.

Four of the goals in Figure 6 stand out as needing particular attention across all councils. The first is ‘the visibility of Māori culture in the landscape’. This includes design guidelines at councils that promote Māori design. Footpath tiling inspired by and replicating the pattern from tukutuku panelling inside a marae is but one example of honouring the iwi of an area and acknowledging their part in the heritage of a place. Other examples include street art and above-ground infrastructure reflecting the Māori history of the area, with Māori commissioned artists bringing their art alive in large scale paintings. Below in figure 7 is a picture of Ōpōtiki in the Bay of Plenty. It is used as an example of how Māori design can be incorporated unobtrusively into the urban landscape. In the foreground and on the footpaths, tiling is arranged in a diamond tukutuku panelling design:
The totem pole, though a borrowed medium from another indigenous culture, has carvings depicting both the Māori and Pākehā history of Ōpōtiki. Key Informant 2 also suggested ways in which Māori culture can be incorporated into the landscape: “also, if you’re naming a new park or a subdivision, instead of ‘Willowbrook drive’ it could be more related to the area”. Using vernacular Māori names that reflect the physical nature or the history of the environment, lends an authenticity to new developments. There are many ways of acknowledging Māori cultural landscapes in the rural and urban landscapes for councils to adopt if the mandate and the desire is there to implement it.

The second goal is ‘intangible qualities of Māori cultural landscapes acknowledged in district plans’. Meta-physical and spiritual aspects of Māori cultural landscapes are a difficult concept to translate into district plans for planners with no knowledge of Te Ao Mārama. Close collaboration between iwi and councils is what is needed, gleaning from iwi how they would like them to be presented and catered for in district plans. This needs to be an iwi driven initiative, with iwi guiding (willing) councils. ‘Dual Māori and Pākehā names’ is an initiative that has come from the Ngāi Tahu settlement of 1998, with the dual naming of major landmarks around New Zealand being given back their

Figure 7 Church Street, Ōpōtiki, Bay of Plenty, Aotearoa (Wikipedia, 2015b)
Māori names to sit beside their Pākehā names. Councils in Otago can take this further by initiating their own district mandate for this to happen, a tangible way to acknowledge Māori cultural landscapes. ‘Initiatives to promote Māori cultural landscapes’ relates to educating the public, telling the stories of the landscapes. It has been indicated by key informants that this is an initiative councils are open to, but like the intangible aspects of Māori cultural landscapes, needs to be an initiative iwi drive forward. Examples of this could be educational panelling telling the stories of how Māori see the landscape, giving the reader a glimpse into Te Ao Mārama out in nature. This open dialogue starts with a good working relationship between iwi and councils.

5.6 Conclusion

The RMA acts as a framework for councils to prioritise those regional issues that relate to them. Council’s obligation towards Māori cultural values and landscapes, though real, may not be a priority if no advocate in council exists to push for iwi issues to be addressed. The devolving of resource management to the local authority level has seen the central government take a hands-off approach towards the administering of the RMA, and the subsequent “lack of central guidance and under-resourcing” has caused this situation of unaccountability (McCrossin, 2013).

The three councils in this research exist in a part of the country where Māori make up only a 16th of the population (Statistics NZ, 2015). Māori are under-represented in Otago population-wise in comparison to regions in the North Island. This can lead to Māori issues becoming not a priority in a region grappling with exponential growth in the west, and economic stagnation in the east. With the 2013 amendments of the RMA emphasising economic growth as a priority, it is easy to see that councils are caught with balancing economic issues with cultural issues. The next chapter, Discussion, will look into these issues in a holistic way, taking into account all opinions on the matter of acknowledgement, recognition and preservation of Māori cultural landscapes.
Results

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings from the primary research, consisting of key informant interviews. The Results Chapter has been divided into three parts in an attempt to highlight issues relating to the key research questions. The first part details the key informants’ perceptions of Māori cultural landscapes, in general and in relation to the Otago Region. The second section of this chapter highlights the key informants’ perspectives on how effective the relevant district and regional plans are at protecting, enhancing and preserving Māori cultural landscapes. The last part of the Results Chapter highlights ways in which Māori cultural landscapes are being managed, leading into the Document Analysis and Discussion Chapters.

6.1 Perceptions of Māori Cultural Landscapes

For an understanding of the issues relating to Māori cultural landscapes, definitions of what constitutes Māori cultural landscapes are needed to clarify the issues. The key informants all agreed that Māori cultural landscapes are an important treasure, deserving of their status and in need of protecting. As can be expected, each informant viewed them differently, in terms of their definition, constitution, and the best way to ‘deal’ with them to ensure their preservation. Non-Māori informants tended to view them in a ‘two dimensional’ way; on one hand, they are part of the physical landscape, and on the other hand, legislation decrees they need protecting. Māori informants added a third dimension to their definitions, a dimension infused with legend and stories that act as a link to their ancestors and whakapapa. One Māori informant recognized this divide by acknowledging the gap in knowledge that non-Māori have in terms of the Māori
worldview (Te Ao Mārama) and aspects of Māori culture, and that it is of no consequence up to a point:

It’s not possible to always transpose the cultural ways of understanding across cultures other than by law, which is not necessarily a way of getting people to buy into something, or it’s an enforced way, so for me it’s just, and I tell my students here this, … they don’t need to do, or participate necessarily in the practices that we do, and not even have to believe our systems and our beliefs and worldviews, but they do need to respect and understand they are of significance for us, so that’s more important than anything else (Key Informant 6).

The above quotation touches on an essential point; that Māori are given unique status by the Crown, as is required under the Treaty of Waitangi. Pākehā do not need to understand, nor even endorse what Māori consider important, as Māori culture is protected by statute. This is important as cultural landscapes for Māori fall under the auspice of the Treaty of Waitangi, and thus the RMA 1991. Another quotation from the same informant makes a clear distinction between Māori and the rest of the population, highlighting Māori rights and the recognition afforded them by the Treaty (and by extension Māori cultural landscapes):

...So for me it needs to be made very clear that yes we are a bicultural nation, we are multi-ethnic, but there are only two partners in the Treaty, they are Māori, and everyone else. And therefore we talk about duality, respecting the systems of the other and knowing that they both serve the purpose of guidance, and our tikaka and kawa, and then law, and then all forms of councils and governance that sit around them, now that doesn’t stop other ethnic groups from participating or practicing their culture, but it doesn’t make us multicultural. We are a bicultural nation, or a dual-culture nation (Key Informant 6)

Biculturalism in New Zealand, a topic touched on in the Literature Review Chapter and expanded on in the Discussion Chapter, is a fundamental concept to introduce into the study. The legally binding agreement the Crown and Māori signed under the Treaty of Waitangi, is the origin of indigenous rights in
Aotearoa, which set the scene for a bicultural nation. It thus lays the foundation for the recognition of Māori cultural landscapes, and has allowed for their preservation and protection under statute. It is within these parameters of law that those entrusted with the preservation of Māori cultural landscapes operate. Through recognition, their informed perceptions of Māori cultural landscapes can be the key to their future survival.

6.1.1 Personal Perceptions of informants towards Māori Cultural Landscapes

In the findings from the results, there were fluctuating opinions on what Māori cultural landscapes are, to reasons they are important. Each key informant perceived them through the lens of their own life experience and reacted to them from their own individual ‘sense of reality’. Māori cultural landscapes are a construct of the Māori worldview and to understand this, one must define what a ‘personal construct’ is.

Personal construct theory is the theory that through recurrences in an individual’s life, a sense of reality is established. Recurrences set up a pattern by which the individual is able to predict future events, such as the ‘the sun will come up tomorrow’, allowing for parameters within which ‘reality’ is established. It is essentially a construct for the individual, as each person’s circumstances are unique enough to differentiate one’s perception of the world from other individuals; “Constructs are inherently personal because they are based upon each person's life experiences” (Cherry, 2015). This point is important in establishing the theory that a construct of culture will inherently be perceived differently by all observers.

