Towards a South Pacific Urbanism

Tikanga Māori and Urban Design in the Context of

Tāmaki Makaurau and the Auckland Region.

Tracy Maree Ogden Cork

Abstract

This thesis is about tikanga Māori (Māori customs), history and urban design within the context of Tāmaki Makaurau / Auckland City and Region. It is not written to speak on behalf of Māori, but uses the philosophical framework provided by tikanga Māori, and information on the Māori history of Tāmaki Makaurau, to better understand Māori perspectives on land and settlement. The knowledge gained from this approach informs discussions on bicultural approaches to urban design that are inclusive of indigenous perspectives and support iwi Māori (Māori tribal) participation in the design and decision making processes that guide the development of contemporary New Zealand cities.

The Māori history of Tāmaki Makaurau is rich and complex. There are multiple tribal interests creating a complex patterning over what was once, and is again, one of most densely settled areas in New Zealand. These histories can be likened to the korowai (cloak) of genealogical and tribal relationships that cover the land and connect the most ancient of eras with contemporary times. This is the principle of whanaungatanga (relationships), and encapsulates relationships between land, water, people, the gods and ancestors as recorded in whakapapa (genealogies). It is reflected in the term cultural landscapes, chosen by Māori to better represent their aspirations for both land and city, as opposed to the term urban design.

An understanding of Māori history and tikanga, embodied in the term cultural landscapes, influences perceptions of space and place, and challenges Eurocentric conventions of urban design. The scientific principles of analysis, including scale, orientation and perspective are challenged by the pre-eminence of relationships between land, people, gods and ancestors. The concept of cultural landscapes opens up new opportunities for interpretations of place, and the shaping of urban environments within New Zealand. As the genealogical threads of the korowai are included in the urban fabric of the city, new pathways are established for strengthening whanaungatanga within the contemporary city and steering the ancient waka, represented by these relationships, towards a new South Pacific Urbanism.

Karakia

E te atua,

tēnei āu ponongā te īnoi nei ki a koe.

kia tata mai koe ki a mātou,

hei āwhina, hei arataki i a mātou.

Kia whakakorōriatia ai koe.

i roto i ā mātou mahi katoa

Ko koe te Atua, e ora nei,

e mana nei mō ngā tau mutungā kore.

Kei te mihinui ki a koe

Āmene.

Prayer

God,

your servant makes this prayer to you.

That you will be close to us,

to help and guide us

May your holy name be blessed

in all the work that we do

You are the God who lives,

and reigns forever.

I welcome you.

Amen[1]

---

[1] An personal adaptation of a common prayer within P. M. Ryan, New Zealand Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 2nd ed. (Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1997), 183.

Mihi

Ko te mihi tuatahi ki a koe te Atua.

Ki te whenua e tu nei, tena koe.

Ko te mihi ki nga mate kua haere kua

wheturangitia, Tena Koutou.

Ko te mihinui ki a koutou nga hunga ora.

Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tatou katoa.

Ko Rangitoto te maunga.

Ko Waitemata te moana.

Ko Waikato te awa.

 No Motutapu ahau.

Ko Tipuna no England.

Ko Tāmaki Makaurau toku kainga.

I te taha toku papa, no Waikato ahau.

I te taha toku mama, no Waiheke ahau.

Ko Tracy Ogden-Cork toku ingoa.

Ko Teariki Cork toku tane.

No Mauke ia..

No Raiatea tāna tupuna

Tena koutou, Tena koutou, Tena kotou katoa.

Personal greeting

My first greeting is to God, welcome

To the land that we stand on, greetings

Greetings to the dead who have left us and

gone to the heavens, welcome

To all the living, a big welcome to you all

Welcome, welcome, welcome to you all

Rangitoto is the mountain

The Waitemata is the sea

The Waikato is the river

I am from Motutapu

My ancestors are from England

Tāmaki Makaurau is my home

On my father's side, I am from the Waikato

On my mother's side, I am from Waiheke

My name is Tracy Ogden-Cork

Teariki Cork is my husband

He is from Mauke

His ancestors are from Raiatea

Greetings, greetings, welcome to you all.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

> Ka tu korua aroaro ki to aroaro, ka haere anake korua ki tetahi taha, ki tetahi taha atu ranei, a, ka haere pea korua ki muri. Mehemea e hiahia ana korua ki te haere tahi ki mua, me haere korua taha ki te taha.

> When you stand face to face you can only step sideways or go back. Only when you walk side by side can you go forward together. [1]

This thesis uses the philosophical framework provided by tikanga Māori (Māori custom) and information on the Māori history of Tāmaki Makaurau / Auckland to better understand Māori perspectives relating to land and settlement in the Tāmaki Makaurau region. The knowledge gained from this approach is then used to contribute to existing and new discussions of bicultural[2] approaches to urban design that are inclusive of indigenous perspectives and support iwi Māori (Māori tribal) participation in the design and decision making processes that guide development in contemporary New Zealand cities.

The impetus for this thesis was my own professional 'irritation'[3] over not knowing how to address or incorporate Māori issues into the processes of urban design, even though I valued them. I had also discovered that, after my Eurocentric-focused architectural education and early professional career as an urban designer, I had forgotten some aspects of tikanga Māori learnt through life and

---

[1] Robert Goldstone, *The Tears of Rangitoto* (Takapuna, N.Z.: Macmillan, 1979). This whakataukī (Māori Proverb) is recorded by Robert Goldstone, but was first brought to my attention by my mother. When she was a school teacher at Motutapu Island School it hung on her classroom wall for many years. She did not recall the origin of the whakatauki, as it predated her time at the school. Years later I came across it in a copy of Goldstone's book, belonging to my Aunty while researching this thesis.

[2] In the context of this thesis, bicultural refers to the cultures of indigenous Māori and the European settlers, most of whom arrived in New Zealand after it became a British colony in 1840. The concept of biculturalism in New Zealand has its orgins in the shared experiences, and intermarriage, that has occurred since; and binationalism in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 between most of the the indigenous Māori chiefs and the representatives of the British Crown. This is discussed further in Chapter Two.

[3] Joseph Rykwert describes irritation about something as being a primary driver behind research. Joseph Rykwert, "The Judicious Eye: Architecture against the Other Arts " (paper presented at the On Adam's House in the Pacific - Symposium in Honour of Joseph Rykwert, University of Auckland, 14 November 2008).

educational experiences prior to enrolment at University. This thesis is an attempt to reclaim and then expand and build upon this early knowledge, so as to effectively put into practice the values I wish to adhere to in the practice of urban design. It is also about supporting better communication and greater collaboration with iwi Māori on urban design issues, not about speaking on behalf of Māori. Subsequently, its content should not take precedent over iwi (tribe) or hapū (sub-tribe) interpretations, or explanations of their history or tikanga.

Urban design is complex and dynamic with multiple dimensions involving multiple professions that impact upon the lives of individuals and communities through the shaping of the physical environment. Within New Zealand, since the turn of the twenty-first century, there has been an increasing awareness of the role of urban design in creating sustainable urban areas. The *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol* was established in 2005. It aims to reach a consensus on what good urban design entails and to provide greater accountability, thereby achieving the shared objective of "(m)aking New Zealand towns and cities more successful through quality urban design".[4] It is a non-regulatory document, but seeks a commitment from private companies, professional institutes and government departments that choose to become signatories to the protcol that they will actively seek to achieve good urban design outcomes in their areas of work.[5] The protocol defines urban design as being:

> … concerned with the design of the buildings, places, spaces and networks that
> make up our towns and cities, and the ways people use them. It ranges in scale from
> a metropolitan region, city or town down to a street, public space or even a single
> building. Urban design is concerned not just with appearances and built form but
> with the environmental, economic, social and cultural consequences of design. It is
> an approach that draws together many different sectors and professions, and it
> includes both the process of decision-making as well as the outcomes of design.[6]

For this thesis, my urban design colleagues have been requesting a clear set of principles or guidelines for the easy implementation of Māori views into contemporary urban design practices. However, I am acutely aware that the foundations of Māori culture have to be understood first. The

---

[4] New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), "New Zealand Urban Design Protocol," (Wellington. N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2005), 7.

[5] In signing the Urban Design Protocol, signatories are agreeing to what principles consitute good urban design. They are also required to nominate a Urban Design Champion for their organisation, and to develop and commit to an Action Plan for achieving good urban design.

[6] MFE, "New Zealand Urban Design Protocol", 5.

outcome sought within this thesis is not to provide definitive guidelines or design principles on a bicultural approach to urban design, or to speak on behalf of Māori on issues beyond my authority or expertise. Instead the aim of this thesis is to assist non-Māori, like myself, to better understand Māori culture and perspectives in relation to cultural landscapes, research practices, contemporary politics, and the history of land and settlement in Aotearoa and to support more effective communication and collaboration with iwi Māori. This thesis also discusses how knowledge of tikanga Māori and history may inform or challenge contemporary urban design processes and Eurocentric assumptions of urban space.

To achieve these outcomes, this thesis includes three distinctive research strands: 1) the binational foundations and bicultural identities of New Zealand, and the legislation and polices that influence the practice of urban design in Auckland; 2) the Māori history of Tāmaki Makaurau with specific reference to Rangitoto and Maungakiekie; and 3) the kaupapa (principles or theme) of tikanga Māori most relevant to land and settlement. In each the research focus has been intentionally limited to research work done predominately by New Zealanders on specific New Zealand issues. Woven throughout these three strands is a discussion of their relevance to the practice of urban design in New Zealand. The final chapter discusses how the findings from these strands of research might challenge perceptions of space and place, and Eurocentric conventions of urban design. The research methodology used is discussed in chapter one and is intended to reflect the principles of both tikanga Māori and Western academia. The research is predominately based on published sources, but has included a series of interviews with representatives from several of the iwi or hapū from Tāmaki Makaurau, and has been shaped by my personal experiences of te ao Māori (the Māori world),[7] and professional experiences in the practice of urban design within the Auckland Region.[8]

The three research themes of this thesis draw upon multiple academic discourses that are not regularly discussed or included within the daily practice of urban design, in particular the research fields of cultural studies, history and archaeology. More common challenges for urban designers in practice are found in the fields of town planning legislation, architecture, landscape architecture,

---

[7] These include: The experience of growing up in the Waikato and on Motutapu Island in the Hauraki Gulf; two years of learning to speak the Māori language through night classes with Te Wanangā o Aotearoa; the influence of Māori friends and colleagues; being married to a Cook Island Māori; and travelling in Fiji, Cook Islands and Tongā .

[8] These include: working as an Urban Designer for North Shore City Council; active involvement in advocating for better urban design through the committee of Urban Auckland – Society for the Protection of Auckland City and Waterfont; teaching at the University of Auckland; various urban design training courses; establishing my own consulting business - Motu Design Ltd; and various pieces of contract work for Auckland City Council, North Shore City Council, and private clients.

storm water management, development economics, retail planning, surveying, arboriculture, infrastructure services, traffic planning, community planning, communications, heritage buildings, and most significantly road engineering and local body politics. All of these professional groups have only recently become aware of the practice, principles and benefits of intentional urban design. This mix of professional fields of expertise and responsibility reflects the multitude of often competing interests that urban designers must address in the design of cities. It also reflects the complexity of the urban ecology[9] that creates the city and its urban fabric.

Within this thesis, I have intentionally used the term history in reference to Māori narratives and oral traditions of settlement, even though the term historical is usually only applied to the period after 1642 (Abel Tasman's arrival). This is also in response to criticism by Māori researchers that the term pre-history (before 1642) implies that Māori history did not start until European arrival, and further invalidates their pre-European histories from inclusion. [10]

It was Abel Tasman who also applied the name New Zealand to the group of islands that make up the contemporary nation of New Zealand. Prior to this there was no one name that referred collectively to these islands, for in te ao Māori each had their own name that sometimes differed between tribes. Aotearoa (land of the long white cloud), is one of the Māori names for the North Island, and in the twentieth century it began to be applied to the whole country to describe pre-European New Zealand.[11] Within this thesis I have used Aotearoa and Tāmaki-Makaurau to differentiate between contemporary and pre-European New Zealand and Auckland City, including its adjacent areas.

Similarly, before the arrival of Europeans, Māori (normal people) did not have a collective identity and were known by their tribal groupings. It is only from halfway through the nineteenth century

---

[9] The term urban ecology is based on the view that the human desire to gather together and form settlements is a natural tendency. The urbanist Jane Jacobs prefers the term urban ecology because of the similarities between the human processes found within city's and the processess of natural ecosystems. The commonalities between the two ecosystems include: the importance of diversity to sustain them; the impact small components can have on the health of the whole despite their size; and their 'complex interdependices of components' which can be easily damaged, but if not fatally, are surprisingly resilient. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1993 Modern Library Edition ed. (New York: Random House Inc, 1961), xvi.
[10] For example: "What has come to count as history in contemporary society is a contentious issue for many indigenous communities because it is not only the story of domination; it is also a story which assumes there was a 'point in time' which was 'prehistoric'." Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 55.
[11] Margaret Rose Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend* (Christchurch, N.Z.: Canterbury University Press, 1998), 29.

that the word Māori became commonly used to describe the indigenous people of New Zealand,[12] who had started in the 1800's to refer to themselves as tāngata Māori (ordinary people)[13] in comparison to European settlers. Tribal groupings, of iwi and hapū have persisted at the centre of Māori identity[14] and despite the significant challenges of urbanisation, tribal authority and many of its structures have been maintained.[15] Within this thesis I have used Māori to refer generically to the indigenous people of New Zealand, and iwi Māori (Māori tribes) to refer to the tribal structures of both iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe). This also enables differentiation between taurahere (Māori living outside of their tribal area),[16] which make up the majority of Auckland's population of urban Māori, and iwi Māori who are those whose ancestors lived in the area prior to the arrival of Europeans. This differentiation is important for understanding Māori politics.

In undertaking this thesis I am aware that because of its contemporary relevance it is not simply an abstract piece of work, and the politics of te ao Māori (the Māori world) also have to be addressed. As with any discussion of the city, politics cannot be avoided because urban design is inherently political, being essentially about public space and the mediation between private and public interests that are governed by the body politic. The physical man-made environment that results from the political processes of urban design (intentional or otherwise) is a political system in its own right.[17] In addition, there is also the politics of history. As will be made evident in this thesis, for Māori any discussion of history must also address the contemporary politics of Treaty of Waitangi claims, mana (authority) and the exercise of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). It also raises questions related to how history is interpreted and whose history is being told, upheld or dismissed. For Māori these political issues, based on New Zealand's history, underpin contemporary responses to the urban environment, and the binational potential for its management. Subsequently they must become critical to the practice of urban design in New Zealand.

---

[12] Michael King and David Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated* (North Shore, N.Z.: Penguin, 2007), 217.

[13] King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand,* 146.

[14] King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, 217.

[15] James E. Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural*, 1992 ed. (Wellington,N.Z.: Huia Publishers and Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1992), 133.

[16] Auckland City Council, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan 2006 -2016*, 3 vols, vol. 3 (Auckland: 2006).

[17] The urbanist Ian Bentley explains this by suggesting, "try walking through a wall and you will notice that it is the physical fabric, as well as the way it is managed, that sets constraints on what you can and can't do. Multipled to the scale of a building or – crucially – a city, this is indeed a poltical matter." Ian Bentley, *Responsive Environments : A Manual for Designers* (London: Architectural Press, 1985), 9.

History is also intimately linked to questions of identity and in cities, which draw together a diverse range of people from multiple cultures. There are multiple identities influenced in various ways by localised experiences of history, place, and personal experiences. This thesis includes a discussion about making space and opportunities for the strengthening of New Zealand's emerging bicultural identities within urban environments. The term bicultural identities, as opposed to identity, is used within this thesis to reflect how in reality, multiple identities are produced by a mix of iwi Māori and European influences, in varying compositions

Like the cultural identities of other countries New Zealand's cultural identity is continually changing and being formed by both "representational and discursive influences - official and popular, material and ideological".[18] Urban design influences cultural identities through the way; 1) how a space is used, controlled, perceived, represented, marketed, and funded; 2) how that space's history is celebrated or ignored; and 3) and how that space is shaped through its form, materials, artwork, architecture, lighting, response to the natural environment and landscape elements. In terms of urban design it is these elements and their unique composition that creates and reinforces cultural identities within the shared spaces of the city; these elements turn a space into a 'place'. In terms of bicultural objectives, as with other socio-cultural and economic outcomes sought within cities, "[i]deals are not enough: they have to be linked through appropriate design ideas to the fabric of the built environment itself."[19] It is the challenge of turning ideals, often encapsulated in urban policy objectives, into physical realities that define the role urban designers play within cities.

An urgent need for better design has been created by the increasing pressures on New Zealand cities as a result of population growth and global trends, such as the competition between cities for skilled labour and the need to reduce carbon emissions. It is now an essential objective of urban design to ensure environmental sustainability, and to maintain a high quality of living for existing and future communities, especially as urban areas intensify. Over the last five years multiple policy documents and 'best practice' guidelines have been produced for New Zealand, and some specifically for Auckland.[20] Many of these policies talk of strengthening identity, reflecting character and creating a

---

[18] Jane M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire : Postcolonialism and the City* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1996), 2.

[19] Bentley, *Responsive Environments,* 9.

[20] Examples include: New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), *People + Places + Spaces : A Design Guide for Urban New Zealand* (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2002); New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol*, (Wellington. N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2005); New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), *Urban Design Case Studies* (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2005); New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), *Urban Design Case Studies : Local Government*

'sense of place''.[21] However, their success is hindered by the fact that the achievement of their stated urban outcomes, such as the objective to make Auckland City the 'First City of the Pacific',[22] requires not just urban design but also related professional expertise, such as architecture, traffic engineering, town planning, transport planning, and landscape architecture, which are all critically important in a complex contemporary city. The advice of professionals is essential, but in the end the influential decisions that shape the city are political, and determined by elected representatives of the body politic, nationally and locally.

Achieving bicultural approaches to urban design thus requires "a renewed attention to the political, as the mode through which both cultural and economic relations are regulated and the space where the imagination may be exercised".[23] In a post-colonial society such as New Zealand where there are indigenous voices that need to be heard and should be participating in the design and decision-making processes of the city, this "demands rethinking the existing categories of Western thought, in an attempt to move beyond Eurocentric privileging of Europe as the norm for modernity".[24] Thus, this thesis is an attempt to think outside the Eurocentric urban square, to better understand how land and settlement, or places, are defined and viewed in te ao Māori.

Without attention to the political and a respect for limitations in terms of cultural understandings, specific gestures by Pākehā can undermine their stated well-meaning objectives. I have encountered this in both practicing and teaching urban design where well-meaning intentions have unintentionally occurred offence, or conflict, because of a limited understanding of tikanga Māori. Similarly, without a robust understanding of tikanga Māori, Pākehā can misinterpret, or manipulate, Māori culture elements to suit Eurocentric definitions, or objectives by presuming that elements of

---

(Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2008); New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), "Urban Design Toolkit," New Zealand Ministry for the Environment, http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/urban/urban-toolkit-apr07/index.html. (accessed January 3, 2009); Auckland City Council, "Designing Great Places for Our People - a Framework for Achieving High Quality Urban Design," (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland CIty Council, December 2007); Auckland Regional Council, North Shore CIty Council, *What to Look for When Buying a Terraced House or Apartment,* (Auckland, N.Z.: North Shore CIty Council, Auckland Regional Council, 2002); and Auckland City Council, North Shore CIty Council, "Good Solutions Guide for Apartments," (Auckland. N.Z.: Auckland City Council, North Shore CIty Council, 2007).

[21] Examples include: Viv Heslop "City Urban Design Strategy – Hamilton City Council," in *Urban Design Case Studies : Local Government*, edited by New Zealand Ministry for the Environment, (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2008); MFE, *People + Places + Spaces;* Auckland City Council, *Designing Great Places for Our People.*

[22] Auckland City Council, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan 2006 -2016*, 3 vols, vol. 1 (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland City Council, 2006), 11.

[23] Diana Brydon, "Postcolonialism Now: Autonomy, Cosmopolitanism, and Diaspora*," University of Toronto Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (2004): 691-706.

[24] Brydon, "Postcolonialism Now" 691-706.

potential importance to Māori, and similarly Pacific Islanders, should be expressed in Eurocentric terms without interrogation.

An example of this is a recent application to change Auckland City's District Plan to allow for an international hotel on the city's waterfront to be 56 metres higher than what is currently allowed by the controls for that specific site within the Britomart heritage precinct. Professor Clinton Bird, in his urban design report in support of the proposal, described the site's location in terms of two prominent axes.

> The Queen Street axis has traditionally been the primary axis, characterized as 'inward' and symbolizing the 'colonial push inland'… The Quay Street axis has more recently begun to more strongly assert its presence, via the redevelopment of the Britomart and Viaduct Harbour Precincts and the imminent commencement of the redevelopment of the Wynyard Quarter (formerly known as the Western Reclamation/Tank Farm). This water axis can be characterised as 'outward' and symbolizing Auckland's increasing 'orientation to and identification with the South Pacific'. [25]

Bird then proposes to mark (or more accurately dominate) this axis with a 80 metre high, five star international hotel, but with the potential for a 'distinctively local Auckland, South Pacific, character, ambience and flavour',[26] arguably appropriated to support the tourism objective. Is this how the city's unique Māori history and South Pacific population should be celebrated? Or is it simply the colonial 'push inland' being replicated by the colonising force of globalization under the guise of cultural sensitivity? Figures 1 – 3 show the site and its location in the context of the waterfront. In my research to date, there is nothing to suggest that sites of significance to Māori should be marked by 80m high international hotels, or that this particular point on the 'water axis' is of such significance to the place, or surrounding space, that it should be treated differently to its neighbours.The emphasis on the building's height, as necessary to articulate the water axis, is an example of using a Eurocentric language to express a Māori and South Pacific value without interrogation. It is only through communication and collaboration with iwi Māori and a greater understanding of Māori history and culture that a robust bicultural or South Pacific approach to

---

[25] Clinton Bird, *Britomart Precinct Proposed Private Plan Change - Urban Design Review,* (Auckland, N.Z.: May 21, 2008), 5.
[26] Bird, *Britomart Precinct,* 46.

urban design can be developed that extends beyond tokenistic gestures. This requires a greater interrogation of Eurocentric assumptions about space, place and the creation of urban environments.

Space and place are two terms that are often used interchangeably. What defines a place, as opposed to simply being a space, is that it is a valued area set aside for a unique function, or remembered and valued for its unique characteristics. A commonly used term and objective in urban design is the creation of a 'sense of place'. New Zealand's Ministry for the Environment (MFE) published an urban design practice document entitled *People, Places, Spaces – A design guide for urban New Zealand.* It describes a 'sense of place' as being created by "[u]rban spaces that provide an identifiable and memorable character".[27] This thesis will show that what defines a 'place' in te ao Māori differs from Eurocentric perspectives as the reasons why Māori may choose to set aside an area of land and what they consider to be an 'identifiable and memorable character' differs. Thus it follows that their values in terms of 'sense of place' also differs substantially to Pākehā. Therefore, a bicultural approach to urban design requires a substantial shift in how 'places' are perceived, understood and interpreted.

Throughout the process of researching this thesis the focus has taken multiple forms. What has been of most interest and relevance are the lessons that can be learnt from the detailed study of the Māori history of a place. These histories inform tikanga Māori, and can inform and challenge Eurocentric urban design and policy responses to contemporary development issues. They also provide a fertile starting point for: informing a bicultural urban design process; assisting a better understanding of contemporary city dynamics and the existing characteristics of a place; achieving the desired urban design objectives of a unique 'sense or place'; and shaping varying permutations of Māori and/or bicultural design outcomes. A focus on the Māori historical context of a 'place' fits well within the practice of urban design, as an understanding of context is critical for informing the appropriateness of urban design responses to a site. As will become apparent in this thesis, the value placed by Māori on whanaungatanga (kinship relationships) between iwi (tribe), whānau (family), whenua (land), history, mauri (life essence)[28] and the conceptualisation of 'place' requires that an understanding of Māori historical contexts become a part of contemporary urban design processes. Such an understanding provides an important point of commonality between tikanga Māori and contemporary 'best practice' approaches to urban design. The inclusion of Māori histories and

---

[27] MFE, *People, Places, Spaces,* 33.
[28] Paul Tapsell, "The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society,* 106, no. 4 (1997) or life principle; P. M. Ryan and New Zealand. Māori Language Commission., *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 2nd ed. (Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1997).

contemporary iwi or hapū relationships in a place and its surrounding area, within the contextual analysis of a place, enables Māori participation at the beginning of the design process and provides opportunities for it to shape urban design outcomes.

Since the start of this thesis there have been several studies undertaken on Māori and urban design that are now at the point of completion, or at least public circulation.[29] Of greatest significance to this thesis is *Te Aranga – Cultural Landscapes Strategy* (2008),[30] which is a Māori response to the *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol* (2005), lead by architectural designer and researcher, Rau Hoskins, in collaboration with Māori design and planning professionals for the New Zealand Ministry of the Environment. The *Te Aranga* strategy has provided the ability to cross-reference the findings of this thesis with a Māori policy framework completed by Māori professionals for public and tribal organisations. The *Te Aranga – Cultural Landscapes Strategy* is a non-regulatory document that "seeks the reninstatment, development and articulation of the physical and metaphysical cultural landscapes of whānau, hapū and iwi."[31] Like the *Urban Design Protocol*, it identifies principles and actions to equip and inform local and central government, iwi, and design and development professionals. However, its focus is on tikanga Māori and understanding Māori cultural perspectives. Its development included multiple hui (meetings) with Māori stakeholders and was discussed extensively with a wide range of tribal leaders and industry professionals, an exercise that was beyond the scope of this thesis. Chapter three introduces the *Te Aranga* strategy and the key aspects of tikanga Māori identified within the strategy, which along with the tikanga terms included in the *Resource Management Act* (1991) provides a robust starting point for further examination of tikanga within chapters seven and eight.

---

[29] These include a master planning study by the architect Rewi Thompson for Ngāti Whātua o Orakei's Papakāinga developments; Rewi Thompson, "Orakei Papakāinga Towards 2030," in *Designing Auckland: a lunchtime learning* (Auckland: Auckland City Council); and Auckland Regional Growth Forum, *Auckland Sustainablity Framework*, (Auckland, N.Z.: 2007).

[30] New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), *Te Aranga - Maori Cultural Landscape Strategy*, 2nd ed., (Wellington, N.Z: Ministry for the Environment, 22 April 2008).

[31] MFE, *Te Aranga,* 1.

Thesis structure

The structure of the thesis reflects its title, and has four sections: urban design, history, tikanga and te wero (the challenge). Discussed within these are the three research strands of: 1) the binational foundations and bicultural identities of New Zealand, and the legislation and polices that influence the practice of urban design in Auckland; 2) the Māori history of Tāmaki Makaurau with specific reference to Rangitoto and Maungakiekie; and 3) the kaupapa (foundational principles) of tikanga Māori most relevant to land and settlement.

Chapter one discusses the research methodology and sources used within this thesis and how understandings of tikanga Māori and respect for the politics of iwi Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau have shaped the process. It also discusses how lessons learnt from kaupapa Māori research practices are applicable to both this thesis and the practice of urban design.

The first section of the main body of the thesis, is titled 'Urban Design in Auckland' and focuses on the first research strand of the thesis, 'the binational foundations and bicultural identities of New Zealand, and the legislation and polices that influence the practice of urban design in Auckland'. Within this section chapter two, 'The bicultural context of Auckland City', introduces Auckland City, and the social and political contexts of both Auckland City and contemporary New Zealand with respect to the practice of urban design. It draws from the disciplines of sociology and cultural geography, in particular the work of Augie Fleras, Paul Spoonley, James Ritchie and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. The Treaty of Waitangi will be discussed together with the implications of it for a post-colonial society, where there is a binational foundation and both a merging of cultures and the emerging of bicultural identities that are supported by legislation and urban design policies on the management of urban environments. The difference between biculturalism and binationalism is discussed in response to the most frequently asked questions about the relevance of this thesis to the practice of urban design.

Chapter three begins by discussing the definitions and origin of tikanga Māori, then identifies the elements of tikanga Māori referred to in the legislation that guides urban development in New Zealand, which are within *Te Aranga - Māori Cultural Landscapes Strategy*. It also discusses the importance of history to both tikanga Māori and contemporary urban design processes, and proposes that a starting point for a bicultural approach to urban design is to include Māori historical contexts and relationships within the urban design process of contextual analysis.

The second section of the thesis focuses on the Māori histories of Tāmaki Makaurau in chronological order, and discusses why these histories are important to contemporary urban design

processes in the Auckland Region. Originally I was most interested in the time when the Māori population of Tāmaki Makaurau was at its height, and therefore most 'urban', in the 1600s to mid 1700s, that is before the tribe Te Taou (of Ngāti Whātua iwi) conquered the isthmus. However, as my research revealed, the cultural and political complexity of settlement in that era, and in the contemporary situation, cannot be appreciated without an understanding of the events in between these dates and from the times of the Māori gods. For this reason the timeframe for the research was extended back to the mythological and migration narratives of the region through to the establishment of Auckland City in 1841. The events of colonisation are only briefly touched upon where relevant in order to explain the contemporary context of ngā iwi Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau (the Māori tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau). Chapter one discusses the methodology and sources used for the historical research.

Chapter four is titled 'Ngā Tūpuna – The Ancestors', and focuses on the earliest phase of Māori history in Tāmaki Makaurau. It introduces the creation mythologies and the narratives of the Māori gods from which all tikanga stem, and discusses the implications of Māori ancestral connections throughout the Pacific Islands. Chapter five, 'Ngā Iwi o Tāmaki Makaurau – The Tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau', discusses the Māori settlement of Tāmaki Makaurau, its tribal structures and the successive migrations that have characterised its history. It argues that pre-European Tāmaki Makaurau, being intensively developed and cosmopolitan in comparison to the rest of Aotearoa, had urban characteristics. The multiplicity of tribal histories that are recorded in the landforms and place names that remain are referenced to illustrate the complexity of tribal interests that inform contemporary Māori politics in relation to land, history, and subsequently, urban design. Chapter six, 'Ngā Pākehā – The Europeans', discusses briefly the impact of European immigration, and the events surrounding the foundation of Auckland City. It illustrates how iwi Māori were excluded from the earliest of urban design processes that established the city of Auckland. Collectively, Chapters four to six, provide a small glimpse into the Māori histories of Tāmaki Makaurau illustrating their richness and discusses how these histories inform bicultural approaches to urban design within the contemporary city.

The third strand of this research, which focuses on the kaupapa (foundational principles) of tikanga Māori, appears in the section entitled 'Tikanga Māori'. This research focuses on the discipline of Māori cultural studies, with specific reference to the writings of Hirini Moko Mead, Ranginui Walker, Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), Cleve Barlow and Paul Tapsell. The purpose of these chapters is to better understand the kaupapa of tikanga Māori that guide Māori responses to land, water and settlement. Chapter seven, 'Whanaungatanga – Kinship Relationships' discusses the importance of tribal structures, whakapapa (genealogy), and the concepts of tūrangawaewae (place to stand, or where one has rights of residence), mana (authority), mana whenua (territorial rights, or

power from the land) in te ao Māori (the Māori world). These shape Māori perspectives on land, settlement, and decision making processes, all of which are relevant to urban design. Chapter eight, 'Wairuatanga – The Spiritual Nature of things', discusses the Māori cultural concepts of mauri (life force), and tapu (sacred) that shape Māori responses to the natural environment and the treatment of wāhi tapu (scared places) that are protected by central government legislation. The practice of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) in relation to urban design is also discussed.

The final section of this thesis is 'Te Wero – The Challenge', which includes chapter nine, 'Tikanga Māori, Challenging Eurocentric Conventions of Urban Design', and the conclusion of the thesis. Chapter nine draws the three strands of research together to consider the spatial implications of the findings of the research on tikanga Māori and history, and draws upon the discipline of geography. It uses historical examples to illustrate several key differences in the way Māori relate to land and settlement that then challenges Eurocentric aspects of urban design normally taken for granted. This chapter also examines unconventional (by European standards) mapping techniques as a potential basis for not only recording and interpreting Māori historical information but also including it within the analytic processes of urban design. Such an approach would inform understandings of urban contexts and shape design responses. This section is called 'Te Wero' (The Challenge) because it challenges established urban design practices by opening up new ways of seeing, observing, recording and analysing contextual information. The conclusion brings all the findings together, and summarises the implications of a bicultural approach on the practice of urban design.

Urban Morphology and Public Space

The dismissal of Māori as not being an urban people, or not having a traditional concept of a public realm, has been used by colleagues to question the role of Māori involvement in the processes of urban design. This view also continues to reflect the colonial basis of New Zealand's urban design origins that have presupposed that Māori culture was not urban, or did not have points of commonality with European urban settlements. The assumptions of settlements not being 'urban' or Māori not having the equivalent of 'public space', are reinforced by late nineteenth and early twentieth century settlements, not pre-European Māori settlements. Throughout the twentieth century Māori settlements outside of the main Pākehā settled centres were easily classified as 'non-urban' because of their predominantly rural locations and their low density character. This however does not take into consideration the intensity of Māori settlements prior to European arrival, and their significant decline as a result of colonisation. This is also in contrast to large numbers of Māori

who moved to urban areas post World War II, and the subsequent generations of 'urban' Māori living in cities.

Chapter five argues that Māori did have public space and that pre-European Tāmaki Makaurau was in tribal character intensively developed and cosmopolitan. This reflects an urban condition that incorporated large expanses of gardens as 'employment' land, with large centralised settlements that are potentially comparable to early European cities. Figure 4 is an artists' impression of a settlement on Mangere mountain based on archaeological and historical information about the area. It is an example of the pā (fortified villages) or large kāinga (village) found on the large volcanic maunga (mountains) and prominent headlands of the isthmus, which were often used for several generations and were permanent constructs over that time. This was the case even though most Māori lived in smaller kāinga next to the harbours or closer to the gardens throughout the summer months, retreating to the pā in winter months or in times of war. The seasonal settlement patterns of contemporary holiday areas or resort towns does not mean that urban design was not relevant to them, and as such urban design is equally applicable to Māori settlements even if many were seasonal.

Several settlements within the region had the ability to accommodate thousands of people. For example, the combined population of the Ngāti Paoa settlements along the Tāmaki River at the beginning of the nineteenth century was thought to have been between 4000 and 7000 people.[32] The population of large pa, including Maungakiekie, could have exceeded 1000 people,[33] and more during times of war, with multiple pa and seasonal villages being occupied throughout the isthmus during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. In comparison, the small town of Wellsford, to the north of Auckland, had an urban population of 1740 people in the 2001 census.[34] The larger service town of Huntley, in the Waikato and about an hour south of Auckland, had a population of 6822 people in the 2001 census.[35]

---

[32] *Earliest New Zealand: The Journals and Correspondence of the Rev. John Butler, comp.* By R.J. Barton *(Masterton:N.Z.: 1927)* . Quoted in *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 66.

[33] Gordon Ell, *Shadows on the Land : Signs from the Maori Past* (Auckland, N.Z.: Bush Press, 1985), 41 & 50.

[34] Statistics New Zealand, "Wellsford Urban Area Community Profile", New Zealand Government, http://www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/commprofiles.nsf/htmldocs/Wellsford+Urban+Area+ Community+Profile, (accessed June 20, 2009).

[35] Statistics New Zealand, "Huntly Urban Area Community Profile", New Zealand Government, http://www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/commprofiles.nsf/htmldocs/Huntly+Urban+Area+Co mmunity+Profile , (accessed June 20, 2009).

An analysis of the urban morphology of pre-European Māori settlements in Tāmaki Makaurau would highlight their complexity and their interrelationships with each other and surrounding land, harbours and waterways. Within the discipline of urban design the categories of relationships that make up the urban form of a city are commonly classified as routes, boundaries, districts, nodes and landmarks,[36] or under terms of similar meaning. For example, Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City* (1960) refers to how the physical forms of a city can "be classified into five types of elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks."[37] It is clear from the available narrative, historical and archaeological evidence that Māori settlements included all of these urban form elements and were highly sophisticated and intentional in their approach to settlement. However, any detailed analysis of the urban morphology of pre-European Māori settlements would require archaeological expertise to access the archaeological information required for such a study. It would also need to overcome the facts that minimal archaeological work has been completed, in comparison to the extent of Māori settlements that once existed in the area, and much of what once remained of these settlements has been destroyed by urban development.

A study of the urban morphology of Māori settlements in the region would be of great interest, and some aspects of this are picked up within this thesis, but to limit the urban design discussion to these physical elements would also limit the framework of analysis to one which is based predominately on the imperial and colonial constructs of the European city. This does not make a space for the alternative discourses of indigenous perspectives to interpret and mould urban form, or gives the opportunity for bicultural methodologies related to urban design to find a place within the contemporary city. Thus a lack of accessible archaeological information has maintained the focus on the kaupapa of the thesis that relates to tikanga, specifically the processes, methodologies and principles that might guide a bicultural approach to urban design.

---

[36] *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture,* s.v. "Urban Design", (by James Stevens Curl), http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t 1.e6127 (accessed May 23, 2009).
[37] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press, 1960), 46.

Figure 1 - View along waterfront where the 80 metre high, five star international hotel is proposed to mark the Māori and Pacific 'water axis' of Quay Street. Auckland City (Photo by author, 2009)

Figure 2 - View from Quay Street 'water axis' through the historic red fence of the Ports of Auckland and across the Waitemata Harbour to Rangitoto. (Photo by author, 2009)

Figure 3 - Auckland central area illustrating two axis discussed by Professor Clinton Bird. (Illustration by Author. Aerial Photography from Auckland Regional Council, 2009)

Figure 4 - Artists impression of a settlement at Mangere Mountain. (Drawing by Mani Barr. "Gardens around our Maunga 2007," from Mani Barr, *I Ngā Ra ō Mua – In Days of Old,* (Manukau, N.Z.: Mangere Mountain Education Centre, 2007))

Chapter One: Bicultural Methodology

Ko te reo te taikura o te whakaao mārama

Language is the key to understanding[1]

This whakataukī (proverb) illustrates the importance of te reo Māori (the Māori language) in informing research methodologies and design practices, and in particular the use of whakataukī, which are a traditional source of wisdom regularly used by Maori in oratory and debate on marae. The inclusion of whakataukī throughout this thesis is one of several aspects of tikanga Māori used to shape the research methodology and writing of this thesis that, together with the requirements of Western academia, give direction and cultural authority to this thesis.

This chapter discusses the relevance of kaupapa Māori research practices to this thesis and the practice of urban design. Kaupapa Māori research practices encourage an approach that differs from the Eurocentric academic norm and responds to the requirements of tikanga Māori. Thus, this chapter also discusses 'qualifiers' in terms of the limitations of this thesis as a piece of research. Lessons learnt from investigating research methodologies for this thesis are similarly applicable to a bicultural approach to urban design.

Personal positioning

In te ao Māori the personal is not separated from professional, and as is discussed in this chapter and chapter eight, personal factors such as ancestry can have more authority than professional or academic credentials. Thus, there is more personal information in this chapter than one would usually expect to see within an academic thesis. This is a position that is reinforced by kaupapa Māori research practices that recommends that factors relating to a researcher's values and behaviours be explicitly built into the research and declared openly as part of the research design,

---

[1] Papa, Pānia, and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2. A Dictionary and Resource for Māori Language Beginners. 2002 ed. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Te Awamutu (N.Z.): Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2002.

methodology, and reporting back of findings to the people involved.[2] This is equally relevant to the practice of urban design, because as with researchers urban designers are charged with the responsibility of interpreting information that informs design processes. Thus, when working with Māori key personal facts, especially those related to ancestry and relationships, should be declared openly as part of the information gathering, contextual analysis, concept design, evaluation and decision-making processes.

The mihi (greeting) at the start of this thesis is an example of this and illustrates how aspects of tikanga have guided the process of this thesis. The mihi establishes who I am in terms of tikanga Māori and is important because it enables Māori to 'place' me and subsequently this thesis within the cultural and political context of te ao Māori and to understand where my personal affiliations or bias may lay. The mihi is significant in that it is about 'place' in terms of both land and genealogy, which for Māori are intimately linked. This is an example of the principle of whanaungatanga, which is important because it forms the basis of Māori identity, politics and settlement patterns.

The concept of whanaungatanga, as discussed further in chapter eight, is critical to urban design because in te ao Māori the emphasis is not on what position you hold or what professional experience you have, but on who you are, where you come from,[3] and other unexpected personal factors.[4] Whanaungatanga also shapes Māori perspectives of 'place'. In my mihi it is made clear that I am not Māori, but that through my family, upbringing and marriage I do have a series of relationships with Tāmaki Makaurau and the surrounding area that may / or may not involve potential tribal affiliations, but certainly enables Māori to 'place' me within their political context and to establish to what extent I can initially be trusted.

The principles of the mihi are also reflected in the principle of reflexivity within qualitative research techniques. This requires a researcher or author to critically consider ones personal positioning in relation to the context of the research setting, recognising that qualitative researchers inherently carry their own cultural baggage or experience into a research setting, and that this can be a potentially important resource.[5] The dynamics of this, how it affects the research, and what is learned are important to the written study. Researchers are required to analyse their motives at each

---

[2] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York, Dunedin: Zed Books, University of Otago Press, 1998), 15.

[3] Hiwi Tauroa and Patricia Tauroa, *Te Marae : A Guide to Customs & Protocol*, (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Methuen, 1986), 147.

[4] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 10.

[5] Student Learning Centre, "Introduction to Qualitative Research," (lecture notes, University of Auckland, Auckland, N.Z., 2006), 7.

stage of the process to validate their findings using a rigorous strategy suited to the specific situation being studied.[6] This principle of reflexivity is similarly applicable to the design and research processes of urban design.

This new era of acknowledging reflexivity sits alongside the postcolonial discussions concerning rights over traditional knowledge. These discussions have resulted in new protocols for speaking and writing.[7] Potentially these protocols could, if strictly framed in the post-colonial theoretical context of coloniser and colonised, prevent someone of Pākehā ancestry from researching and writing about Māori culture on the basis that they would, or might, perpetuate the colonising process. Some Māori will argue that any participation of Pākehā and non-indigenous people in Māori research is unnecessary, with no trust remaining after many negative experiences.[8] This concern is acknowledged, however, it is important to note that whilst any intercultural or bicultural discussion cannot be 'politically innocent',[9] neither can any 'mono-cultural' discussion within a binational situation be termed politically innocent. If a Pākehā researcher, or designer, avoids addressing any Māori issues and focuses only on the Eurocentric cultural aspects of urban design for implementation in practice, this is more likely to perpetuate the colonial and imperial processes that Māori wish to reverse. However, non-Māori researchers need to acknowledge the sensitivity of Māori to the research and the power dynamic that they have with their subjects.[10] This is equally applicable to the role of non-Māori urban designers, and in particular the urban design processes of consultation with iwi Māori.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith, in her influential book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1998), lists four strategies for providing a pathway to more culturally sensitive methods of research. These strategies could also be applied to the processes of urban design. One is "… the strategy of 'personal development', whereby the researchers prepare themselves by learning Māori language, attending hui and becoming more knowledgeable about Māori concerns."[11] This is in contrast to the strategies of avoidance, consultation, or 'making space' where research organisations attempt to bring more Māori researchers and 'voices' into their own organisations.

[6] Student Learning Centre, "Introduction to Qualitative Research," 6-7.
[7] Jane M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire : Postcolonialism and the City* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1996), 8.
[8] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 112.
[9] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 8.
[10] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 176.
[11] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 177.

Each strategy has a mix of both positive and negative consequences for all involved.[12] It is these three latter strategies, and not personal development, that reflects how the discipline of urban design, and the political institutions of local government organisations have predominately addressed Māori issues to date, although the one related to avoidance can be challenged under New Zealand legislation on land development.

James Ritchie, in his book *Becoming Bicultural,* shares a similar view. In his opinion anyone who wishes to engage in-depth with another culture, or wishes to be part of an authentic bicultural society, must undertake their own journey of personal growth to seek greater understanding and find their own personal credo.[13] However, it is important to note that in the process of urban design this should not surpass the need for consultation. Rather it sits alongside Smith's strategy of consultation since because personal growth alone does not give one the right to speak on behalf of Māori; it only enables the ability to communicate more effectively. For non-Māori researchers it is also important to acknowledge one's personal limits in terms of cultural experience and comprehension so as to minimise the risk of marginalizing the issues, or perpetuating the problem, through naivety, avoidance or over compensation.

It is appropriate to reiterate here that in terms of this thesis, I do not propose to be speaking on behalf of Māori. Whilst an established practitioner in the field of urban design, I am in the early stages of engaging with tikanga Māori, and have minimal knowledge of te reo Māori. I have a two year certificate in *Te Ara Reo Māori* from Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (The Māori University of New Zealand), but am not fluent in Māori. Many Māori concepts cannot be translated simply into English as there are few direct comparisons; and all translations also bring into play other European cultural references. Some of these cultural references may help us to understand the Māori world better, but others risk simplifying essential concepts to the extent that the full breadth and depth of meaning cannot be grasped. Indeed, this is evident in the highly contested English and Māori versions of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi discussed in chapter two. Thus, I cannot propose to be an expert on the complexity of Māori cultural issues that this thesis touches upon and this thesis should not take precedent over individual tribal interpretations or explanations of tikanga since, in te ao Māori, tikanga, like language dialects, vary between tribes. Similarly, the histories retold within this thesis are based primarily on secondary sources by Pākehā scholars, and as discussed in chapter three, there are differing accounts of these histories, reflecting different tribal perspectives. Subsequently,

---

[12] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 177.
[13] Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural*, 10.

the historical accounts within this thesis should also not take precedent over specific tribal interpretations.

This thesis focuses primarily on understanding the basic characteristics of the Māori settlement of Tāmaki Makaurau, and the generic aspects and foundational principles that underpin tikanga. In other words it focuses on the kaupapa of tikanga Māori and contemporary urban design in Auckland, not the specifics of tribal tikanga. Tikanga has been chosen because it denotes actions, and can be translated as 'the right way of doing things', thus also reflecting the fact that this thesis is about the process of urban design more than the built outcome. Acknowledging the limitations of this thesis is of political importance to contemporary postcolonial discourses, iwi Māori and urban design because of the principles of mana (authority), rangatiratanga (chieftainship), which will be discussed in chapter seven, and reflexivity in terms of qualitative research methodologies.

Historical Case Study

In te ao Māori the right to speak about the Māori history of a place is based on the principles of whanaungatanga, tūrangawaewae and mana, which are discussed further in chapter eight. These also relate to the principle of rangatiratanga and are significant in terms of the politics of iwi Māori, and as such can be challenged.

As described later, there are many reasons to be careful about how the history of Tāmaki Makaurau is discussed and approaching it in the right way is critical to achieving a bicultural approach to researching and practicing urban design. For me as a Pākehā researcher and designer, with limited contacts and experience within te ao Māori, the first question was 'where to start', particularly in reference to the historical research that is sensitive in terms of tikanga Māori and contemporary politics. For me, there was both the awe and insecurity in determining a starting point, which in te ao Māori could be described as the ihi (to feel an awesome or supernatural power), wehi (to strike fear; awe) and wana (authority) [14] felt in association with taonga (treasures). The explanation for these emotions I felt is best articulated by the following extracts and pictures from the artist and writer, Robert Goldstone. In his book *Tears of Rangitoto (1979),* Goldstone writes in relation to his painting called 'Question Mark' which is included as Figure 5*:*

---

[14]Tapsell, "The Flight of Pareraut80utu "

"Of the sixty or more volcanoes that are Auckland, seventeen are easily recognizable. Start, appropriately, at One Tree Hill and work down to Mount St. John, Mount Hobson and Ōrākei Basin, on to Mount Wellington, then through Panmure Basin, to McLennan Hill and Mount Richmond. Turn around Mount Mangere across to Mounts Roskill, Albert and Eden to the Domain. Over to Victoria, Cambria and North Head. And finally Rangitoto.

Ask a hundred quiet questions along the way and be given a thousand conflicting answers. So once again, to look at things from a fresh angle, turn you map upside down. North, always at the top, is now at the bottom. You have traced a huge question mark, ending significantly with the final and emphatic dot … Rangitoto!"[15]

Figure 6 is Goldstone's next picture called 'One Tree', and is about the view from One Tree Hill, known to Māori as Maungakiekie:

"This hill, where the question mark started, reputedly provides the finest view across the city to Rangitoto and beyond. One tree survives, its roots secure in those whose shelter it sought when young. Someone standing nearby commented on every detail in this view, but could not recall one word on the plaque of the other landmark standing unprotected a few paces behind, and sharing the hill with the tree in its palisade of steel. One tree, yes. But only one view?"[16]

Goldstone's text speaks at multiple levels of historical and political differences between Māori and Pākehā descendents of early settlers, as well as those between the tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau. The now 'no tree hill' represents the still contentious relationship of indigenous Māori and the colonial structures that have shaped the urban design of Auckland. As will become apparent in this thesis, the paintings and texts are as pertinent today as they were when created almost 30 years ago.

"Ask a hundred quiet questions along the way and be given a thousand conflicting answers" is certainly how I have felt in my search to know more about the Māori history of Tāmaki Makaurau. Goldstone's reference to a hundred questions and conflicting answers refers to the meaning of

---

[15] Goldstone, *The Tears of Rangitoto*, Figure 12.
[16] Goldstone, *The Tears of Rangitoto*, Figure 13.

Tāmaki Makaurau, which can be interpreted as meaning " Tāmaki (the maiden contended for) by a hundred lovers".[17] Amongst the other origins and potential meanings of the name Tāmaki Makaurau is the possibility that it is an extension of an earlier name, 'Tāmaki', stemming from the earlier Polynesian word meaning 'battle' or 'full of people'.[18] Certainly in the Cook Island Māori language, 'Tāmaki' means 'war'.[19]

In te ao Māori the principles of whanaungatanga and tūrangawaewae are important in terms of both land and history, and this thesis argues that they are also important to the practice of urban design. Thus they have informed the choice of sites for the historical case studies. Goldstone's text also provides me with the answer as to where to start this historical case study. Not at Maungakiekie / One Tree Hill where the current conflicts amongst Māori and the Crown are focused and at which this study will out of necessity end, but at Rangitoto Island.

Rangitoto Island is the largest, youngest, and most visible of the more than 50 volcanoes in the Auckland region. It is a circular volcanic island of harsh black scoria rock covered in pōhutukawa (*metrosideros excelsa*) trees that provide the shelter for other native bush species. It sits at the mouth of the Waitemata Harbour and glimpses of it herald one's arrival into the region, no matter which direction one is travelling from. The first ancestors of Māori arrived before Rangitoto was formed, but as is discussed in chapter five, it was a prominent feature in the arrival traditions of later migrants. One account given is also that the light and smoke of its eruption guided these later canoes to the isthmus.[20] Writing about his arrival in Auckland in December 1858, the geologist Ferdin von Hochstetter describes the scene as he approaches colonial Auckland by sea:

> We were surrounded on all sides by islands, peninsulas and main-land,
> Tiritirimatangi, Whangaparoa, and the outlines of the North-shore; a low, undulating
> country destitute of woods, with steep shores, exhibiting regular layers of sandstone
> and shale, with small, sandy bays, the beaches of which was[sic] dotted with small,
> isolated wood-huts … Before us, in the direction of the sporadic groups of houses
> composing Auckland City, there lay numerous small truncated cones of hills, the

[17] R. C. J. Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2001), 7.
[18] Paul Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau - the Māori Occuation of Auckland to 1820*, (Auckland, N.Z.: David Ling Publishing Limited, 2007), 61.
[19] Jasper Buse et al., *Cook Islands Māori Dictionary* (Rarotonga : Ministry of Education, Government of the Cook Islands, 1995).
[20] Edith Phillips-Gibson, Loc Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths and Legends of Auckland Landmarks.* (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2006), 80.

form of which at the very first glance betrayed their volcanic nature. Pre-eminent among all the rest, as it were the leader of the whole host, who alone had ventured out into the sea, and here proudly reared his lofty head, arose the Rangitoto, an island mountain, 900 feet high, the true prognostic of Auckland. [21]

Rangitoto is an appropriate starting place because of its significance in tribal myths and histories, which will be expanded upon in chapters four and five, and its symbolism as a contemporary icon for a large part of the Auckland Region.[22] However, for this thesis it is also the most appropriate starting point because of the personal connection that I, as author and researcher, have with Rangitoto Island. It is here, as illustrated in my mihi, and in Figure 7, that I have a place to stand. In terms of tikanga Māori starting with one's tūrangawaewae is an appropriate point to embark on researching the history and meaning of 'place', and subsequently urban design. The reason why this personal connection is important in te ao Māori is expanded upon in chapter seven. Thus, the historical research that has informed this thesis represents a trajectory path from Rangitoto to Maungakiekie.

Historical Sources

This thesis does not claim to be a comprehensive local history of Māori settlement for any area or era in history. That is a project best completed by ngā iwi Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau (the tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau). Instead this thesis focuses on generalised historical accounts from published sources, with specific reference to Rangitoto and Maungakiekie. This section discusses the sources relied upon within this thesis, and some of difficulties involved in accessing historical information.

Firstly, many narratives of Tāmaki Makaurau history, from before the eighteenth century, have been lost as a result of tribal warfare, changes in power, and the impact of European arrival and settlement. This loss of tribal lore also deprives historians of the valued sources needed to check the

---

[21] Ferdinand von Hochstetter and University of Auckland Library Early New Zealand Books Project, *New Zealand Its Physical Geography, Geology, and Natural History : With Special Reference to the Results of Government Expeditions in the Provinces of Auckland and Nelson*, (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1867), also available on line at http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document.php?action=null&wid=433, 4.

[22] Rangitoto regularly features on city postcards, artwork, and more recently in urban motorway projects as a symbol of local identity.

authenticity and reliability of Māori narratives recorded by Europeans about the pre-seventeenth century histories of Tāmaki Makaurau.[23] Percy Smith attributes the loss of tribal lore to the Te Taou conquest of the isthmus in about 1750, when the Waiohua people, who, if not killed, were scattered or absorbed by the dominant tribe.[24] However, it is noted that this is stated in his historical writings on the people of the north, who in this case were the victors. The histories of the Tainui people to the south of the isthmus may point to a different conclusion.

The reliability of tribal traditions in gaining a global understanding of related histories is complicated by the fact that they differ between tribes. Tribal traditions tend to focus on the tribe whose history is being recounted, and subsequently the histories vary between tribes. As noted by the archaeologist, Janet Davidson:

> "Traditions must be considered as the traditions of the tribes to which they belong. It then becomes apparent that individual heroes were important only to certain tribes and unknown to others."[25]

Subsequently, even if the events of tribal heroes were contemporaneous, the narratives of other tribes may not be recorded, and where they do intersect in the case of a dispute, for example, the events would be recorded or retold as seen or experienced by the tribes involved and independent of the opposing tribe's perspective.[26] The differing narratives are also evidenced in the multiple meanings given to some place names. It is of no surprise then that Chief Judge Fenton in his highly influential Ōrākei Judgement of 1869 commented on the extensive amount of 'conflicting evidence' about the tribal origins of Māori Auckland.[27] The Ōrākei Judgement is central to the contemporary debate on Treaty claims in the Auckland area because Fenton is considered by some to have made

[23] R. C. J. Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2001), 12.

[24] S. Percy Smith, *The Peopling of the North : Notes on the Ancient Māori History of the Northern Peninsula, and Sketches of the History of the Ngā ti-Whatua Tribe of Kaipara, New Zealand: "Heru-Hapaingā "* ([Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1898), quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki - Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 11.

[25] Janet M. Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, New ed., (Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul, 1987), 10.

[26] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 88.

[27] Fenton, "Fenton's 'Orakei Judgement' Native Land Court," *Important Judgements Delivered in the Compensation Court and the Native Land Court, 1866 - 79* (1879), quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 11.

critical errors in his interpretation of Māori history,[28] and this reflects the continuation of unresolved conflicts over the interpretation of historic events.

Many contemporary historians and government officials rely heavily upon Fenton's' judgements and the minutes of the Native Land Court. For instance, the most comprehensive published record of Māori settlement in Tāmaki Makaurau up to 1840 is Russell Stone's book entitled, *From Tamak-makau-rau to Auckland,* first published in 2001. Much of what is recorded in the minutes of the Native Land Court, and nine out of Stone's eleven chapters focus on the era of 1800 – 1850. Stone relies heavily on early settler diaries and information from Native Land Court minute books of the 1870s.[29] However, Stone also acknowledges that he undertook a limited amount of research in regard to the period before 1760[30] (approximately when Te Taou conquered the isthmus) as the records of this era are fragmentary, making it difficult to test the reliability of the remaining records.[31]

In the foreword to his book, Stone records how he gave a draft of the manuscript to an accomplished Māori scholar to read. This scholar made some generous comments but also stated that it was not the history that Māori would have written.[32] How a Māori version would differ was not explained, but the comment serves to illustrate the complexities of engaging with history, and the political conflicts that can result when brought forth into the contemporary city, especially where contemporary resources, mana and kaitiakitanga (guardianship) are also at stake because of interpretations of history. This is critically relevant to Auckland, where the debate over tribal histories is particularly heated because of the Crown's decision to enter into exclusive negotiation with Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei[33] on the settlement of historic grievances in Tāmaki Makaurau, independent of the Waitangi Tribunal.

All trained historians know that their interpretations of the past will generally differ from others, and Stone notes how, through the processes of the Waitangi Tribunal, tribal claimants have also heard the conflicting evidence of 'experts' that illustrate how historical generalisations are never absolute or permanent.[34] It is because of the complexity of Māori historical narrative and the political ramifications of its interpretation that the robust processes of the Waitangi Tribunal should lead

---

[28] Pamera Warner, (Representative, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in discussion with the author, 2008.
[29] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, XII.
[30] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, XII.
[31] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 12.
[32] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, XI.
[33] Chris Barton, "When History Is on Trial," *New Zealand Herald*, 17 March 2007.
[34] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, XII.

regional or citywide discussions on historical conflicts over contemporary claims to mana whenua. At a local level, when there are differing narratives for the purpose of informing urban design preference needs to be given to the narratives of the iwi or hapū with mana whenua, and their nominated kaitiaki (guardian). However, this can incorporate acknowledgement of the stories from iwi or hapū descending from the tāngata whenua (people of the land) from earlier eras.[35]

Pākehā understandings of the Māori history of Tāmaki Makaurau are further complicated by the fact that when Governor Hobson arrived in 1841 to investigate the suitability of the isthmus for the establishment of a capital city, the area had only a fraction of the population that it did in the early 1700's. This was a result of both the Te Taou conquest in the mid to late 1700's and then Ngā Puhi raids in the 1820's that had a devastating effect on the region. When the English arrived to settle in Tāmaki Makaurau it was clear from the landscape and remains of settlements that the isthmus had once been home to a far greater population than the small population of Ngāti Whātua who, under Apihai Te Kawau, occupied predominately seasonal villages on the shores of the Waitemata and Manukau harbours.[36] Chapter six briefly discusses this and other impacts on Māori resulting from the establishment of Auckland.

Since the establishment of Auckland the physical remains from the old settlements and gardens from before the nineteenth century, and their ability to provide further information on the specifics of life in pre-European Tāmaki Makaurau, have been severely disturbed by the subsequent growth of metropolitan Auckland. This has resulted in the loss of the majority of archaeological sites and all but a small remnant of material culture, which would have provided a substantial amount of information on the settlement patterns of Māori in the isthmus.[37] Of the archaeological sites that have been preserved only a few have been excavated, and many of those excavations appear to have been for reactive reasons in an attempt to record information before it was destroyed by development. This, and the seasonal nature of many settlements, makes it extremely difficult to understand with any degree of accuracy what the totality of the isthmus' population was at any given point in pre-European New Zealand history, or the accompanying spatial relationships within or between villages. Current interpretations by Pākehā historians and archaeologists are based on

---

[35] For example: Auckland City Council has processes in place to enable consultation with all iwi and hapū with historical connections to an area on historical or archaelogical issues, and selectively with only the iwi or hapū with mana whenua or ahi kaa status on policy issues. Auckland City Council, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan,* vol. 3.

[36] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 184.

[37] Davidson, 'Auckland Prehistory' 1978, quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 11.

'piecing' together available material in a generalised manner, and are also heavily reliant on what is known of life in other parts of the country.

Archaeological findings and traditions complement each other, but sometimes they do not correlate, in particular the variations in carbon dating techniques and genealogical dating. However, as noted by the archaeologist, Janet Davidson, in many cases there should be neither correlation nor conflict as they can both be viewed as supplementary or separate to each other, shining differing lights on varying aspects of the past.[38] This raises the question of whether tikanga and tradition, or the archaeological forms of settlement, should be given precedent in informing the process of urban design. Arguably both are important to varying degrees, as one can inform the other. However, archaeological remains are static whereas tikanga encompasses a 'living' manifestation of Māori culture, and as such is better placed to inform urban design decisions than archaeology alone. This is another reason for not focusing on the morphology of pre-European Māori settlements within this thesis, or in the practice of urban design.

The oral histories of the iwi and hapū affiliated with the isthmus provide significant insight, which can assist in the interpretation of remaining archaeological sites and the written records collected by Europeans,[39] but are also currently limited in availability. The limitation of oral resources is due to a reluctance on behalf of many descendants of the tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau to share historical information and associated whakapapa with people outside of their iwi or hapū. The histories of their ancestors are an important taonga, as is the land and particularly whakapapa. As a result there are many parts of Māori history that elders will not share unless they are comfortable that it will be respected and treated appropriately. The colonial statement of knowledge being power is taken seriously by Māori and other indigenous communities.[40] In te ao Māori a lack of trust has resulted because of previous mistreatment of history by Pākehā, where it has been disregarded, misunderstood, or disrespected by individuals, local councils and government institutions, and because of unresolved grievances with the Crown over breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. This lack or trust extends to the arena of academic research, with even the term 'research' being viewed by Māori, and other colonised peoples, as linked to the negative practices of colonialism and imperialism.[41]

---

[38] Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 10.
[39] Such as the writings of Sir George Grey, Elsdon Best and Percy Smith.
[40] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples,* (New York Dunedin: Zed Books; University of Otago Press, 1998), 16.
[41] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 1.

This history of mistrust has been exacerbated within the Auckland area by conflict over interpretations of Māori histories, and of whakapapa in the Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei negotiations with the Crown in the settlement of post-Treaty grievances. [42] This has also led to the treatment of Māori history by both Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei and the Crown as being 'commercially sensitive', thereby excluding public access to historical information and the ability for other tribes to provide valuable cross-referencing with other sources.[43] The Crown and Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei's agreed historical report upon which the Crown's redress is based has only recently become available to the public and is limited in scope. In terms of the debate around this settlement, an additional difficulty is that until these issues are resolved it is likely that other tribal groups, who are also descendants of the people of Tāmaki Makaurau and who predate the Te Taou o Ngāti Whātua conquest in approximately 1750, will continue to be reluctant to share historical information. This is because they want to ensure that their rightful place (in terms of whakapapa, tribal history and tūrangawaewae) is firstly acknowledged and respected. For all these reasons, the region's pre-history must be treated carefully, as must the processes of urban design, which require an understanding of history.

Summary

In te ao Māori history is an important taonga (treasure) that is often tapu (sacred) and must be respected. It also informs contemporary tribal structures, rights to land and resources, and subsequently politics. As will be discussed in chapter seven, Māori politics, speaking rights, and authority are defined by personal ancestry and ancestral connections to a land. Thus, in accordance with tikanga Māori the historical research for this thesis starts at Rangitoto Island, where I have a personal connection.

Despite the limitations in accessing historical and archaeological information, there is still sufficient information readily available to demonstrate the richness, complexity, and uniqueness of Māori history in Tāmaki Makaurau. As will become evident in the following chapters, much of what does remain in terms of the Māori histories of Tāmaki Makaurau is recorded in the land forms and place names, but is predominantly hidden and ignored within the everyday spaces of the contemporary

---

[42] Barton, "When History Is on Trial".
[43] New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process Report, Waitangi Tribunal Report,* (Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct, 2007)

city. How this history is treated and incorporated into urban design processes requires careful consideration. The reasons for this care, and why in terms of tikanga Māori its inclusion is important, will be more fully explored within chapters seven, eight and nine, which focus on tikanga Māori.

For the historical component of this thesis, I have focused primarily on published historical accounts, which are usually written by Pākehā scholars. The interviews with representatives of iwi Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau, undertaken as part of the research for this thesis, have focused on the broader issues of concern to iwi Māori in the practice of urban design. It is important to note that in contrast to this thesis, within the practice of urban design that extends beyond theory and shapes the physical, cultural and political dimensions of the city, any discussion of Māori history should include the kaitiaki of the relevant iwi or hapū. It should not be solely reliant on Pākehā interpretations of histories.

Figure 5 - Painting by Robert Goldstone. "Question Mark", 92 x 59 cm Acrylic on soft board (Robert Goldstone, The Tears of Rangitoto, (Takapuna, N.Z.: The MacMillan Company of New Zeland Ltd, 1979)
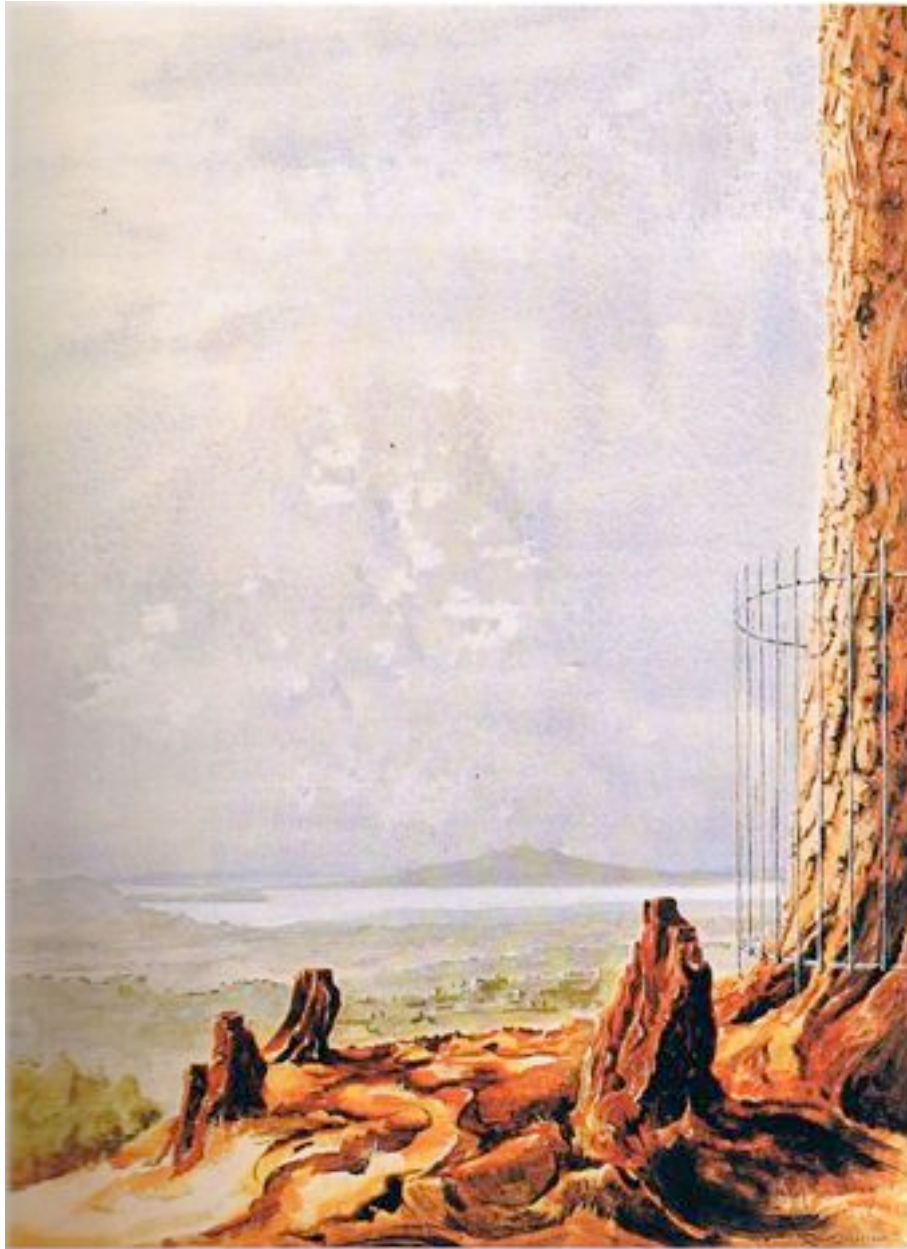
Figure 6 - Painting by Robert Goldstone. "One Tree", 74 x 54 cm Acrylic on board (Robert Goldstone, The Tears of Rangitoto, (Takapuna, N.Z.: The MacMillan Company of New Zeland Ltd, 1979).

Figure 7 - Rangitoto Island, viewed from Takapuna Beach on Auckland's North Shore. Motutapu Island is to the left of Rangitoto and Little Barrier in the distance. Rangitoto is my mountain. I am from Motutapu. (Photo by author, 2008).

URBAN DESIGN IN AUCKLAND

Chapter Two: The Bicultural Context of the Contemporary City of Auckland

He Whakataukī

E kore e taea e te whenu kotahi

ki te rarangā i te whariki

kia mohio tatou kia tatou.

Ma te mahi tahi o ngā whenu,

ma te mahi tahi o ngā kairarangā ,

ka oti tenei whariki.

I te otingā

me titiro tatou ki ngā mea pai ka puta mai.

A tana wa,

me titiro hoki

ki ngā rarangā i makere

na te mea, he korero ano kei reira.

A proverb

The tapestry of our sustenance and wellbeing

cannot be woven

by one strand alone.

Only by the working together of strands

and the working together of us all,

will such a tapestry be completed.

With its completion,

let us look at the good that comes from it

and in time

we should also look

at those stitches which have been dropped,

because they also have a message. [1]

This whakataukī is from the Auckland City Council's urban design framework document called *Designing Great Places for our People,* published in December 2007. The guidelines reflect the emerging importance of urban design in the Auckland region and growing interest in including elements of te ao Māori in the design of contemporary New Zealand cities. The fact that it was only completed at the end of 2007 also illustrates how recent is the emergence of an intentional interest in both urban design and tikanga Māori within the political spaces of the city.

This chapter introduces Auckland City and its Region to provide a physical and demographic point of reference for those unfamiliar with the area, and discusses the current status of urban design within the region. It then responds to the three questions that are commonly asked by professional colleagues about this thesis: Why embark on such a project when Māori were not urban and did not have public spaces? Why, when Auckland City and New Zealand are becoming increasingly multicultural? Why, when you are not Māori? These questions reflect how Māori involvement in the shaping of public spaces within the city is still questioned by many.

In response to these questions, this chapter introduces the political context of relationships between Māori and Pākehā within New Zealand. Firstly, in terms of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi and then in regards to post-colonial discourses about the politics of identity and culture. Particular attention is paid to the differences between biculturalism and binationalism in response to the multicultural demographics of cities.