Observed in indigenous cultures around the world, cultural constructs have evolved over time. Though Māori cultural landscapes are part of the Māori culture, Māori from one hapū may perceive them in a different way to another hapū, highlighting their differing cultural constructs. Put into the mix an individual’s personal construct and reality begins to look like a part-collective and a part-individual experience. This is important because with things of a
personal nature, there will be differing opinions and perceptions, it is not an exact science and cannot be quantified as such. Key Informant 2 reiterates this, stating that “…you’re not dealing with one narrative, you are dealing with multiple narratives and quite complex interests”, in relation to the seven rūnaka that have interests in Māori cultural landscapes in the Otago Region.

6.1.2 Tangible and Intangible Characteristics of Māori Cultural Landscapes

It has been observed over time by authors like Jane Jacobs, that a sense of ownership and guardianship by locals can occur over their communities, cityscapes and landscapes, in the process creating ‘cultural landscapes’, as perceived by Key Informant 8:

...And one thing that was intriguing is that, when you talk to the people whom had been there a short period of time, when you ask them “what do you value the most in this landscape?”, they mostly talked about the physicality of it, you know the beauty of it, the sunset on the hills, what the harbour looks like, and the further (back in time) people have been associated with (the place), the less people talked about the physicality and the more they talked about those intangible values, so they would be telling you the stories, they’d be telling you things that had happened, they’d be telling you why places were named as they were, and they’d be talking about the more spiritual qualities of landscape and also the feelings of a landscape, and right through to some Māori informants who didn’t talk at all about anything physical, they just talked about the stories.

From Key Informant 8’s perspective, the spiritual connection people have with place appears to become stronger the longer someone spends there. Family’s that have been in the same place for generations have stories and histories to draw upon, amplifying their connection to the landscapes of their collective childhoods and youth. Multiply that dynamic with the passing of centuries, and you have the recipe for cultural landscapes.

However, the intangible aspect of Māori cultural landscapes has proven difficult to legislate and plan for. Key Informant 8 highlights this point: “.... How do you represent those intangible values? And often those intangible values are… because they’re much harder to define and because they don’t have physical edges and because they’re not visible, they’re much easier to ignore”. Many of
the informants had their own perspective on what constitutes both the intangible and physical aspects of Māori cultural landscapes, though the difference between the two was sometimes hard to differentiate, alluding to Te Ao Mārama where the spiritual and the physical realms are interchangeable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Just off the Taiaroa Heads... there is a shelf where small species of all kinds are sheltered from the sea... the queen scallops from the harbour...so they are our tupuna landscapes as well, and they need protecting... (Key Informant 6).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...Outfits like Transit NZ, they know no better, they just think it's another tree, it's in the way so just chop it down. So that's an example of cultural landscapes with markers on them, you lose them and you lose that access point to whakapapa into that landscape (Key Informant 5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...We often get so caught up in the landscape, but the ocean and the waterways are critically important to understanding that landscape... my old people never talked about mana moana, it was always mana te whenua... but with water sitting on it so when you think about the harbour, if we thought about it as a cultural landscape, but beneath water, I would suggest that is a really useful way of looking at it from a spirituality perspective rather than see it divorced into the seabed and foreshore (Key Informant 5).</td>
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<tr>
<td>You know, the foreshore and seabed was shocking, it took away from us a right that we had and can never now claim in court that unbroken access to our wakawaka, because our wakawaka here goes from the ocean across to the peninsula to low tide, that's where your border finishes, at low tide, and we can never now prove that we had unbroken, exclusive rights, or rights of access (Key Informant 6).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...The significance of the view is much broader, it looks nice, the whole stories of their ancestral arriving being built into their mihi to their particular mountains, built into their surroundings so that... they've identified the views and several of the sites have a more spiritual association and that is included in the description of the (cultural) values (Key Informant 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... Down here in particular though it's an opportunity to look at the sky as being part of the landscape as well, I think we often forget that when we look at a Marae, we are not looking at the ground, we are looking at the joining point between Ranginui and Papatuanuku... (Key Informant 5).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
… Our old people talked about the marae, they always talked about the marae, to the land, the sky to the land that was three dimensional, and not just stopping on the land, it went all the way into the land, through the land, and the land had a whole level of engagement within the womb of Papatuanuku… (Key Informant 5).

Figure 8: Physical and Meta-physical Characteristics of Māori Cultural Landscapes

A noteworthy point is the extent to which some interviewees view Māori cultural landscapes as being. Prior to embarking on the interview stage of the research, the researcher had a somewhat limited viewpoint on what physical and meta-physical characteristics make up Māori cultural landscapes. It was enlightening for the researcher to see the boundaries expanded by the key informant’s perspectives. The concept of cultural landscapes being extended past the beach to beneath the ocean, taking into account sub-marine valleys, canyons and plateaus as envisioned by Key Informants 5 and 6 took the definition to another level. Key Informant 5 mentions Māori cultural landscapes taking into account not just the landscapes on the horizon, but the heavens as well, extending from the horizon all the way to the stars themselves, and everything in between.

Also, extending the boundaries to beneath the ground, to the physical subterranean formations beneath our feet, to the meta-physical symbolism of the earth being the womb of Papatūānuku completes the three dimensional aspect of Māori cultural landscapes for Key Informant 5. Key Informant 5 also mentions the role of a sacred tree as a marker on the landscape. He mentions its sacredness from its history as a resting spot for travelling iwi, dating back generations. When the tree is gone, so are the stories and history that connected past generations with present and future generations, thus severing that link back to their ancestors through stories of the landscape, the whakapapa link.

These meta-physical and spiritual aspects are key tenets of the Māori view of reality. Māori also infuse the physical aspects of Māori cultural landscapes with the spiritual, in keeping with the Māori worldview where the physical and the meta-physical aspects of reality are far more interchangeable than in the Western interpretation of reality.
Individual hapū’s associations with Māori cultural landscapes tend toward the local; each hapū across New Zealand has their ancestral links to geographical features such as a mountain and a river, and these areas are clearly defined by geographical markers. Prior to European occupation, the area that is modern day Otago and Southland was accessible to numerous rūnaka:

The way things work is that people’s association with the area is more defined on the coastal margin, and as you go inland, which reflects Kāi Tahu’s seasonal lifestyle, those interests and rights overlap. You’re not just dealing with two or three (runaka) on the coast, you are dealing with all seven, and you are dealing with runaka all the way from Stewart Island up to Moeraki (Key Informant 2).

The overlapping of traditional territorial rights to the mahinga kai areas has meant that when consultation occurs between the councils of Otago and northern Southland and iwi, there are up to seven runaka that may need to be consulted with. From the results, it can be seen that some councils are better at consultation with the rūnaka and Kāi Tahu than others, as will be explored in Chapter 7, Document Analysis.

Kāi Tahu has drawn praise from a Pākehā key informant, commenting on their methods of gaining recognition for their culture, using various formats to achieve this. This particular key informant, who has advocated for groups of non-Māori in relation to cultural landscapes in New Zealand, was able to relate the experiences of her clients to the Māori experience, and the parallels were numerous:

In terms of a number of different measures of intangible values there are a broad spread of those intangible values, across Māori and non-Māori, I actually think that we could learn a lot in terms of methodology from Māori groups who are re-inventing in very creative ways, of holding and curating and also transmitting those values, and all of that Māori have been doing and developing really well over the last 10-15 years. I think there are a lot of learnings that could be transferred to non-Māori communities that are doing the same thing (Key Informant 8).
Key Informant 8 infers that New Zealanders in general have created their own unique ‘kiwi cultural construct’, viewing the landscape in a physical and metaphysical way that has become part of the ‘kiwi culture’. Key Informant 8 makes the connection between those who have lived in New Zealand for generations, as opposed to those who are recent arrivals, summed up with her quotation about multi-generational Pākehā who would “…be talking about the more spiritual qualities of landscape and also the feelings of a landscape”. Māori cultural landscapes have inevitably influenced general kiwi culture, wrapped up in iconic flora and fauna imagery and infused with Māori spirituality. This research has documented the many ways colonization has affected Māori over time, however it is apparent from the results that ‘kiwi culture’ has itself been influenced by both Māori culture and Māori cultural landscapes, appropriated by New Zealanders over time to form their own view of what ‘New Zealand’ means to them on a physical and spiritual level.