Introducing Auckland City

Auckland City is located on a narrow isthmus between two harbours, the Waitemata and the Manukau, as shown in Figure 8. The city and region is characterized by its extensive coastlines, off

---

[1] Kukupa Tirikatene, quoted in Auckland City Council, *Designing Great Places for Our People*, Foreward.

shore islands, and volcanic landforms. By international standards, Auckland is a small city on a small island in a remote corner of the South Pacific Ocean. However, globally Auckland is currently ranked fourth equal with Vancouver in Canada for its quality of life in the annual international Mercer Quality of Life Survey.[2]

Today, Auckland City is substantially larger than when von Hoschetter arrived in 1858, and the wider region's suburbs now sprawl over much of the undulating countryside. Figure 9 is an aerial photograph looking in from the Waitemata Harbour across the Central Business District of Auckland City to Waitakere City and ranges in the background, with a glimpse of the Manukau Harbour. Auckland City has a population of approximately 401,500 people,[3] and forms the centre of the wider Auckland Region, which includes Auckland City, North Shore City, Manukau City, Waitakere City, Franklin District Council, Rodney District Council, and Papakura District Council. The Auckland Region had an estimated population of approximately 1,394,000 on the 20 June 2007.[4] This equates to about one third of New Zealand's total population and the region is the country's most ethnically diverse area. In 2006, Māori comprised 11.1%, Pacific peoples 14.4% and people of Asian descent 18.9% of the population, whereas 56.5% classified themselves as European and another 8% as 'New Zealanders'.[5] Thirty-seven percent of the Auckland regional population were born overseas.[6]

The unusual and beautiful volcanic and sea landscape, and the unique mix of Māori and other Polynesian cultures, has a significant influence on the identity of Auckland and has shaped the Council's vision statement of Auckland being the 'First City of the Pacific'.[7] Auckland City

---

[2] Mercer, *Mercer's 2009 Quality of Living survey highlights – Global*, Mercer LLC, http://www.mercer.com/qualityofliving#Top_5_ranking_cities_by_region, (accessed June 12, 2009).

[3] Auckland City Council, "About Auckland City", Auckland City Council, http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/auckland/introduction/city/default.asp (accessed November 17, 2008).

[4] Statistics New Zealand Tataurangā Aotearoa, *Auckland Region Quarterly Review March 2008*, (Wellington, N.Z.: Statistics New Zealand Tataurangā Aotearoa, 2008), 3.

[5] Wardlow Friesen and Auckland Regional Council's Economic Research and Monitoring Team, "Immigration and Ethnicity in the Auckland Region Results from the 2006 Census of Population and Dwellings," in *2006 Census Series* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland Regional Council, 2007), 16. Also available online at http://www.arc.govt.nz/albany/fms/main/Documents/Auckland/Population%20and%20stats/Immigration%20and%20Ethnicity%20in%20the%20Auckland%20region%202006.pdf; Auckland Regional Council, "Population and Statistics", Auckland Regional Council, http://www.arc.govt.nz/auckland/population-and-statistics/population-and-statistics_home.cfm. (accessed November 17, 2008).

[6] Auckland Regional Council, "Population and Statistics", (accessed November 17, 2008).

[7] Auckland City Council, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan 2006 -2016*, 11; Auckland City Council, *Designing Great Places for Our People*, 1.

Council's *Long Term Plan 2006 – 2016* sets out the details of a community vision that was produced through a community consultation process, as required by the Local Government Act (2002). This vision guides investment within the city. The Mayor at the time the Long Term plan was published, Mayor Dick Hubbard, stated that the shared view of many Aucklanders was that:

> Auckland's many attributes give it a strong identity that has its own unique place in the world. Its waterfront, gulf islands and volcanic cones form a natural environment like no other, while its diverse cultures give it a cosmopolitan feel and provides a well of creativity.[8]

The importance of this landscape and seascape to Auckland City and its communities, in terms of urban design and 'sense of place', is further illustrated in the City Council's urban design framework *Designing great places for our people* (2007). It states how, "The defining image of the city is our maunga [mountains], volcanic features, the Hauraki Gulf Islands and our connection to the sea,"[9] as illustrated in Figure 10. The importance of the landscape and the sea is a point of commonality between both Maori and Pākehā. For both "the land has special meanings – it provides each with a sense of belonging and a sense of place."[10] However, there are distinctive differences between Māori and Pākehā values attributed to these 'special meanings'. For Māori there is a spiritual value to land that defines relationships between people, as well as being integral to economic and cultural survival.[11] This is discussed in chapters seven and eight. For Pākehā, attitudes to land are more ambivalent. The geographer, Giselle Byrnes describes this ambivalence as being:

> 'On one hand, they have taken a great interest in preserving the natural environment, putting down roots and making their own claims to indigenous status. On the other hand, Pakeha society has expressed a strong urge to transform the land'.[12]

This colonial, utilitarian approach to the land supported the idea that the complete remodelling of the land was part of progress.[13] From the inception of Auckland extensive changes to land and harbours were planned, as evident in Felton Matthews original plan for the city (e.g. Figure 33) with its large areas of proposed reclamation of sea bed and foreshore, which would later be created by the

---

[8] Mayor Dick Hubbard, quoted in Auckland City Council, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan 2006 - 2016*, 8.
[9] Auckland City Council, *Designing Great Places for Our People,* 8.
[10] Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers : Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand* (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 2.
[11] Byrnes, *Boundary Markers,* 2.
[12] Byrnes, *Boundary Markers,* 2.
[13] Byrnes, *Boundary Markers,* 2.

quarrying away of coastal headlands. In terms of built form, the city of Auckland is predominately a product of its colonial heritage, and later modernist planning principles driven by the popularity of the motorcar,[14] a relaxed suburban lifestyle, and an ongoing fascination with the standalone home[15] that stems from colonial times. The result is a "relatively low-density urban form to the city and region".[16] There are localised precincts, or suburbs of heritage buildings and a handful of buildings of architectural prominence, but in general even the most prominent man-made structures, such as the harbour bridge, pale in comparison to Rangitoto's grandeur and surrounding land and seascape. According to Auckland City Council there is a commonly held view among Aucklanders that the region's built environment does not live up to its natural setting.[17]

This was a view in 2008 reiterated by international urbanist, Paul Murrien, from the United Kingdom. On visiting Auckland, as a guest of the New Zealand Planning Institute, he noted that Auckland is one of the most stunning cities in the world because of its natural setting. However, this has meant that the councils and development community of Auckland have been able to ignore the poor quality of the city's built environment whilst still maintaining a high quality of life.[18] In other words, there is a desperate need to improve the urban design of the city despite the fact that it is currently ranked fourth for quality of life. This is reinforced by the fact that Auckland only ranks forty-eighth internationally for its infrastructure in comparison to Vancouver's ranking of sixth[19] in the same survey by Mercer on quality of life.[20]

Until the start of the 21st century the practice of urban design was rarely referred to in the management of cities, development processes, district plans, policies or planning legislation within New Zealand. There had also not been any serious consideration of what a bicultural approach to urban design might entail. The *Resource Management Act 1991*, which governs development in New Zealand, was heralded as a leading piece of legislation in terms of environmental planning and the incorporation of indigenous people's rights. However, in terms of urban environments its focus has been on minimizing or mitigating adverse environmental effects, whilst also allowing for flexibility

---

[14] Auckland City Council, *Designing Great Places for Our People*, 6.
[15] Julia Gatley, "A Big House in the Pacific: The New Zealand Pavilion at Expo 70, Osaka," in *On Adam's House in the Pacific, Symposium in Honour of Joseph Rykwert* (Auckland, N.Z.: University of Auckland, 2008).
[16] Auckland City Council, *Designing Great Places for Our People*, 10.
[17] Auckland City Council, *Designing Great Places for Our People*, 22.
[18] Paul Murrien, (keynote address, Urban Design Masterclass, New Zealand Planning Institute, Auckland, N.Z., February 12-14, 2008).
[19] Rosalea Barker, "Will Greater Auckland Stop Auckland Being the Greatest?," *Scoop* 18 May 2009; Mercer, *Mercer's 2009 Quality of Living*, (accessed June 12, 2009).
[20] Mercer, *Mercer's 2009 Quality of Living*, (accessed June 12, 2009).

in development opportunities, in order to meet market and industry needs. This has resulted in a relatively non-restrictive planning regime in terms of urban design. For the Auckland Region, the challenges of contemporary urban issues are also compounded by the lack of a strong urban precedent and by rapid population growth. This has resulted in a poor standard of intensive forms of urban development, further environmental degradation, a struggling public transport network and significant community backlash against urban intensification, in addition to concerns about housing affordability.

An increased focus on the importance of urban design in the Auckland Region has arisen from the need to respond to public outcry, and the advocacy of committed professionals (predominately architects and town planners) with urban design interests. In Auckland City this change was spearheaded by community and professional groups concerned about the future of Auckland's Central Business District.[21] A catalyst for change was the central city Britomart Rail Station proposal in 1995, which was strongly opposed by the community and architectural profession. As a result of their lobbying, a new approach was proposed that resulted in a significantly better urban design outcome for the city in 1999.[22] Since then the Urban Issues Group of the Auckland Branch of the New Institute of Architects has undertaken substantial political advocacy for better urban design, and 'Urban Auckland – The Society for the Protection of Auckland City and Waterfront' has undertaken both advocacy and legal action.[23]

As a result of these actions, and the advocacy of other community organisations, from the turn of the twenty-first century urban design in Auckland is becoming increasingly recognized as being necessary to ensure safe, attractive and sustainable urban areas that support economic vitality and healthy communities. A significant number of new regulatory and non-regulatory initiatives have evolved from central government's Ministry for the Environment (MFE) and local authorities in the Auckland Region. These target property developers, design professionals and government agencies,

---

[21] For example: Urban Auckland – The Society of the Protection of Auckland City and Waterfront; the Urban Issues Group of the Auckland Branch of the New Zealand Institute of Architects.

[22] The now-built Britomart Railway Station replaced an orgininally proposed underground bus and rail station with corporate towers above. The original proposal generated strong public opposition, and was stopped only after the developer missed contractual deadlines, and local government elections resulted in a change of mayoralty. The built scheme, and future precinct development, was the result of a two-stage design competition and included an urban design framework for the renewal of the heritage buildings that would otherwise have been destroyed. The area is now a regenerating urban quarter with an unique character, and a distinctive, award winning railway station.
New Zealand. Ministry for the Environment, *Urban Design Case Studies*, 27.

[23] Urban Auckland – Society for the Protection of Auckland City and Waterfront Inc *v* Auckland City Council [2005] NZRMA 155 (High Court). Quoted in New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), *Review of Urban Design Case Law,* (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2008).

as well as the general public. Initiatives include the *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol* (2005), new consent processes such as the use of Urban Design Panels,[24] best practice design guidelines,[25] buyer advice,[26] local government policy documents,[27] central government research,[28] design awards,[29] educational opportunities,[30] and a growing multi-disciplinary network of professionals, in particular through a national Urban Design Forum.[31]

Alongside these non-regulatory initiatives are more controls on urban development requiring detailed structure planning initiatives to inform District Plan Changes, and more detailed design assessment criteria. The use of more detailed assessment criteria for the design of buildings, and specific rules pertaining to key urban issues (such as where to locate car parking), give local authorities more power to control design and development decisions that have a significant influence on the character and functioning of urban environments. There are also a number of examples where urban design concerns have been upheld in case law under the *Resource Management Act 1991*,[32] further strengthening the ability to enforce urban design policy objectives and design principles.

---

[24] For example: Auckland City Council and Manukau City Council have urban design panels and North Shore City Council has been considering the establishment of a panel.

[25] For example: MFE, *Urban Design Case Studies*; MFE, *Urban Design Case Studies : Local Government*; MFE, "Urban Design Toolkit,"; ACC and NSCC, *Good Solutions Guide for Apartments*; North Shore City Council (NSCC) *Good Solutions Guide for Mixed Use Developments in Town Centres,* North Shore City Council (Takapuna, N.Z.), 2005.

[26] For example: North Shore CIty Council, *What to Look for When Buying a Terraced House or Apartment*.

[27] For example: Auckland City Council, *Designing Great Places for Our People*; Viv Heslop, "City Urban Design Strategy – Hamilton City Council," in *Urban Design Case Studies : Local Government*.

[28] For example: Sustainable Development Unit, "Building Sustainable Urban Communities ", ed., The Department of Internal Affairs (Wellington: New Zealand Government, 2008).

[29] For example: the New Zealand Institute of Architects now have an award for urban design.

[30] For example: The University of Auckland now offers a Master of Urban Design course; The New Zealand Planning Institute ran a three day professional short course with the international urbanist Paul Murrain, (Urban Design Masterclass, New Zealand Planning Institute, Auckland, N.Z., February 12-14, 2008; Auckland City Council has been running a series of 'Lunchtime Learning 'lectures, with local and international speakers, for their staff and sometimes in collaboration with other councils.

[31] The Urban Design Forum was established in 2000 to 'promote cross-disciplinary understanding of urban design'. It is run by volunteers with support from the New Zealand Planning Institute (NZPI). Participating professional institutes now incude: New Zealand Institute of Landscape Architects (NZILA), Institute of Professional Engineers of New Zealand (IPENZ), New Zealand Institute of Architects Incorporated (NZIA), New Zealand Institute of Surveyors (NZIS). Urban Design Forum, "Urban Design Forum", Melcom Communications, http://www.urbandesignforum.org.nz/. (accessed June 15, 2009).

[32] New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), *Review of Urban Design Case Law,* (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2008). Also available online at http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/urban/review-urban-design-case-law-2008-11/index.html

Many of these new urban design initiatives include references to the importance of expressing elements of Māori history and culture within the city. However, it is the culture of the United Kingdom that produced the colonial city of Auckland and arguably continue to shape the contemporary city. The professionals and politicians responsible for the development of the city, including town planners, architects, engineers, and more recently urban designers continue to turn to their British counterparts and peers in other colonial countries to increase their knowledge in the search for answers to contemporary urban issues.[33] All of this is evidenced by the now regular visits of international experts who are sponsored by city councils, transport organisations, and professional institutes together with the regular recruitment of professionals from overseas (primarily Australia and the United Kingdom), to fill the now recognized skill gaps within industries involved in urban development. There is a lot to be learnt from these individuals and professional organizations, which can provide a wide range of innovative solutions to urban issues that Auckland shares with other cities. However, to rely solely on information from overseas sources cannot be described as anything other than a continuation of the colonial processes that started at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

International experts and urban design practices cannot answer the question of what Māori or bicultural approaches to urban design might entail in the context of New Zealand. Instead, as experienced by Pita Turei of Ngāti Paoa and Ngai Tai ki Tamaki descent, "ignorant New Zealand European professionals and transient pan-national professionals and companies", are problematic because they are not interested in meaningful engagement with Māori, even if their government clients are. This has resulted in big international companies shutting Maori out and not buying into the Treaty, nor seeking an understanding of the culture. [34] Instead they treat Māori as a minority interest groups, not giving their opinion the status they deserve. Turei's concern is that this is leading to a structuring of beaucratic processes that continues to keep Maori out of having a meaningful partnership with the city and involvement in urban design processes.[35]

---

[33] Examples of this include the high level of professional interest in the projects and publications of the United Kingdom's Centre for Architecture and Built Environment (CABE) and the English Partnerships National Regeneration Agency; the New Urbanism, Smart Growth and Transit Orientated Development (TOD) movements from the United States of America; and interest in urban design projects and policy intiatives from Australia.

[34] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previsously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.

[35] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previsously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.

The Treaty of Waitangi

In 1841 Auckland was founded as the capital of New Zealand, and named by Governor Hobson after Lord Auckland.[36] In February 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by many Māori chiefs and the representatives of the British Crown, and New Zealand became an official colony of the British Empire. The effects on Māori as a result of the British colonisation of New Zealand were substantial, in that the world that they knew was changed dramatically forever.

The Treaty of Waitangi as a legal document has been crucial for the contemporary reclamation of Māori rights. It sets a precedent for a binational approach to the governance and development of land, and subsequently the process of urban design. The intention of the Treaty of Waitangi, as per the meaning of its English text, was supposedly to ensure equity between indigenous Māori and the European settlers of the British Empire, whereby the crown offered its protection and all the rights of British citizens in return for sovereignty over New Zealand. However, the Māori and English versions of the treaty do not have the same meaning. A copy of the two translations is included in Appendix A. The differences between the two versions of the Treaty revolve around the use of the words kāwanatanga (government) and rangatiratanga (chieftainship) in the Māori version of the Treaty. In the Māori version, the term used to describe sovereignty in the first article of the Treaty was kāwanatanga not rangatiratanga, which more accurately reflects the intent of the Crown in asking for the ceding of sovereignty. In contrast to this, Article Two of the Treaty guarantees Māori rangatiratanga over 'their lands, villages and all their treasures'.[37] For Māori, only governorship, not sovereignty was ceded to the British Crown because rangatiratanga remained with the Māori chiefs. Thus, the Treaty upholds two forms of law, kāwanatanga being the English law, and rangatiratanga being tikanga Māori. However, Pākehā thought (and many still think) that this means one English law for all, whereas Māori saw it as English law for the Pākehā, but tikanga Māori for Māori.[38]

The debate here is not just about the difference between possession and chieftainship, which in Māori equates to sovereignty, but it is also about what can be defined as a 'treasure' as opposed to just property. This is further complicated by the fact that Māori had no concept of the European form

---

[36] Michael King and David Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, (North Shore, N.Z.: Penguin, 2007), 145.

[37] Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiritio Waitangi, "Kawharu Translation" in "Treaty of Waitangi", Waitangi Tribunal, http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/kawharutranslation.asp, (accessed July 4, 2009).

[38] Marcia Stenson, *The Treaty : Every New Zealander's Guide to the Treaty of Waitangi*, (Auckland, N.Z.: Random House, 2004), 49.

of colonial land tenure that involves individual ownership in contrast to communal use. Overtime, as the population of European settlers rapidly grew, the Crown used all means possible to acquire Māori land, many of which were unjust and undermined the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. This has now been recognized by the Crown, which has been negotiating with Māori to settle many claims for compensation through the Office of Treaty Settlements, either directly with iwi Māori or after a claim has been heard by the Waitangi Tribunal.

> Claims to the Waitangi Tribunal are complaints that the Crown has breached the Treaty of Waitangi by particular actions, inactions, laws, or policies and that Māori have suffered prejudice (harmful effects) as a result.[39]

The processes of 'Treaty claims' against the Crown for breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi is of historical and contemporary political importance to the practice of urban design in New Zealand. The objective of the Treaty settlement process that claimants reach with the Crown is 'to remove grievances with a fair, comprehensive, final and durable solution,'[40] and to bring about 'peace and reconciliation.'[41] In this process, the Crown 'hopes to lay the basis for greater social cohesion.'[42] Within a Treaty settlement, there is typically a formal apology from the Crown, a cash and asset settlement, cultural redress (such as the return of wāhi tapu), and recognition of the tribes' traditional relationships with the natural environment (in particular with lakes, rivers, mountains, forests and wetlands), and sometimes an agreement to share in the management of these areas.[43] In the case of the Ōrākei Act this involves a formal co-management agreement between Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei and Auckland City Council, for the reserve land of Ōkahu Bay and Bastion Point, known as Whenua Rangatira (the land of the chiefs).

The Treaty settlement processes are important to the process of urban design, because they involve the return of mana over land and recognition of rangatiratanga. Not only do they provide Māori

---

[39] Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiritio Waitangi, "Introduction" in "The Claims Process", Waitangi Tribunal, http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/claims/, (accessed July 4, 2009).
[40] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 90.
[41] New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process Report, Waitangi Tribunal Report*, (Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct, 2007), 2.
[42] Margaret Wilson, then the Minister in Charge of Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations, in the foreward to the Office of Treaty Settlements' policy manual New Zealand Office of Treaty Settlements, *Healing the Past, Building a Future : A Guide to Treaty of Waitangi Claims and Direct Negotiations with the Crown = Ka Tika ā Muri, Ka Tika ā Mua : He Tohutohu Whakamārama I Ngā Whakataungā Kerēme E Pā Ana Ki Te Tiriti O Waitangi Me Ngā Whakaritengā Ki Te Karauna*, [2nd ed. (Wellington [N.Z.]: Office of Treaty Settlements, 2002). Quoted in Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement*, 2.
[43] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 90.

tribal groups with the opportunity to be developers in their own right, they also re-affirm tribal involvement in the politics of the city or region. In contemporary New Zealand, rangatiratanga can be described as being about Māori self-determination. The aim of this is "to give life to Māori world views in a contemporary context, [and] to take principles of Māori law and adapt them to suit present-day realities."[44] Subsequently, in terms of urban design rangatiratanga is about the practice of tikanga Māori, in accordance with the protocols of tikanga Māori, so that the mana of rangatira (chieftain, chieftainess), iwi and hapū is upheld within the urban landscape of the city. This requires rangatira to have a role in sharing decisions that effect areas of concern to them.

The success of Treaty settlements in addressing grievances depends on the process of negotiation and apology, and ensuring that there is no future cause for new grievances. This is particularly relevant in Auckland where recent negotiations between the Crown and Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei have not addressed the concerns of other related iwi groups with interests in the area. The Waitangi Tribunal, on investigating the process undertaken by the Crown, has listed multiple points on which the Office of Treaty Settlements through not meeting with other tribal claimants failed to follow the protocols of both tikanga Māori and their own policies. This has raised significant questions about the 'Treaty claims' process and its effectiveness at resolving grievances.[45]

In Tāmaki Makaurau, the Treaty settlement process is made more complex because there are multiple tribal groups with competing or overlapping interests in the isthmus. These extend back to the migration of the first canoes, and due to the shifts of conquest and intermarriage have resulted in a complex patterning of tribal inter-relationships with the land. The Māori politics of Tāmaki Makaurau, as historically contested whenua, continues to be particularly heated because of the Treaty settlements process.[46] This, out of necessity, has had an impact on the shape of this thesis,

---

[44] Ani Mikaere, *Māori and Self-Determination in Aotearoa/New Zealand, (*Hamilton, N.Z.: University of Waikato) 2000, as cited in Stenson, *The Treaty*.

[45] "Confronted in Tāmaki Makaurau with a settlement process and outcome that seems to us to be more flawed than any the Tribunal has inquired into, we think that the time has come to step back from the narrow focus taken previously. If these problems keep arising, and are indeed getting worse, is there really something fundamentally wrong with the way Treaty Claims are being settled?" Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement*, 1.

[46] Chris Barton, "Government Orders Hui on $90m Deal,"*New Zealand Herald*, October 4, 2007; Chris Barton and Catherine Masters, "Back to Drawing Board; Picking Winners and Losers." *New Zealand Herald*, June 16, 2007.
Chris Barton, "When History Is on Trial," *New Zealand Herald*, March 17, 2007; Chris Barton, "Flak Flies over Treaty Secrets," *New Zealand Herald,* May 5, 2007; Chris Barton, "The Battle for Auckland," *New Zealand Herald*, July 29, 2006; Chris Barton, "Disputed Land Legacy," *New Zealand Herald*, September 30, 2006.

particularly in relation to historical information as noted in the previous chapter, because any discussion about urban design cannot be separated from politics, whether Māori or European.

Although political debate continues over the Treaty of Waitangi and its authority, meaning, and contemporary and historical relevance,[47] its importance, and the rights of Māori as guaranteed by the Māori version of the Treaty, are now acknowledged in key pieces of Government legislation. As the historian, Marcia Stenson states, 'The Treaty is not just about righting past wrongs, it is about future lines of development'.[48] Current discussions around the Treaty are reflected in other colonial countries where:

> "Many indigenous communities, tribes and nations are in dialogue with the states which once attempted by all means possible to get rid of them. Serious intellectual thought is going into considering the possibilities of new arrangements between states and indigenous peoples.'[49]

An example of these 'new arrangements' is the importance now placed on Māori cultural issues within key pieces of Government legislation. Of particular relevance to urban design is the fact that both the *Resource Management Act 1991* and *The Local Government Amendment Act 2002,* which control land development and local authority management and investment in the urban environment, require decision-makers to take account of Māori concerns. These pieces of legislation are discussed in Chapter 3.

(E) Merging Bicultural and Pacific Identities

Alongside changes in legislation are changes in culture. New Zealand, at the same time as struggling with addressing generic issues related to urban design and sustainable urban development, is searching to establish and strengthen its unique national identity. This is evident not just in terms of culture and arts, but also architecture and urban design where there is evidence of both a merging and emerging of bicultural identity that reflects the shared experiences of New Zealanders growing up with experiences of both cultures to varying degrees.

---

[47] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 17.
[48] Stenson, *The Treaty,* 27.
[49] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 99.

Whilst Pākehā culture is dominant in terms of power, history and population majority, Māori culture has maintained, or reclaimed, dominance in terms of a longer history and the fervent commitment of its people to ensure their survival.[50] This is resulting in a deconstruction of the binary power dynamic of colonised and coloniser that has shaped the 'nation' of New Zealand in a manner similar to that experienced by other indigenous peoples in colonised countries.

Post-colonial discourses provide an interesting framework for discussion. The framing of Māori and European settler power relations as a dominant coloniser and subjugated colonised culture assists in understanding historical issues, events and biases. This also explains in part the contemporary form and character of colonial cities, which were initially a product of imperial expansion and colonial aspirations. An understanding of these colonising processes, cultural biases and power struggles can also prevent them from recurring, which is essential for informing contemporary processes such as 'Treaty claims,' and especially the design of a city. However, to limit cultural discourses to the binary opposites of colonial power positions prevents the emergence of alternatives.

In contemporary New Zealand, the lines of distinction between the two generalised positions of colonised and coloniser are no longer as distinct as they once were. This is also evident in how the cultural identity of Māori, Pākehā, and all other New Zealanders is based in part on shared experiences of both cultures, and continually reinforced by new generations of mixed descent. For example:

> The parts of their heritage which might be English, Chinese or Samoan is never denied, but in Māori terms they are simply mokopuna [grandchildren] because it is impossible to have only a 'part grandchild'. Whakapapa is not divisible because mokopuna cannot be divided into discrete parts.[51]

If the need to choose between whakapapa and cultures is forced, the result is that one of the two cultures or people groups is suppressed and the other dominates. This is evident in the physical form and character of Auckland City where there is minimal visible reference to the Māori past of the isthmus. As is discussed in chapter six of this thesis, this is a direct result of Māori exclusion (until recently) from the Eurocentric processes that established, formed and continue to govern the city.

---

[50] Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural*, 6.
[51] Ngāti Kahungunu lawyer, Moana Jackson as quoted by Pita Sharples, "Pita Sharples: Identity Cannot Be Measured in Parts," *New Zealand Herald*, 29 September 2006.

Major shifts in government policy and legislation, to better support the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in response to Māori activism, have assisted iwi Māori in reclaiming rights as indigenous peoples, and facilitated the emergence of a bicultural New Zealand identity. Glimpses of emerging bicultural identities are evident within the fields of New Zealand's art, performing arts, fashion, sports uniforms, the popularity of haka (dance; or in the case of rugby it is a war dance), increasing respect for Māori protocols, and the interest by non-Māori in learning to speak te reo Māori.

In terms of the relationship between Māori and Europeans, or Pakeha, the categories of colonised and coloniser are not as distinct as they once were.[52] In contemporary New Zealand a person can essentially be both Māori and European, or Colonised or Coloniser to varying degrees at the same time. Cultural identity in New Zealand is no longer a situation of clear-cut binary opposites, but a continuum between the two cultures. This is a continuum upon which the descendents of the colonised can in fact be part of the perpetuation of colonising processes, and the theoretical coloniser is a party to subverting this process. A continuum upon which the lines that demark these differences are not always clear, and can forever be changing in that as a nation, and as individuals, we grow and change by personal choice and because of other factors.

But whilst conceptualising the bicultural identities of New Zealand as being on a continuum between the cultural origins of indigenous Māori and European settlers, breaking down the binary constructs of colonised and coloniser, the power dynamic between the two cultures is not necessarily equally divided. In terms of urban design, any action justified to support Māori or bicultural outcomes, such as the waterfront example in the introduction, still requires interrogation to determine if it really is achieving the objectives of Māori, or is still just fulfilling Pākehā agendas.

Two significant examples of a bicultural attempt at urban design in Auckland City are the central motorway interchange (2007) and the waterfront redevelopment around the Viaduct Harbour in the late 1990's. Both of these major projects, as shown in Figures 11 and 12, use Māori historical references in artwork and patterning to add texture to the otherwise Eurocentric construction of public space and road infrastructure. These examples, and their success or failure, will be discussed in chapters three and nine

---

[52] For example: A key reason for Pākehā learning Te Reo Māori, as cited by Wanangā chief executive, Bentham Ohia is that many of the Pākehā students were parents of Māori children and wanted their children to know the language. Yvonne Tahana Māori, "Pākehā Put in a Word for the Wanangā ," *New Zealand Herald*, 25 July 2007.

Writing about indigenous research methodologies, and also being applicable to urban design, Linda Tuhiwai Smith emphasises how a constant reworking of understandings about the impact of imperialism and colonialism is an important aspect of indigenous cultural politics and critique, and requires a spirit of 're-visioning'.[53] To enable a re-working of urban design that critiques the colonial position requires, a 're-visioning' or perhaps a re-positioning in terms of spatial orientation, hierarchy, and hegemony. This requires acknowledging that:

> '… it may be argued that simultaneously present in any landscape are multiple enunciations of distinct forms of space, and these may be reconnected to the process of re-visioning [through] remembering the spatialities of counter hegemonic cultural practices'.[54]

In terms of re-visioning, the motifs used on the new central motorway interchange and the detailed design elements of the Viaduct Harbour have introduced the graphic techniques of bringing an additional layer of meaning to urban elements. When undertaken in accordance with tikanga Māori these are a positive step towards "reinstating the visual iconography of our [Māori] culture."[55] On the Viaduct Harbour and along the waterfront this approach has been complemented by specific pieces of artwork, which bring tribal histories to the forefront and attribute mana. The ahi kā sculpture shown in Figure 13, which was incorporated into the redesign of Queen Elizabeth II Square as part of the Britomart rail station development, is an example of artwork being used to make a statement on the politics of tikanga Māori. The principle of ahi kā (home fires burning) will be discussed in chapter five, but in summary the sculpture can be interpretated as a political statement of how the iwi and hapu of Tamaki Makaurau have survived and wish to reassert their mana within the city.

These artworks are positive developments and subsequently should be applauded. They also support the growth of bicultural (Māori and Pākehā) identities and fulfil the binational requirements of legislation. However, they also fit comfortably within the established parameters of urban design in terms of Eurocentric frameworks and points of reference. They pose no threat to established

---

[53] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 24.
[54] Steve Pile, "Introduction," in *Place and the Politics of Identity*, ed. M. Keith and S.Pile (Florence, KY, USA: Routeledge, 1993), 6.
[55] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previsously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.

practices of urban development, and the question needs to be asked, 'Are they effectively "re-visioning and remembering the spatialities of counter hegemonic cultural practices [?]"[56]

The previous examples are effective, or at least are a step in the right direction, but another example of where Māori history has been used as a design concept has been referred to by Māori as "cultural shoplifting."[57] At the Onewa Road interchange of the State Highway One motorway, as shown in Figure 14, the panels on the curved motorway barriers of the access ramps of the interchange have been textured to represent the scales of fish, or eels, and at various spacings are panels with an imprint of a fishing hook. The design is considered an example of cultural shoplifting because ideas from Māori history are taken and reinterpreted by international artists and consultants to create abstract design ideas that are percieved by the public as being 'Māori', without iwi Māori participation.[58] This appropriation of Māori referencese without the recognition of tribal mana and rangitiratanga, and without the application of tikanga Māori to guide the process, is a new for colonising that further disenfranchises Māori. This example, like the hotel example in the introduction, illustrates that what on the surface may appear to be bicultural may in reality be nothing more than window dressing with well entrenched colonial practices, where Māori culture is kept subservient to the objectives of Eurocentric- based development concepts.

Multiculturalism

One of the issues currently used to argue against specific recognition of Māori culture within urban design processes, and the rights of iwi Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi, is the fact that Auckland City and Region (and New Zealand) is becoming increasingly multi-cultural. However, just as urban design and urban sustainability are not unique to New Zealand as issues of importance, neither is this multicultural situation. For example:

---

[56] Pile, "Introduction", 6.
[57] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previsously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.
[58] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previsously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.

As of 2008, 40% of London's total population is from an ethnic minority group.[59] Across London, Black and Asian children outnumber White British children by about six to four.[60]

Whilst the mix of cultures may vary, the complexities of issues that result from a multicultural society are a fact of life for many contemporary cities. What remains contentious in the New Zealand context, in reference to policy approaches to multiculturalism, is the default presumption that it is the Pākehā culture of British origin that predominately defines New Zealand culture in terms of its social and political constructs, and against which other cultures are contrasted; and that New Zealand is not a bicultural nation, but multicultural. Thus there is an argument that the Treaty of Waitangi is no longer relevant and the uniqueness of Māori culture and concerns need not be addressed. These lines of thought focus on individual rights and also places all minorities, including Māori, together, therefore failing to recognise the unique political status of indigenous people.[61]

It is the use of the 'multicultural argument' to 'depoliticise' the concept of biculturalism that has led sociologists, Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley to offer the term 'bi-nationalism' as an alternative to biculturalism. Their rationale is that in referring explicitly to nationalism they are reflecting the duality of two sovereign groups and forms of governance that came into being with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, rather than culture.

Fleras and Spoonley's argument can be understood by understanding the difference between culture and nation. Culture can be broadly defined as "the way of life accepted and adopted by a society"[62] that also reflects the differences between ethnic groups in terms of how they view and respond to life.[63] Using this definition, New Zealand has a great diversity of cultures within the two groupings of Māori (e.g. Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Paoa, Ngā Puhi …) and Pākehā (e.g. English, Irish, Scottish, Teenagers …), as well as others (e.g. Chinese, Taiwanese, Samoan, Tongan, Somali …). However, a

[59] London Councils, "Press Release: London's Black and Minority Communities Helped to Have a Greater Voice by London Councils ," London Councils, 14 January 2008. Also available at http://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/media/current/pressdetail.htm?pk=531 (accessed May 25, 2009).

[60] Graeme Paton, "One Fifth of Children from Ethnic Minorities," *The Daily Telegraph (UK)*, 1 October 2007. Quoted in *Wikipedia*, s.v. "London", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London, (accessed May 25, 2009).

[61] Jay T Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management and Indigenous Self-Determination" (PhD diss., Geograpny: University of Hawai'i), 2003.

[62] Maori Marsden and Te Ahukaram u Charles Royal, *The Woven Universe : Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (Otaki, N.Z.: Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003), 34.

[63] Marsden and Royal, *The Woven Universe*, 34.

nation is a sovereign state within which multiple cultures may exist, but must conform to the laws of the dominant culture as defined by the state. A binational nation is one where there are two forms of sovereignty, or governance, in place reflecting the two dominant cultures that inform two different approaches to life, but within which there may still be multiple other cultures.

It is important to understand the difference between the terms bicultural, multicultural, and bi-nationalism when discussing culture and to consider appropriate participation and decisionmaking processes in urban design. Fleras and Spoonley describe multiculturalism as striving to "improve the ability of institutions to accommodate the difference; [and] bi-nationalism entails the creation of political space for the control of institutions."[64] In terms of public spaces, multiculturalism is about the freedom and flexibility of its use by different cultures and the removal of 'discriminatory barriers',[65] whereas bi-nationalism reflects the principles of 'jurisdiction',[66] shared decision-making and acknowledgement of Māori tino rangatiratanga. "Biculturalism," writes Fleras and Spoonley "tends to sit between these two poles, and so is rejected by the multiculturalists, who regard it as too extreme and by the bi-nationalisms, who see it as too moderate."[67]

This thesis refers to both biculturalism and binationalism. It is important to clarify where and how these terms are used in this thesis, because the use of 'biculturalism' here differs from that of Fleras and Spoonley, in that it is not about Māori-Pākehā relations, but about a cultural identity or 'sense of place.' This identity draws from both cultures and signifies a merging, or emergence, of a collective bicultural identity based on shared experiences of both cultures to varying degrees. In contrast to this emphasis on culture, I have used the term 'binationalism' where specific reference is being made to decision-making, legislation and power sharing in governance.

It is important to reiterate that a binational framework does not invalidate the importance of multiculturalism, because they are not mutually exclusive. This was evident in the recent debate over customary rights over parts of the coastal foreshore, when Pacific Island leaders marched in support of Māori who sought customary title to parts of the foreshore. The people of Pacific Island descent living in New Zealand outnumber Māori in the Auckland Region and have a strong and thriving mix of cultural identities reflecting their countries of origin. However, because they share ancestral ties, and therefore cultural values and similarities in language, with Māori they also understand the Māori

---

[64] Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1999), 246.
[65] Fleras and Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa,* 247.
[66] Fleras and Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa,* 247.
[67] Fleras and Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa,* 247.

relationship to this land and the protocols of mana and tapu that are associated with these relationships.

As discussed, the bicultural identity of New Zealanders could be described as a continuum between the cultures of indigenous Māori and European settlers. This sits clearly within what is referred to by Henri Lefebvre as being a third space that seperates the dualized relationships of colonialism to create an in-between position that is radically open to all possible relationships.[68] With the added dimensions of an increasingly multicultural society the dynamics and possibilities of relationships between individuals and cultures expands infinitely beyond the complexities of a third space, if that third space is defined as a product of two differing cultures mixed in varying degrees. This is made all the more prevalent in an era of global communication, trade, migration and immigration that increasingly opens up opportunities for cultural hybridisation by making more accessible multiple combinations of increasingly global cultures. However, this thesis is focused on the already complex 'third space' of a bicultural New Zealand in terms of identity, and a binational framework for urban design, which is not yet understood by many non-Māori New Zealanders.

Summary

Auckland has a distinctive landscape and two beautiful harbours that are highly valued by Pākehā. This landscape is also unique in the world and is what supports Auckland's high quality of life. Since the start of the twenty-first century many new initiatives for improving the urban design of cities in New Zealand, particularly those in the Auckland Region, have been developed. Many of these encourage the inclusion of Māori cultural and historical elements to support the creation of urban characters that are uniquely New Zealand. These policies, and resulting designs, are a result of changes in legislation and reflect the (e)merging of Māori and Pākehā identities. These bicultural identities are located along a continuum, or alternatively within a third space outside of the binary categories of colonisation. Where other cultures are included this results in an increasingly diverse and complex mix of bicultural and multicultural identities. However, this multiculturalism does not change New Zealand's foundation as a binational country through the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi.

---

[68] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* Translated by D. Nicholson-Smith. Malden, (Massachusetts: Blackwell). Quoted in Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management and Indigenous Self-Determination", 120.

Within the practice of urban design there is minimal understanding of what a bicultural approach to urban design might entail and how to work with Māori within a binational framework. Robust critique and a better understanding of tikanga Māori is needed to ensure attempts at bicultural interpretations of urban design do not result in a continuation of the colonising practices of imperialism, and further disenfranchisement of Māori culture and rights. It is also needed to ensure that bicultural approaches are not limited to spatial forms and hierarchies that are defined by their colonial origins; and that the frames of reference used in urban design are not limited to those approved by Eurocentric discourses, because to do so would perpetuate the dominance of imperialism.[69]

---

[69] For example: "[Design] through 'imperial eyes' describes an approach which assumes that Western ideas about the most fundamental things are the only ideas possible to hold, certainly the only rational ideas, and the only ideas which can make sense of the world, of reality, of social like and of human beings." Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 56.
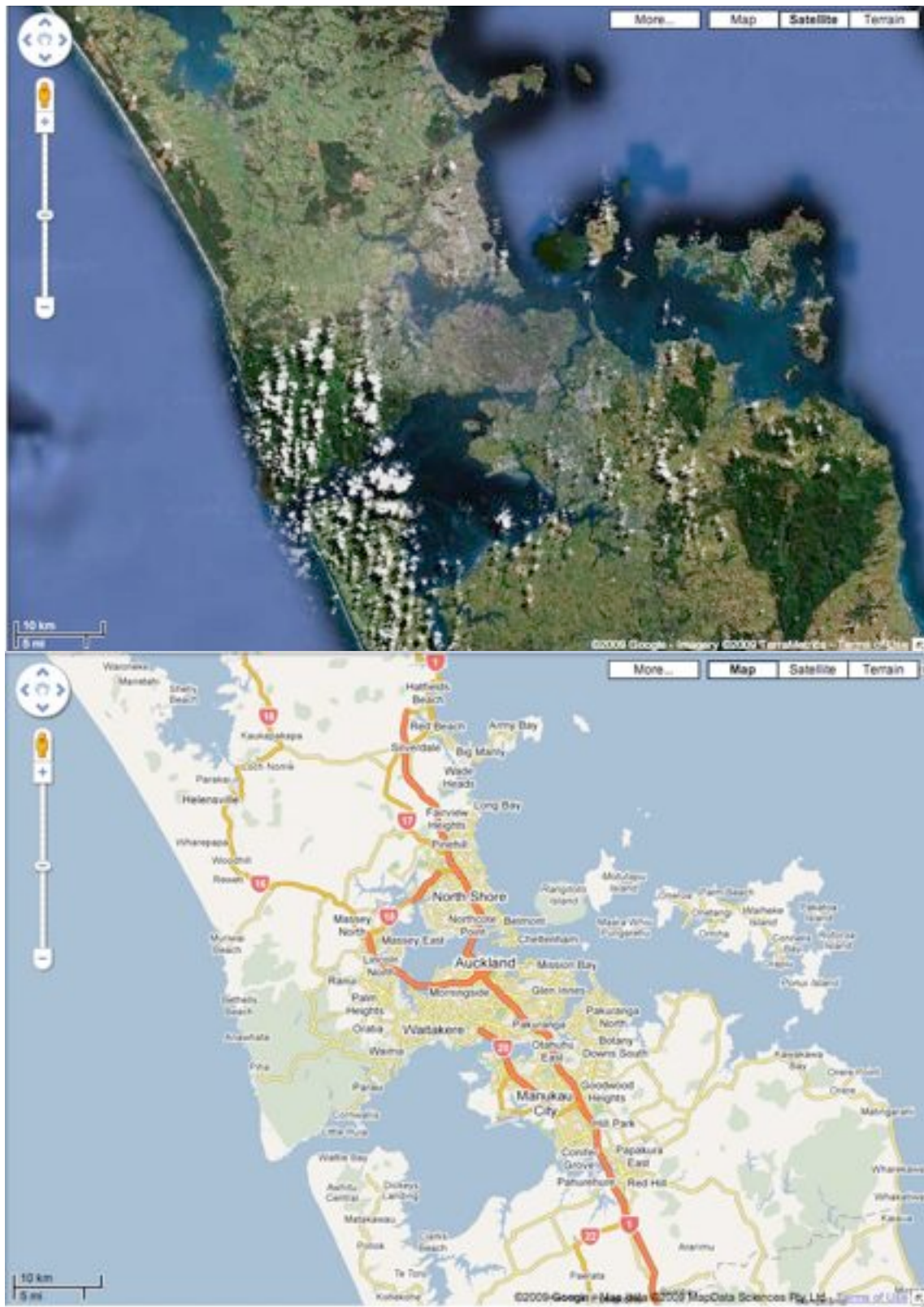
Figure 8 - The Auckland Region (Map and Aerial Photography from Google Earth, 2009

Figure 9 - Looking from the Waitemata Harbour, across the central business district of Auckland City, to Waitakere City and Ranges in the background, with a glimpse of the Manukau Harbour to the far left. This would have been taken between about 2000 – 2001, whilst the AMP (now Coopers and Lybrand) building on the waterfront was under construction. (Photo by Auckland Regional Council, "Our Auckland," Auckland Regional Council, http://www.arc.govt.nz/auckland/our-auckland/our-auckland_home.cfm. (accessed June 25, 2009))

Auckland's special character derives from its harbour setting, volcanic landscape, native vegetation and rich history of human settlement.

Figure 10 - Defining Images of Auckland City. (Photos from Auckland City Council, *Designing Great Places for Our People***, (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland City Coucil, 2007), 8)**

Figure 11 - The motifs on the Central Motorway Interchange, representing the Karaka Trees that gave the head of the valley its Maori name of Te Uru Karaka (The Head of Karaka). (Photo by author, 2008).

Figure 12 - The pattern used in the paving for the Viaduct harbour, represents patiki (flounder) and the desire to uphold the principle of manaakitanga (hospitality) to visitors.
(Photo by author, 2009)

Figure 13 - 'Te Ahi Kaa Roa', by Ngati Whatua, outside the Britomart Railway station in Queen Elizabeth II square, (Photo by author, 2009).

Figure 14 - Onewa Road Interchange. The pattern represents the areas used by Māori for fishing. (Photo by author, 2009)

Chapter Three: Tikanga within New Zealand legislation and policies relevant to Urban Design in Auckland.

> Across the Waitemata, waiting to make her entrance,
> is Rangitoto, last born of Ruaimoko, the god of volcanoes.
> Still young, is she only to be seen from an indulgent
> distance and her unheard questions left unanswered?
> Perhaps now is the time to seek a different view and
> look back …
> From Rangitoto![1]

This quote from the beginning of Robert Goldstone's book summarises the intent of the next four chapters, which focus on looking to the past to see if it presents a different view of the present. Māori place great emphasis on history as a means of informing the present, and this is an important kaupapa that underpins tikanga Māori. The following will show how learning from the past and respecting the mana of those who have gone before are critical to Māori perspectives on land and settlement, and subsequently indigenous and bicultural approaches to urban design.

This chapter introduces tikanga Māori, which encompasses the customs and traditions of Māori that govern all aspects of life, and can be compared to legislation. It then explores the unique legislative and cultural context of New Zealand within which urban designers must practice and shows that it requires tikanga Māori to be addressed. Key elements of tikanga Māori included in legislation and in the *Te Aranga - Cultural Landscapes Strategy*, are identified. Most of these tikanga are poorly understood by non-Māori and chapters seven and eight seek to explain their kaupapa, or foundational principles, with particular reference to the practice of urban design.

---

[1] Robert Goldstone, *The Tears of Rangitoto*, beginning of text.

Tikanga Māori

'Tika' means that which is 'fair', 'true' or 'proper',[2] and 'tikanga ' is most simply translated as being the 'right way of doing things', encompassing method, plan, reason and custom.[3] Important in tikanga Māori is the perspective that it is from the past and the actions of the ancestors and gods that the wisdom of how to address contemporary issues is found. For example, the phrase 'i ngā wa o mua' translates as 'from the times of front' but this phrase means the past. Therefore the past is always in front of us, thus offers guidance, and the future is behind us, as very few can see the future and what it has in store for us.[4] This is why history is so important in te ao Māori. It is also indicative of the standpoint from which Māori view land and interpret the character of a place, which is discussed in chapter ten.

Tikanga can also be translated as legal obligations and conditions, and legal provisions,[5] such that the equivalent to tikanga in European culture is perhaps legislation. Legislation, being laws that a society, having collectively created, agrees to or is forced to live under. Urban design is about both processes and outcomes, and is controlled by the legal frameworks within which decisions on urban development are made. However, urban design can also inform and influence this legal framework, for example in the creation of District Plans that set rules and criteria for development in local areas. Hence, tikanga is applicable to the process of urban design.

Typically, English interpretations of Māori concepts within legislative and policy documents are limited to being little more than a sentence long.[6] However, translating important cultural concepts between languages is not easy, especially if there are very different epistemological frameworks.[7] This is further complicated by the fact that aspects of tikanga, like language dialects, vary between tribes, just as the laws set by local councils vary between territories. It is important to reiterate here that this thesis focuses on understanding the kaupapa that informs different practices of tikanga, and which are more generic across tribes, not the specifics of tikanga in practice. Kaupapa means 'ground rules', 'first or general principles', [8] 'strategy' or 'theme'.[9] In addition to the terms

---

[2] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 128.
[3] Marsden and Royal, *The Woven Universe*, 66.
[4] *Māori.org.nz*, s.v. 'tikanga', http://www.Māori.org.nz/tikanga / (accessed May, 31, 2008).
[5] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 297.
[6] Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management …", 158.
[7] Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management …", 158.
[8] Marsden and Royal, *The Woven Universe*, 66.
[9] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 101.

'kaupapa' and 'tikanga', is 'kawa', which refers to specific rules or protocols that can vary from tribe to tribe.[10] Kawa is sometimes used interchangeably with tikanga and its use may differ between tribes.[11]

When used in conjunction with other words the concept of tikanga is expanded and takes on multiple related meanings reflecting both traditional and contemporary practices.[12] Despite the new ways in which the word tikanga is being used, it is important to note that kaupapa, on which tikanga are based, are derived from the creation stories of the gods, the actions of the mythical heroes (such as Māui and Tawhaki) and the practices of ancient ancestors handed to their living descendants.

To truly understand tikanga Māori you have to start with the stories of the Māori gods[13] and ancestral heroes, hence the importance of the narratives discussed in chapter four to the process of urban design. Overtime, some actions become established as custom because they have been tested over time and are considered acceptable and appropriate as a way of achieving and fulfilling certain objectives and goals. These actions are known as tikanga Māori and do not require an appeal back to original kaupapa for validation. These proven methods, with their accompanying protocols, are integrated into Māori cultural institutions and incorporated into their cultural system of standards, values, attitudes and beliefs, and the practices of everyday life. Hence, they become accepted as being 'the right way of doing things'.[14]

An example of tikanga is how, in all tribes except Ngāti Porou, women are unable to speak on the marae ātea (ground in front of the meeting house). The reason for this is that the marae ātea is conceived as being the place of Tūmatauenga (God of War) and the tapu of women requires that they be protected from any insult or abuse from male orators.[15] After a pōwhiri (welcome ceremony) and within the wharenui (meeting house) women can speak because this is the realm of

---

[10] For example: A pōwhiri is an example of tikanga relating to the welcoming of visitors and lifting tapu, whereas the kawa refers to the specific order of elements and protocols within the pōwhiri, specific to a marae or iwi.

[11] Hiwi Tauroa and Patricia Tauroa, *Te Marae : A Guide to Customs & Protocol* (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Methuen, 1986), 146.

[12] For example: tikanga tuku iho (tradition); tikanga mahi (technique, method); tikanga -ā-iwi (culture); (this is a different inflection symbol above the a?) tikanga whakaaro (cultural concepts); tikanga here (legal provisions); tikanga mahitahi (industrial relations); tikanga whakawhenumi (assimilationist policy); tikanga rua (bicultural, two-tier system); and tikanga reo rua (bilingualism). Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 297.

[13] Pamera Warner (Representative, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in disussion with author, 2008; Marsden and Royal, *The Woven Universe*, 66.

[14] Marsden and Royal, *The Woven Universe*, 66.

[15] Tauroa and Tauroa, *Te Marae,* 79.

Rongomātāne (God of Peace and / or Cultivated Food).[16] Removing shoes before entering a wharenui is important because it ensures that the dust of Tūmatauenga does not enter the house.[17] Tikanga can change in response to new situations.[18] For example, occasionally in all women gatherings women now speak as part of a pōwhiri, but not outside or on the marae-ātea, and only those women who have the right to speak on behalf of people.[19] In terms of new adaptations of tikanga, the appropriate action is still determined by the analysis of historic events and kaupapa Māori (Māori principles) to ensure offence is not created. This is a good example of the continuing connections between specific cultural practices within tikanga Māori and the ancestral gods. It is also important to the practice of urban design because the protocols of tikanga Māori are what guide communication and form the basis for collaboration. Where offence is caused by a breach of tikanga, it is difficult to establish the trust required to pursue a bicultural approach to urban design.

Increasingly different parts of government, and local government, are being required to develop an understanding of tikanga Māori, and how to apply these to their various responsibilities.[20] Tikanga Māori has the potential to affect all parts of New Zealand legislation and community practices, because of the rights guaranteed to Māori within the *Treaty of Waitangi*, and because of the importance and all encompassing nature of tikanga. Tikanga must be taken seriously, since, as with Eurocentric laws (encompassing moral, common and legislative laws), a breach of tikanga can have serious effects. In te ao Māori this ranges from disharmony and social or political inappropriateness and conflicts including war to physical illness and in highly tapu circumstances even death. Unfortunately, many younger Māori do not recognize a breach in tikanga.[21] Therefore, kaumātua (elders) and rangatira have an important role in guiding younger generations, and in being the final authority on tribal matters.

An example of the authority of elders is evident in the presentation made by the Māori architect, Rewi Thompson regarding the proposed Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei Papakāinga development on their land above Ōkahu Bay. When explaining the reason why no development was proposed on the gently sloping land in front of the wharenui, between it and the sea, he simply said that a Ngāti Whātua auntie said that was the way it should be, and this reason was sufficient. When pressed further he indicated that this was linked to the maintenance of the tribe's mana, given effect by the

---

[16] Tauroa and Tauroa, *Te Marae,* 79.
[17] Tauroa and Tauroa, *Te Marae,* 60.
[18] Pamera Warner (Representative, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in disussion with author, 2008.
[19] Tauroa and Tauroa, *Te Marae*, 80.
[20] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 128.
[21] Pamera Warner (Representative, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in disussion with author, 2008.

visual prominence of the undeveloped land and the directness of view from the ancestral house to the sea.[22] The concept of mana will be expanded upon in chapter seven, but what this also illustrates is the importance of land to Māori as stated in the whakataukī; "Whatu ngarongaro he tangata, toitū hewhenua (Man disappears but the land remains)."[23]

Tikanga within New Zealand legislation relating to Urban Design

There are several legislative acts that influence urban design, including the *Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991*, the *Local Government Act (LGA) 2002*, and the *Land Transport Management Act (LTMA) 2003*[24]. Under the *Resource Management Act* Māori interests are listed as a matter of national importance, specifically under section 6(e), and potentially under section 6(f).

> 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 taonga.
>
> (f) The protection of historic heritage from inappropriate subdivision, use, and development.[25]

Sections 7(a) of the RMA also requires that all persons should have particular regard to the practice of kaitiakitanga, which is defined in the Act as meaning "[t]he exercise or guardianship by the tāngata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Māori in relation to natural and physical resources; and includes the ethic of stewardship."[26] Section 8 of the RMA states that "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*

[22] Thompson, "Orakei Papakāinga Towards 2030".

[23] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 18.

[24] MFE, *Urban Design Toolkit*, Introduction.

[25] Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA). Quoted in Ministry for the Environment (MFE), 'Why Consultation is Necessary', *Guidelines for Consulting with TāngataWhenua under the RMA: An Update on Case Law,* (Wellington, N.Z: Ministry for the Enviroment), 2003. Also available at http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/rma/guidelines-tangā ta-whenua-dec03/html/index.html.

[26] RMA. Quoted in MFE, 'Why Consultation is Necessary'.

Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi)."[27] The *Local Government Act 2002* "imposes new requirements for local authorities for consultation and to undertake capacity-building for Māori." Within Section 81 of LGA 2002 local authorities are required to:

> '…establish processes to provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making. Section 82 sets out standard principles for local authorities to follow when undertaking consultation, and specifically requires local authorities to adopt processes to consult with Māori in accordance with these principles'.[28]

These pieces of legislation have ensured a legal requirement for Māori issues to be considered in major decisions on land use and urban development. Cultural changes, as discussed in the previous chapter, mean that consultation with Māori on urban development issues is now generally acknowledged as necessary in terms of legal obligations, political correctness, general interest, and as a way of creating a unique 'sense of place' or point of difference from other colonial countries. However, the sincerity of the approaches taken by different local authorities across New Zealand in regard to these requirements varies considerably from the 'do the minimum required by law' in terms of consultation and 'proceeding as much as possible to continue in the same manner as before' to the willingness to consult in good faith in order to seek what is considered to be best practice and establish ongoing close working relationships.[29]   A report in 2000 for the Ministry for the Environment found "that while iwi tended to expect local government bodies to uphold the Treaty and its principles as the Crown and national government would, local councils observed that they do not have any legal obligation to the Treaty and that they do not represent the Crown."[30]

Under the RMA there is now a reasonable body of case law on a range of issues. This has determined that planners have a duty to report on consultation with iwi within their Assessment of Environmental Effects in applications for Resource Consent, when required to undertake development. However, this does equate to a legal duty to consult.[31] Local authorities maintain the responsibility for consultation and "must consult when preparing planning documents and where

---

[27] MFE, 'Why Consultation is Necessary'.

[28] New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), 'Who needs to Consult, and When Does the Duty Arise?', *Guidelines for Consulting with TāngataWhenua under the RMA: An Update on Case Law,* (Wellington, N.Z: Ministry for the Enviroment, 2003). Also available at http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/rma/guidelines-tangā ta-whenua-dec03/html/index.html.

[29] MFE, *Guidelines for Consulting with TāngataWhenua*, 3-5.

[30] Denise Church, *Iwi and Local Government Interaction under the Resource Management Act 1991: Examples of Good Practice,* (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment), 2000. Quoted in Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management and Indigenous Self-Determination", 209.

[31] MFE, 'Who Needs to Consult, and When Does the Duty Arise?'

proposals are likely to affect tāngata whenua interests recognised in sections 6(e), 7(a) and 8 of the RMA."[32] "The method or degree of consultation will depend on the facts of each particular case" and its purpose is to recognize the rights of Māori under the Treaty and to gain information on the potential effects of a proposal on tāngata whenua, as well as the environment. Of note is also that the case law to date has determined that "Māori spiritual values should be considered, but there are limits on the extent to which they can be taken into account."[33]

Concerns have been raised by some Māori about the incorporation of tikanga Māori into legislation because it then requires definition by the state. Such an action could undermine the principle of tino rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination) and may lead to weakened understandings of tikanga.[34] "The crux of this problem concerns whether it is actually possible for any judge, uninitiated in Māori culture, to become sufficiently adept at Māori tikanga in rendering legal decisions?" This critic, Johnson, goes on to quote Ronald Niezen, who observes:

> '… Anthropologists, and by extension judges and lawyers, no matter how sincere, skilled or persistent, are never able to plumb the depths of an alien conceptual system. Moral standards are inescapably part of culture and, not being properly understandable, are incapable of being properly judged'.[35]

A risk of being more specific about tikanga within legislation does pose a risk of over-simplification and misinterpretation of tikanga, but it at least ensures a voice for Māori within the legal systems that govern land development. Legislation also shapes both regulatory and non-regulatory policies within the city. Whilst these initiatives are a positive step forward in terms of intent, there is still only a minimal understanding within the professions of planning, architecture and urban design about tikanga Māori, what is involved in consulting with Māori, and the appropriate way of addressing issues raised. The influence of Māori on the urban environment is limited by the Pākehā dominated professions and political institutions, which for multiple reasons still struggle with both

---

[32] MFE, 'Who Needs to Consult, and When Does the Duty Arise?'

[33] New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), 'What Constitutes Consultation', *Guidelines for Consulting with TāngataWhenua under the RMA: An Update on Case Law,* (Wellington, N.Z: Ministry for the Enviroment, 2003). Also available at http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/rma/guidelines-tangā ta-whenua-dec03/html/index.html.

[34] Johnson discusses this issue in detail under the heading of 'Legal Parrallelism'. Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management … ."

[35] Ronald Niezen, *The origins of indigenism: human rights and the politics of identity, (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Quoted in Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management … ."

achieving the basics of good urban design (by international standards), and working with iwi Māori. I argue that this includes a lack of understanding of tikanga Maori, tools for engagement, political will, and resources.

In terms of pro-active design-based measures, central government's *2005 Urban Design Protocol* is an example of a non-regulatory attempt to raise the profile of urban design, and to define and encourage good urban outcomes. It is very important politically because groups that sign the protocol are making a commitment to strive for 'good urban design'. However, it is also an example of the failure to understand and include Māori perspectives within the urban development of the city. Subsequently, Māori groups have not signed the protocol.

The Protocol focuses on a series of principles, which are referred to as the 'seven C's of urban design'. These are:

> **Context:** seeing buildings, places and spaces as part of whole towns and cities.
> **Character**: reflecting and enhancing the distinctive character, heritage and identity of our urban environment.
> **Choice:** ensuring diversity and choice for people.
> **Connections**: enhancing how different networks link together for people.
> **Creativity**: encouraging innovative and imaginative solutions.
> **Custodianship:** ensuring design is environmentally sustainable, safe and healthy.
> **Collaboration:** communicating and sharing knowledge across sectors, professions and with communities.[36]

Within the *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol*, and many other urban design or planning documents, Māori heritage is acknowledged as an important aspect of what makes New Zealand unique.[37] For example, the *Urban Design Protocol* states that "our towns and cities are important expressions of New Zealand's cultural identity including our unique Māori heritage."[38] With over 80% of all Māori now living in towns and cities it is also recognized within the latest documentation on sustainable urban development that "it is essential that our urban environments better reflect wider Māori values and aspirations".[39] Recent urban design initiatives vary in the extent to which

---

[36] MFE, *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol*, 5.
[37] MFE, *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol*, 5.
[38] MFE, *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol*, 7.
[39] MFE, *Te Aranga.* Also quoted in Sustainable Development Unit, "Building Sustainable Urban Communities".

Māori cultural issues are identified as being important.[40] All these initiatives are also based on Eurocentric constructs of understanding urban space, with the exception of the Ministry for the Environment's commissioning of *Te Aranga - Cultural Landscapes Strategy*. The refusal of iwi Māori to sign the *Urban Design Protocol* reflects the fact that Māori have a different view of the city and landscape that is not reflected in the Eurocentric terminology used within the protocol. The *Te Aranga - Cultural Landscapes Strategy* is a Māori response to the *Urban Design Protocol*.

With the exception of Te Aranga , other urban design documents and initiatives focus primarily on issues shared with other colonially-established or European cities, and are based primarily on lessons learnt from international examples, with minimal reference to, or guidance on how to engage with, Māori or bicultural issues pertaining to urban design. New Zealand cities were formed by the imperial influences of the British Empire. Arguably the influence of imperialism continues through the primacy given to Eurocentric discourses on urban design, because these form the basis for 'best practice' urban design guidelines and other initiatives, with only minor amendments to suit the unique context of New Zealand.

Te Aranga Māori Cultural Landscape Strategy

The *Te Aranga Māori Cultural Landscape Strategy* (2008) is based on a number of hui held throughout New Zealand. In summary it affirms the differing approach and perspective that Māori have towards land and urban development. One of the outcomes of the hui on the development of *Te Aranga* was that urban design as a term did not fit comfortably with Māori, in particular the way it was defined and described within the *Urban Design Protocol*. Instead, Māori representatives have elected to use the term 'cultural landscapes' as more representative of Māori concerns and perspectives. The explanation given for this is that it better acknowledges:

> … a Māori world view that physical landscapes are inseparable from Tūpuna,
> events, occupations and cultural practices. These dimensions remain critical to
> cultural identity and a 'Māori sense of place'. The term 'cultural landscapes' was

---

[40] For example: MFE, *People + Places + Spaces : A Design Guide for Urban New Zealand* makes multiple references to the importance on Māori culture in design processes and MFE, *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol* makes minimal references. Both of these, and the *Urban Design Toolkit*, lack any specific guidance on how to engage with, or respond to Māori concerns.

also preferred as it does not make a distinction between urban and rural areas consistent with this Māori sense of place.[41]

The significance of this will become more apparent within the following chapters that seek to understand these relationships better.

The *Te Aranga* strategy focuses on strengthening Māori input and outcomes within the processes of urban design and development processes. Its three-prong strategy relates to: 1) "Mana, to empower enable and connect; 2) Mātauranga [knowledge], to inform; and 3) Rawa [possession], to equip."[42] The kaupapa of the Te Aranga strategy is:

> 'To achieve Te Ira Tangata (ultimate state of well-being) by:
>
> Te whakatipuranga o te taiao – healing of the environment;
>
> Te whakatinanatia I ngā wawata Māori o te taiao – embodiment of Māori aspirations in the built environment;
>
> Te puawaitanga o te taiao – manifestation of the Māori cultural landscape'[43]

The *Te Aranga* strategy also includes a section on 'tikanga – Doing what is right' and lists the following:

> **Kaitiaki** – our individual and collective custodial rights and responsibilities to protect and nurture our environment and living places.
>
> **Whakapapa** – recognition of our connections with one another and place, our connection with past and future.
>
> **Mana Whenua** – recognition of the innate rights and responsibilities accorded through whakapapa to those tāngatawhenua who hold mana over a place through primacy of occupation and connection with whenua.
>
> **Ahi kaa roa** – the importance of maintaining occupancy of, and connection with, whenua – as the puna (well-spring) of our identity, and recognition of the value and importance of those who 'keep the home fires burning.'
>
> **Rangatiratanga** – the rights of Mana Whenua to shape and control their own destiny.

---

[41] MFE, *Te Aranga*, 1.
[42] MFE, *Te Aranga*, 8.
[43] MFE, *Te Aranga*, 17.

> **Manaakitia** – the practicing of hospitality and reciprocity in our interactions with one another. According respect and extending friendship towards one another.
>
> **Tapu -** recognition of those things deemed to be sacred by tāngatawhenua and the importance of their protection and observance.
>
> **Kanohi ki te kanohi, pakahiwi ki te pakihiwi** – the value of working face to face and shoulder to shoulder.[44]

These tikanga are important to contemporary urban design practices in that they clearly state the values of Māori cultural landscapes, which Māori wish to maintain, or achieve, in the same way that the *Urban Design Protocol* lists its 7 C's. A bicultural approach to urban design requires combining, or achieving, both sets of principles. Chapters seven and nine will discuss the meaning and implications of these principles.

Māori history and urban design

A critical part of urban design is the contextual analysis of a site, and a thorough appreciation of a site's context is considered as a fundamental starting point for designing a distinct place.[45] This is acknowledged and reinforced in both New Zealand and international documentation on urban design, which also supports the inclusion of important heritage elements. In New Zealand, Māori heritage is recognised as being important to urban design as an expression of cultural identity.[46] Subsequently, in terms of both tikanga Māori and urban design processes, understanding the Māori historical context of ngā iwi o Tāmaki Makaurau is an appropriate starting point for exploring what a bicultural approach to urban design might entail.

Much of what does remain of the Māori histories of Tāmaki Makaurau is recorded in landforms and place names, but these are predominately hidden and ignored within the everyday spaces of the contemporary city. The challenge for contemporary urban design is that mainstream development practices are generally focused only on contemporary objectives, including maximizing profit, or minimising costs, with the protection or incorporation of heritage into urban development being

---

[44] MFE, *Te Aranga*, 7.
[45] Llewelyn-Davis, *The Urban Design Compendium,* (London, England: English Partnerships and The Housing Corporation, 2000), 19.
[46] MFE, *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol*, 6.

limited to what can be protected by legal mechanisms.[47] Thus, in terms of history, the focus has been on physical elements that can easily be identified, such as the preservation of significant buildings, trees, or archaeological sites, and qualified in terms of historic merit to the extent that legal protection is granted.

There is always a tension between contemporary politics and economies, respect of the past and present, and the needs and visions of the future. The city is a product of all that has gone before it, be it good or bad, yet there is little interrogation and understanding of this past and how it might inform the present and future beyond attempts at preservation. Whilst there might be selected areas where a preservation approach is warranted, the challenge for urban designers is not about stopping change because cities are always subject to change. In the midst of the fluid nature of the city, change is the only thing that can be relied upon to happen.[48] Instead, the challenge for urban designers is the process of how change in the city takes place, and what eventuates. This includes decisions about what is preserved, replaced, improved and revealed.

In a number of more recent urban landscape projects historical themes have been used to generate design ideas,[49] or specific pieces of artwork have been included to reveal the history of a site. Examples of this are the rope sculpture in the Grafton Gully Motorway extension, which reflects the fact that a rope factory used to be located in the area.[50] Likewise, the Horitiu Stream sculpture shown in Figure 15 located within the footpath of the Queen Street upgrade reflects the stream once located at that point. Included in the previous chapter were other examples (Figures 11 - 14) of where Māori history has been specifically referenced through artwork and landscaping. This approach to historical referencing in the landscape design of public places and the installation of public art is beneficial to the city. However, how this history is interpreted is critical in terms of tikanga Māori, and the influence of history need not be limited to just landscaping and public art.

What differentiates urban design from both landscape architecture and heritage planning or protections, is that urban design is a multi-disciplinary profession that works across sectors and professions. It has the ability to shape the form and function of the city on both a macro and micro scale; from the level of regional or citywide planning, through to specific precincts, sites and

---

[47] For example: Historic Place Trust listings; and Scheduled buildings or heritage zones District Plans.
[48] Paul Bedford, (presentation to Auckland City Council staff, Auckland City Council, Auckland, N.Z, August 2008).
[49] For example: The Albany Lakes by Soul landscape architects.
[50] New Zealand Transport Authority, (presentation at Urban Design Masterclass, New Zealand Planning Institute's, Auckland, N.Z. February 12-14, 2008).

subdivisions, and to the design of individual buildings and public spaces.[51] Thus, within the discipline of urban design, history can influence the public realm of the city to a much greater extent than just landscaping. For example, it can influence regional relationships, the form, size and type of urban spaces created, the hierarchies of spaces and their interrelationships with other places, their detailed design, and how they are used.

History is valuable because it can provide us with examples of what once worked, or was not successful, and provides insight into the hereditary characteristics of a place. Of the issues that urban design sets out to address, such as safe, attractive and affordable choices for homes, transport, recreation, socialising, working, and the creation of thriving communities that are suited to raising children,[52] none are new. Nor are they specific to either Māori or Pākehā. However, the responses to such pressures and conflicts could be many, and may or may not vary between Māori and Pākehā. History can be a guide if considered in the design and decision-making processes of the city. An example of this is the renewed value that has been attributed to public transport, and the realisation that the tram system in Auckland, which was officially closed in 1956,[53] was a great loss to the city. Similarly, the central rail station for Auckland City was once first located on the Britomart site in 1885, and in the opening of the new Britomart Rail Station in 2003 the trains returned to the bottom of Queen Street, having been absent since 1930, to join the buses that had been servicing the area since 1937.[54]

Good urban design processes question what makes a place special, in order to ensure place-based approaches to urban design that respect and strengthen the special characteristics valued by communities. Place-based approaches include the history and heritage of an area, and the cultural heritage of iwi and hapū.[55] However, perspectives and experiences of places differ, and what is considered good (or bad) by a community is shaped by both historical and cultural values and

---

[51] MFE, *People + Places + Spaces*, 35.
[52] The potential for, and issues related to, raising children in urban areas that are more intensive than traditional suburbia, such as within apartments, has yet to be seriously considered within Auckland, especially in terms of the general property market and planning controls. Urbanist Jane Jacobs challenges the assumption that highly urban areas are not good for bringing up children and discusses the urban elements (such as great streets, mixed uses, appropriate densities, and the importantance of ensuring multiple eyes on the street or public parks) that are fundamental to safe urban areas. Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities,* 97-116.
[53] Auckland City Council, "Chapter 4: Thinking and being metropolitan (1945-1971): History of Auckland," Auckland City Council, http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/auckland/introduction/bush/chap4.asp. (accessed June 7, 2009).
[54] Auckland City Council, "Britomart Project: Chronology of Project", Auckland City Council, http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/council/projects/britomart/when.asp. (accesssed June 7, 2009).
[55] MFE, *People + Places + Spaces*.

experiences that in turn shape perspectives of what a place-based approach to new development might include. In te ao Māori perceptions of place relate to both the physical and intangible elements of the land. The intangible elements include the histories of places and associated mana (prestige or power), wairua (spirit) and tapu (sacred) aspects, whose physical remains are not easily distinguished, in contrast to, for example, many colonial structures. One way the intangible aspects of both Māori and Pākehā history is revealed in the city is through place names. As will be discussed, in te ao Māori these provide a connection between tribal ancestors and the land, as illustrated by the concepts of whanaungatanga (kinship relationships) and wairuatanga (spiritual nature).

In order to give history an opportunity to inform and shape the contemporary city a more critical analysis of the past is required to inform urban design processes. In urban design, an indepth analysis of a site's context is fundamental and promoted by 'best practice' approaches to urban design. For example, in North Shore City a 'context analysis' is required for any new development in a town centre business area, as part of applying for a Resource Consent.[56] For large urban design / planning projects a context analysis includes the identification, mapping and interpreting of a wide range of information pertaining to the subject site and its surrounding areas to better understand the form of a place, how it is functioning, and what makes it unique. For example a context analysis is likely to include information on: the slope and contours of land; the hierarchy of streets ranging from motorways and arterial roads to service lanes and their traffic volumes; the location of parks, playgrounds and community facilities: stream and coastal protection requirements; protected trees and local ecology; sun, shadow and wind patterns; infrastructure services such as sewer lines, electricity and telecommunications; land ownership patterns; the mix of activities; demographics; property values; prominent views; and history.[57]

There are almost an infinite number of variables of information that can be mapped and included within a contextual analysis, limited only by the considerations of the researcher or designer as to what is relevant or not. The multiple layers of contextual information create an analytical representation of a city to assist in understanding the complexity of the city. This is important because cities are complex systems, and require an integrated approach to design and management. The purpose of a contextual analysis is to ensure that the multiple aspects of a place are understood

---

[56] North Shore CIty Council, (NSCC) "Proposed Plan Change 30 Urban Design Code," in *District Plan* (North Shore City, Auckland, N.Z.: North Shore City Council, 1 May 2008).