6.2 Māori Cultural Landscapes and Planning Provisions

From central government to the relevant district councils, planning provisions exist within which Māori cultural landscapes are accommodated. One of the key research questions is to ascertain the robustness of the relevant district and regional plans in relation to the level of protection, enhancement and preservation afforded to Māori cultural landscapes within them. The methods for achieving this vary between councils, from contemporary methods of identifying physical remnants that make up Māori cultural landscapes, to policies and rules that protect them further. There are, however, persistent issues with accommodating the intangible qualities of Māori cultural landscapes, as documented by Key Informant 4 from the Queenstown Lakes District Council:

...Those non-tangible aspects and values of Maori are very difficult, firstly, to explain to non-Maori, and secondly very difficult to place in a 2 dimensional mapping system, which is the trigger for most involvement. Part of the mapping we’ve produced as part of the ongoing discussions now shows not only the statutory areas, but you’ll also see that we’ve included the Waahi tupuna layers as well,
now that is a concept that is, straight away, non-tangible values which I need to take from iwi, and to explain to our planners and possibly to applicants and developers what that means; it is a value, it’s an association, it’s a whakapapa, it’s that involvement and there is a difficulty trying to explain that.

Cultural mapping is a method by which councils in Otago, in collaboration with the guardians of this knowledge, Kāi Tahu, are able to identify areas of cultural significance and map them. The cultural mapping system acts as an extra layer of mapping, by which planners can check if future developments will infringe on areas of cultural significance to Māori. Kāi Tahu Ki Otago (KTKO), the agency that represents Kāi Tahu in Otago, have been working with the Dunedin City Council to develop the cultural mapping system for their district plan:

In Dunedin we took the document and we took out these massive maps and we put them on a table and we got our runaka contacts to map those areas, and then what we’ve done is plot all of those areas into an appendix in the District Plan, so whenever an applicant goes to the city council and says “I want to apply for an earthworks consent on mauka atua”, they look over their wahi tupuna overlay and they’ll click in earthworks in this area and it will flash up alerts, you know, Kāi Tahu values in this area and earthworks are a threat which will trigger a specific set of assessment criteria so it means that that person that is assessing that earthworks application has to consider Kāi Tahu values which means they have to go to Kāi Tahu and say can you explain your values in this area and can you explain how this activity, how this person’s application is going to threaten, or not, your values (Key Informant 1).

The cultural mapping system is an important method for making sure areas that are of significance to Māori and were used by Māori in the past are not compromised by future development. The findings from the interviews show cultural mapping to be an effective method of preserving the physical remnants of Māori cultural landscapes, with key informants responding positively to its use:
…So there’s a whole range of different types of landscapes from old settlement sites, mahika kai sites, not trails so much but trail markers, battle sites, a broad range of areas are identified, some of which are so modified they no longer retain any modern recognition of the fact that they’re a significant site, so I think that was a part of what’s behind the process that they want them acknowledged, um, these sites, are a part of these ancestral stories (and) are built into some of these sites, so they’ve all been mapped, and they’ll appear in the district plan (Key Informant 3).

The way to do that is to increase the involvement of KTKO [Kāi Tahu Ki Otago], Te Ao Mārama, to come here, we’ve invited them to come and we’ve set up meetings for them to brief our planners, and the idea of those meetings is not to replicate what is in the iwi management plan, not to say what is already here, it is to explain types of management and types of risk, to those areas that contain values and how they may affect them (Key Informant 4).

…And talking to people that were like Tohunga, they sat down around maps, I remember being at the museum, I had a chance to look at these, and we marked on the maps where these places were, and so the idea being that if there’s any development or anything associated with that, they had to contact these key people that then provide spiritual protection and or physical protection or physical removal of remains to go somewhere else, so we had in place quite a good structure around that, you could say a good sense of spiritual accountability (Key Informant 5).

… So they engaged KTKO [Kāi Tahu Ki Otago] to map the cultural landscapes as they saw them and they produced a report. Nothing happened to it as that plan change did not proceed, but now we are reviewing the whole district plan, that has now come back up and they’re keen to see those landscapes in the plan because they want acknowledgement and recognition, having said that they consider the whole of the region is their ancestral landscape, it’s not just limited to the sites identified through the mapping process (Key Informant 3).

A lot of the planners here won’t understand what it is, they will see a 2 dimensional map and say “well it must be within those boundaries”, what I am trying to explain with the help of iwi to the planners is explain that where you have a seasonal site, Maori travelled there on foot, set up for a season, fished, hunted, camped, it is the resources around the site, the values around maintaining the habitat which would be important to keep and protect, so it’s those non-tangible aspects of landscapes sites, and explaining those links is the difficulty but we are trying to achieve that not by writing it all in text, but by a mixture of mapping, text and engagement, because we know that only iwi can identify those correctly and apply them to development applications (Key
The thing with council and with others is they need to understand the significance of those two aspects, particularly the wairua of a place, and they don’t have to understand it, they just have to have total acceptance if they’re prepared to do cultural mapping and have some form of protection over the physical, they don’t need to be concerned other than we are, we have the right and we will always consider those aspects of our waahi tupuna, or waahi tapu (Key Informant 6).

Figure 9: Preserving the Physical Remnants of Māori Cultural Landscapes

Cultural mapping is a tool employed in an effort to fulfil obligations to Māori by councils. Cultural mapping is not a requirement under law, thus iwi and councils need to have a good working relationship to enable its utilization in district plans. As with other proposals introduced in this chapter and according to information gleaned from the key informant interviews, it appears that it is generally up to iwi to initiate such activities. Iwi know their own needs, can take the educational role and thus be able to lead such initiatives with councils. Some councils are further along the process of recognizing Māori cultural landscapes than others. Some informants suggested The Central Otago District Council is further behind than the Queenstown Lakes District Council and The Dunedin City Council in their duty of care towards Māori cultural landscapes, however The Central Otago District Council are in the early planning stages of including them in their district plan with Kāi Tahu Ki Otago:

...With the CODC [Central Otago District Council], we’ve had some meetings with them on the District Plan and they’ve asked us what would we like to see in the district plan, what are the key issues, we mentioned cultural landscapes and that we would like to see them mapped like they are in the Dunedin area, and they’ve been quite receptive to that and they’ve included that into the initial consultation document that will map out what might be in the new COD Plan, so that indicates some good support, and they’re just waiting on us to develop the maps before we move on and look at some provisions (Key Informant 1)
The current Central Otago District Plan has been operative since 2008, however the plan, according to Key Informant 1 has not adequately provided for Māori cultural landscapes:

So one thing we noticed is, um some of the district plans, and the current COD [Central Otago District] Plan is a classic example, where the tangata whenua chapter sits quite separate from the rest of the plan, and you’ll have objectives and policies but you can’t see this golden thread, you know, it’ll say protecting Kāi Tahu values but you can’t see in any of the district plan chapters where there are any mention of Kāi Tahu values, and you get a consent application and the poor old consent planner every time he thinks,’ oh my goodness, does this affect Kāi Tahu values’? (They’ll have) No idea!

Councils’ district plans are documents that are guided by legislation, none more so than the RMA 1991. One part of the RMA in particular has been identified by an iwi representative (Key Informant 7) as being of particular importance for Māori; Part 2, section 6: ‘In achieving the purpose of this Act, all persons exercising functions and powers under it, in relation to managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources, shall recognise and provide for the following matters of national importance: (e) The relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, site, waahi tapu, and other taonga’ (MfE, 1991). Key Informant 7’s opinion is that the way forward in the future for the acknowledgement, preservation and recognition of Maori cultural landscapes and values relies heavily on the untapped potential behind Part 2, section 6(e) of the RMA. The analysis of the district plans in ‘Chapter 5, Document Analysis’ is an in-depth examination at how they perform in relation to the requirements of the RMA.

6.3 The Current Level of Care towards Māori Cultural Landscapes

From the interviews conducted, there is evidence of positive work happening in councils to meet their obligations under the RMA 1991 towards Māori, in relation especially to their cultural landscapes. It is also clear that it is a process, and the current situation is an improvement on what was standard in the past, especially prior to the introduction of the RMA. Key Informant 9’s comment
below does show that there is still work to be done to bridge Māori expectation and local government effort:

*The problem with local government is they tend to see things from a local government point of view, local government is a creature of statute, you can’t blame them for that, but they need to think about, in the context of Tangata whenua and iwi ideas and ideals, think about them from iwi perspectives, and I’ve also suggested to tangata whenua that it can’t create an idea, create an issue and just give it to local government and expect it to happen, because it won’t. Take the analogy that tangata whenua can create a waka, but you’re not going to expect local government to just push it off the shore and see what they can do, hope they can paddle it and hope they can steer it-no way. It has to be a combined effort, in everything (Key Informant 9).*

The research has shown that the level of care towards Māori cultural landscapes needs to be a continual process of open communication between iwi and councils. Informant 8 mused about the best way to protect Māori cultural landscapes, especially the intangible qualities, thus so:

*I don’t know if the answer lies in the rule making, so much as in developing effective methods of assembling and presenting those values back as credibility equivalent to a landscape architect, or a biologist, or a noise specialist going out and saying ‘these are the visual qualities of the site’, then are there people and are there processes and techniques that can be developed to say, well, these are the cultural values of the site, and that data has actually emerged from this community. I think there are some really creative ways that Maori are developing, whether it’s using forms of GIS mapping, or story telling or, many different techniques, but I think more needs to be done.*

In this quotation, Key Informant 8 ponders why community sentiment is not taken into account in relation to cultural landscape values. During the hearing of public submissions, ‘expert evidence’ from a qualified professional can trump the opinions of an entire community, which does seem undemocratic and unrepresentative of community interests. Māori however, under law, are required to be consulted. Below in Table 3, Key Informants’ observations are
tabled, documenting issues that need addressing if Māori cultural landscapes are to achieve the level of care needed for their survival:

Now even down here there’s one of the councils, Invercargill City Council, is not at a level of comfort when they think about or discuss issues Māori, they’re prepared to sit back and to let the other councils to write up a context document or a paragraph re: ‘Building Capacity for Māori’ which are one of the requirements of the Local Government Act, (then) get other councils to write the report and then put it in their document- they’ve got no ownership (Key Informant 9).

So, in terms of planning processes, which tend to rely on physical Cartesian type measures of value, it’s really hard for planners and planning decision makers to cater for those values… (Key Informant 8).

(In) the Maungatua (mountain range) they’ve got a really good interpretation panel up there where you entrance into the park, which, for our whanau, for the children, we take them up there about once a year, and they can directly engage with the Māori story, before we wander up the track, that is a good example of they can do it if they want to (Key Informant 5).

… Once the treaty was legislated out of law, it took a very long time for it to be acknowledged as a legal and binding document and clearly, nobody thought so as it was just a rat eaten something that was accidentally discovered, whereas most places have their founding document in a place of honour (Key Informant 6).

The issue is the QLDC [Queenstown Lakes District Council] Plan is going through a plan change process, and the difficulty that KTKO [Kāi Tahu Ki Otago] has is that within the RMA policy framework, to be able to protect places of significance and to develop policies and rules around them, you have to be able to map them, though cultural mapping had been ongoing, particularly through the iwi authority in CHC, that mapping has never been translated into the RMA context (Key Informant 2).

If Ngai Tahu got their act together, they could put forward a pretty strong case for a full time position (a guide in Dunedin), and demonstrate what the council is missing out on in terms of opportunity, and adding value, especially with all the tourist boats turning up for example, and every one of those people want to know about the landscape, which they’re entering, and it’s an opportunity in the process to re-educate our people here, and also give some responsibility and a sense of accountability back to the council and back to the local communities...
Key Informant 9’s opinion of Invercargill City Council’s level of care in adequately accommodating Māori provisions in their district plan highlights Invercargill’s lack of engagement with local iwi. Key Informant 9 talks of the council he works for having received a koha from local iwi, in the form of a Māori name, “…but there is no such gift, to the Invercargill District Council or Gore District Council, yet”. This indicates that relationship building is an on-going process and needs working on between Māori and particular councils still. It also alludes to the possible gifting of a name to the two councils if the relationship between them and local Māori improves.

Informant 2 above touches on the fact that cultural mapping is not a requirement for councils under the RMA, which is frustrating for them as it is an effective method of acknowledging and protecting Māori cultural landscapes. Key Informant 4 has indicated the Queenstown Lakes District Council will be utilizing cultural mapping, to be included in their second generational plan. It is however not a quick process, as the Queenstown Lakes District Council needs input from both Kāi Tahu Ki Otago and Te Ao Mārama, as stated by Key Informant 4 from the Queenstown Lakes District Council: “I feel we’ve covered everything relevant in here including waahi tupuna, the bit missing is that they haven’t mapped it and given it to us yet. But we have left place holders for it and we are open to accommodating that in our plan, waiting for their detail, and that’s where we are”.

In Table 3, Key Informant 5 mentions the utilization of information panels at the entrance of a track in the Maungatua Ranges, near Dunedin Airport. The panels tell part of the Māori history of the area, providing recognition of Māori cultural landscapes via an educational tool. When Kāi Tahu Ki Otago was asked whether such educational panels are a way Kāi Tahu wants their stories of the landscape told to the public, they said it would have to be an initiative of Kāi Tahu’s and is not an expectation of Kāi Tahu Ki Otago’s or Kāi Tahu’s for councils to provide this of their own accord:
That’s a matter for the runanga, so throughout the District Plan process some of the things Kāi Tahu were wanting were better recognition in the built environment, the Octagon is a case in point, you have Robbie Burns but there’s nothing reflecting Kāi Tahu, and actually I had the urban design team leader out from the DCC earlier and he couldn’t think of any public art in Dunedin that reflected Kāi Tahu culture, but generally that sort of thing sits outside of the District plan process, it comes up in the streetscape design guide or the arts and culture strategy or they have a centre city design guide, so it’s like through other avenues. Yeah and its definitely part of it, in the QLDC [Queenstown Lakes District Council] plan we referred to interpretive materials which are signage and the use of place names, parks and reserves and choice of vegetation...

From key informant opinions and the researcher’s observations, there is a distinct lack of Māori culture represented in street art and sculpture in the Otago urban environment and is indicative of a region with a strong colonial past and not a strong Māori past. Arrowtown pays homage to its Chinese migrant past, and rightly so, but nowhere in Arrowtown is there mention of Māori culture. A key informant from Kāi Tahu ki Otago is in agreement with this observation: “…with the CODC [Central Otago District Council] there is an emphasis on goldmining heritage, rather than Kāi Tahu heritage, and the relationship that Kāi Tahu had with the landscapes of the Central Otago region are not as apparent…” This translates to a perceived lack of recognition of Māori cultural landscapes, a key purpose of this study being to gain recognition for them.

Key Informant 5 in Table 3 also mentions the opportunity for a Kāi Tahu representative, or kaitohutohu, to tell the stories of Kāi Tahu to the public, councils and tourists, as a way of ensuring the acknowledgement and recognition of Māori cultural landscapes, and the retention of that knowledge being passed down. Emphasising the uniqueness of Otago encompasses its Māori heritage, something esoteric and relating to only Dunedin, which adds to the visceral experience, especially for tourists and visitors to the city and region.
Key Informants 2 and 3 have highlighted the possible shortcomings of cultural mapping, in that areas not included in the mapping may not receive the level of care as those areas that are mapped. As it is not an exact science, they predict that some areas are going to fall outside the carefully delineated lines offered on the cultural maps and that a level of flexibility may need to be administered:

“…You’ve got to get the mapping right, because I think in the past, people were marking sites with dots, like a waahi tupuna with a dot, but if someone applied for a consent beside the dot, it might not trigger consultation as it didn’t sit right on top of the dot, as the effects actually do affect it, so you have to make sure you map your areas quite carefully and you capture those adjacent activities” (Key Informant 2).