[57] NSCC, "Proposed Plan Change 30 Urban Design Code".

to better inform design responses and to ensure that integrated place-based solutions can be achieved, which respond effectively to the urban challenges that a contemporary city faces.

Including Māori historical and cultural relationships in a contextual analysis creates an opportunity for them to be part of a project from its inception, and for lessons from the past to be learnt. This requires an approach to history that is not limited in scope to the preservation of selected elements and the landscaping of public spaces. Instead, it needs to be both broad and deep to enable a net to be cast widely for multiple sources of insight to better inform the analysis of a site's context and existing characteristics. Supporting Māori participation and perspectives in the process of analysing contextual information also provides an opportunity for Māori to shape interpretations of the full range of information gathered, thereby contributing to a bicultural approach by opening opportunities for tikanga Māori to influence a design process and significantly shape outcomes.

Iwi Māori participation in these processes is important because both tikanga and history are highly valued taonga in te ao Māori, and subsequently must be approached in a manner that respects the mana of iwi and hapū, and the practice of rangatiratanga. This is important to remember within urban design processes, because Māori history should not be treated lightly and there are protocols that are required to be respected, with final authority on when and how Māori history is interpreted resting with iwi or hapū. Both tikanga and history are susceptible to misinterpretation and in te ao Māori both are carefully protected and treated properly, and not manipulated for personal gain. This explains why the appropriation or Māori history, without the application of tikanga Māori through iwi Māori participation, causes offence.

Because history is treasured, a lot of historical and cultural information is not freely shared, but held by the older generations 'in trust' until descendants are ready for its receipt and protection. The ramifications of the misuse of cultural property are severe within te ao Māori, not just in the context of tribal politics, but more significantly in the context of Māori spiritual beliefs where retribution from the ancestors is considered a possibility if the protocols of tapu (sacred, prohibition, protection) are broken.

For Māori any discussion on history also invokes the passions of the past that need to be respected, and emotions can run high as they seek to convey their tribal traditions and events of the past.[58] These histories also inform contemporary politics. For both Māori and Pākehā, as they learn about

---

[58] Pamera Warner, (representative, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in discussion with author, 2008.

historic events for the first time there is a shock that can also cloud judgements and rekindle grievances.[59]

Summary

The concept of tikanga has continued to adapt to the changing needs of New Zealand's contemporary society, whilst maintaining its ancestral origins. The Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) and the Local Government Act 2002 (LGA) guide urban development and local government investment within New Zealand. These pieces of legislation reflect in part the binational principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, by requiring consultation and reconsideration of the concerns of Iwi Māori, in particular the practice of kaitiakitanga and the protection of wāhi tapu. Both of these are discussed in chapter eight in order to understand what this means in term of urban design.

Recent work undertaken on the *Te Aranga - Cultural Landscape Strategy* has identified key principles in tikanga Māori that can inform contemporary urban design practices. The *Strategy* clearly states the values of Māori cultural landscapes, which Māori wish to maintain and enhance. The purpose of chapters seven and eight is to gain a better understanding of the elements of tikanga Māori referred to in the RMA and *Te Aranga*, and subsequently their application to the practice of urban design. The following three chapters build upon the theory that a robust understanding of the Māori history of a place is a fundamental starting point for a bicultural approach to urban design. This is because through its inclusion in the initial urban design phases of a contextual analysis, it has the ability to shape urban design responses to a greater extent than the later additions of landscaping and artwork.

---

[59] Pamera Warner, (representative, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in discussion with author, 2008.

Figure 15 - Elizabeth McClure's 'SOURCE' 2007 Glass pavement sculpture, representing the now piped Horotiu Stream, Queen Street, Auckland. In collaborations with Architectus and HUB Street Equipment for Auckland City Counci. (Photo by author, 2009).

THE MĀORI HISTORY OF TĀMAKI MAKAURAU

Chapter Four: Ngā Tūpuna - The Ancestors

> E kore e ngaro te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea
>
> My prestige and strength shall not fade, nor be replaced, for such powers have
>
> derived from my ancestors, from Rangiātea in Hawaiiki.[1]

Another translation of this whakataukī is that "I will never be lost, for I am the seed that was sown at Rangiātea."[2] Rangiātea and Hawaiiki are the two places that are referred to in Māori traditions as being the original home of Māori, a place shared with the traditions of other Pacific peoples. Hawaiiki is a supernatural realm and was the home of the famous ancestors, including Māui, who is responsible for the creation of the islands now known as Aotearoa/New Zealand. Rangiātea is in some histories, referred to as a scared house, shrine, or mountain in Hawaiiki,[3] but it is also the name of an island in the the Leeward group of the Society Islands known as Ra'iatea in the Tahitian dialect.

This chapter is the first of three that summarises the Māori history of Tāmaki Makaurau and discusses its relevance to contemporary urban design. Each of these chapters describes how the Auckland region and its environments as we know them is influenced by local Māori histories. They also set the contextual background within which the analysis and theories of the final part of the thesis are based.

It starts with the Māori gods and includes an example of the many narratives found within te ao Māori pertaining to the creation of Aotearoa and Tāmaki Makaurau. The chapter then focuses on where Māori came from, firstly in terms of tribal narratives with reference to Hawaiiki and Raiatea,

---

[1] Murdoch Riley, *Māori Sayings and Proverbs* (Paraparaumu, N.Z.: Viking Sevenseas, 1990), 42-1.
[2] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 37; *Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* s.v. *"*Canoe Traditions" (by Rāwiri Taonui), http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/CanoeTraditions/en, 4 (accessed May 5, 2008); Riley, *Māori Sayings and Proverbs,* 42-1.
[3] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 148.

and secondly in terms of Western studies that confirm ancestral links with East Polynesian. The significance of these connections are then discussed in terms of how the other cultures of the South Pacific can assist in better understanding the historical patterns of settlement, and the contemporary application of tikanga, where cultural similarities exist.

Māori Gods

To understand the founding principles of tikanga Māori it is necessary to start with the stories of the Māori gods[4] and ancestral heroes. Tikanga, like the whakapapa of all living things, first originated with the Māori gods and earliest ancestors. Tikanga guides Māori perspectives and practices in relation to land, settlement, and natural resources and is founded in the narratives recording the actions and response of the gods and ancient ancestors. Therefore, as fundamental principles these narratives are also important to the practice of urban design in New Zealand.

There are variations between tribal groups on the specifics of the creation stories, but in general the elements and characters are common to most. The origin stories that Māori understood begin with the separation of Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papa-tū-ā-nuku (the Earth Mother). All Māori whakapapa start from them and from this time. Cleve Barlow in his book *Tikanga Whakaaro* (1994) states how the whakapapa of Māori can be conceived of in four sections. First, life starts with the creation of the universe by Io Matua, a supreme being, in what can be termed as cosmic genealogies of varying aeons of time, light and darkness.[5] This is followed by the genealogies of the gods, which start with the separation of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku, by their son Tāne-mahuta (Tāne). From Tāne starts the genealogies of mortal men and the fourth set of genealogies referred to by Barlow are those of the migration canoes.

When Tāne forced his parents apart, light could enter the world. Ranginui became the sky, pushed high above his wife, Papa-tū-ā-nuku, who forms the earth.[6] The chaos that resulted is often depicted

---

[4] Pamera Warner, (representative, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in discussion with author, 2008.

[5] Cleve Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro : Key Concepts in Māori Culture* (Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press, 1994), 173; Marsden and Royal, *The Woven Universe*, 17-18; Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 12-13.

[6] Margaret Rose Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend* (Christchurch, N.Z.: Canterbury University Press, 1998), 146.

as openwork spirals in Māori carvings, such in the pare (door lintel) shown in Figure 16.[7] Their other children also became the gods of different aspects of nature.

> These are the main offspring: Tāwhirimātea, god of winds, Tāne, god of forests, Tangaroa, god of the sea, Rongomātāne, god of the kumara and cultivated crops, Haumia, god of the fern root and wild herbs and berries, Tūmatauenga (Tū), god of war and precursor of man, and Ruaimoko, god of earthquakes and volcanoes. It is through the act of separating their parents that these children became tutelary gods of the divisions of nature and the environment.[8]

Each of these gods became the source of knowledge, provision and influence for their areas of responsibility, and their actions form the basis for the protocols of tikanga Māori. For example:

> In the best known version of the myth from the Arawa peoples, the wind, Tāwhirimātea attacks the earth, and only Tū is brave enough to withstand him. Afterwards Tū turns upon his older brothers, angry that they did not come to his assistance in the struggle with Tāwhirimātea. He kills[9] his brothers, who are Tāne, Tangaroa, Rongo and Haumia (and who represent, respectively, birds, fish, kūmara, and fernroot)[10]

The actions of Tūmatauenga set a precedent by which human beings can, after appropriate rituals, kill and eat the descendents of Tāne, Tangaroa, Rongo and Haumia, who are their relatives through shared descent from Rangi and Papa. [11]

Following the gods and descending from Tāne[12], (or Tūmatauenga,[13] depending on the tribe) are the genealogies of mortal man. Tāne, is also the Māori word for man, and is credited in some traditions as being responsible for bringing three baskets of sacred knowledge from the skies to people.[14] Some traditions record Tiki as being the first man, other traditions record that the first human created was Hine-ahu-one,[15] who later became Hine-nui-te-pō (Great woman of the night) when she fled to the

---

[7] Deidre Brown and Brian Brake, *Māori Arts of the Gods* (Auckland N.Z.: Reed, 2005).
[8] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 174.
[9] Note in other versions of this he does not kill, but seeks vengenance on his brothers.
[10] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 221.
[11] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 221.
[12] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 180.
[13] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 222.
[14] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 180.
[15] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 212.

underworld to welcome people when they die.[16] In some traditions, Tāne, also known as Tānenuiarangi, is said to be the first man to inhabit this world, followed after many generations by Māui, Hema, Tāwhaki and others. [17]

The Māori legends of Māui are common to many of the Polynesian people of the Pacific Islands.[18] This is just one of the many aspects that reflect their common heritage.[19] Māui is recorded in Māori traditions as being responsible for the creation of the islands of Aotearoa. Originally, there was no collective name for these islands, with each considered an independent entity with its own name, or names that varied between tribes.[20] This was also the case in other pacific areas, such as the Cook Islands, that were grouped together after European discovery.

Te Ika a Māui (the fish of Māui), is the Māori name for the 'North Island', and Te Waka a Māui, (The Canoe of Māui) is the name of the South Island. These names stem from the creation narrative depicted in Figure 17. In the midst of the great ocean of Moana nui a Kiwa, now also known as the Pacific Ocean, the legendary ancestor Māui and his brothers went fishing. Using an enchanted fish hook, which was pointed with a piece of the magical jaw bone of his ancestors, Muri-rangā -whenua, and reciting incantations to make the heavy load light, Māui fished up a portion of Papa-tū-ā-nuku. This land had been hidden under the ocean by Rangi and Tāwhirimātea. The fishhook of Māui is said by Māori to have become the cape that stretches out into the sea at the southern end of Hawke's

---

[16] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 180.

[17] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 174.

[18] Rawiri Taonui, "Polynesian Oral Traditions", *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*, ed., K. R. Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-) (Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 2006), 30.

[19] Similarites in language and customs between the Māori, the Māori of the Cook Islands, and the Maohi of Tahiti are testimony to a shared heritage continuing in varying permutations across the Pacific, through Samoa, Tongā and Fiji, across to Taiwan. Māori has been classified as being part of the Austronesian family of languages which is thought to have orginated in the region of south China and Taiwan 5000-6000 years ago. Nigel Prickett in his book 'Māori Orgins – From Asia to Aotearoa' includes a family tree the shows the relationships of the various languages. Māori is part of what has been called the Proto-Tahitic group that includes Tahitian and Cook Island Māori, which are both very similar to New Zealand Māori and part of the wider Proto-Polynesian language group that evolved about 2000 years ago and includes Samoan, Tongan and Niuean. Prickett and Auckland Institute and Museum, *Māori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa*, 4; Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 15.
Further analysis of the similarities in language, cultural concepts and material cultural can be found in the seminal work of Te Rangi (Sir Peter Buck) Hiroa, *The Coming of the Māori*, 1982 ed., (Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcoulls Limited, 1949).

[20] Michael King and David Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated* (North Shore, N.Z.: Penguin, 2007) 36.

Bay,[21] and the tail is Northland.[22] Te Ika a Māui (The Fish of Māui) is now also known as the North Island, and was called Aotearoa (land of long white cloud) by some iwi. Te Waka a Māui, (The Canoe of Māui) or the South Island was also known as Te Waka o Aoraki (the canoe of Aoraki)[23] by tribes from that area. These islands would later become the home of the Māori people.[24] The Tainui legends record how Māui left Kūī in charge of the new land, and his people would become known as Ngāti Kūī.[25]

Ranginui, being the first male and Papa-tū-ā-nuku, the first female, means that human society and the physical world came into being at the same time and are inseparable.[26] They provide the conditions of human existence and set the general patterns for human relationships, which become more specific with the latter gods. For example in te ao Māori, the land and sea are experienced as opposing realms, under the authority of differing gods, and often in conflict with each other. Tangaroa, who has authority of the ocean, can be seen as the enemy of Tāne (the father of trees, birds and humans), and this is apparent when men travel out on the sea to catch Tangaroa's children.[27] Pertinent to Tāmaki Makaurau is Ruaimoko, who is the originator of earthquakes and sometimes volcanoes. Ruaimoko was still in his mother's womb when she was separated from Rangi, and when he moves he shakes his mother.[28] In some traditons, Rangitoto is also associated with Tūmatauenga (God of War).[29]

The principle and practice of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) of resources by Māori is protected by the Resource Management Act 1991, and discussed in chapter nine. However, it is important to note here how the practice of kaitiakitanga is shaped by the acknowledgement that each natural feature

---

[21] George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as Furnished by Their Priests and Chiefs* (London: John Murray, 1855) republished in George Grey, *Legends of Aotearoa* (Hamilton, N.Z.: Silver Fern Books, 1988) 26; Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 117; A. W. Reed and Ross Calman, *Reed Book of Māori Mythology*, Rev. ed., (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Pub, 2004) 138.
[22] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 117.
[23] King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, 36. Aoraki, Rakiroa, Rakirua and Rarakiroa were gods that descended from the realm of their father Raki (Rangi / sky father) in the canoe Te Waka o Aoraki. This capsized to form the south island of Aotearoa and the gods turned to stone. The tallest is Aoraki (Cloud in the Sky), otherwise known as Mount Cook, and surrounding mountains carry the names of his brothers. Reed and Calman, *Reed Book of Māori Exploration*, Rev. / ed., (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2006).
[24] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 16.
[25] Graeme Murdoch and New Zealand Department of Conservation (DOC), *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto : A Brief Outline of the Māori Historical Association with Rangitoto Island* (Auckland, N.Z.: Conservation Te Papa Atawhai, 1991), 4.
[26] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 146.
[27] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 182.
[28] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 163.
[29] Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths and Legends*

also has a supernatural kaitiaki, or traditional god, who needs to be respected and from whom the natural element is descended. In te ao Māori, tikanga guides the interaction of people with the natural world. An example of tikanga is the Karakia directed to Tāne when using the resources of his forest domain, and similarly to Tangaroa when addressing the sea.

The creation stories also illustrate the first of many types of relationships that characterise Māori perceptions of land as a cultural landscape, and raises questions about the interpretations of view. For example, within the classic view out to Rangitoto we are standing on Papa-tū-ā-nuku looking from Tāne's domain across Tangaroa, to another area of Tāne's domain that is also related to Ruaimoko and Tūmatauenga, under the expanse of Ranginui. The context of the view is then something that we do not gaze upon as a singular experience, but is actually a dynamic story of relationships and whakapapa of which this is just the start.

There are many creation stories in te ao Māori about significant natural features that are linked with the gods and various ancient ancestors, most pre-dating those of the arrival of the migrating canoes. The following version of Rangitoto's history, provided by Graeme Murdoch, [30] was handed down from the iwi of Ngāi Tai, who still claim Mana Whenua over Rangitoto as well as the adjoining island of Motutapu (scared island) and a number of others in the gulf. According to Murdoch's narrative in ancient times an ancestor known as Matakamokamo lived on Te Rua Maunga o Matakamokamo (the two mountains of Matakamokamo) which stood where Pupuke Moana (Lake Pupuke) is now located. Matakamokamo was a descendent of Mataoho, a giant and the ancestor often credited with the creation of the volcanoes in Tāmaki Makaurau. One day Mataoho had asked his gods to send fire because he was cold and thus Tāmaki Makaurau's sixty plus volcanoes were formed.[31] Mataoho is said to have regularly visited Maungawhau / Mt Eden. Thus, Maungawhau's large crater is called Te Ipu a Mataoho (The Feeding Bowl of Mataoho),[32] which he used whenever he visited the area. It is here, at this very tapu place, that many ceremonies were conducted to make

---

[30] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*. This booklet by Murdoch was produced to commemorate Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu's visit to Rangitoto Island in 1991 and documents some histories of Rangitoto and Motutapu from the perspective of Tainui affilated tribes.

[31] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 110; Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths*, 37. Another narrative credits the Terehu / Patupaiarehu with the creation of the Tāmaki's volcanic field. Pita Turei, (guided tour of Maungawhau, Auckland City Council, Auckland, N.Z., 2007)

[32] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 110; Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths*, 37.

sure the volcano stayed asleep.[33] Mangere Mountain is also named after the same deity, and is known as Te Pane ā Matāoho,[34] or Te Upoko ō Mataaho (The Head of Mataaho).[35] Pane is another name for head.[36]

One day at Te Rua Maunga, on the opposite side of the Waitemata from Te Ipu a Mataaho, Matakamokamo asked his wife Matakerepo, and her maid Tukiata, to collect some flax and make him some new clothes. However, when they had finished he did not like the clothes and they argued. Because they were arguing so much, the house fire went out and Matakamokamo cursed both the cold and Mahuika, the goddess of fire. Mahuika was furious that she had been cursed and called on Mataoho to punish the couple by sending a volcanic eruption.

Mataoho caused Te Rua Maunga to sink below the earth leaving the gaping hole of Pupuke Moana in its place and at the same time causing Rangitoto to rise from the sea offshore as shown in Figure 18. Matakamokamo, Matakerepo and Tukiata fled to Rangitoto in a panic, only realizing when they arrived on the island that they had left their twin children behind on the beach. Their twins Hinerei and Matamiha were on the southern end of Waiwhariki, known today as Takapuna Beach. Tukiata, the maid, was ordered to make a raft to rescue the twins and told that on no account was she to look back at Rangitoto for fear of further wrath from Mataoho. Tukiata forgot her instructions. Just offshore she looked back and as a result she and the children were turned instantly to stone. Tukiata became a rock pinnacle near what is now known as Rangitoto Beacon. It is known as 'Te Toka a Tukiata", or 'Te Whatu Kaupapa a Tukiata'. Hinerei and Matamiha still stand in the sea off the southern end of Waiwhariki and the two rocks are called Ngā Māhanga (The Twins).

After all this had happened, Matakamokamo and Matekerepo fled back to the mainland. However, Mataoho was still angry with them. As a result of Te Riri a Mataoho (The Wrath of Mataoho), both

---

[33] Pita Turei, (guided tour of Maungawhau, Auckland City Council, Auckland, N.Z., 2007); Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths*, 37. Although I have referred here, and in other locations, to Edith Phillips-Gibson's book *Tāmaki -makaurau, Myths and Legends of Auckland Landmarks*, I do so hesitantly. There appears to be a number of errors in this book that may be a result of poor attention to detail, or because of differences in oral traditions as a result of the stories being passed down via different family lines. However some of these mistakes, such as the spelling the chief Apihai Te Kawau's name as Apihau Kawau are significant in that a basic, but robust historical investigation should have picked them up. Being a book prepared for general readership in the form of short narratives, it is not referenced in terms of the sources. This does necessitate cross-referencing before quoting.

[34] Mani Barr, *I Ngā Ra Ō Mua - In Days of Old,* (Manukau, N.Z.: Mangere Mountain Education Centre, 2007).

[35] Te Wai O Hua Trust, "Te Upoko ō Mataaho – Mangere Mountain", *Our Heritage postcard,* Te Wai o Hua Trust as attached to cover of Barr, *I Ngā Ra Ō Mua.*

[36] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 191.

parents were also turned to stone and were sunk below the ground by two violent volcanic eruptions. These formed the two explosive craters now found at Awataha, by present day Northcote.

This narrative illustrates how, in te ao Māori, understanding geology and land forms is linked to the events of human character. This story is only one of several that illustrate not just how in tikanga Māori the natural landforms were conceived and created, or lessons were taught through the retelling of such events, and also how distinctive landforms in visual (not just physical) proximity were related to each other and conceived as part of a wider landscape of events and relationships.

Hawaiiki

In te ao Māori, Hawaiiki is the home of the Māori gods and is where human life was created.[37] Throughout the Pacific Hawaiiki, and its equivalent in different dialects, such as Havaiki, Avaiki, Hawaii, [38] are used to refer to the original home of Māori and Pacific Islanders.[39] Māori traditions commonly refer to Hawaiiki as being their homeland[40] and the location from which the migrating canoes departed for the new land of Te Ika A Māui, or Aotearoa.

Early twentieth century anthropologists and ethnologists sought to find the physical location of Hawaiiki, but for each location proposed a local tradition was found recording the arrival of their people from 'Hawaiiki' or the equivalent in local dialect.[41] Famous names of places mentioned in old Māori songs and traditions, such as Hawaiiki, are scattered all over the Pacific.[42] One current theory is that Hawaiiki is not a physical location, but was used as a generic term for the previous overseas or internal homeland of migrants, [43] not the ancestral home of Māori origins. This theory takes into account that the majority of migration traditions that refer to Hawaiiki, including the theory proposed that some of the canoe traditions from the fourteenth century, may be describing an origin in the north of New Zealand, not just from across Moana nui a Kiwa.

---

[37] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 51.
[38] Edward Tregear, *The Māori Race*, (Wanganui, N.Z.: A.D. Willis, 1904), 557.
[39] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 37.
[40] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 37; Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 50.
[41] Tregear, *The Māori Race*, 556.
[42] Tregear, *The Māori Race*, 556.
[43] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 37; Taonui, "Polynesian Oral Traditions," 48.

However, Māori traditions about Hawaiiki refer to it in a manner that implies it was both the physical and spiritual origin of the Māori people, a concept shared with other pacific peoples. For example, in Rarotonga and Mangaia, Avaiki means "the Spirit World," and as such may exist only in the land of dreams[44] and certainly the Māori concept of Hawaiiki has great spiritual significance as the home of the gods and ancient ancestors, as the place where life originates, and the place to return to after death. Hawaiiki is often referred to in songs and proverbs about birth and death.[45] Reverend Māori Marsden states how the islands of Hawaiiki were created by Io, the supreme god, as the original home to the Māori gods and ancient heroes.

> In the night regions of soft light, Io established the several Hawaiiki: Hawaiiki-nui, Hawaiiki-roa, Hawaiiki-pāmamao, Hawaiiki-tapu (great Hawaiiki, extensive Hawaiiki, far distant Hawaiiki, and sacred Hawaiiki) in which Io chose to dwell with his divine assistants. The Hawaiiki became the abode of gods and heroes. But no one, other gods included, could enter Hawaiiki-tapu for it was sacred to Io. The other Hawaiiki were also sacred and in ancient times were not mentioned in common talk except by oblique reference as Tawhiti-nui, Tawhiti-roa, Tawhiti-pāmamao.[46]

Thus, Hawaiiki features in both the whakapapa of Io, and in the last group of whakapapa as categorised by Barlow, which is the whakapapa of the migrating canoes. From those who departed from Hawaiiki on the migration canoes, descend the contemporary Māori tribes.

In terms of urban design, Māori understandings of creation and Hawaiiki demonstrate the fundamental difference between post-enlightenment Eurocentric approaches to land, upon which the profession of urban design is based, and those of te ao Māori. In te ao Māori the physical and spiritual (or metaphysical) aspects of land are not separated, and this underpins the holistic way in which Māori view the world. In contemporary Western urban design, land is defined by physical measurement and scientific analysis, and value is also attributed in this manner. Therefore perhaps, the confusion over the location of Hawaiiki has simply been a result of a Western inclination to require a 'physical' location for a point of origin, in contrast to the Māori concept of a mythical or

---

[44] Tregear, *The Māori Race*, 557.

[45] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 5. For an example refer *to TeAra.govt.nz – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, s.v. "The significance of Hawaiki", http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/Hawaiki/1/en (accessed January 10, 2008) .

[46] Marsden and Royal, *The Woven Universe*, 17.

spiritual place as a 'homeland'. To further confuse the view, in te ao Māori, because of the holistic view of the land, Hawaiiki can also, without conflict, be both a physical and spiritual place at the same time.

Also important to the practice of urban design is that the relationships between contemporary Māori and Hawaiiki continue not just in songs and proverbs but through place names. For example Figure 19 shows Te Kaunga o Taikehu, where Taikehu swam ashore from the Tainui canoe to meet with the people of Maunga a Uika, at North Head which is now known as Torpedo Bay in Devonport. Here Taikehu drank from the spring that he called Takapuna after a spring of the same name in his homeland of Hawaiiki[47]. North Head later became know as Takapuna. Te Arawa also claim to have named Motutapu after an island in Hawaiiki, its full name being Te Motutapu a Tinirau.[48] These place names continue to perpetuate the ancient connection between Auckland and Hawaiiki.

The Migrations from East Polynesia

As evidenced by the debate over Hawaiiki, the origins of Māori – where they came from and how and when – have fascinated European scholars since their first contact with Māori. This section discusses some of the ethnographic accounts of the migration traditions, which as a subject has been subjected to the rise and fall of many theories.[49] These continue to change as new pieces of information become available for use as evidence. However, in terms of a physical place of origin from a Western European perspective, to date no significant information, archaeological or otherwise, has been uncovered to contradict the eastern Polynesian origins that Joseph Banks proposed in 1770:[50]

> From the similarity of customs, the still greater of Traditions and the almost
> identical sameness of Language between these people and those of the Islands in the
> South Sea, there remains little doubt that they came originally from the same source:
> but where that Source is future experience may teach us, at Present I can say no

---

[47] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto,* 8.
[48] Moon, *The Struggle for Tamaki Makaurau*, 18.
[49] Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 1.
[50] Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 1; Prickett and Auckland Institute and Museum, *Māori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa*, 3.

more than that I firmly believe that it is to the Westward and by no means to the East. [51]

Archaeology, linguistics and gene testing has resulted in the summary illustrated in Figure 20. This shows what is thought by archaeologists to be the migration path of the Polynesian people and how they spread across the Pacific over hundreds of years.[52] In terms of the discipline of archaeology, Aotearoa was thought to have been settled by the east-Polynesian ancestors of the indigenous Māori between 900-1000 AD,[53] or as early as 800 AD.[54] However, current evidence points to arrival sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.[55] The ancestors of Māori travelled across the great ocean of Moana nui a Kiwa, before the ancestors of the later European settlers would even venture out of site of land.[56]

Ra'iatea, or Rangiātea as it is known in the dialect of New Zealand Māori, is the only other origin place that is commonly referred to in Māori traditions, besides Hawaiiki. In some histories Rangiātea is referred to as a sacred house, shrine, or mountain in Hawaiiki, and sometimes it is the name of a significant spiritual place in Aotearoa.[57] There is also a well known Māori church named Rangiātea, built after the acceptance of Christianity by the people of Ōtaki. The island of Ra'iatea is part of the Leeward group of the Society Islands and is close to Tahiti. Ra'iatea is often regarded as the physical place referred to in the whakataukī at the start of this chapter, and as a physical place of origin for Māori because the cultures are broadly similar.[58] In the migration narratives of Māori, connections back to Ra'iatea are found in the oral histories and genealogies pertaining to many waka (canoe/s), including the Aotea, and the Tainui and Te Arawa waka that are both intimately linked to the settlement of Tāmaki Makaurau. For example, Motutapu Island is said to have been named by Taikehu, the tohunga (priest), from the Tainui canoe, after a peninsula called Motutapu at the north

---

[51] Banks 1770 as cited in Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 13.
[52] *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*, ed., K. R. Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-) (Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 2006); Prickett and Auckland Institute and Museum, *Māori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa*, 16-17; Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*.
[53] Prickett and Auckland Institute and Museum, *Māori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa*, 23.
[54] Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 27; Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 28.
[55] Prickett and Auckland Institute and Museum, *Māori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa*, 26; Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 14; NZPA, "Rat Bones Reduce Colonisation Time," *New Zealand Herald* 4 June 2008.
[56] Jeff Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā : The First Voyaging Canoes* (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Pub., 1997), 8.
[57] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 148.
[58] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 148.

end of Rangiātea, the island from which the Tainui is said by some to have begun their voyage.[59] From the traditions of the Aotea waka comes the famous whakataukī or proverb at the start of this chapter, which is most commonly cited as evidence of Rangiātea/Ra'iatea being a place of origin for New Zealand Māori. Historian James Belich also refers to it as representing the confidence that drove the 'ethos of expansion', which characterised Polynesian beliefs that across the ocean were new lands for discovery and settlement.[60]

Ra'iatea is also an important place for most peoples of Eastern Polynesia. It is the home of the legendary marae called Taputapuātea (sacred, scared place). Taputapuatea was once a religious and educational centre for most peoples of Eastern Polynesia that was held together by an extensive voyaging network.[61] Thus, whilst Rangiātea / Ra'iatea is specifically cited as a homeland for Māori ancestors,[62] they may have come from more than one physical island in Eastern Polynesian. The differences in language dialect and tikanga between waka groupings of Māori in New Zealand may be a result of coming from different islands. For example, in the Cook Islands each island has its own dialect of Māori that is subtly different to others, whilst still being substantially similar even to the dialects of New Zealand Māori.

In New Zealand there are diverse tribal traditions recording successive migrations in large ocean going canoes across the Pacific, which may have spanned up to 300 years. Nineteenth and early twentieth century theories devised by enthusiastic amateur ethnographers[63] attempted to rationalize traditions about from where the ancestors of Māori came, and how they arrived in Aotearoa. This process has had enduring implications for urban design, and resulted in, for example, the popularised summary of the migration of Māori, and the 'Great Fleet', that is now engraved on the summit of Maungakiekie / One Tree Hill (as shown in Figure 21). This European synthesis of the migration

---

[59] Kelly 1949:2. Quoted in Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto, 8.*
[60] Jamie Belich as quoted in King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, 30.
[61] Howe, K. R. ed., and Auckland War Memorial Museum *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*, (Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 2006).
[62] According to the traditions of Te Arawa, 'The Te Arawa people of the Bay of Plenty are the offspring of Pūhaorangi, a celestial being who descended from the heavens to sleep with the beautiful maiden Te Kuraimonoa. From this union came the revered ancestor Ohomairangi. He was responsible for protecting Taputapuātea marae – a place of learning on the island of Raiatea or Rangiātea, in the Polynesian homeland known as Hawaiki. High priests from all over the Pacific came to Rangiātea to share their knowledge of the genealogical origins of the universe, and of deep-ocean navigation. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, s.v 'Te Arawa' (by Paul Tapsell), Ministry for Culture and Heritage / Te Manatū Taongā , http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/TeArawa/en (accessed June 13, 2009).
[63] This included S Percy Smith, John White, Elsdon Best and George S. Graham. Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 10.

histories has now been discredited,[64] and is referred to by historians as "The Great New Zealand Myth."[65] In contrast to this myth, authentic Māori traditions include more than 40 different records of the first human arrival with mythological traditions frequently interweaved with human ones, and over a hundred different canoe names are associated with Māori migration traditions.[66] However, in the early twenty-first century there are some elements of the early twentieth century theories that have regained currency.[67] King cites the following examples: it is clear that a significant number of migration canoes did set out from an 'interaction sphere' in East Polynesian at about the same time, even if not limited to the previously proposed 'Great Fleet' of seven canoes; that this is likely to have occurred within 100 years of the previously proposed date of 1350; and that there is evidence of early contact with Fiji and West Polynesia that could be attributed to the Moriori people, and the earliest of Māori ancestors.[68]

The traditions of the Cook Island Māori record the departure to Aotearoa, and sometimes return, of various waka and ancestors recorded in New Zealand Māori traditions.[69] These traditions may assist in better understanding the ancient connections between these people groups. The Cook Island traditions reinforce some migration theories and undermine others, but have also been subject to potential modification from European influences.[70] For example, the traditions of the Cook Islands record the departure of various canoes to Aotearoa, with a number of Māori migration traditions also recording stopping off at Rarotonga on their way to Aotearoa.[71] Rarotongan traditions tell of a fleet of canoes, having gathered in Rarotonga from a number of the East Polynesian islands, setting out for Aotearoa through the Avana passage. The Avana passage, as shown in Figure 22 is in the area of Rarotonga called Takitmu, a name shared with that of a canoe of the same name that left for Aotearoa, and is located beside an island called Motutapu. The canoes recorded in Cook Island traditions as having left together were the Tākitimu, Tokomaru, Kurahaupō, Aotea, Tainui, Te

---

[64] King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, 40.
[65] King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, 31.
[66] Taonui, "Polynesian Oral Traditions," 48.
[67] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 11; King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, 41.
[68] King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, 41.
[69] For examples refer to: Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā*, 26; W.E. Gudgeon, "The Whence of the Māori", part 4, JPS, Vol.12, p. 172. Quoted Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā,* 11; and in regard to the Tainui waka, Jeffery Henry 1950. Quoted in Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā,* 149-151.
[70] Taonui, "Polynesian Oral Traditions"
[71] Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā,* 43 *(Te Arawa)* & 137 (Tainui)

Arawa and Mataatua,[72] notably a slightly different group than what was proposed to be part of the 'Great Fleet' recorded on Maungakiekie / One Tree Hill. The trip to Aotearoa from Rarotonga would have taken approximately 20 days or more and Māori traditions also record return trips to the Polynesian homelands, some for a new supply of kumara tubers.[73] The feasibility of this return journey, the seafaring durability of the traditional canoe forms, and the accuracy of traditional navigation techniques has been demonstrated through the recent resurgence of interest and research into traditional Polynesian sailing technologies.[74]

Further investigation into the traditions of the Cook and Society Islands may also reveal more information on from where the different canoes that migrated to New Zealand came. What is clear is that the islands of New Zealand were the last of those in the Pacific to be colonised, and were at the end of a vast voyaging network of related tribes. For the Pacific people Aotearoa was the final frontier, just as 600 years later it would become the most furthen settlement of the British Empire. As the following chapter will illustrate, the story of the Māori settlement of Tāmaki Makaurau, like the settlement of Aotearoa, has its similarities with the engraved version on the summit of Maungakiekie / One Tree Hill, but is more complex and much more interesting.[75]

Despite the debate over migration theories and stories, ethnologists and archaeologists recognize at least two distinguishable phases in Māori settlement and culture. These can be accounted for by the tribal narratives of new migrants arriving from across the Pacific at some substantial time after the first settlement. The first settlers are described as establishing a 'New Zealand East Polynesia' or 'Archaic' culture, as is identified in the archaeological remains. The second phase of settlement is referred to 'Classic Māori', or the culture encountered and recorded by the earliest European navigators.[76] Similarly, historians refer to three phases of settlement: colonial, transitional and tribal. [77] For each of these classification systems of cultural evolution I argue that the category of 'Contemporary Māori', characterised by the arrival or Europeans and all the changes that have taken place to date, can be added.