By methodically placing Māori cultural landscapes on a map, Key Informants 2 and 3 are aware that planners not familiar with the cultural mapping system may not use the level of flexibility required, also considering that some iwi hold information of a sensitive nature to themselves: “Showing the takiwā on a 2 dimensional map has always been an issue for planners, planners deal with nice straight lines, it’s either inside or it’s outside, and that’s what we have got to get away from and elevate that understanding, which is not always clear” (Key Informant 4)

The mapping cannot be treated like conventional cartographic mapping utilized in councils- there would need to be continued communication between planners and iwi for clarity:

...Not in any of the mapped waahi tupuna areas, they were all around it but not actually on it but that area was still part of the broader landscape of significance, so the way the rules were structured is the activities, the threats within the waahi tupuna are the things that will pull manawhenua into the consenting process, so there’s a potential problem in that there are areas that are falling outside the mapping, that when something happens, there’s a realisation and a recognition that actually, this is also an area where they want to have a say on the activities, but possibly no way in if those rules are strictly adhered to (Key Informant 3).
Kāi Tahu Ki Otago, who are working for Kāi Tahu on the cultural mapping programme are in the consultation process with some of the councils, and initiatives they’re working on include mapping contemporary mahinga kai areas as well as traditional ones:

... So we also built in mahinga kai 'cause the runanga gave us clear directions that mahinga kai are an issue but I searched all the district plans and I couldn’t find any reference to them, but what we did with the wāhi tupuna mapping was we identified areas that were historical mahinga kai areas as well as areas that were contemporary mahinga kai areas, and we mapped them (Key Informant 1).

The research has shown that for the cultural mapping initiative to succeed, there needs to be a good rapport and working relationship established between iwi and their local council/s. Utilisation of the cultural mapping system can work independent of iwi participation for councils up to a point, as iwi cannot realistically be involved with each resource consent that infringes on an area of significance for Māori. However, open communication will be required for areas of a sensitive nature that are inferred as culturally significant, as well as areas hinted at being of importance, but not mapped for culturally sensitive reasons, to deter fossicking and grave robbing for example. A good relationship between the two stakeholders allows for a flow of ideas and initiatives, a good outcome for the acknowledgement, recognition and preservation of Māori cultural values and landscapes.

**Conclusion**

Information gleaned from some key informant interviews has clarified the multi-layered characteristics of Māori cultural landscapes. The broadening of Māori cultural landscapes’ definition has illuminated their physical and metaphysical boundaries that prior to embarking on this study were considerably smaller for the researcher. This has had the interesting and gratifying effect of bringing new dimensions to the earlier Literature Review Chapter, helping the
researcher make connections between Māori and other indigenous cultures that were not apparent before.

Other key informants were able to shed light on the workings of local government and their innovative techniques for accommodating both the physical and meta-physical aspects of Māori cultural landscapes in their district plans. From this information, it is apparent that some councils are more engaged than others in their approach to Māori cultural values, which highlights the leeway councils have in interpreting the desired outcomes the RMA have set. Chapter 7, Discussion, will discuss these findings in-depth, drawing upon the literature review to connect the regional study with international findings.
Discussion

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of Chapter 7 is to present and discuss the findings from the research; revealing the expected and unexpected discoveries, insights and deductions. The aim is also to make connections between the Literature Review Chapter and the empirical data collected. The empirical data consists of information gleaned from the key informant interviews in the Results Chapter, and the analysis of the three district plans in Chapter 5. The information from the interviews was invaluable in establishing the parameters within which Māori cultural landscapes are defined, why they are important to Māori and what to do about ensuring they are acknowledged, recognized and protected.

As the study is based on people’s perceptions and attitudes towards Māori cultural landscapes, the concept of Māori cultural landscapes can be confronting to those unfamiliar with Te Ao Mārama. An objective of the study was to explore definitions of Māori cultural landscapes that were translatable to those unfamiliar with them, while also staying true to their inherent characteristics. This was in an effort to garner understanding and appreciation by non-Māori who may have a role in their preservation and protection. The literature review was thus based on clarification; what are they, why are they important, what has happened in the past to make Māori cultural landscapes a topic worth exploring? These questions shall be investigated in relation to studying the research objectives, while ascertaining whether the research questions can in fact be answered.

7.2 Māori Cultural Landscapes in a Post-Colonised World

When starting this chapter, the researcher mind-mapped all the factors the research has shown have had an influence on Māori perceptions of their cultural landscapes:
Figure 11: Research Findings on Perceptions of Māori Cultural Landscapes

Key - Time

- 1840
- 1840-1900
- 1900-1950s
- 1960s-2015

Historical Influences on Māori Perceptions of Māori Cultural Landscapes

- Colonialism
  - A dominant British culture
  - Christianity

- Status quo
  - Adherence to societal norms & expectations
  - Cultural stereotypes

- Assimilation
  - Intermarriage
  - ‘Cultural cringe’
  - ‘Superior’ Western culture

- Tiriti O Waitangi

- Māori reservation land
  - Introduced diseases
  - Lack of economic gains
  - No Te Reo in schools
  - Loss of identity

- Rural poor
  - Urbanisation
  - Separation from turangawaewae

- Radicalism
  - Environmentalism
  - Cultural renaissance
  - Indigenous & Human Rights
  - Urban Māori poor
  - Ngāi Tahu Settlement
  - Neo-liberalism

- Influence on Kiwi culture & identity
  - Education

- LGA 2002
  - RMA 1991
  - District plans

- Historical Influences on Māori Perceptions of Māori Cultural Landscapes
  - 1840
  - 1900-1950s
  - 1960s-2015

- Historical Influences on Māori Perceptions of Māori Cultural Landscapes
  - 1840
  - 1900-1950s
  - 1960s-2015
The mind map represents a broad overview of the main influences on Māori of their perceptions of Māori cultural landscapes over time. The mind map also attempts to show the research’s findings in a succinct visual representation. Research exposed that the definition and constitution of Māori cultural landscapes has never changed, but the perception and prioritisation of the importance of Māori cultural landscapes has.

The mind map is divided into three lineal timelines: from 1840 to the end of the 19th Century, the first sixty years of the Twentieth Century, and from the 1960s to today. At the centre of the mind map shows Māori cultural landscapes enveloped like an egg within an insulating cocoon, represented here by the Treaty of Waitangi. The researcher has portrayed Māori cultural landscapes as being enveloped by the Treaty, because the Treaty has been a constant throughout New Zealand’s history, holding the rights of Māori as its basic tenet, and by extension the expectation of the preservation of Māori cultural landscapes. Reference to the mind map will occur throughout this chapter, highlighting the link between the overall research process and the findings from the study.

7.3 Defining Māori Cultural Landscapes

Defining the boundaries of Māori cultural landscapes involved looking at the local context, a broader definition of Māori cultural landscapes by Māori, and drawing similarities from other indigenous groups as a comparison. Because of the meta-physical aspects of Māori cultural landscapes, the researcher needed the triangulation of sources and perspectives to be able to present detailed findings. The literature was able to define most aspects of Māori cultural landscapes, both physical and meta-physical, but there were in-depth definitions from key informants that surprised and delighted the researcher.

Key informants were able to redefine for the researcher the definitions gleaned in the literature review by extending the physical and meta-physical aspects of Māori cultural landscapes. What was also interesting was the linking between
the two, with Māori not separating the two definitions the way many contemporary New Zealanders would, reflecting Māori beliefs that the barriers between the world of the living and the dead are not fixed (a commonly held belief with the other indigenous cultures researched for this study). By extending the physical barrier from the foreshore to beneath the water, taking into account sites unseen, as well as extending it to beneath the ground, and including the sky and stars themselves, it redefined Māori cultural landscapes for the researcher. The spiritual element is infused with the physical: Papatūānuku is the ground, Ranginui is the sky, the sea is the domain of Tangaroa, the forests the domain of Tāne Mahuta, while tāniwha reside in lakes and rivers. All show a different way of looking at the world than conventional viewpoints and was the most interesting aspect of the study for the researcher.

Striking similarities exist between indigenous cultures and their almost identical belief systems, and the respect, love and awe they felt/feel for Mother Nature. They all viewed themselves as part of the environment, no different to the flora, fauna and the earth itself. Very elemental and in-tune with the cycles of the moon, the sun and life. A respect for resources, ‘take only what you need’. This belief system inherently clashed with the traditional Western Paradigm of bending the environment to mankind’s will.

The *imbuing* of the physical environment with the meta-physical is an aspect of Māori cultural landscapes that non-Māori struggle to comprehend and make allowance for. Case law highlighting this struggle was introduced, showing the inflexibility of a legal system towards the meta-physical, and the struggle for recognition of the meta-physical aspects of Māori cultural landscapes. In one law case, the belief-system is what was found to need the protection, *not* the landscape that harbour the meta-physical creatures and meanings.

The level of collaboration and understanding between (some) councils and iwi to protect and provide for the *physical* aspects of Māori cultural landscapes. Councils are well versed in what constitute the physical aspects of Māori cultural landscapes, and provide for them through processes such as cultural
mapping. This highlighted an iwi initiative that councils have taken on-board. Case law also showed an example of a council involving iwi in a kaitiaki role and overseeing the harvesting of sand from the ocean floor. This shows that councils willingly take aspects of Te Ao Mārama onboard, but this extends to things that are easily quantifiable in their westernised systems, such as guardianship roles over resources or the cataloguing of sites of waahi tupuna under ‘heritage’.

7.4 Historical Changes and Influences on Māori Cultural Landscapes

The Waitangi Tribunal, set up by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, was the first time the Treaty was given recognition in New Zealand law. This reflected the societal changes happening at the time and pioneered meaningful dialogue on Māori indigenous rights in the public sphere. It was heartening to be able to make the point, as depicted in the mind-map that Māori cultural landscapes and Māori culture in general have had a positive influence on the kiwi psyche, as information gleaned from the key informant interviews suggests. The literature demonstrates that the national psyche has been influenced by elements of Māori culture, especially environmental concepts like kaitiakitaka, creating a unique kiwi identity. There has been an attempt to incorporate elements of Te Ao Mārama throughout government and corporate departments, especially the environmental aspects of Māori culture.

The societal and technological changes that have occurred since New Zealand’s founding have been monumental, which have all influenced people’s perceptions over time. Perception is of utmost importance in this study, as the introduction of the Western Paradigm altered Māori perceptions of how they saw the world. The first epoch depicted in the mind map, is from the post treaty signing to the end of the 19th Century, and highlights the effects of colonialism and assimilation on Māori and their reaction to imperialism. The research showed there was initial eagerness for the Pākehā world and all its technological advances, however enthusiasm waned with the arrival of settlers and the resource pressures this placed on Māori (Consedine, 2005; Smith, 2012).
The relegation of Māori to a minority, the research suggested, pushed some Māori to view the Western Paradigm as ‘superior’, and assimilation as a way of achieving parity within the new regime: “Some families, as features paled with the passing of generations, either hid or denied their Māori connection” (Dacker, 1994:85). Findings in the literature showed that assimilation was seen (by some colonists) as a way for indigenous people in Australia to achieve equality with the white settlers, and was the choice for Native Americans over death; ‘assimilate or die’. This highlights the similar circumstances that befell indigenous cultures that went through the process of colonialism with the subjugation of their indigenous beliefs affecting the way they viewed the world and reality itself.

How did these initial happenings have an influence on perceptions towards Māori cultural landscapes? The research has shown that Christianity, the loss of land through acquisition and confiscation, urbanisation and the termination of access to traditional areas of mahika kai have had the most impact on Māori and their affinity with the land and its traditional definitions (Smith, 2012). The Judeo-Christian belief that God supplied the world and all its resources purely for humanity to harvest at will has had both a devastating impact on the world’s environment and resources, as well as on the belief systems of the indigenous cultures that came into contact with Christianity. Christianity was widely adopted by Māori in New Zealand, eroding aspects of tikaka Māori and their ties to their traditional spiritual beliefs. There has been a middle ground found though; the contemporary Māori belief system is a hybrid of tikaka Māori mixed with spiritual influences from many sources, especially Christianity.

The second epoch, the first half of the 20th Century, broadly shows the continued adherence to ‘the status quo’ - devotion to the stricter moral codes and conservatism that existed then, all heavily influenced by Christian mores. The urbanisation of Māori in the post-World War Two period to work in low skilled jobs in towns and cities further separated Māori from their turangawaewae, or ‘place of standing’. This refers customarily to the ancestral home of Māori, usually centred on the marae of their hapū, and represents the starting point for
their cultural landscape; their ancestral mauka, awa, and other familiar landmarks.

For Māori, the time period from the 1960s to today can be conceptualised in one word; renaissance. Māori culture became more visible and Māori activists more assertive from the 1960s onwards, when human rights (women’s, pacifist’s, African-American’s, gay rights) became more visible. Environmentalism in the 1970s went hand in hand with Indigenous rights: “Native people around the world have understood the reciprocity and interconnectedness of places and things for generations, but for many westerners it is a new orientation; one which challenges the status quo” (Frieder, 1997).

Radicalism was Māori politicised, and the research from the literature review has shown that this is when Māori found their feet and their collective voice. Bastion Point, the Hikoi of 1975 and the Springbok Tour of 1981 united Māori and helped build a contemporary identity, where their rights and grievances could be aired and dealt with. Subsequent neo-liberal reforms affected urbanised Māori the most, making many low-skilled jobs redundant. Generations of Māori that had grown up in urban areas had tenuous connections to their turangawaewae, further eroding and damaging their whakapapa links to the past and their links to Māori belief systems. However, from this time of activism came changing perceptions towards things Māori, with an awareness by Pākeha New Zealanders that there were other worldviews that exist to their own.

The Ngāi Tahu settlement of 1998 was an acknowledgement of past grievances being recognised. The dual naming of key landmarks by reintroducing their original Māori names (for example Aoraki/Mount Cook) was a key component of acknowledging and recognizing Māori cultural landscapes. The research also shows that Ngāi Tahu want to see more provisions and allowances made in legislation and within district plans for Māori cultural landscapes, and the extension of dual naming of other geographical landmarks as well.
7.5 Māori Cultural Landscapes and Government Legislation

Forty years ago, the Treaty of Waitangi Act was signed. In 1991, the RMA made its debut, with provisions for Māori included as well as a section specifically for the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The LGA 2002 is the other influential piece of legislation, especially in relation to councils and the requirements for District Plans. In the present research, the effectiveness of implementation of these pieces of legislation was found to be lacking in some fundamental ways.

7.5.1 Māori Cultural Landscapes and the Three District Plans

The research suggests that implementation of the RMA is far from what it was originally intended to be. Tinkering over the past 25 years by successive governments has changed wording intended to protect Māori interests, now councils merely need to ‘regard’ or ‘take into account’ issues directly relating to Māori. This means variations in the thoroughness Māori provisions are provided for in different district plans. The research has shown there are variations in quality between district plans. It has also been revealed the reasons why this variation exists; different district priorities, lack of resources (man-power and money), and good to non-existent relationships between iwi and councils. Figure 6 on Page 55 shows graphically the variation in engagement that exists between the three councils in the study and iwi on key issues relating to Māori cultural landscapes. Recommendations in the Conclusion Chapter expands on initiatives to bridge the gap between iwi expectations and existing council policy.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the characteristics of and influences on Māori cultural landscapes, while relating them to the objectives of the study. The chapter has highlighted the current level of ineffectiveness of the implementation of current legislation in relation to the protection, preservation, acknowledgement and recognition of Māori cultural landscapes. The chapter also highlights the positive findings of the research, a platform from which councils can improve on in their future consultation with iwi.
8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The reason for conducting the research was to target an area of planning that needed attention, thus the researcher was pointed in the direction of Kāi Tahu Ki Otago as I have an inherent (and inherited?) interest in learning more about Māori planning issues. The study on Māori cultural landscapes determined three things; the intangible is notoriously difficult to plan for, work on preserving the physical aspects of Māori cultural landscapes is on the right track, and the need to educate both the public and those in power on Māori cultural landscapes is the best way for positive changes to happen. The aim is for the findings from this study being used to increase the profile of Māori cultural landscapes, highlighting their inherent qualities and why it is important to plan for them. Though the scale of the project was regional, the recommendations and principles from the study can be translated to other regions where planning for Māori cultural landscapes is ineffectual or inadequate in some way.