---

[72] Tom Davis and University of the South Pacific Institute of Pacific Studies (USP), *Vaka : Saga of a Polynesian Canoe* (Suva, Fiji ; Rarotonga , Cook Islands ; Auckland, N.Z.: Published jointly by Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific and Polynesian Press, 1992).
[73] Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā,* 52 (Horouta).
[74] For example: the voyage of Te Aurere ocean going canoe that travelled from New Zealand to Rarotonga for for the 1992 Pacific arts festival at Rarotonga . Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum, *Vaka Moana.*
[75] King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, 41.
[76] King, *Ngā Iwi O Te Motu*, 17.
[77] King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*. 53.

Of the first phase of settlement, known as the Archaic period, little is known in terms of traditions.

> "Most of what is known of the Archaic period of the moa-hunters has been
> unearthed by archaeologists. The tribal traditions, which primarily date from the
> fourteenth Century, have little to say about that earlier period except to record the
> names of some of the tāngata whenua tribes. In the North Island tribes such the
> Maruiwi, and the multitudes of Taitowaro, Ruatamore and Panenehu, failed to
> maintain their identity… ."[78]

In regard to how the shift between the 'Archaic' and 'Classic Māori' culture evolved, academic scholars are not yet in agreement.[79] However, the more recent changes in Māori culture are definitely a result of migration with the arrival of Europeans. With new people came an influx of new ideas, technologies and food. It is possible that the catalyst for change between the two periods was also an influx of additional Māori migrants, bringing new ideas and resources, such as fresh kumara seedlings as well as new blood and determined chiefly lines. The large double-hulled canoes of the Pacific peoples might have carried 10-30 people, with a cargo of tools, equipment, animals (dogs and rats) and plants (such as taro and kumara) necessary for settlement.[80] They even carried with them the 'political' disputes from their homeland that, combined with a highly competitive desire for land, shaped the settlement patterns of the new arrivals in New Zealand, and the tribes that descended from them. It is evident today that these waka, and the journeys and actions of their chief's and priests, continue to be significant in terms of whakapapa (genealogies), cultural identity, history, occupation of land, and contemporary tribal confederations. This is discussed in more detail in chapters five and seven.

Learning more about Māori connections back to the Pacific Island homes of their ancestors, in particular to the islands of East Polynesia, is important to the practice of urban design because it establishes new pathways to better understand the cultural influences that guided at least the earliest of Māori settlements. Even after centuries of isolation and evolution Māori culture still has more in common with the other cultures of the Pacific than it does with the Pākehā culture of European origin, or with other non-Pacific indigenous cultures of colonial countries. An example of this is to be found in Figure 23 which depicts a sign in Nuku 'alofa town centre in Tonga. The sign was next

---

[78] Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou - Struggle without End*, Rev. ed., (Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin, 2004), 33.
[79] King, *Ngā Iwi O Te Motu*, 18.
[80] Nigel Prickett and Auckland Institute and Museum, *Māori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa* (Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman in association with Auckland Museum, 2001), 22.

to a vacant building site and illustrates a contemporary use of the shared concept of tapu, which is discussed in detail within chapter eight. The ancestors of the Māori people were Polynesian, and the uniqueness of the Māori culture is a result of this Polynesian ancestry and tropical culture, adapted to a new land and environment.[81] For that reason, in order to better understand what Māori culture and settlements were like prior to European settlement, and how to address contemporary issues of urban development, it would be useful to look to other island cultures in the South Pacific for some clues as to how to resolve these, and in particular those that are most closely related to Māori culture.

The urban design historian, Diane Brand, argues that each of the colonial cities established in Australasia had a character that "is like a layered reflection of the principle founding personalities or designers, and the structural and aesthetic models they brought with them from Europe and elsewhere'.[82] By extending Brand's argument it can be argued that the chiefs and priests who arrived in the waka from the Pacific Islands are no different to those of the colonial city of Auckland who arrived centuries later. They too bought with them the structural and aesthetics models of settlement from their Pacific homelands, which they in turn adapted to the new environment of Aotearoa. Like the colonial city's founding fathers, the captains and their priests, who were the principle characters of the migration waka, stamped their personality on the new land. Firstly through the process of naming places and then as settlements were created and tribes were founded. Critical to Brand's analysis of the design origins of Auckland and the other colonial cities she researched, was her analysis of the biographical context of the key protagonists, be they architects, military engineers, governors, garden designers, surveyors or urban theorists. Brand considered it necessary to undertake a study of their previous lives to understand what their individual capacity was to appreciate a physical landscape or urban reality and what ideas might have influenced their approach to the design of the built environment.[83]

The same can be said of famous chiefs who settled in New Zealand. Their response to the new land would have been shaped by the culture and experiences of the natural environment of their homelands from which they brought with them their language, religious beliefs, knowledge,[84] as well as their political structures, personal rifts, and settlement patterns. Certainly there are well-documented similarities in architecture, construction techniques, distribution of activities, and the pre-eminence of the chief's house and understandings of marae concepts. Figure 24 is of an ancestral

[81] Prickett and Auckland Institute and Museum, *Māori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa*.
[82] Diane Joy Brand, "Southern Crossings : Colonial Urban Design in Australia and New Zealand" (Thesis PhD, Architecture, University of Auckland, 2001), 2.
[83] Brand, "Southern Crossings", 4.
[84] Prickett and Auckland Institute and Museum, *Māori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa*, 22.

marae in Takitimu on Rarotonga, which like the marae in Aotearoa is a tapu space on which people can not walk unless formally invited through a ceremony. There are also similarities in the conceptualisation of the Samoan fale (house) and Māori wharenui (meeting house) as being an architecture that connects the people to their ancestors.[85]

Thus, the question of where Māori came from also takes on a new significance, in that studying the cultural and settlement patterns of the Pacific Islands may also enable us to better understand Māori settlement in the earliest times of migration. It also has the potential to provide new insights and understandings of tikanga in relation to contemporary issues. It can be argued that in order to address contemporary urban issues, urban designers should look not just to other colonial cities, but also to the Pacific Island nations, for they can provide clues as to what a bicultural approach to land settlement might entail. The relatively intact nature of the traditional societies and settlement patterns in the Cook Islands, Fiji and Tonga could be compared to those of Māori, particularly since these nations have also had to deal with contemporary development issues, even if they have been of a different scale to those that Auckland faced.

Relevance and commonality is also evident in the work of contemporary architectural theorists of Pacific Island origins,[86] who through a theoretical framework of both Pacific and European origins are introducing new ways of conceptualising space, place and architecture. This shift in architectural theory, from looking at the tectonics of building to better understanding the philosophy behind the building form and interpretation of space,[87] has the potential to inform further interpretations and understandings of Māori perspectives on 'place'.

Summary

Māori history starts with the actions of the Māori gods and ancient ancestors. These historical narratives guide the evolution of tikanga Māori, and shape views of the landscape through reference

---

[85] This aspect of the Samoan Fale is discussed by Albert Refiti, "Whiteness, Smoothing and the Origin of Samoan Architecture", (paper presented at On Adam's House in the Pacific, Symposium in Honour of Joseph Rykwert, Auckland, New Zealand, November 14 – 15, 2008).
[86] For example: Charmaine 'Ilaiu, Tomui Kaloni, Semisi Poweroine, Albert Refiti and Lama Tone.
[87] This is illustrated in the contrast between Mike Austin and Jeremy Treadwell's "Building the Pacific Hut" and Albert Refiti's, "Whiteness, Smoothing and the Origin of Samoan Architecture", papers presented at the On Adam's House in the Pacific, Symposium in Honour of Joseph Rykwert, Auckland, New Zealand, November 14 – 15, 2008.

to the creation of landforms and relationships with the natural world. Aspects of Māori cosmology are shared throughout Polynesian, in particular the reference to Hawaiiki as a place of ancestral origin and a place to return to after death.

In terms of urban design Māori understandings of creation and Hawaiki demonstrate the fundamental difference between Maori and post-enlightenment Eurocentric approaches to land. In te ao Māori the physical and spiritual aspects of a place are not separated, such that Hawaiki can be understood, without conflict, as being a place of both physical and spiritual origin. The actions of the Māori gods, as shown in the story of Matakamokamo and the creation of Rangitoto, also introduce how in te ao Māori, place and landscapes are understood in terms of relationships between gods, ancestors and people, which explain geology. As will be discussed in chapter nine, this has fundamental implications for how land is defined and measured in terms of scale, projection, and symbolization.

There are also many other similarities between the Polynesian cultures of the South Pacific and the culture of New Zealand Māori, which is a product of a shared ancestry adapted to the unique environment of Aotearoa over many hundreds of years. This is a significant factor to consider given the high proportion of Pacific Islanders currently living in the city, and the fact that for some nations there are more of their people living in New Zealand than on their home islands, with new generations being born and raised in New Zealand. The migration of Pacific Island workers to Auckland over the last 50 years has fuelled this growth, but in the context of history it is simply a continuation of the Pacific migration patterns first established many centuries ago when the ancestors of the Māori arrived. These connections have also been strengthened by New Zealand's political interests in the Pacific. For example, the Cook Islands were once a protectorate of New Zealand, and Cook Islanders still have both New Zealand and Cook Island passports enabling freedom of travel and access to services in both countries. Understanding the shared heritage between Pacific Islanders and Māori provides opportunities for possibilities of kinship to be discovered and whanaungatanga to be re-established or strengthened within the context of the contemporary New Zealand city. This provides a basis for an ongoing dialogue and for the discovery of similarities and differences in culture and relationship to land and settlement.

The whakataukī 'E kore e ngaro te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea' captures the confidence that the Polynesian peoples had for exploring new worlds at the start of a great journey across the ocean. In the twenty-first century these same words encourage descendants of these same people, of the

indestructible nature of their culture along the journey of life.[88] This shared Polynesian culture, whilst subject to change, has survived the storms and grown in strength. Understanding the unique and shared characteristics of Māori and Polynesian culture and heritage can assist urban designers to better understand the issues associated with the contemporary migration and settlement of Polynesian peoples to Auckland. It can also provide new insights into what pre-European Māori settlements might have been like, and what both a Māori and Pacific approach to contemporary urban development issues might entail.

---

[88] King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand, 30.*

The following text appears within the image:

1B. pare (door lintel) fragment
381 mm x 406 mm x 105 mm
totara wood
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa
Tongarewa OL 44; A 76.402
formerly W. O. Oldman collection
purchased by New Zealand
government in 1948

Figure 16 - Pare (door lintel) fragment, 381mm x 406mm x105mm, totara wood. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa OL 44; A 76.402, formerly W. O. Oldman collection purchased by the New Zealand government in 1948. (Photography by Brian Blake in Deidre Brown, *Maori Arts of the Gods*, (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Publishing 2005), plate 1B, 10)

Figure 17 - Wilhelm Dittmer's 'Maui Fishing New Zealand Out of the Ocean', 1907 (Illustration from Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated,* **(N.Z.:Penguin Group), 16.)**

Figure 18 - The hole of Pupuke Moana (Lake Pupuke), where 'Te Rua Maunga' once stood, with Rangitoto, that rose out of the harbour in its place, in the background. (Photo by author, 2008).

Figure 19 - Te Kaunga o Taikehu, where Taikehu swam ashore from the Tainui canoe, to meet with the people of Maunga a Uika, and drink from the spring that he called Takapuna after a spring of the same name in his homeland of Hawaiiki. (photo by author, 2009)

**Figure 20 - 'Map showing the main routes of Austronesian settlement 5000 – 6000 BP to 1300 AD'
(Illustration from Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated,* (N.Z.:Penguin Group),
34).**

Figure 21 - The nineteenth and early twentith century European synthesis of Māori migration traditions, as carved in the plaque on Maungakiekie / One Tree Hill. (Photo by author, 2009

Figure 22 - Avana Passage in Takitimu on Rarotonga, Cook Islands. This is the mouth of the harbour where the canoes are recorded, in Cook Island traditions, as having gathered for departing on the last league of their journey to Aotearoa. On the far side of the channel is Motutapu (Sacred Island). (Photo courtesy of Kimberly Browne, 2007)

Figure 23 - A contemporary application of the concept of tapu in Tonga. Tapu meaning sacred or do not touch because dangerous. (Photo by author, 2007)

Figure 24 - An ancestral marae in Rarotonga. (Photo courtesy of Kimberley Browne, 2007)

Chapter Five: Ngā Iwi o Tāmaki Makaurau - The Tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau

> Tāmaki kāinga ika me ngā whenua katoa
>
> Tāmaki where the fish are so succulent you can eat them, bones and all! [1]
>
> Tāmaki herenga waka
>
> Tāmaki, the resting place of many waka[2]

These whakataukī are from Ngāti Whātua O Ōrākei. The first reflects the abundance of food and wealth of natural resources for which Tāmaki Makaurau was famous. The other, 'Tāmaki herenga waka', is another name for the Tāmaki Makaurau region.[3] This latter whakataukī also reflects the mix of tribal origins on the isthmus. This chapter is about the settlement of the isthmus by multiple migrations of people from across the Moana nui a Kiwa / Pacific Ocean, and later from other parts of Te Ika a Māui.

Tribal Structures

As Barlow writes, "many people can trace their genealogies back to the paramount chiefs of the great fleet of canoes and to the ancestors who inhabited other islands in the Pacific."[4] The general premise of the country being settled by small groups from independent waka that in time expanded to fully-fledged tribes provides an explanation of how Māori society started and a basis for its social structure[5] comprised of tribal groupings. It also helps to explain the regional variation between tribes in terms of language, tikanga, histories, settlement patterns and tribal characteristics. For example,

---

[1] Ngāti Whātua o Orakei Corporate LTD, *Ngāti Whātua O Orakei,* Ngāti Whātua o Orakei Corporate LTD , http://www.ngā tiwhatuaorakei.com/ Tāmaki_Makaurau.htm. (accessed January 12, 2009).

[2] Ngāti Whātua o Orakei Corporate LTD, *Ngāti Whātua O Orakei,* (accessed January 12, 2009).

[3] Ngāti Whātua o Orakei Corporate LTD, *Ngāti Whātua O Orakei,* (accessed January 12, 2009).

[4] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 174.

[5] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 14.

the Ngāti Awa tribe are referred to by other tribes as having a restless disposition,[6] and Ngāti Paoa as being particularly fearsome and quick to respond to insult.[7] Historian Paul Moon also notes how the people of Te Taou, who settled on the isthmus in the latter part of the eighteenth century, had a way of living off the land that was different to the Waiohua who previously occupied the area. Te Taou preferred the coast with a greater reliance on fishing than the Waiohua who preferred being closer to the fertile soils on the volcanic cones that are located further inland.[8]

Before continuing to discuss the Māori history of the isthmus, an explanation of the socio-political structures that make up Māori society is needed to assist in understanding the following historical narratives. In pre-European times Māori did not refer to themselves as Māori, or as one people group. Māori means 'normal' or 'usual', becoming most commonly used only when there were non-ordinary people, like Europeans, to be contrasted against.[9] Cultural identity was based completely on one belonging to hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe). Māori society was, and continues to be, hierarchal within the tribal groupings of whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and migration waka (canoe) groupings; with the practice of tino rangatiratanga (chiefly authority) usually operating at the level of hapū groupings.

One iwi is made up of many hapū united through descent from common ancestors of great mana (prestige) who were often associated with one of the migration canoes. Iwi can be translated as tribe, nation, people or race,[10] reflecting the political independence of the tribe. Prior to European contact, related hapū within an iwi would normally occupy an almost contiguous area of land that had been in the possession of the iwi for many generations.[11] Each iwi would have an ariki (paramount chief) who had the authority to govern the tribe, and each tribe was independent in terms of rule and authority over their land and people. Within an iwi the chiefs of various hapū were regarded as co-equals, but with a hierarchy within them in terms of the tuākana and tēina (senior and junior) lines of descent.[12] Within the iwi network each hapū still maintained independence, as the paramount chief

[6] Smith, *The Peopling of the North : Notes on the Ancient Māori History of the Northern Peninsula, and Sketches of the History of the Ngā ti-Whatua Tribe of Kaipara, New Zealand: "Heru-Hapaingā "*. Quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 15.
[7] Turoa, oral information. Quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 23.
[8] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau,* 131.
[9] King, *Ngā Iwi O Te Motu*, 8; Stenson, *The Treaty*, 30.
[10] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 76.
[11] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 33.
[12] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 65.

of the iwi had responsibilities of expressing the wish of the whole tribe,[13] but did not have the power to dictate.

The conceptualisation of iwi as being a nation is important to note in terms of the definition of public space in pre-European times. Māori land is nowadays viewed as communal space. However, if the traditional authority of an iwi is defined as a nation and a hapū as a controlling faction within a nation, once authority has been given to enter the territory of a hapū the so called communal spaces would be akin to European definitions of public space, the areas of communal space being those reserved for whānau groups. This conceptualisation of Māori 'public' space contrasts with existing definitions of land ownership and perceptions of public and private land that is bound by the ownership patterns of European cultures and the legal authority of the Crown, not by tikanga Māori.

The hapū was the main political unit made up of multiple related whānau and controlled a defined area of land. Whānau groups usually encompassed a minimum of three generations. A whānau would live together, and could number up to 20-30 people, sharing one or more sleeping houses and a defined compound within the Papakāinga (home village) or pa (fortified village) of the hapū.[14] In pre-European times the whānau was 'of utmost importance' because it functioned as a cohesive social and economic unit.[15] It is likely that in the large pa sites, like Maungakiekie, individual terraced areas, as can been seen in Figure 25, would form a whānau's compound. The roles of child rearing, hunting, gathering and gardening and other tasks such as weaving, making nets, or manufacturing adzes were shared amongst a whānau so that it was generally self-sufficient except in the ability to defend itself against attack.[16]

A hapū could range in size from 200-300 people, and in time of need several hapū may occupy a single pa.[17] In general, communities ranged in size from a handful of whānau to up to 500 people, living in kāinga (villages) based on hapū.[18] Most pā were built after the fourteenth century, and often villages were located next to a hilltop pa to which whole communities would retreat if under threat.[19] It was the whānau or hapū, not normally the individual, who made decisions about who married

---

[13] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 34.
[14] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 63.
[15] Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 214.
[16] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 63.
[17] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 64.
[18] King, *Ngā Iwi O Te Motu*, 18.
[19] King, *Ngā Iwi O Te Motu*, 19.

whom, who lived where and when and why they fought others since[20] 'individual rights were subordinate to those of the group and the rights of the hapū subordinate to those of the iwi.'[21]

Before European contact land could not be owned personally, it was all part of a hapū or iwi's shared territory. Houses or gardens of individual whānau were granted to them by their hapū for use, but not 'owned' in our European sense of the word. Similar land tenure continues to exist in many of the Pacific Islands, such as most of Fiji and the Cook Islands. In the Cook Islands foreigners can only lease land, not 'own' land. Another element in common with some Pacific Island cultures, such as Fiji, was the prominence of the chief and his house that symbolized the centre of the hapū and was the location for hosting important guests.

In New Zealand during the latter part of the nineteenth century the communal function of the chief's house was replaced by the creation of a larger communal building archetype, known as the wharenui, or wharentupuna (ancestral house). Wharenui became the unifying symbol of hapū identity,[22] intricately carved to record the people's descent from common ancestors. Figure 26 depicts the whare tupuna at Orakei Marae, and is named after Tumutumwhenua, Ngati Whatua's earliest ancestor.[23] A hapū would also be known normally by the name of its founding ancestor / chief, and the common prefix of 'Ngāti' means 'descendents of'. An example of this is the tribe Ngāti Paoa, which settled in parts of Tāmaki Makaurau during the eighteenth century. Paoa was a chief from Tainui and Tukutuku in the Hauraki region who lived sometime during the seventeenth century.[24] The descendents of the hapū he lead became known as Ngāti Paoa, the people or descendents of Paoa, who continue to be prominent in Tāmaki Makaurau.

Although quarrels occurred within an iwi or hapū, they would generally be on amiable terms and when needed the hapū united in defence of tribal territory against enemy tribes. It was when at war that an iwi was most effective.[25] Such a bond also existed between iwi that were related through tribal affiliations based on the ancestral waka. Whilst they may fight with each other, if an iwi from another waka invaded their territory the waka bond was a basis for an alliance against the invading

---

[20] King, *Ngā Iwi O Te Motu*, 18.
[21] Te Warena Taua, "Māori Perspectives on Landscape," in *Reclaiming Our Heritage : The Proceedings of the New Zealand Landscape Conference, 25-26 July 2003* (Auckland, N.Z.: Environmental Defence Society (N.Z.), 2003), 15.
[22] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 64.
[23] Ngati Whatua o Orakei, 'Orakei Marae', in *Ngati Whatua O Orakei,* Ngati Whatua o Orakei Corporate LTD. http://www.ngatiwhatuaorakei.com/About/orakei-marae.html, (accessed June 28, 2009).
[24] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 115.
[25] Elsdon Best, Sir Peter Buck and Raymond Firth. Quoted in Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 65.

tribe.[26] It is alliances of this type that enabled the people of Tāmaki Makaurau to seek refuge with their Waikato relatives in the early nineteenth century when the invading Ngā Puhi tribes came, armed with newly acquired muskets in search of vengeance for old insults. In recent years, iwi have become an important social structure because of the government's preference for negotiating Treaty settlements with what they refer to as a 'large natural grouping'. This is in contrast to how the hapū took precedent in terms of daily life prior to European contact.[27]

Tribal groupings were also always subject to change, with new hapū evolving in response to population growth, migration, conquest and inter-marriage. In Tāmaki Makaurau, the desirability of controlling the isthmus, in terms of its wealth of resources and strategic location, periodically attracted outside tribes, creating feuds that resulted in war that could only be resolved through peace-making marriages.[28] The result is multiple iwi and hapū groups of varying lines of descent spread over hundreds of years and a more complex patterning of iwi relations than other parts of the country. This is partly a result of its early settlement and welcoming of later migrants from the Pacific, but also because by the end of the seventeenth century the area was bounded by the landholdings of several influential iwi groups who regularly sought to expand their area of interest within the isthmus.

Moon writes in his book *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau* (2007) how "at every turn, the appearance of another tribe, sub-tribe or community – each with their own stories establishing their ancient pedigrees in Auckland – looms as the sort of obstacle which no amount of research can ever definitely overcome."[29] This is no different to the nineteenth century situation that Francis Fenton, Chief Judge of the Native Land Court, found himself in during the hearings on the Ōrākei Judgement. Fenton concluded that that as result of 'intruding tribes' the region's inhabitants have become greatly 'mixed up.'[30]

Figure 27 illustrates some of the tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau that continue in varying forms through their ancestral connections to contemporary iwi and hapū. It is based on information published by

---

[26] Sir Peter Buck and Raymond Firth as cited in Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou = Struggle without End*, 65.
[27] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 34.
[28] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 9.
[29] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 29.
[30] Fenton, "Fenton's 'Orakei Judgement' Native Land Court." *Important Judgements Delivered in the Compensation Court and the Native Land Court*, 1866 - 79 (1879). Quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 19.

Stone and Moon[31] but iwi and hapū representatives of Tāmaki Makauaru would have to be consulted before its accuracy could be confirmed. The purpose of Figure 27 is to graphically illustrate the complexity of the relationships that existed between the tribes and the generalised timeframes associated with their eras of occupation, or mana whenua, within the area. Its form is that of a genealogical 'family tree' to illustrate the descent connections between the tribes. It is roughly ordered from North (to the left) to South (to the right) to indicate the origins of the tribes, or the location of their related tribes.

Although Figure 27 only picks up the most prominent of tribal groups and is limited by the information sources used, the complexity of tribal relationships and interests in Tāmaki Makaurau is clearly obvious. In addition to what it shown in Figure 27, it is important to note that there are many other layers of complexity provided by the whakapapa of generations of chiefs, their wives and descendants. As discussed in chapter seven, whakapapa is what ties Māori society together and forms the core of its political structures. Figure 27 and the following histories can be cross-referenced with Appendix B, which lists the iwi and hapū groups currently acknowledged by Auckland Regional Council; and with Appendix C which are maps from the Waitangi Tribunal's *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process Report.*[32] The maps and table form a useful reference for the following parts of this chapter that summarise part of the history of Tāmaki Makaurau from the time of Ngāti Kui, the first guardians of Te Ika Māui, to just before the arrival of the first Europeans. Appendix D helps to locate the Māori places mentioned in the histories.

These histories have formed a complex patterning of historical and tribal relationships across the landscape, which as discussed in the latter chapters of this thesis shape Māori perspectives of land and 'sense of place', and which may shape urban design responses to specific sites, or city and sub-regional planning if revealed.

Ngāti Kui, Tutumaio, Terehu and the Maruiwi

Graeme Murdoch recounts[33] that one of the earliest occupants in Tāmaki Makaurau was Kui, who was a custodian of Māui's fish, and his people were Ngāti Kui. Next to arrive were the people

---

[31] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*; Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*.
[32] New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process*
[33] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 4-5.

known as the Tutumaio who came from what Murdoch refers to as the 'deep', which may imply either a mythical location or that they came from across the Moana nui a Kiwa (the Great Ocean of Kiwa), which is the Maori name for the Pacific Ocean. The Tutumaio landed on Te Ika Māui and began to fight Ngāti Kui with weapons and magic. They then intermarried with the people of Ngāti Kui. In time the people of Kui disappeared and the Tutumaio held the land for many years. Murdoch does not say how they disappeared, but it may be because the Tutumaio, as the conquering tribe, married the Ngāti Kui slaves and thus they were subsumed under the mana of the Tutumaio. This is a practice that became common in Māori culture, as explained later in this chapter.

The next migrants were the Terehu or Patupaiarehe, who also arrived from the 'deep'. They too fought with weapons and magic, and then intermarried with the Tutumaio. When their children grew up the Tutumaio as a people group also became extinct.[34] The Terehu or Patupaiarehe are also described as fairy people[35] and could not survive in the daylight, which is why they only went out to search for food after sunset and were home by sunrise. They occupied Motutapu, Motuihe and the area of land known then as Maewao (also known today as Milford Beach) and whose traditional name, 'Onemaewao', stems from the time of the Terehu. Between sunset and sunrise the Terehu people from Maewao travelled around the islands of the inner Hauraki Gulf collecting various types of kaimoana (seafood), in particular seaweed which was their particular favourite. The name of their canoe was "Te Rehu o te tai".[36]

In te ao Māori historical narratives, myth, and legend merge and the lines where one starts and the other stops are blurred. In contrast to contemporary Eurocentric perspectives, separation of these is also not sought. This has implications for the practice of urban design. Māori have a supernatural explanation of the topography of Auckland region, and the Terehu could be explained as either fairies, or spirits, or the first settlers from the Pacific, or mythical beings, and are credited with the creation of many of the natural features in Tāmaki Makaurau. This includes the creation of Meola Reef,[37] and the volcanic mountains that spread across the isthmus from the Waitakere Ranges in the west, to the Hunua Ranges in the east.[38] An alternative narrative explaining the creation of Rangitoto Island stems from this time. Tiriwa, a mighty Terehu tohunga and prominent ancestor of the

---

[34] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 4.
[35] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 203; Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths and Legends,* 8.
[36] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto,* 5.
[37] Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths and Legends*.
[38] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 15 – 16; Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths and Legends of Auckland Landmarks*, 29.

contemporary iwi Te Kawerau a Maki, scooped up a mountain from the west coast of the Waitakere Ranges and dropped it in the Waitemata harbour.[39] This story is retold in chapter nine to illustrate how such narratives challenge perceptions of scale, and in particular the concept of human scale.

The Terehu dwelt for many years on Te Ika a Māui in areas around the Waitemata Harbour, before another group of settlers arrived.[40] These settlers were the Maruiwi and Murdoch records how they were descendants of Māui looking for the fish of their ancestor.[41] The Maruiwi are thought to be the first of the ancestors of today's Māori and are sometimes referred to as Te Tini o Maruiwi.[42] The Maruiwi were the first people to become known as tāngata whenua (people of the land). They travelled in three canoes, Kahutara (commanded by Maruiwi), Taikoria (by Ruatamore) and Okoki (by Taitawaro). The two places they are said to have come from are Horanuiatau and Haupapanuiatau,[43] but because no one knows to which islands they refer they may have changed their names.[44] These people from the first migrations have also been called the moa-hunters[45] by archaeologists. In archaeological terms they are now referred to as being the people of the Archaic Era, and in historical terms they were at the beginning of the Māori colonial era.

The Maruiwi tribe settled on Motuihe and most likely on Motutapu and the adjacent isthmus. While on Motuihe they encountered the Terehu / Patupaiarehe from whom they learnt the art of preparing, weaving and dyeing flax.[46] After the Patupaiarehe persisted in raiding the gardens of a Maruiwi Chief, Te Ihupare, a trap was set for them. The Patupaiarehe were trapped by encircling them with wood ashes that the Maruiwi knew they would not cross. When the sun rose the Patupaiarehe all perished and no longer inhabited the surrounding area. The place name Maara Whiu Pungarehu (The Cultivation Cast Around The Ashes) stems from this event.[47] This legend confirms that these first settlers may well have attempted to plant their tropical food plants of kumara, gourd, paper mulberry and taro on arrival. But unfamiliar with how to manage the detrimental effects of winter frosts on the tropical plants, they ended up more dependent on hunting, fishing and gathering than gardening.

---

[39] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 4.
[40] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto, 4.*
[41] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 4.
[42] For example: Reed and Calman, *Reed Book of Māori Exploration*, 46.
[43] Te Rangi (Sir Peter Buck) Hiroa, *The Coming of the Māori*, 1982 ed., (Wellington: Whitcoulls Limited, 1949), 10; Davis and USP, *Vaka : Saga of a Polynesian Canoe*, 283.
[44] Davis and USP, *Vaka : Saga of a Polynesian Canoe*, 283.
[45] Archaeologists characterize the first era of settlement by reference to the Moa-Hunters because of the importance of the moa (a large flightless bird that is now extinct) as a source of food and the bone for ornaments. Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 30.
[46] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 5.
[47] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 5.

Excavations of middens, under the layers of volcanic ash on Motutapu Island, show that the Maruiwi, or earliest documented inhabitants, regularly ate different types of bush bird species,[48] including a species of the now extinct moa, crow (Palaeocorax moriorum) and eagle (Harpagornis moorei).[49] The settlements of Pig Bay, the Sunde Site, and the material remains found there that include adzes and a fishing hook, fit with those of the 'Archaic' or 'Moa Hunter' era.[50] There was an emphasis on the hunting and gathering of forest and shore products as a means of survival, which led to a more itinerant lifestyle than in later years.[51] Prior to Rangitoto's eruption bush covered the majority of Motutapu. It is likely that these small early settlements related to the use of the island as a base for hunting and fishing in the Hauraki Gulf, as well as the making of tools from the high quality greywacke stones found along the northwest coast.[52] Figure 28 is an illustration of what the Sunde site may have looked like, and is based on the archaeological excavations undertaken by the Auckland Institute and Museum.

The archaeological excavations on Motutapu show how it was settled prior to the eruption of Rangitoto and the historical narratives record that fortunately no people were on Motutapu the day of the eruption, as they had gone to the mainland in search of food.[53] They did however return to visit the island. The Sunde Site excavations have found the remains of both people and dogs in between the layers of ash. Part of the site shows an attempt to make gardens in between the ash showers, but the storage pits were not present until after the ash falls ceased.[54] Traditions record that after the eruption most of the people of Motutapu moved to various places on the Tāmaki isthmus to begin new gardens and make new pa sites.[55] The island was later occupied extensively from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, after the arrival of the Tainui canoe, by the people that would become the tribe Ngāi Tai.[56] Having not been covered with contemporary urban development, Motutapu is as close as it is possible to get to a major, undisturbed archaeological area, with over 300 individual sites encompassing the full gambit of Māori settlement features.[57] However, to date only three localised settlement areas have been subject to indepth archaeological exploration. A definitive date

[48] Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 42.
[49] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 19.
[50] Bulmer and DOC, *Sources for the Archaeology of the Maaori Settlement*, 5.
[51] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 30.
[52] Bulmer and DOC, *Sources for the Archaeology of the Maaori Settlement*, 2.
[53] Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths and Legends*, 82.
[54] Susan Bulmer and DOC *Sources for the Archaeology of the Maaori Settlement*, 6.
[55] Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths and Legends*, 82.
[56] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto, 9*
[57] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 18.

for the eruption of Rangitoto could also assist in dating these settlements, and migration or settlement phases in the wider area of Tāmaki Makaurau.

In the twelfth century, according to current estimates,[58] settlements were starting to become more stabilized in favourable locations. Davidson writes, "in some areas, such as the Auckland isthmus, clearance of land for gardens probably began very early, and for much of the prehistoric period the inhabitants may have had to go elsewhere for birds and other forest produce."[59] As the moa and other species that the subsistence economy relied upon became less available, hunting settlements became abandoned in preference to localities suitable for gardening.[60] It was also in this time that the first pit dwellings were discovered in the country. These were used to store food underground to overcome the cold climate.[61]

The Migrations of the Fourteenth Century

As archaeological records and oral narratives illustrate people were already settled on the isthmus when the famous canoes of the fourteenth century arrived. Murdoch recalls how sometime in this era of transition, after the eruption of Rangitoto, there lived a prominent chief most likely of Maruiwi descent, by the name of Peretu.[62]

> Peretu lived in his pa "Te Raho para o Peretu" at the northern end of Onemaewao or Milford beach, and also at "O Peretu" located at the southern end of "Kiritai" or Narrow Neck Beach, opposite Rangitoto.'[63]

---

[58] New carbon dating techniques have resulted in dates being questioned. As discussed in chapter three, recent studies propose that the earliest evidence for human colonisation in New Zealand was about AD 1280 to 1300.
[59] Janet M. Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 40.
[60] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 32.
[61] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 32.
[62] It is interesting to note here how Murdoch refers to Peretu as an 'illustrious ancestor of the Tainui Iwi of the area." One can only presume that this was by marriage as Peretu lived on the norh shore, prior to the arrival of the Tainui canoe. In order for descendents of the Tainui waka to claim him as ancestor, someone from the Tainui waka, or descendents thereof must have married into the family of Peretu. As a result future descendents could claim him as their ancestor. Te Arawa also claim him as an ancestor.
[63] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 7.

The traditional name for the Rangitoto channel is Te Awanui o Peretu (The Great River or Channel of Peretu). Peretu also used Rangitoto Island as an rāhui kaka (parrot reserve). According to Ngāi Tai traditions, the kaka fed on the bush foods found on Rangitoto Island, for it was covered in a forest of rata and pōhutukawa trees.[64] Another name for Rangitoto, as recorded by Graham, was Ngā Huruhuru a Peretu (The Hairs of Peretu) and the three peaks were known as Ngā Pona Toru a Peretu (The Three Knuckles of Peretu). That Peretu had only three fingers was a sign of his descent from a reptile god. Customary Māori wood carvings of ancestors with three fingers are usually regarded as demonstrating that the subjects were great people descended from the gods.[65] Peretu became a famous ancestor of the Tainui iwi within the area through the marriage of people, or their descendants, from the Tainui waka to the descendants of Peretu. He is also remembered as being the resident chief when the legendary explorer Toi arrived in the isthmus. [66]

Toi was an early inhabitant of Aotearoa and he is recorded in a number of different traditions.[67] One of these recalls how he was the captain of one of the first migrating canoes that arrived around the fourteenth century from Hawaiiki. An explanation given for Toi's arrival in Aotearoa is that he was searching for his grandsons, Whatonga and Turahui, who had gone missing during a canoe race in Tahiti[68] or Hawaiiki.[69]   After calling in at Rarotonga, Toi set out to Aotearoa in search of his grandsons, and eventually landed in Tāmaki where smoke could be seen rising from fires located across the isthmus and out to the Waitakere Ranges, which were occupied by Te Tini o Maruiwi.[70] Although Toi was still searching for his grandsons, he settled for a while in the Tāmaki area and some of his people married locals. A niece of Toi, called Pareira, settled in what is now called the Henderson Valley area, and gave her name to the stream Waipareira (Stream of Pareira).[71] Toi later moved to Aotea (Great Barrier Island), and finally south to Whakatane.[72] Later, Toi's grandsons returned to Hawaiiki from Rangiātea (Ra'iatea) where they had being staying, to discover that their grandfather had gone to look for them. Concerned about his grandfather, Whatonga took his canoe,

[64] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 7.