8.2 Summary of Findings and Conclusions

The research suggested that in relation especially to the intangible qualities of Māori cultural landscapes, there is scope for further research. These inherently spiritual characteristics of Māori cultural landscapes have proven difficult to legislate for, and is a topic that would benefit from research focussing on translating the concept into the Western Paradigm. It is also evident that there needs to be people/a person in councils with the drive and interest in things Māori to make sure topics like this are given the attention they need. Some councils are very good at dealing with Māori provisions in their plans, but the plans do vary greatly in the level of care afforded to Māori cultural landscapes.
Dunedin City Council has a progressive and well-resourced base from which to take into account issues relating to Māori and has a close working relationship with Kāi Tahu Ki Otago, who represent the interests of the four local rūnaka in Dunedin City District.

A key finding and realization is that inadequate and ineffectual district plans, in relation to Māori cultural landscapes, are not pulled up for their oversights. There is no auditing done to make sure they have made provisions in their plans which Māori would like to see in there. District plans have scope under the RMA and the LGA to be able to reflect topics that are relevant to their own region; one region’s issues of importance may not be important in another region. This ambiguity and ‘wiggle room’ has essentially enabled the ineffectual planning for things like Māori cultural landscapes in districts where they require attention. It must be noted that councils are continuously playing a balancing game between what, by law, could be in their district plans, and what their constituents want in their district plans. With increased exposure to aspects of Māori culture for the people of Otago, the more likely it is they will be receptive to initiatives the council might propose (see recommendations).

8.3 Limitations

There were inherent limitations with the research, and with achieving the objectives of the study. As acknowledged previously, the narrow approach of confining the study to a single region is a limitation of sorts. However the greatest limitation was not being able to interview all fifteen key informants approached to take part in the study. The researcher has come to this conclusion because of the high quality information gleaned from the interviewed informants. A combination of busy schedules and time constraints meant the original 15 potential interviewees were whittled down to 9 interviewed key informants. As each questioned key informant contributed something invaluable to the research, one can only imagine the findings had the other 6 managed to be interviewed as well.
The assessment of the Central Otago District Council’s performance was compromised by the key informant approached to explain their policies being unavailable to be interviewed. This posed a limitation for the researcher, especially after being able to interview key informants from the other two councils and getting their perspective.

8.4 Self-Reflection

The researcher chose this topic for three specific reasons; to learn more about Māori culture and history, to explore an issue of injustice to do with Māori, and to provide information on a topic that requires attention. However, there were times when the words flowed profusely, and long periods where the researcher would be stuck not knowing how to progress. Everything became a lot clearer once the key informant interviews began to be conducted. The informants were chosen carefully, as the research required a mixture of perspectives from those interested in the topic. The researcher was able to take information from the early interview/s and build upon what had been revealed, adjusting the questions to subsequent informants to maximise the extent of illumination. It was a very effective method of asking the right questions to the right people, and was an organic process. The indicative questions (see appendix) were used initially, and then honed as the interviews progressed.

8.5 Recommendations

The recommendations are based on the findings from the research, taking into account the literature as well as information gleaned from the key informant interviews:

1. **Make it Visual, Oral and Aural.**

   It was revealed in the research that Kāi Tahu is interested in initiatives that promote the acknowledgement and recognition of Māori cultural landscapes. My recommendations are to educate the public. An initiative, it was revealed, would have to come from Kāi Tahu to get any traction with council, but one well worth pursuing in the opinion of the researcher. The proliferation of educational boards in the Otago Region
with visual aids and information of past Māori occupation at key tourist areas would be the most effective way of acknowledging Māori cultural landscapes, while educating the public at the same time. Personalising the landscape with stories, myths and legends, either through storyboards, pamphlets or guides to tell the stories are other ways of revealing Te Ao Mārama to the uninitiated, curious and the enthusiastic. Key Informant 4 suggested tour guides telling the stories to tourists, another idea worth pursuing.

2. **Planning for Meta-physical Aspects of Māori Culture.**
   The intangible aspects of Māori cultural landscapes have proven difficult to make allowances for by councils. Case law has shown the establishment’s inability to accommodate meta-physical qualities in planning decisions. The researcher’s opinion is that more research needs to be undertaken on this topic, possibly as a stand-alone thesis topic. In the researcher’s opinion (and based on the present research) humanity is not at the stage where the Western paradigm can cope with taking indigenous belief systems into account, even though the RMA makes allowances for them, under Part 2, s 6(e).

3. **RMA, Part 2, s 6 (e).**
   Key Informant 7 is a kaumatua of high standing in the community, and his hopes for the future in relation to the recognition, preservation and acknowledgement of Māori cultural landscapes lies within Part 2, s 6(e) of the RMA. Changes are made to legislation and district plans on a semi-regular basis, and it is through this part of the RMA where positive change to legislation will likely occur. The researcher’s recommendation to iwi is to concentrate on this part of the RMA as it is the key to any future changes they may be seeking to undertake. Another recommendation the researcher would make is for the government to stop tinkering with the RMA and diluting its potency as a force for positive planning!
4. **Encourage Iwi Driven Initiatives.**

The research has shown that projects like cultural mapping or the possible storyboards in public spaces telling the Māori history of a place are more likely to be iwi led initiatives. Councils are receptive to these initiatives if iwi have done the work and demonstrated the importance of the project. A desire for more Māori involvement with art projects that tell the stories of the landscapes has been indicated by iwi as something they are interested in being involved in with the Dunedin City Council. Councils need to be receptive to such projects, and the establishment and maintenance of good working relationships between the two sides needs to be nurtured to provide for this.

The recommendations are intended as a way for iwi to be able to gauge what they deem compatible with their long-term goals; they are a suggestion and should be treated as a starting point for ideas and conversations on this topic. The recommendations can also be used by councils interested in establishing stronger ties with iwi, especially in relation to planning provisions for Māori cultural landscapes.

**8.6 Concluding Remarks**

Māori cultural landscapes are a key part of Te Ao Mārama, the Māori worldview, and as such are a core part of the Māori culture and their belief system. The research suggests an ‘evolution’ of understanding towards indigenous people’s worldviews, which has been progressing since the 1960’s when the connection between environmentalism and these worldviews was established. The future requires continued vigilance by both iwi and local authorities to maintain and establish connections between each other. Only with the establishment and cultivation of strong links between iwi and councils will there be any meaningful progress on the preserving, protecting, recognising and acknowledging of Māori cultural landscapes in the Otago Region.

The biggest obstacle to the preservation, recognition and acknowledgement of Māori cultural landscapes in Otago is having people in councils that know
enough and care enough about things Māori. The resources required for having a planner familiar with the principles of Te Ao Mārama and Māori culture may be beyond the budgets of some councils. Education of current planning staff may be a way around this hurdle.
References and Appendix


Bonwick, J. (1870). *The last of the Tasmanians or, the black war of Van Dieman's Land.* London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston.


Reporting Sheet for use ONLY for proposals considered at departmental level

UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE
APPLICATION FORM: CATEGORY B
(Departmental Approval)

Please ensure you are using the latest application form available from:
http://www.otago.ac.nz/council/committees/committees/HumanEthicsCommittees.html

1. University of Otago staff member responsible for project:
   Thompson-Fawcett, Michelle  Associate Professor

2. Department/School:
   Geography

3. Contact details of staff member responsible:
   mtf@geography.otago.ac.nz, 021 0607116

4. Title of project:
   Recognition of Māori Cultural Landscapes in Otago.

5. Indicate type of project and names of other investigators and students:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Research</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Level of Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashley Reid</td>
<td></td>
<td>Masters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. When will recruitment and data collection commence?
   Early to mid-August

When will data collection be completed?
   August 21, 2015

7. Brief description in lay terms of the aim of the project, and outline of the research questions that will be answered.
   There are three main questions that the research addresses:
   1. What is the nature of Māori cultural landscapes and why are they important to Māori?
   2. How thorough are Regional and District Plans in Otago in protecting and enhancing Māori cultural landscapes, and how effective are they in honouring obligations to Māori under relevant legislation?
   3. In relation to Māori cultural landscapes, what knowledge needs to be brought to the fore, and what knowledge needs to remain with Iwi as part of their waahi taonga?
The overall aim of the research is to understand iwi aspirations for their cultural landscapes and local authority commitments to them. Internationally, recognition of the significance of indigenous cultural landscapes has only recently gained traction – this is also true in New Zealand. The research will document the Otago context and offer guidance on the challenges and opportunities related to cultural landscapes in the region.

8. **Brief description of the method.** Include a description of who the participants are, how the participants will be recruited, and what they will be asked to do.

The participants will be stakeholders from various interest groups in Otago: planners (from Dunedin City Council, Central Otago District Council, Queenstown-Lakes District Council and Otago Regional Council), planners working for consultancies (e.g. Kai Tahu Ki Otago), academics from University of Otago with an interest in Māori cultural landscapes, as well as local iwi from the Puketeraki and Otakou hapū. All participants will be over 18 years old.

Interaction with participants will involve semi-structured, open-ended interviews in order to record their opinions on the current state of recognition afforded to Māori cultural landscapes in the districts and wider region. The topics and example questions to be discussed are attached on the final page of this application.

The data collected will be qualitative in nature. The meta-physical aspects of the topic as well as the opinions of the informants make this necessary. Interviews will be recorded electronically with the participant’s permission. If the participant does not agree to be recorded, then with the participant’s permission, handwritten notes will be taken. The data collected in the interviews and surveys will be transcribed and coded using word processing software.

During the fieldwork stage of the research, any data collected will be kept with the researcher. All electronic data will be kept on a password-protected laptop that will remain in the possession of the researcher. After returning from the fieldwork stage of the project, the electronic and hard copies of the data will be securely stored within the facilities of the University of Otago’s Department of Geography. After a period of five years the data that was gathered in the field will be appropriately disposed of by the Department of Geography.

9. **Please disclose and discuss any potential problems:**

Gaining the informed consent of participants is important. We do not want participants to feel coerced or pressured into taking part in this project. Participants will be given a detailed information sheet on the project and a consent form to fill out. Participants will also be made aware that they are under no obligation to take part in the project.

Being able to respect participants’ rights to privacy and confidentiality is important. There may be a degree of reluctance by participants about being interviewed unless they know that their involvement will be completely anonymous and that any information that they provide will be kept confidential. As a result, anyone participating in the project will be briefed about the fact that their identity will be kept anonymous and about their rights in relation to privacy
through the information sheet and consent form. However, if participants are still concerned about their rights to confidentiality, they will be able to withdraw from the project at any stage.

Maintaining and ensuring the security of data is important. The data collected will be securely stored and only the researcher and the immediate research supervisor will be able to access it.

Another potential issue that needs to be considered is respecting varying views, opinions and perspectives. There is a need to be aware that participants may have differing views and opinions on these ideas and as such these will need to be taken into account when processing the data and writing the report.

Care will be taken by the researcher to maintain a neutral position when conducting interviews with participants. This will ensure that participants’ opinions are not taken out of context or swayed because of the tone or direction of the question. Furthermore, neutrality is essential in ensuring that participants feel comfortable in voicing their opinions. Making sure that leading or loaded questions will not be asked will ensure the neutrality of the questions.
Reporting Sheet for use ONLY for proposals considered at departmental level

*Applicant's Signature: .................................................................

Name (please print): .................................................................

Date: 7 August 2015

*The signatory should be the staff member detailed at Question 1.

ACTION TAKEN

- [x] Approved by HOD
- [ ] Approved by Departmental Ethics Committee
- [ ] Referred to UO Human Ethics Committee

Signature of **Head of Department: .................................................................

Name of HOD (please print) .................................................................

Date: 7.2.2015

**Where the Head of Department is also the Applicant, then an appropriate senior staff member must sign on behalf of the Department or School.

Departmental approval: I have read this application and believe it to be valid research and ethically sound. I approve the research design. The research proposed in this application is compatible with the University of Otago policies and I give my approval and consent for the application to be forwarded to the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee (to be reported to the next meeting).

IMPORTANT NOTE: As soon as this proposal has been considered and approved at departmental level, the completed form, together with copies of any Information Sheet, Consent Form, recruitment advertisement for participants, and survey or questionnaire should be forwarded to the Manager, Academic Committees or the Academic Committees Administrator, Academic Committees, Rooms G22, G23 or G24, Ground Floor, Clocktower Building, or scanned and emailed to either gary.witte@otago.ac.nz or jane.hinkle@otago.ac.nz
Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate, we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

**What is the Aim of the Project?**
The research is based on three main questions:

1. What is the nature of Māori cultural landscapes and why are they important to Māori?
2. How thorough are Regional and District Plans in Otago in protecting and enhancing Māori cultural landscapes, and how effective are they in honouring obligations to Māori under relevant legislation?
3. In relation to Māori cultural landscapes, what knowledge needs to be brought to the fore, and what knowledge needs to remain with Iwi as part of their waahi taonga?

The research will provide a useful bridge between Iwi aspirations for their cultural landscapes and councils. This project is being undertaken as part fulfilment for the Master of Planning degree.

**What Types of Participants are being sought?**
The types of participants sought include:

- Local Iwi representatives
- Staff from local and regional government involved with Māori issues
- Consultant planners involved with Māori issues
- Local Māori and non-Māori academics

All participants will be over the age of eighteen. Access to the finished thesis will be readily available to all interested participants.

**What will Participants be asked to do?**
Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview. The interview will last 30-45 minutes. Please be aware that you may decide to discontinue the interview without any disadvantage to yourself.
**What Data or Information will be collected and what use will be made of it?**

Data collected will be used for the purpose of this student research project to fulfil the aim established above. The interview technique means the exact nature of the questions cannot be determined in advance. The researcher may ask for further comment on points of interest if valuable to the research. Although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

Audiotapes will be transcribed and stored on the researcher’s password-protected computer. Your contact details are only recorded for the purpose of further communication, if necessary. In the written report, you will only be referred to in terms of your professional role or stakeholder type, e.g. Planner. You may request access to the transcript of your interview and audio recording by notifying the researcher.

The data collected may be used for the purpose of writing an article for an academic journal subsequent to the completion of the student research project. The data will be stored securely so that only the student and his supervisor will be able to access it. At the completion of the project (1 November 2015) any personal information recorded during the research will be destroyed, as required by the University’s research policy. The other primary data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned below will be able to gain access to it. Data obtained as a result of the research will be retained for at least 5 years in secure storage. The results of the project will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity.

**Can Participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?**

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself.

**What if Participants have any Questions?**

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Ashley Reid (student)  
Department of Geography  
Ph. 027 2953881  
reias295@student.otago.ac.nz  

and  
Michelle Thompson-Fawcett (supervisor)  
Department of Geography  
Ph. 03 479 8762  
mtf@geography.otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the Department of Geography. However, if you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479-8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
MAORI CULTURAL LANDSCAPES IN OTAHO
CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage. I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information (e.g. recorded on audio files) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project, but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;
4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning relates to the recognition afforded to Māori cultural landscapes. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage;
5. The project results may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library, Dunedin, New Zealand, and every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity;
6. There will be no remuneration or compensation for being involved in this project - participation is voluntary;
7. The raw data and personal information will not be provided to an external group;
8. I grant/do not grant* permission to allow the researchers to audio record my interview;
9. I grant/ do not grant* permission to allow the researchers to use my identity.
* Please indicate by circling.

I agree to take part in this project.

.................................................................................................
(Signature of participant) ..................................................
.................................................................................................
(Date)

.................................................................................................
(Printed Name)
List of indicative questions for the interviews

1. What is your understanding of Māori cultural landscapes and what issues surround them?

2. In your opinion, what is currently being done in Otago to acknowledge, protect and enhance Māori cultural landscapes?

3. What ways would you like to see Māori cultural landscapes acknowledged in the Dunedin City, Central Otago and the Queenstown Lakes Districts, and Otago in general?

4. What is your perception of the level of understanding of Māori cultural landscapes by the general public in Otago? How might the current situation be improved?

(Questions 5-9 are specifically for planners from consultancies and councils)

5. How do the plans you work with address Māori cultural landscapes? How is this being implemented?

6. What level of engagement has been undertaken with iwi in relation to this topic? How have iwi with a link to this area been consulted?

7. Do you have any ideas as to how Māori cultural landscapes could be better catered for in relation to your plans and council initiatives in general?