[65] Graham, "Te Tuhi Manawatere and other legends of Maraetai", *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* 30 (1921). Quoted in, Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 7.

[66] Murdoch records how when the great Polynesian explorer Toi Te Huatahi came to visit the islands of the Hauraki Gulf, in 'the era of the first migrations from Hawaiiki,' that 'the local Rangitira who held sway over Rangitoto and the surrounding area was Peretu'. Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 5-7.

[67] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 22.

[68] Davis and USP, *Vaka : Saga of a Polynesian Canoe*, 284. Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*. Orbell refers to this as being a Ngāti Kahunguunu storey.

[70] Reed and Calman, *Reed Book of Māori Exploration*, 46.

[71] Reed and Calman, *Reed Book of Māori Exploration*, 47; Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā*, 111.

[72] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 220.

now named Kurahaupō,[73] and set out after his grandfather. On voyaging to Rarotonga they were told that Toi had set out for Aotearoa, and so they followed and eventually found him at Whakatane, having left the Tāmaki area.

Over time the descendants of Toi became quite numerous and intermixed with the Maruiwi people, and the mana of Toi is recorded in names for parts of the Hauraki Gulf. For example, the collective name for all of the islands in the gulf was Ngā Poito o te Kupenga o Toi Te Huatahi (The Floats of the Fishing Net of Toi Te Huatahi); the original name for the waters to the south of Rangitoto to the outer Waitemata was Te Whanganui o Toi (The Great Harbour of Toi) and the Māori name for Little Barrier is Hauturu o Toi.[74]

Sometime after the arrival of Toi,[75] the Tainui and Te Arawa canoes arrived and although the isthmus was not the final destination of either canoe, they had a significant impact on the isthmus.[76] Some of the crew members stayed and married the local tāngata whenua, and the new settlers subsequently influenced the tribal structures of their era, as well as potentially the material culture and physical character of the settlements, as noted in the previous chapter. Their presence continues to be evident in tribal narratives, genealogies, and the number of place names they left behind. For example, one of the names for Rangitoto (bleeding skies) Island is Te Rangi I Totongia A Tama te Kapua (The day the blood of Tama te Kapua was shed;[77] or the Days of the Bleeding of Tama te Kapua[78]). The Tainui explanation for the name is that it stems from a fight between the captain of the Arawa canoe, Tama te Kapua and the captain of the Tainui canoe, Hoturoa. Both canoes were moored at Orawaho (now called Islington Bay) between Rangitoto and Motutapu Islands, and Tama te Kapua payed 'unwelcome attentions' to Hoturoa's senior wife, Whakaotirangi. In the fight that followed Tama te Kapua came off second best,[79] and fortunately others intervened to stop the fight,

---

[73] The reason for the name change is given in Reed and Calman, *Reed Book of Māori Exploration : Stories of Voyage and Discovery*, 45.

[74] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 5.

[75] There is no agreed date on the length of time between migrations, except that date of 1150 for the arrival of Toi, from the "Great New Zealand Myth," is not founded on Māori traditions that instead would place Toi in the thirteenth of fourteenth century. King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, 37.

[76] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 16.

[77] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 7.

[78] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 18.

[79] G Graham, "Tainui – Her Visit to Waitemata and Tāmaki (as narrated by Maihi Te Kapua Te Hinaki in 1894)", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 60, (1951). Quoted in Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 8; F. L. Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui = Nga Tohu a Tainui : A Geographical Record of Tainui Traditional History. Volume Two* (Otorohanga, N.Z.: Tohu Publishers, 1995), 3.

because they were all close relatives.[80] The Te Arawa explanation for the name is that, "Tama te Kapua seriously cut his feet on the scoria in Islington Bay where he landed to explore the island."[81] Moon refers to the Tainui account as being an obscure explanation of the name that has no other accounts corroborating its authenticity.[82] Either way, after the event the people of Tainui claimed control over Rangitoto,[83] whilst Tama te Kapua and the people of the Arawa canoe left the isthmus to settle in the area between Coromandel and Eastern Bay of Plenty.[84]

Both the Tainui and Arawa waka had left Hawaiiki as a result of war and famine and the creation of both canoes are recorded in varying traditions,[85] some of which state that this was at the same time.[86] The competition and conflicts between the crews and captains of the two waka arose before they arrived in Aotearoa and were caused, in part at least, by Tama te Kapua's kidnapping of Tainui's navigator Ngatoroirangi and his wife, Kearoa.[87] One interpretation of the histories of the Tainui and Te Arawa waka is that they were the names of two hulls of a double waka called Mahanga -a-Tuamatua, which accounts for the similarities between arrival events recorded by their descendants.[88]

Other names that stem specifically from the narratives associated with the arrival of these two canoes include from Tainui: Ngā Tuaitara a Taikehu (The dorsal fins of Taikehu),[89] which are the peaks of Rangitoto; Ngā Hau Mangere (The Lazy Winds) after the winds experienced by the crew on the Manukau harbour,[90] and applied to the general area still called Mangere; Figure 19 is of Te Haukapua, which is now also known as Torpedo Bay in Devonport, and is named after the fog that clouded the area when the waka moored on the sand bank;[91] a spring by what is now called North Head was named Takapuna by Taikehu after a spring in his homeland;[92] the headland on the eastern

---

[80] G Graham, "Tainui – Her Visit to Waitemata". Quoted in Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 8.
[81] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 18.
[82] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 18.
[83] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 8. Also discussed in chapter eight of this thesis.
[84] Although some members stayed, or returned to become the ancestors to later generations of Tainui people in Tāmaki Makaurau. Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 8.
[85] Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā*, 132 – 151.
[86] Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā*, 34.
[87] Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā*, 137 and 35.
[88] Ngā ta / Tuwhareoa, p 54-55. Quoted in Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā*, 77.
[89] Wero, 1991. Quoted in Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 8.
[90] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 18.
[91] Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui* 1.
[92] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto 7.*

side of the Tāmaki River was named Te Pane o Horoiwi (the head of Horoiwi), [93] by Horoiwi, a crew member who left the waka to settle with the tāngata whenua.

Place names stemming from the Arawa waka recounted by Murdoch[94] include: Tikapa Moana, which is another name for the Hauraki Gulf; Te Poito o te Kupenga o Taraminuku (The float of the fishing net of Taramainuku), for the islands within the gulf; Te Motu a Ihenga (The island of Ihenga), who was Tama te Kapua's grandson[95] for Motuihe. Wai te mata (The waters of Mata[96]) is named after the mauri place by Kahumatamoemoe of the Arawa on Te Mata / Boat Rock,[97] and the significance of this is discussed in chapter eight. Okahu Bay is also named after Kahumatamoemoe who later returned to settle in the area.

That the Tainui and Arawa canoes did not stay in the isthmus is also probably testament to the fact that the area was already well populated, preventing the easy acquisition of land. However, because a number of the Tainui crew remained[98] and married into the local population, most of the tribes of Tāmaki could claim descent from the Tainui waka, and some from the Arawa from the fourteenth century onwards. Over time, descendants from other canoe members, who initially did not settle in Tāmaki, chose to relocate and establish themselves on the isthmus. They thereby increased the number of Tainui and Te Arawa related tribes. Hence the Tainui whakataukī that records their tribal boundaries is, "Mokau ki runga, Tāmaki ki raro" (Mokau above and Tāmaki below)[99] with Mokau being the southern boundary and Tāmaki the northern. The spatial implications of this whakataukī are discussed in chapter nine.

In addition to the Tainui and Arawa waka there were later migrants from other parts of the country who were affiliated with other significant migratory canoes that also arrived in the mid-fourteenth century. The Aotea canoe is recorded as having travelled up to the Waitemata after arriving on the East Coast of Aotearoa. After staying a while in Tāmaki it crossed over the canoe portage to the Manukau and on to its final destination.[100] Years later Turangamua, the son of Aotea's captain, travelled overland to the Manukau harbour with a party of toa (warriors). They fought with the residents of the area at a place called Te Onepōtakataka and at Waitaramoa Creek by what is now

---

[93] Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui,* 1.
[94] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto 7.*
[95] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 17.
[96] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 17.
[97] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto 7;* Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 17.
[98] For example: Te Keteanawero and his son Taihaua. The people of Ngā i Tai descend from these ancestors. Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto 9.*
[99] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makaurau, 14.*
[100] Reed and Calman, *Reed Book of Māori Mythology*, 64.

known as Hobson Bay. Some of Turangamua's men then stayed at Ōrākei while the others continued along the east coast. [101]

Other canoes affiliated with the Tāmaki area include the Mataatua, which along with the Aotea were both purported to have been part of the 'Great Fleet' that left Rarotonga. The people of Ngāti Awa descended from the Mataatua waka,[102] which is also said to have come from Mauke in the Cook Islands.[103] Descendants of passengers from the Tunuiarangi canoe of Ngāi Tahuhu occupied Onehunga[104] and parts of Ōtāhuhu from as early as the fourteenth century and intermarried extensively with Tainui people.[105] A waka by the name of Poutini is recorded as having left Hawaiiki and settled in the Tāmaki area, where Tama, a former crew member who is recorded in some traditions as having come to Aotearoa on the Tainui waka, joined them.[106]

The people of Kawerau (who later became known as Te Kawerau a Maki) lived amongst the Waitakere Ranges, parts of which are currently known as North Shore City, and at times parts of the isthmus. They claim descent from three waka, Tainui, Te Whakatuwhenua and Te Moekakara, as well as from the earliest settlers of the isthmus, and the ancestor Tiriwa.[107] Tiriwa is credited by the people of Kawerau as being responsible for the creation of Rangitoto,[108] a story retold in chapter nine.

Although there were ancestors of Māori living in Aotearoa from perhaps the twelfth century onwards, it is the chiefs, descended from the migration waka of the fourteenth century, who were to become most influential in terms of the more recent tribal groupings. For urban design this is important because as stated by Māori historian Ranginui Walker:

"The first tribal boundaries were drawn by the paramount chiefs who commanded the waka that arrived here from the Hawaiiki homeland. Each waka group settled in

[101] Reed and Calman, *Reed Book of Māori Mythology*, 71.
[102] R. C. J. Stone, *From Tamaki-Makau-Rau to Auckland* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2001), 15.
[103] Davis and USP, *Vaka : Saga of a Polynesian Canoe*.
[104] Which means "beach composed of mixed sand and mud" *Maori Dictionary, s.v.* Onehunga, http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz, (accessed June 23, 2009).
[105] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau,* 22 and 32 – 33.
[106] How the Māoris came to Aotearoa, p. 78, and Treasury of Māori Exploration, p 167. Quoted in Evans, *Ngā Waka O Neherā*, 115 – 116.
[107] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 31.
[108] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau,* 31; Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 4; Phillips-Gibson and Keokatavong, *Tāmaki -Makaurau : Myths and Legends*, 76.

territorial areas throughout the country. For example Hoturoa settled the Tainui area: Tamatea-ariki-nui settled the Ngāti Porou and Kahungungu areas."[109]

Overtime these boundaries were tested as various tribes sought to expand their territory through conquest, or they were blurred through marriage and the subsequent creation of new hapū with various waka affiliations. In Tāmaki Makaurau the boundaries between different iwi and hapū became increasingly complex. This is a result of tāngata whenua residents from the earliest of migrations; the arrival of settlers from later waka;[110] the natural wealth of resources and the strategic location of the isthmus; and the fact that it sits on the boundary of what would over time become the territories of several large and influential iwi. Hence, since perhaps the time of the Maruiwi there has never been one iwi in Tāmaki Makaurau.

The tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau

The following accounts, recorded in this section and the rest of this chapter, further illustrate the complexity of different tribal interests within the Tāmaki Makaurau area. They are based on the historical texts currently available, and as is evident within these written records there is a complex patterning of tribal relationships that cover the land of Tāmaki Makaurau.

Influential in European interpretations of Auckland's Māori history is the Native Land Court judgement of 1879. In his judgement, Fenton concluded that the original tribe of Tāmaki Makaurau included the earliest of settlers and was called was Ngā Oho. Their territory extended to the north and south of Tāmaki. Ngā Oho later split into three groups, Ngā Riki (to the south), Ngā Iwi (on the isthmus) and Ngā Oho (north of the Waitemata harbour and towards Kaipara). Ngā iwi later became known as the Waiohua.[111] However, the limited and sometimes conflicting evidence that supported the judge's views at that time is, according to Stone, insufficient to justify his identification of the

[109] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 33.
[110] With traditions recording many important marriages between these later migrants from Hawaiki and the tāngata whenua. Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 51.
[111] Fenton, "Fenton's 'Orakei Judgement' Native Land Court". Quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki - Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 19.

'founding' tribes,[112] and his conclusions have also been challenged by contemporary representatives of Tāmaki iwi.[113] A Tainui iwi explanation of these tribes is that Ngā Iwi is a sub-tribal name from ancestor Te Whatu. The full name of Ngā Iwi is Ngā iwi Oho (The People of Oho). Te Whatu was from Tainui and a descendant of Te Matau, the elder brother of Kokako'.[114] Ngā iwi Oho, or Ngā Oho, is also said to have received its name from Ohomatakamokamo, the son of Riukiuta from the Tainui waka who had settled on the isthmus at what is called 'Three Kings' in English.[115] Another explanation is that they were descendants of Ohomairangi, another Tainui crew member who is more frequently mentioned in Te Arawa and Tuhoe legends.[116] As discussed in the previous section, the isthmus was settled long before Riukiuta, Horowi and Te Keteanawero disembarked from the Tainui waka on its way to it final destination in Kawhia.[117] Subsequently, whilst the name Ngā Oho might stem from the time of the Tainui canoes, it is not the name for the earliest tribes.

Ngā Iwi as referred to by Fenton means literally 'the tribes'. The change from Ngā Iwi, or Ngā Iwi Oho, to Te Waiohua (The waters of Hua) came about following the death of a chief called Hua.[118] Hua was known as Hua Kaiwaka (Hua the eater of canoes), because he had gathered together and made into one tribe many people of diverse waka origins.[119] Figure 29 is a carving of Hua Kaiwaka at the Mangere Mountain Education Centre. Maungawhau was the pā where Hua Kaiwaka lived and died.[120]

The historian Paul Moon refers the Waiohua as being made up of primarily Tainui iwi and hapū, most likely because even though they were also descendants from people who pre-dated the arrival of the Tainui waka, they were tied together through intermarriage. But, for example the whakapapa / genealogy of Hua Kaiwaka, also includes descent from the Te Arawa waka. This is recorded in

---

[112] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 19.
[113] This is because Fenton's judgement lies at the centre of current discussions on Treaty Settlements with the government. Pamera Warner, (Spokesperson, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in discussion with the author, 2008. Māori involved in the proceedings of the Native Land Court was also subject to various limitations reflective of the era that could have significantly influenced the process by way of limited participation. As Stenson also notes The Native Land Court was a long and costly process with serious human implications for the Māori involved. Stenson, *The Treaty*, 72.
[114] F. L. Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui = Ngā Tohu a Tainui : A Geographical Record of Tainui Traditional History. Volume Two* (Otorohangā , N.Z.: Tohu Publishers, 1995), 170.
[115] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 25-26.
[116] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 28.
[117] Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui,* 170.
[118] Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui,* 170.
[119] Simmons, *Māori Auckland*, p. 23. Quoted Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*. Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 81.
[120] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 28.

Phillip's book *Ngā Tohu a Tainui – Landmarks of Tainui,* and goes back to Houmaitawhiti, who lived in Hawaiiki. The Arawa whakapapa of Hua Kaiwaka is:

> Houmaitawhiti – Mapara (brother of Tamatekapua) – Whakatere – Hinewairangi – Hinemapuhia – Te Ikaraeroa – Kuranoke – Poutukeka – Te Whatu roto – Hua (Huakaiwaka)[121]

The Arawa presence on the isthmus was also confirmed when Kahumatamomoe, a son of Tama Te Kapua, settled in the vicinity of the bay named after him, which is now shortened to Okahu Bay. The Te Arawa tribe of Ngāti Huarere, who are now located on the Coromandel Peninsula, also once occupied parts of the isthmus around Horotiu / Queen Street Valley, Ōrākei and some of the Gulf islands.[122]

Like the Ngāti Huarere, there were other tribal groups who migrated (from the north, south and east) to the Tāmaki area, a process that continued in varying forms up to the arrival of Europeans. An example of this is a group of Ngāti Awa who were descendants of the Mataatua waka that landed in Whakatane,[123] and who had moved to Northland. Sometime between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, then under the leadership of the Rangatira Titahi, the Ngāti Awa left Northland, and after residing in Kaipara for an indefinite amount of time,[124] moved into Tāmaki. Titahi was a chief of great mana known for his expert pa building skills. He is credited with constructing the pā defences and terracing of: Maungawhau (Mountain of the Whau plant / *Entela arborescens*[125]), now also known as Mt Eden; Maungkiekie (Mountain of the Kiekie plant / *Freycinetia banksii*[126]), now also known as One Tree Hill; and other cones including Ōwairaka where he lived for while[127] before moving to Maungakiekie. Ōwairaka was named after Wairaka, the daughter of Toroa from the Mataatua canoe. Her sister called Muriwai, lived on the other side of the Waitakere Ranges, in a pā close to the beach that now carries her name.[128] Maungakiekie is also known as Ngā-whaka-iro-a-

---

[121] Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui,* 170.

[122] Fenton, "Fenton's 'Orakei Judgement' Native Land Court," and John Barr, *The City of Auckland, New Zealand, 1840 - 1920* (Auckland: 1922). Quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 15.

[123] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*.

[124] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau,*78 -79.

[125] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 66.

[126] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 78.

[127] Simmons, Māori Auckland, p. 23; Waititi, p. 9; and Graham in Barr, p. 10, all cited in Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 16.

[128] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 80.

Titahi (The carvings of Titahi)[129] after its magnificent terracing as shown in Figure 30. Titahi deserves a special mention because he is perhaps the Māori architect or urban designer that, in terms of built form, had the greatest impact on Tāmaki Makaurau, as seen in the remains of the pa sites that he is credited to have influenced, the most magnificent being Maungakiekie. Late in the seventeenth century a branch of the Ngāti Awa left to move to Taranaki, but the rest stayed and became part of the medley of people who made Tāmaki Makaurau their home,[130] and who were otherwise known as the Waiohua.

The Waiohua were not an iwi, but are best described as several loosely related hapū groups from different iwi. These tribal groups included Ngā Iwi, Ngāti Te Ata, Ngā Oho, Ngā Riki and others[131] such as; Ngāti Titahi from Taurere / Taylors Hill;[132] Ngai Tahuhu from the Ōtāhuhu Portage and Te Pa o Tahuhu (The village of Tahuhu) / Mt Richmond;[133] and Ngāti Wai from Ōwairaka/Mt Albert, who were descendants from the Mataatua waka.[134] This mixture of tribal groupings of varying lineage means that even in pre-European times Tāmaki Makaurau was distinctively cosmopolitan and culturally diverse.

Peace was maintained for many years in the region because of the strong alliances, and when threatened by other tribes the Waiohua stood together. They were also good negotiators. Up to the mid-eighteenth century the Waiohua confederation held undisputed mana whenua over "the whole country from the Tāmaki River to Te Whau, stretching from the Manukau to the Waitemata".[135] Te Whau is the stream that formed the portage and runs past present day Avondale and New Lynn.

> Tāmaki people were famed 'far and near' for their wealth, their hillside pa, and their
> cultivations. On the Manukau and Waitemata there were 'large fleets of waka for

---

[129] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 16; Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 80.

[130] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 18.

[131] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 81.

[132] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 20. Ngāti Titahi intermarried with people from the Aotea canoe.

[133] R. C. J. Stone, *Logan Campbell's Auckland : Tales from the Early Years* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2007), 24.

[134] Ōwairaka was named after Wairaka who was the daughter of Toroa, also a prominent Ngāti Awa ancestor. Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 80.

[135] Fenton. "Fenton's 'Orakei Judgement' Native Land Court". Quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki - Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 20.

fishing and war'. Waiohua leaders were known for their 'opulence … hospitality and industry.[136]

Almost all of the volcanic hilltops were occupied at some stage and some concurrently, although it is unlikely that they were all in use at the same time. The area was characterized by its large cultivated gardens, headland and volcanic hill top villages, multiple seasonal fishing villages and camps around the coast. Not all of the hilltop or headland settlements were fortified, and where fortifications were used they may have been predominantly a display of prestige with some walls being low enough for a child to jump over.[137] However, the rich volcanic soils, productive gardens, and abundant seafood made Tāmaki Makaurau a highly prized location, which needed to be defended from attacks by covetous neighbours over succeeding generations.[138] In later years some of the mountain sites had to become more highly fortified for protection. The most famous of these is Maungakiekie, shown in Figures 30 and 25, which became the citadel of the Waiohua chief, Kiwi Tāmaki. Narratives record how in the eighteenth century Kiwi Tāmaki intentionally strengthened the already magnificent fortifications of Maungakiekie in response to the threats of both Ngāti Paoa and Te Taoū invasions.[139]

Beyond the Te Whau and Ōtāhuhu portages, tribal boundaries were more fluid,[140] but until the early eighteenth century a relative peace was maintained by the fact that there were significant intermarriages between the Waiohua tribes, and Kawerau (to the west of the Te Whau creek and north of the Waitemata Harbour) and Ngāi Tai (to the East of the Tāmaki River and along the Eastern coast of the Hauraki Gulf). The people of Kawerau lived interspersed with the Waiohua, and over several centuries became very closely related, reinforcing the bond already established by the fact that Kawerau had ancestral links with the Tainui waka.[141]

In the seventeenth century, a group from Kawhia under the powerful leadership of Maki came to Tāmaki Makaurau and invaded the isthmus. They settled at Rarotonga and over a generation spread northward, taking control of land from Tāmaki to the Kaipara and parts of the North Shore.[142] After an incident involving Maki and the conquest of Kaipara, Maki's people all took the name of

[136] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 28.
[137] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 43.
[138] Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui*, 160.
[139] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 81.
[140] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 20.
[141] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 31.
[142] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 10.

Kawerau,[143] and the resulting mix of the two tribes (through intermarriage) is now known as Te Kawerau a Maki.[144] Although they maintained a separate identity, by the start of the eighteenth century the people of Te Kawerau a Maki were so 'mixed up' with the Waiohua people that they had become a somewhat dutiful ally whilst still forging ties with their northern neighbours, the Ngāti Whātua ,[145] who having moved into the Kaipara area were poised to enter the isthmus.

To the east of the Tāmaki River, throughout the islands of the Waitemata and along the eastern coast of the North Shore, was Ngāi Tai.[146] They were a Tainui tribe that stemmed from the arrival of the Tainui waka in the fourteenth century. They were descendants of Te Keteanawero who settled with his son, Taihaua at the pā called Taurere at the mouth of the Tāmaki River, as well as Rakataura and Taikehu,[147] the famed tohunga / priest of the Tainui waka. Over time various hapū of Ngai Tai settled the whole coastline of the Hauraki Gulf, and the islands at the mouth of the Waitemata, of which Motutapu was the centre of their occupation. Hence the Ngāi Tai whakataukī 'Ngā waka o Taikehu, me he kahui kataha kapi tai' that likens the many waka of Taikehu's descendants to 'shoals of herrings that cover the surface of the sea.'[148]

Ngāi Tai were surrounded by other Tainui iwi, and by the early seventeenth century were part of the powerful tribal grouping of Te Waiohua.[149] When Kawerau and/or Maki reached the east coast of North Shore, there were several battles with Ngāi Tai, but because of their ancestral ties peace was easily restored by marriage, and the hapū Ngāti Kahu, from both Kawerau and Ngāi Tai descent, came into existence.[150] In the nineteenth century the rangatira of both tribes confirmed that the boundary between the two commenced at Te Papa o Tamatera, the mouth of the Tāmaki River, and continued over the summit of Rangitoto to the island of Tiritiri Matengi. The islands to the east belonged to Ngāi Tai, and the mainland to the west belonged to Ngāti Kahu.[151] The people of Ngāi Tai lived on and continued "to cultivate Motutapu until they left there in Governor Fitzroy's time" after the arrival of Europeans.[152]

---

[143] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 10.
[144] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 21.
[145] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 22.
[146] Murdoch describes the people Ngāi Tai and Ngāti Tai in his document *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto,* but to avoid confusion I have used the name Ngāi Tai as used by other historians, and by the contemporary iwi of Ngai Tai, refer Appendix B.
[147] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 9.
[148] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 9.
[149] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 10.
[150] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 10.
[151] N.L.C. Auckland M.B.1 1866:10. Quoted in Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 12.
[152] N.L.C. Auckland M.B.1 1866, 16. Quoted in Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 12.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw the start of the next tribal invasion, this being the confederation of four tribes from the Hauraki iwi, known as the Marutūāhu after their common ancestor. Their tribal names were Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Tama-Te-Ra and Ngāti Whānaunga, but have sometimes been mistakenly referred to as only Ngāti Paoa.[153] Over time they became a formidable force that was quick to avenge any insult or violation of tapu as expected under the Māori framework of utu (payment), which was a frequent cause of war in Māori society.[154] As result of at least one, if not several, assaults the great Waiohua pa on Maungawhau / Mt Eden was destroyed and became tapu never to be occupied again. The tapu was potentially a result of either the number who died, or because of the treacherous act that caused the invasion.[155] With the Marutūāhu tribes encroaching from the east, and the threat from the north-west of Ngāti Whātua, the Waiohua were in an increasingly precarious position. Ngati Whatua were originally from the far north, but by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they had settled in the area of the Kaipara Harbour.[156]

By the end of the eighteenth Century Ngāti Whanaunga and Ngāti Tama-Te-Ra had acquired land on the east bank of the Tāmaki River, and Ngāti Tama-Te-Ra acquired other islands in the Gulf, including Motukorea / Browns Island. Ngāti Paoa were established on the western bank of the Tāmaki River, and the northern hapū of Ngāti Paoa, known as Ngāti Hura, or Te Uri Karaka, had taken control of Waiheke Island, several of the islands to the south as well as several of the shark fishing grounds and areas off the coast between Takapuna and the Mahurangi area.[157] There were also reciprocal agreements between Ngāti Paoa and Ngāi Tai over the occupation of Motuihe, Motutapu and Waiheke temporarily, for the use of related fishing grounds.[158] However, Ngāti Paoa and the other Maruatuahu generally lived in peace with Ngāi Tai as they were related,[159] such that the people of Ngāi Tai were later to be easily mistaken as a hapū of the Hauraki iwi.[160] In later years,

---

[153] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 23.

[154] Stone recounts the stories of the taniwha that was eaten; the boy that was left on the rock in the Waitemata to drown but lived to take revenge on his brother in law many years later; and the treacherous murder of a brother.

[155] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 25 -26; Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau - the Māori Occupation of Auckland to 1820*, 69.

[156] Sir Hugh Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tamaki: A Ngati Whatua Perspective" (Hillary Lecture, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland: 2001)

[157] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 11. Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 23. Stone refers to the Waiohua settlements of Maungakiekie and Maungarei as being sacked as well, however it is unlikely that Maungakiekie was sacked since Kiwi Tāmaki continued to live there.

[158] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 11.

[159] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 11.

[160] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 24.

Motukorea was surrounded by the lands of Ngāti Paoa, whose tribal mana extended over the western parts of the Hauraki Gulf, over Waiheke, the Tāmaki river area[161] and the north-eastern coastal areas of what is now known as Takapuna up to Whangaparaoa.[162] Historian F. L. Phillips refers to this era being before Ngāti Whātua conquered the lands to the west of Tāmaki, which had been the exclusive domain of Waiohua.

The 'Golden Age'

Despite the attacks from Ngāti Paoa in the early to mid eighteenth century the Waiohua maintained their mana over the isthmus, and the beginning of the eighteenth century is regularly referred to as the 'Golden Age' of Tāmaki Makaurau. Moon writes;

> The term 'Golden Age' has become an overworked phrase … But Golden Age is a genuinely apt term to apply to Auckland in the first few decades of the 18th Century. The Hauraki/Ngāti Paoa attacks had ceased after about 1701, and had then retreated from whence they came without having made any noticeable territorial claims in the region. Economically, the isthmus was probably one of the most dynamic in the country at this time. Not only did the climate and soils produce an abundance of food, there was an ongoing flow of opportunities for exchange with the countless waka that used the region as a transit point. And, as is often the case, the culture of productivity and prosperity soon found the culture of peace as its bedfellow.[163]

In addition, most of the peoples could claim descent from the Tainui waka, thus having a shared history and identity.[164] This political stability was further strengthened by the fact that the isthmus

---

[161] Phillips actually refer to the whole of Tāmaki, but it is unclear as to where the area referred here as Tāmaki starts and finishes. In the era being described by Phillips, Waiohua were still well established in the ismthus. Therefore it is likely that the area he is referring to is not Tāmaki Makaurau as in the wider ismthus, but the areas of land in close proximity to the Tāmaki River. Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui.*
[162] Phillips, *Landmarks of Tainui*, 3.
[163] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 76.
[164] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 76.

was united under the leadership of Kiwi Tāmaki, who through his parents, Te Tahuri and Te Ika Maupoho, had multiple connections to the different tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau.[165]

Perhaps the most descriptive visual record of the landscape during pre-European settlement is inadvertently the detailed geological map of the isthmus made by Dr Ferniand von Hochsetter in 1859. This is included as Figure 31. Whilst it does not record the location of earlier Māori settlements, it does show the landform of the isthmus before it was substantially changed by European settlement and urban expansion. On von Hochsetter's map, the towns of Auckland and Onehunga (on the Manukau Harbour and now a suburb of Auckland City) had only recently been established. It shows the main transport routes of the time, including a number of tracks that became significant streets including the arterial of Great South Road. Given the same importance as Great South Road are the two waka portages along Te Whau creek and from the Tamaki River at Ōtāhuhu. Von Hochsetter's map also includes a number of Māori place names alongside the colonial additions, such as North Head and Takapuna. In some cases he noticeably gives the Māori name the greater prominence, for example, Maunga Wao (Maungawhau) in bold and Mt Eden in small print, and Maunga Kiekie (Maungakiekie) in bold and One Tree Hill in small print. This reflects recognition of the Māori heritage of the area. A closer reading of this map further illustrates a correlation with the tribal histories and archaeological findings that identify fertile garden soils, mountain pa sites, deep harbours, abundant mud flats and sheltered coves. This geological map can assist in interpreting tribal narratives by enabling a reading of the cultural landscape prior to urbanisation and provides a greater understanding of what the 'urban form' in the eighteenth century might have been from a Māori perspective.

Te Taou Raupatu

However, this 'golden age' was not to continue. In approximately 1741,[166] Kiwi Tāmaki treacherously killed a Te Taou chief and others while a guest at a Te Taou wedding in the Kaipara. His intention had been to discourage Ngāti Whātua interests in the Isthmus.[167] Te Taou, led by the brothers Wahaaikiaki and Tuperiri, responded in a series of attacks over a couple of years that focused on attacking the outskirts of the Waiohua territory, and despite their small number of

---

[165] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 75.
[166] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 83.
[167] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 83.

warriors they succeeded in destroying several pa.[168] While temporarily retreating to the northern shores of the Manukau harbour to decide what to do next, Kiwi Tāmaki decided to lead his warriors in an attack on what appeared to be the retreating Te Taou. The Waiohua taua (war party) that Kiwi Tāmaki had gathered from across the isthmus, and from Te Kawerau a Maki, may have numbered several thousand. The Te Taou taua numbered about four hundred.[169] The only action open to Te Taou was to stage an ambush, and they chose the area on the north of the Manukau harbour called Paruroa (Long Mud), now also known as Little Muddy Creek. The deciding factor in the battle was when Wahaakiaki managed to kill Kiwi Tāmaki. Other Waiohua chiefs were also killed and a result the Waiohua warriors without their leadership fled.[170]

As a result, the once powerful group of the Waiohua, whose people had occupied the isthmus in varying forms from the earliest of migrations, was shattered. Te Taou then moved on to take control of Maungakiekie, which had been deserted by its fleeing population, and later attacked the remaining Waiohua Pa, such as Mangere. Figure 32 illustrates a path beside the Mangere Mountain Education Centre, which was built in memory of the successful Te Taou attack on the pā at Mangere. It is likely that those who survived the fighting fled to the safety of their relatives, such as the Waikato tribes to the south-east of the Manukau Harbour. Others were taken as slaves by the people of Te Taou when a group of them, under the leadership of Tuperiri, settled on the isthmus. The people of Te Taou, who stayed in Tāmaki, intermarried with the captured Waiohua slaves and from that union stems the hapū now known as Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei.

In tikanga Māori, rights to land and the transferral of those rights to others was based on the following customs:

> Take tapu or take Tūpuna – ancestral land passed down according to custom.
> Take raupatu – land taken by conquest. But conquest without occupation did not give the conqueror a right to those lands.

---

[168] The first reprisal was with Kiwi Tāmaki 's men and the people of a chief who he was visiting, located somewhere between today's Avondale and Tiitirangi. The pa to fall included Taurere (Taylors Hill) by the Tāmaki River, and to the south of the Manukau Harbour, the outlying pa of Tarawero and Awhitu. Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 85-89; Stone, *From Tāmaki - Makau-Rau to Auckland*,40-41.
[169] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 83.
[170] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 94; Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 41.

Take tuku – Land gifted, perhaps from a dying chief in order to strengthen

relationships with a neighboring tribe. The land had to be occupied and used by the

recipient.

Take taunaha – land which had been unoccupied with no known claimants. The

discoverer had to occupy it and use it to keep it. [171]

Take Tūpuna relates to whakapapa, tūrangawaewae, and will be discussed in chapter seven. Take

tuku is also known as tuku rangitira (gifts between chiefs).[172] Take taunaha was how the chiefs on

the migrating waka of the fourteenth century claimed land, and why they did not stay in the isthmus

after arrival. This is the right to land that according to Te Warena Taua is:

'derived from the action of the putake (who might have been one individual or a

group), the original discoverer, the conqueror, or the donor. Rights were [then]

handed on intact from generation to generation [take Tūpuna] as long as they were

sustained by occupation and use, and not lost by some new event such as being

gifted away or by conquest.[173]

It was by take raupatu (conquest) that Te Taou gained the land of Tāmaki Makaurau. By marrying

their Waiohua slaves, the people of Te Taou not only illustrated their intention to occupy the land,

but also that they intended the next generation to claim rights to the land through both take raupatu

and take Tūpuna. In Māori society the marrying of slaves was a common way for the rights to land

taken by raupatu to be further strengthened, so that over time descendants also had the status of take

Tūpuna.[174] However, with all of these the principle of ahi kā still prevailed. Ahi kā refers to 'the

constant flame of domestic fire, keeping one's title to land warm by occupation,'[175] and it is by

occupation, not just conquest, that rights to land are confirmed, or lost.

Therefore, according to Māori customs, by the beginning of the nineteenth century Te Taou o Ngāti

Whātua held mana whenua over the central part of the isthmus as a result of raupatu, take tūpuna and

ahi kā. The Tāmaki branch of Ngāti Whātua was much smaller than the larger confederation of the

Waiohua, and much of the land was under utilized. In order to sustain control of the isthmus without

resorting to more warfare further peacemaking marriages were made, such that the Tāmaki branch of

---

[171] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 31. The first three of these forms of customary land tenure are also discussed in Taua, "Māori Perspectives on Landscape."
[172] Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tamaki".
[173] Taua, "Māori Perspectives on Landscape", 14 -15.
[174] Taua, "Māori Perspectives on Landscape", 19.
[175] Taua, "Māori Perspectives on Landscape", 14.

Ngāti Whātua, (now Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei) became known as being made up of the tribes of Te Taou, Ngā Oho and Te Uringutu, further incorporating the descendants of the Waiohua.

Tuperiri of Te Taou chose Maungakiekie as his principle pā and called it Hikurangi.[176] The pā was made smaller to reflect the reduction in population and to ensure that it was easier to defend. Other pā and large kainga were abandoned, with the exception of settlements at: Onewa, now also known as Kauri Point; Te Tō in the location of Freeman's Bay; Mangonui (lots of sharks), located inside Kauri Point; and Tauhinu, further up the river. These settlements enabled Ngāti Whātua to maintain control of the Waitemata harbour.[177] The larger settlements were at Māngere and Ihumatao on the Manukau where more intermarriage occurred with the Waikato relatives of the Waiohua to assist in maintaining peace.[178] There were also seasonal, or small permanent settlements at Horotiu, Queen Street Valley; Waipapa, corner of Stanley Street and Parnell Rise; Waiariki, in the central city where the High Court is now located; Taurarua, where the Parnell baths are now located; and at Okahu Bay.[179]

Further peacemaking agreements were made with Te Kawerau a Maki to the west and with Ngāti Paoa, the other tribes of the Marutūāhu and the people of Ngāi Tai, along the east coast. Ngāti Paoa had also settled in the Tāmaki River area and had established several major villages.

The second half of the eighteenth century has seen significant changes in Tāmaki Makaurau. The complexities of historic and contemporary tribal relationships is clearly evident in the narratives recorded. In terms of tribal boundaries and areas of historical significance the maps from the Waitangi Tribunal Report on the Tāmaki Makaurau settlement processes are important. Although they do not address the boundaries of hapū interests, they do provide locations and notional boundaries of iwi interests that continue to today.

---

[176] Ngarimu Blair, "Tāmaki - Kaitiakitanga in the Concrete Jungle" in *Whenua Managing Our Resources*, Merata Kawharu, ed., (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2002), 64.
[177] Waka Tuaea. Quoted in Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 111.
[178] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 111.
[179] Blair, "Tāmaki – Kaitiakitanga…", 64.

Summary

The tribal histories included in this chapter recount some of the successive migrations and events that have shaped the cultural landscape of Tāmaki Makaurau. Many of these events are remembered in the place names and land forms that have endured the upheavals of tribal conflicts, and the wāhi tapu (sacred places) that have been created as a result of these events. These names, which may be all that remains of some important Māori historical sites, provide reference points for uncovering the history of a place and informing urban design processes.

What is both unique and problematic in terms of history, and contemporary tribal politics within Tāmaki Makaurau, is also what could be described as being its 'essential character'.[180] The area has always been very metropolitan in character and the home of multiple tribes with significant intermarriage between them, as well as kinship ties to other groups outside of the isthmus. Tāmaki Makaurau was as desirable then as it is now for its natural assets, wealth, and strategic location. As a result, it was extensively fought over, but also had great times of peace supported by mutual prosperity. Mapping of Māori historical and political interests risks over simplifying the political complexity of the history of the isthmus, but does provide a starting point for connecting places with tribal interests. This can assist in enabling a better understanding of spatial relationships within and between different iwi and local government authorities, providing it is understood that such a map records relationships, not legal boundaries, and as such may still be subject to subtle changes.

---

[180] Pamera Warner, (Representative, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in discussion with the author, 2008.

Figure 25 - Living terraces stepping down from the summit of Maungakiekie. (Photo by author, 2009).

Figure 26 - "The whare tupuna (ancestral house) is Tumutumwhenua, named after Ngati Whatua's earliest ancestor" (Photo from Ngati Whatua o Orakei, 'Orakei Marae', in *Ngati Whatua O Orakei*, Ngati Whatua o Orakei Corporate LTD. <u>http://www.ngatiwhatuaorakei.com/About/orakei-marae.html</u>, (accessed June 28, 2009).)
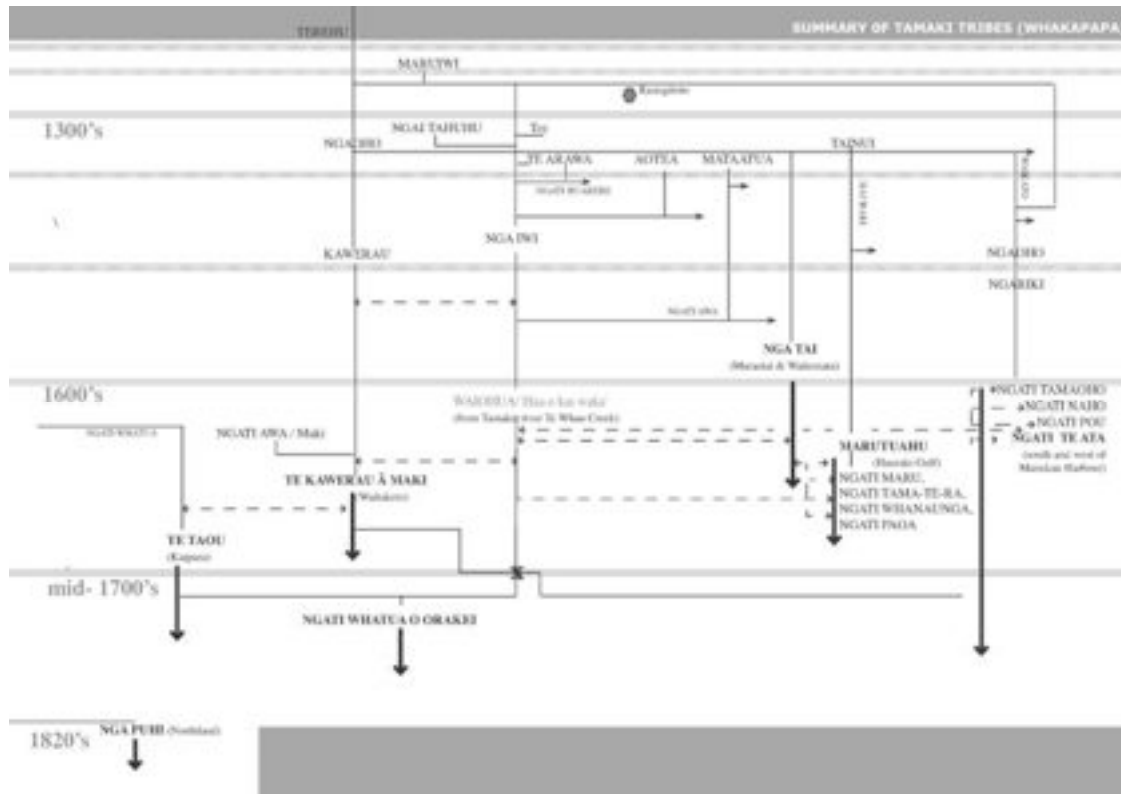
Figure 27 - A simplified summary of some of the kinship relationships between some of the current tribes of Tamaki Makaurau. Indicatively, right is to the north, and left is south. Note: This summary is based on the authors interpretation of published historical summaries and is not confirmed by iwi, so should not be relied upon for historical or genealogical accuracy.

.

A reconstruction of the settlement at the Sunde Site, Motutapu Island, in the fourteenth century. Today, Rangitoto totally obscures the Auckland mainland, seen here on the skyline. (Diorama in 'Auckland Landscapes—Past and Future'. Auckland Institute and Museum)

Figure 28 - A reconstruction of the Sunde Site in the fourteenth century. (Illustration from Janet Davidson, The Pre-history of New Zealand, (N.Z.: Longman Paul Limited, 1984), 43).

Figure 29 - A carving of Hua Kaiwaka, at the Mangere Mountain Information Centre. (photo by author, 2009)

Figure 30 - The terraces on Maungakiekie were formed for house sites and food storage areas, in close proximity to fertile gardens. Grand vistas supported surveillance for military protection over the harbour transport routes. (Photo Courtesy of Auckland Regional Council).
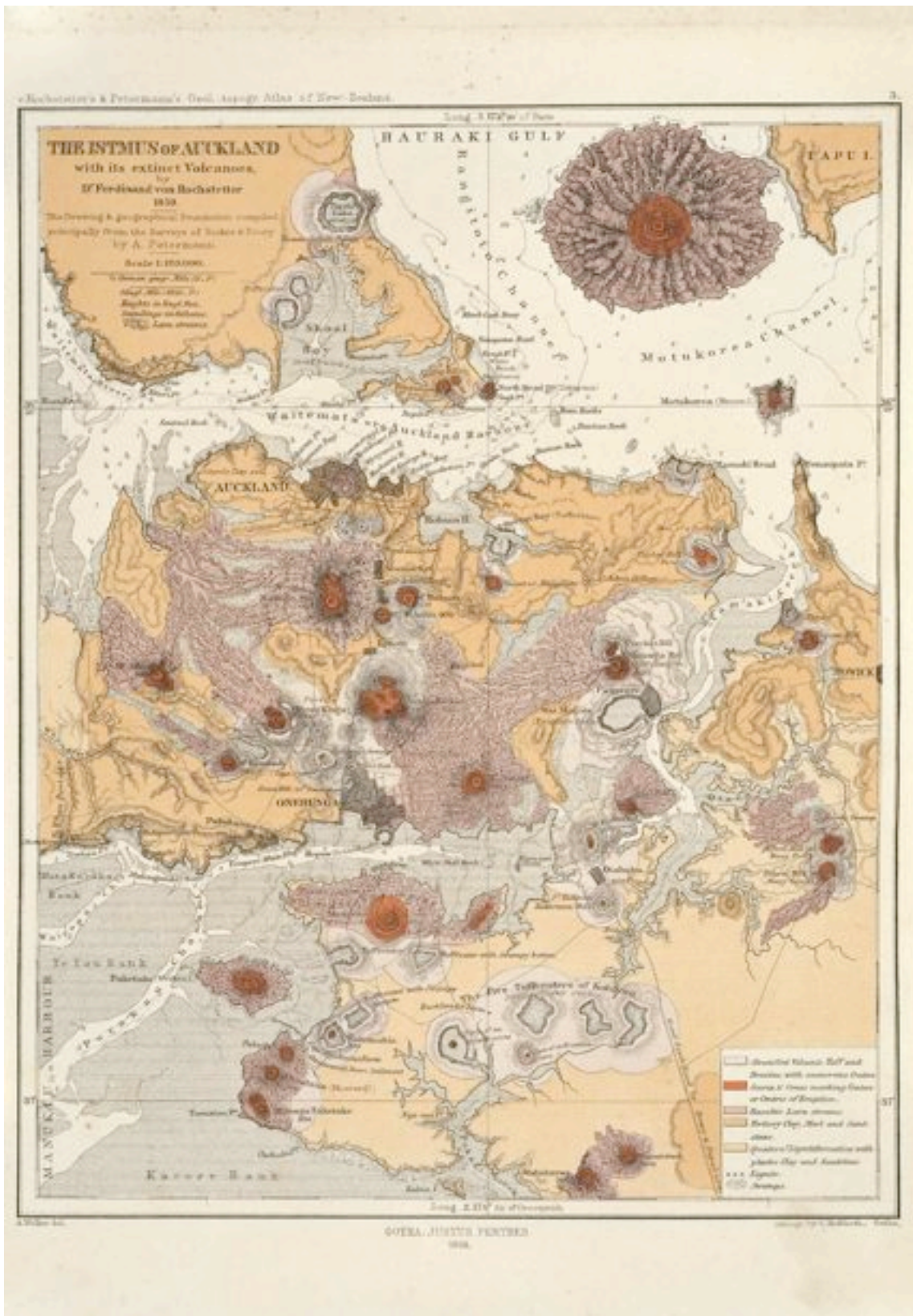
Figure 31 - The isthmus of Auckland with its extinct volcanoes by Dr Ferdinard von Hoschettor 1859. (NZ Map 5694b, map courtesy of Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries (N.Z.))

Figure 32. A pathway on Mangere Mountain commemorating the battle between Te Taou o Ngati Whatua and Te Waiohua that took place on the mountain, when it was a major settlement. (photo by author, 2009)

Chapter Six: Ngā Pākehā – The Europeans

> He aha to hau e wawa ra, e wawa ra?
>
> He tiu, he rak, he tiu, he raki
>
> Nana i a mai te puputara ki uta
>
> E tikina e au te kotiu
>
> Koia te pou whakairo ka tu ki Waitemata
>
> Ka tu ki Waitemata i oku wairangitangā
>
> E tu nei, e tu nei!
>
>
> What is this wind that roars and rumbles?
>
> What is the tumult that will arise in the north?
>
> For it is from here – and in response to my invitation
>
>   that strange vessels will reach these shores
>
> And in their wake a pou whakairo will be erected
>
>   by the sea of Waitemata
>
> Indeed in my dreams I saw it standing by Waitemata
>
> Standing, standing here … [1]

This chant records how in a wairangi (dream[2]) the establishment of Auckland City had been foretold by a tohunga of the Ngāti Whātua tribe long before the arrival of European ships. It anticipates that Governor William Hobson was to relocate the government to Tāmaki at the invitation of Ngāti Whātua.[3] A pou whakairo (carved post) supports the ridge pole in a wharenui, and represents the authority of the ancestors. Sir Hugh Kawharu describes this reference to a pou whakairo as being "a metaphor for a new authority, new mana, new sovereignty, and a culture."[4] The chant also reflects how the rest of Tāmaki Makaurau's history is defined by the arrival of Europeans, predominantly from Great Britain, during the nineteenth century.

---

[1] I.H. Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tāmaki : A Ngāti Whātua Perspective," in *Hllary Lecture, 2001* (Auckland War Memorial Museum 2001),

[2] Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tāmaki … ." Wairangi can also be translated as 'temporarily deranged'. Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 335.

[3] Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tāmaki … ."

[4] Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tāmaki … ."

The nineteenth century was the most turbulent for Māori of Tāmaki Makaurau. A new peace and balance of power had been established between Ngāti Whātua and the other tribes of Tāmaki Makaurau, but this was severely disrupted by the Māori wars of the 1820's, and then conclusively changed forever with the establishment of Auckland in 1841. This chapter provides an important connection between the eighteenth and twenty-first centuries, and explains the origins of Auckland City. The fact that the chapter is substantially shorter than the previous chapter is unintentionally indicative of the fact that the European era of history in the Auckland isthmus only encompasses the last 250 years, whereas Māori history extends back another 600 or 700 years before the arrival of Europeans. However, the intentional reason why this chapter is shorter is because from the outset the research focus for this thesis was on the pre-European Māori history of the isthmus as a means of better understanding tikanga Māori in terms of urban design.

The Māori Wars

Prior to 1820 there had been minimal, if any, direct European contact with the Māori of Tāmaki Makaurau. However, via the canoe network that passed through the isthmus, the potato and pig had been introduced and had already transformed the cultivation of food.[5] Rev John Butler, who visited the isthmus in 1820, observed fine tracts of gardens full of potatoes while walking from the Ngāti Paoa settlement of Mokoia towards Maungarei, also known as Mount Wellington. On climbing to the summit of Maungarei, through the overgrown earthworks of an abandoned pa, he observed:

> Twenty villages in the valley below, and, with a single glance, beheld the largest portion of cultivated land I had ever met with in one place in New Zealand.[6]

The combined population of the Ngāti Paoa settlements along the Tāmaki River was thought to be between 4000 and 7000 people.[7] This was a larger population in a smaller area than their Te Taou neighbours.[8] During this time much of the central part of the isthmus lay vacant, although it was all part of the Te Taou rohe (district). In many places Rārahu[9] (*Pteridium esculentum)*, commonly

---

[5] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 63.
[6] *Earliest New Zealand: The Journals and Correspondence of the Rev John Butler*, comp by R.J. Barton pp. 97-98. Quoted in, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 63.
[7] *Earliest New Zealand.* Quoted in, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 66.
[8] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 66.
[9] Also called Rararuhe and Rarauwhe. http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/ (accessed June 24, 2009).

known as bracken fern and Manuka (*Leptospermum Scoparium*), had taken over what had once been gardens, with most of the hill top pa including Maungakiekie having been abandoned. The Tāmaki branch of Ngāti Whātua (including Te Taou, Uringutu and Ngā Oho), who are referred to by Stone as Te Taou, had their main gardens and permanent settlement at Onehunga and Ihumatao on the Manukau Harbour. They preferred to locate settlements on fertile areas close to fishing grounds.[10] The chief of this time, Apihai Te Kawau, recalled in his evidence at the Native Land Court in 1868 that:

> Te Taou spent the greater part of the year at these Manukau settlements. Few of his people dwelt permanently in kāinga (villages) on the Waitemata, where there were, however, important summer fishing and shellfish-gathering stations, with associated gardens, at locations such as Ōkahu and Ōrākei on the south shore of the harbour, and Onewa on its north. There were similar summer encampments at either end of the Whau portage in the vicinity of today's Avondale and Green Bay where, for convenience, Ngāti Whātua permanently left canoes. [11]

Peaceful relationships and shared fishing resources were well established between Ngāti Whātua and their neighbouring tribes, including Ngāti Paoa and Te Akitai, whose rohe (tribal area) was south from the Ōtāhuhu Portage; Ngāti Tamaoho and Ngāti Te Ata, whose rohe was to the south-west of the Manukau harbour;[12] Te Kaweru a Maki, whose rohe included the Waitakere Ranges and parts of the North Shore; Ngāti Kahu, a hapū of both Te Kawerau a Maki and Ngā i Tai,[13] whose rohe was along the east coast of the North Shore; and other Ngāti Whātua hapū from the Kaipara Harbour area. Any battles were with tribes further to the north or south of the region, and within Tāmaki Makaurau a relative peace continued for about two decades until the 1820's and the advance of the Ngā Puhi iwi from the Bay of Islands.

Having acquired the white man's musket Hongi Hika sought utu (payment) for Ngā Puhi defeats in previous battles with Te Taou of Ngāti Whātua, and in particular Ngāti Paoa.[14] Having gathered a war party of about 2000 men with 1000 muskets in September 1841, Hongi travelled south from

---

[10] R.A. Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, 2nd ed., London, 1824, p. 52 . Quoted in, Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 65.
[11] Te Kawau, Ngāti Whātua . Quoted in Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 65-68.
[12] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 68.
[13] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 10 -11.
[14] Warfare and the cultivation of a warrior spirit had always been a part of Māori culture, but the 'precarious balance of power' that kept Māori warfare in check was disturbed by the introduction of the musket and potatoes, which being a more bountiful food source enabled larger war parties to travel further. Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 180.

Whangarei, attacking the villages they passed at Mahurangi, Orewa, Whangaparaoa and Takapuna as well as some of the Ngāti Paoa settlements on nearby islands.[15] When arriving in the isthmus they discovered that the Te Taou hapū of Ngāti Whātua had already fled because Apihai Te Kawau and a group of his Ngāti Whātua warriors were away on a military campaign with the central north island tribe, Ngāti Maniapoto.[16] The people of Te Taou had fled because there were not enough warriors to withstand an attack from Ngā Puhi. After ransacking the Te Taou gardens and villages, the Ngā Puhi then turned to attack the Ngāti Paoa settlements of Tāmaki. The Te Taou pa at Mangere was still under construction, and once the Ngāti Paoa pa of Mokoia had fallen the Ngāti Whātua of Tāmaki fled the isthmus completely, taking refuge south of the Manukau Heads.[17]

Stone recounts how the pa at Mauinaina was the first to fall, with Ngāti Paoa's five muskets being dramatically outnumbered by Ngā Puhi's one thousand muskets, which dominated what started out as traditional hand-to-hand combat. A mass slaughter of men, woman and children took place, with many others being taken as slaves. Luckily, a warning was able to be sent to the Mokoia Pa, enabling all but some warriors who chose to stay and fight to flee. The Ngāti Paoa deaths were estimated as being about 1000-1300 at Mauinaina and 300 at Mokoia, with several hundred Ngā Puhi dead as well. In 1844, a European traveller recorded how he observed the bones of about 2000 men still lying on the plain.[18]

The Ngā Puhi incursions, of which Mauinaina was just the start, caused all of the Tāmaki tribes to flee. For example, Murdoch also records how Ngāi Tai were seriously disrupted by an Ngā Puhi taua (war party) in 1821, and by 1826 the inhabitants of Motutapu had fled to seek refuge with Tainui relatives at Maungatautari in the Waikato.[19] It was 1836 before the people of Ngāi Tai returned to Motutapu.[20]

Whilst the Ngāti Whātua Tāmaki hapū were able to tentatively return to the isthmus to plant some gardens and retain ahi kā,[21] they lived in exile for most of the next 10 years. In the early 1830's Tāmaki continued to be a dangerous place to live because of its location at the node of regional

---

[15] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland, 86.*
[16] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 76.
[17] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 78.
[18] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 91.
[19] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 12.
[20] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 12.
[21] For example they returned to the ismthus in the summer of 1822-23, to establish a small village called Te Rehu, by a stream now also known as Motion Creek by Western Springs, with small gardens at Orakei and Horotiu which is now Queen Street, but again evacuated the ismthus in the summer of 1825-26. Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland.*

canoe travel, and as such it was on the path of all major war parties. It was not until approximately 1838 that Ngāti Whātua once again established permanent gardens to the north of the Manukau harbour.[22]

Eventually peace was made. Ngā Puhi had advanced across over half of the North Island, but had not been able to penetrate the Tainui block. When the distribution of muskets became more equal the fighting stopped, but by then the damage was done. Māori throughout the North Island were in decline and the people of Tāmaki Makaurau were particularly weak as a result of: the sudden emphasis on producing materials such as flax to trade for muskets; the establishment of non-traditional food sources; the displacement of whole tribes as result of war; and the onset of European diseases. When, in 1841, Governor Hobson came looking for a new home for the fledging government of New Zealand, the isthmus was but a ruin of its former glory.

European Settlement

Auckland City was established in 1841 with the intention of it being the capital city for the British colony of New Zealand. After the upheavals of the previous decades, Apihai Te Kawau, the rangatira of the Tāmaki branch of Ngāti Whātua, decided to invite Governor Hobson to come and reside in the isthmus. Te Kawau knew that in order to maintain protection for his people from further retribution from Ngā Puhi, or the interests of the other tribes with historical or expansionist interests in the isthmus, he needed the support of the Governor. The people of Tāmaki also had the benefit of the prophecy at the start of this chapter that had foretold the arrival of the British. The isthmus was attractive to Hobson because it had two harbours, was in a strategic location and was now scarcely populated by Māori in comparison to other areas of the country, like the Bay of Islands.

Felton Mathew was the surveyor responsible to Governor Hobson for the establishment of Auckland City, and once the land was acquired he set about creating the plan for the new city. Pictures and maps were used to promote the colony of New Zealand to British subjects showing images of 'little' England that emphasised the romanticism of the landscape. The intention of this is discussed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith:

---

[22] Stone, *From Tāmaki -Makau-Rau to Auckland*, 182.

Colonial outposts were also cultural sites which preserved an image or represented an image of what the West or 'civilization' stood for … Colonisation was, in part, an image of imperialism, a particular realization of the imperial imagination. It was also, in part an image of the future nation it would become. In this image lies images of the Other, stark contrasts and subtle nuances, of the ways in which the indigenous communities were perceived and dealt with, which make the stories of colonialism part of a grander narrative and yet part also of a very local and very specific experience. [23]

From its inception Felton Mathew's maps illustrate that Māori were either left out of the urban design of the city, or portrayed as anonymous natives and marginalised despite the dependence of the first colonial settlers on the food provided by Māori for trade. The early plans for the settlement of Auckland paid minimal attention to areas of Māori occupation at the time, let alone the tribal history of unoccupied areas. For example, Figure 33 is the famed original Felton Mathew plan for the city of Auckland and his map for the wider region, simply recorded the location of 'a native village' or 'area reserved for use of the natives', giving us no greater understanding of what these settlements entailed or who might have lived there. These maps also served to re-write the history of the isthmus as if it was an almost blank slate, completely replacing place names that had existed for hundreds of years with new names of British origin.[24] In the process of colonisation Smith writes, 'what occurred at the point of culture contact was the beginning of the end for 'primitive' societies.'[25]

Māori were eager to use the new products and technologies brought by Europeans, but in welcoming the settlers Māori had expected them to live by Māori rules.[26] When Apihai Te Kawau and other Māori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi it is unlikely that they knew the extent to which their life would change as a result of the annexation of New Zealand as a British colony and the establishment of the city of Auckland. For example, in 1830 there had been only 300 Europeans living in New Zealand, and in 1840 only 2,000.

---

[23] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 23.
[24] It is important to note here that the Māori practice of naming or renaming places did not necessarily result in the removal of old names, and in some cases they could co-exist. Other names, like Maungawhau or Maungakiekie continued regardless of the occupying tribe.
[25] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 55.
[26] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 42.

The principle of take tuku, or tuku rangitira, guided the initial 3000 acre gift of land to Governor Hobson, and the 8000 acres that followed. It was considered a gift by Ngati Whatua because in te ao Māori there was no concept of purchase. The payment received was understood as koha (gifts) to strengthen the alliance, just as gifts of blankets were received on the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.[27] In gifting land to another tribe, or to the British Crown, for their use Māori expected the receiver to:

> "[u]se the land in such a way as to not denigrate the mana of the tribe whose goodwill made the gift possible… [and i]n all cases the donor maintained an interest in the land."[28]

This may include the ongoing rights of passage, gifts of crops, gifts on special occasions, and support in time of war. If the obligations of the donee were not met, the land would return to the donor who maintained authority.[29]

In signing the Treaty of Waitangi Māori did not expect to lose control of their land. Once the British settlers outnumbered Māori in New Zealand they set about enacting laws that undermined the Treaty of Waitangi in order to fulfil settler demand for as much land as possible for as little as possible and to on-sell at a profit. By 1865, when the Māori Land Court was established, Ngati Whatua were left with only 700 acres around the area of Okahu Bay which were to be unalienable.[30] Once Māori were no longer needed to provide food for the growing city, they became further marginalised. After the 1860's and the establishment of European gardens, Māori produce was left to rot[31] as settlers provided the food for the growing city. Similarly, by 1891, only 17 % of land within the whole country remained with Māori throughout New Zealand. From 1840 to 1891, the Māori population dropped from approximately 98% of the population to only 10%. [32] In terms of numbers there were an estimated 114,800 Māori in 1843 and only 56,049 in 1857-58, and 42,113 in the 1896 census.[33] Māori vulnerability to introduced diseases and the effects of further war with the colonial settlers, including loss of land and displacement, resulted in death, infertility and a drop in birth rates.

---

[27] Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tamaki".
[28] Taua, "Maori Perspectives on Landscape," 20.
[29] Taua, "Maori Perspectives on Landscape," 20.
[30] Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tamaki".
[31] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.
[32] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 45, 58.
[33] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 45.

In 1898, another law change forced Māori land into individual ownership so that it was no longer unalienable, which meant the Crown was then able to aquire more land through various means. By 1951 Ngati Whatua were left with only 3 acres at Okahu Bay.[34]

At the turn of the twentieth century the general Pākehā perspective was that the Māori were a dying race.[35] On the site of what had once been the largest of Māori pā, there now stands a monument erected in memorial for the Māori. Maungakiekie, or One Tree Hill, was purchased and gifted to the city as a public park by Sir John Logan Campbell, who is commonly referred to as the 'father of Auckland City'. It was on his request that a monument be erected on the summit of One Tree Hill (once Maungakiekie) in admiration of the Māori chiefs. The plaque is one of several on the obelisk shaped monument referred to by Goldstone in the text quoted in chapter one of this thesis. This plaque reads:

> "This monument was erected in accordance with the will of the late Sir John Logan Campbell Kt., who visualized and desired that a towering obelisk should be erected on this site the summit of Maungakiekie as a permanent record of his admiration for the achievements and character of the great Māori people." [36]

Certainly in 1940, the year the obelisk was erected on One Tree Hill to stand beside the Monterey Pine that Sir John Logan Campbell had planted, Māori were in the process of losing what little remained of their land and culture.

Contemporary Auckland

Two catalysts for change that reasserted Māori rights within the region were the Māori land marches of 1975, which demanded that "not one more acre of land"[37] be taken from Māori, and the 1977 Ōrākei / Bastion Point occupation in Auckland. Ōrākei / Bastion Point requires a specific mention here as it was critical to national issues of Māori land and to Auckland. It is summarized below by Marcia Stenson:

---

[34] Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tamaki".
[35] Stone, *Logan Campbell's Auckland*, 54.
[36] Quoted in Goldstone, *The Tears of Rangitoto*, Glossary.
[37] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 77.

The Ōrākei Native Reserve Act 1882 had disregarded earlier promises to protect land for the tribe and allowed for long-term lending. By 1898 the inalienable [Māori] reserve had been reduced from 280 hectares to 15.6 hectares. In 1951 [Māori] residents were evicted from their papakāinga (home village) and put into state houses in Kitemoana Street [on the hill behind]. With total disregard for Māori opinion, the Government was determined to drive Ngāti Whātua out of [what had become] prime real estate in one of Auckland's most prestigious suburbs.[38]

In 1977, a group from Ngāti Whātua and supporters occupied the Crown land of Bastion Point where there were Government plans to subdivide 24 acres for upmarket residential use. After an occupation of 506 days a court ruling led to the eviction of over 200 protestors by 600 policemen and army personnel. The development of the land was stopped, but a guarantee of its protection was not achieved until 1991 when Ngāti Whātua took the first major claim to the newly established Waitangi Tribunal, and the Crown accepted its recommendations.[39] One of the outcomes of the claim was an amendment to the 1978 Ōrākei Act with the return of land to Ngāti Whatua with a formal co-management agreement between Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei and Auckland City Council, for the reserve land of Takaparawhau Park, which includes Bastion Point.[40] Relationships between Ngāti Whātua, the Crown, and Auckland City Council, as well as those between the other tribes of Tāmaki Makauru and the Crown and Council, have continued to improve but at the time of writing were still tempestuous. A symbolic example, relevant to urban design, identity, and 'sense of place', in Auckland is the ongoing story of One Tree Hill (Maungakiekie).

The name One Tree Hill was given to Maungakiekie by Sir John Logan Campbell, when he first explored the isthmus just prior to the establishment of Auckland City in 1841. Goldstone's reference to One Tree Hill, where he asks the question "One tree, yes, but only one view?" signals the importance of the tree, and summit, as a symbol of cultural struggle. Firstly, from Maungakiekie, there are views that differ between the hapū Ngāti Whātua and other descendants of the Waiohua. Secondly, the name of One Tree Hill reflects a different view around the same mountain, and from the summit are views that differ between Māori and Pākehā, despite that fact that both call the area home.

[38] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 78.
[39] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 78-79.
[40] Kawharu, "Land and Identity in Tamaki"

The tree of One Tree Hill (Maungakiekie), as illustrated in Goldstone's painting, no longer stands. Its 'palisade of steel', as described by Goldstone, and evident in Figure 6, was not enough to protect it from being badly damaged in 1994 by a chainsaw attack, and then it was attacked again in 1999, and in 2000. As a result, the badly damaged tree had to be felled.[41] The Māori activist responsible for the original attack, Mike Smith, described the tree as being "a symbol of colonisation, a symbol of the holocaust"[42] and it became a focus for Māori protestors. The reason for this statement goes back hundreds of years.

The first 'one tree' originated with the birth of a Ngāti Awa chief called Korokino, whose father lived on the slopes of Maungakiekie. Korokino's umbilical cord was cut with a sharp stick of Totara (*Podocarpus cunninghamii*). Afterward the stick was placed in the ground where the cord was buried on the summit of Maungakiekie.[43] From this a tree sprouted and grew to be of a magnificent size. It was known as Te Totara I Ahua (the tree that stands alone) and was very tapu because of its chiefly origins. This tree is recorded in Māori traditions to have stood till at least the time of Kiwi Tāmaki.[44] It is the tree that Kiwi Tāmaki threatened to hang the breast bones of the Wahaakiaki in if he won the battle with the Ngāti Whātua hapū Te Taou.[45]

However, the tree that stood on the summit of Maungakiekie in the 1840's, and after which Sir John Logan Campbell named Maungakiekie / One Tree Hill, is recorded by Europeans as being a Pohutukawa (*Metrosideros excelsa*).[46] Either there is confusion about the species, or as Stone proposes perhaps the Totara disappeared after the Ngāti Whātua raupatu. Although occupied for a while by Tuperiri, the hill top pa of Maungakiekie had been abandoned by the 1780's and perhaps in the place of the Totara grew the Pohutukawa. This tree (whether a sacred Totara or a Pohutukawa) stood on the mountain till about 1852 when it was cut down by a settler for firewood. The destruction of this first tree caused uproar amongst the people of Auckland in 1852.[47]

In 1875, twenty-two years after the Pohutukawa had been cut down, Sir John Logan Campbell organised the replanting of a tree on One Tree Hill. Several saplings were planted, which are likely to have been natives, but with pine trees around them to form a shelter belt. Stone records how the

---

[41] "Now No Tree Hill," *STUFF Independent Newspapers Limited 2000,* 27 October, 2000.
[42] Andrew Laxon, "Anger Still Boiling beneath New Amity," *The New Zealand Herald,* 6 February 2002.
[43] Stone, *Logan Campbell's Auckland,* 55.
[44] Stone, *Logan Campbell's Auckland, 55.*
[45] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau,* 84.
[46] Stone, *Logan Campbell's Auckland,* 56-57.
[47] R. C. J. Stone, *Logan Campbell's Auckland : Tales from the Early Years* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2007), 58.

native trees were thought to have died, but the pines certainly survived. Of the three pine trees the last one to survive became an icon of Auckland City, giving new meaning to the mountains name. However, for Māori it could be interpreted as representing an act of colonial oppression of the nation, having replaced the sacred tree, or at least the native Pohutukawa tree that once stood proudly on the summit.[48]

Debate over One Tree Hill and its bare summit continues. In 2002 the planting of a grove of native trees in a dawn ceremony with Ngāti Whātua was planned by Auckland City Council. However, the day it was due to take place it was called to a halt by Ngāti Whātua who felt in was inappropriate given the fact that they had lodged a claim under the Treaty of Waitangi that involved Maungakiekie, and were just about to start negotiations with the Office of Treaty Settlements.[49] The city respected the decision and the new trees were not planted. Now, seven years later, the Treaty claims are still unresolved and the summit stands bare.

In terms or urban design the still 'No Tree Hill' serves as a poignant reminder of the unresolved issues between the Crown and iwi Māori, and contrasts with the long term intention of both Māori and Pākehā leaders to plant a new tree together in harmony. The new tree could be a symbol of partnership, and it may take time to reach the point of reconciliation required for such a partnership to go forward on an equal footing. However, given the fact that the summit once stood bare for 22 years, yet retained its iconic status, there is no need to hurry.

Summary

The impact of European technologies such as the musket, and food sources such as potatoes and pigs dramatically changed the way of life in Tāmaki Makaurau. Combined with changes in power between tribes, and the resulting large scale warfare that ensued throughout the North Island, the isthmus became almost deserted from about 1821-1838. Located at a node of canoe travel, what had been its strength and source of wealth in previous eras became its downfall.

However, it was this same strategic location combined with its now desolate population that made it attractive to Governor Hobson for the establishment of the new city of Auckland. Having recently

---

[48] Refer to Stone, *Logan Campbell's Auckland,* 56-57.
[49] Bernard Orsman, "Claim Stalls Planting Atop One Tree Hill," *New Zealand Herald* 28 June 2002.

signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the people of Tāmaki were happy to welcome the settlers for the protection they offered against further Māori warfare and the opportunities for trade. However, the terms of agreement that Māori understood in the Treaty of Waitangi were ignored, and instead of maintaining the mana and rangatiratanga over their lands whilst allowing for British governorship, they lost all control and were excluded from the founding of the city, losing all but a small remnant of their ancestral lands.

The protests at Bastion Point in 1977 focused on ending the loss of Māori land to the Crown. As a result of these protests, and a Waitangi Tribunal hearing in 1991, a physical home for Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei above Ōkahu Bay has been preserved. The Waitangi Tribunal hearing proved how the Crown had repetitively breached the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and not fulfilled their obligations to the Tāmaki people of Ngati Whatua.

However, as the story of One Tree Hill illustrates, relationships between iwi Māori and the Crown, and Māori and Pākehā are still contentious. Whilst better than they used to be (a fact reflected by changes to legislation, urban design policy, public space landscaping, and the increasingly bicultural character of New Zealand identities) they are still far from reaching a place of reconciliation and harmonious partnership.
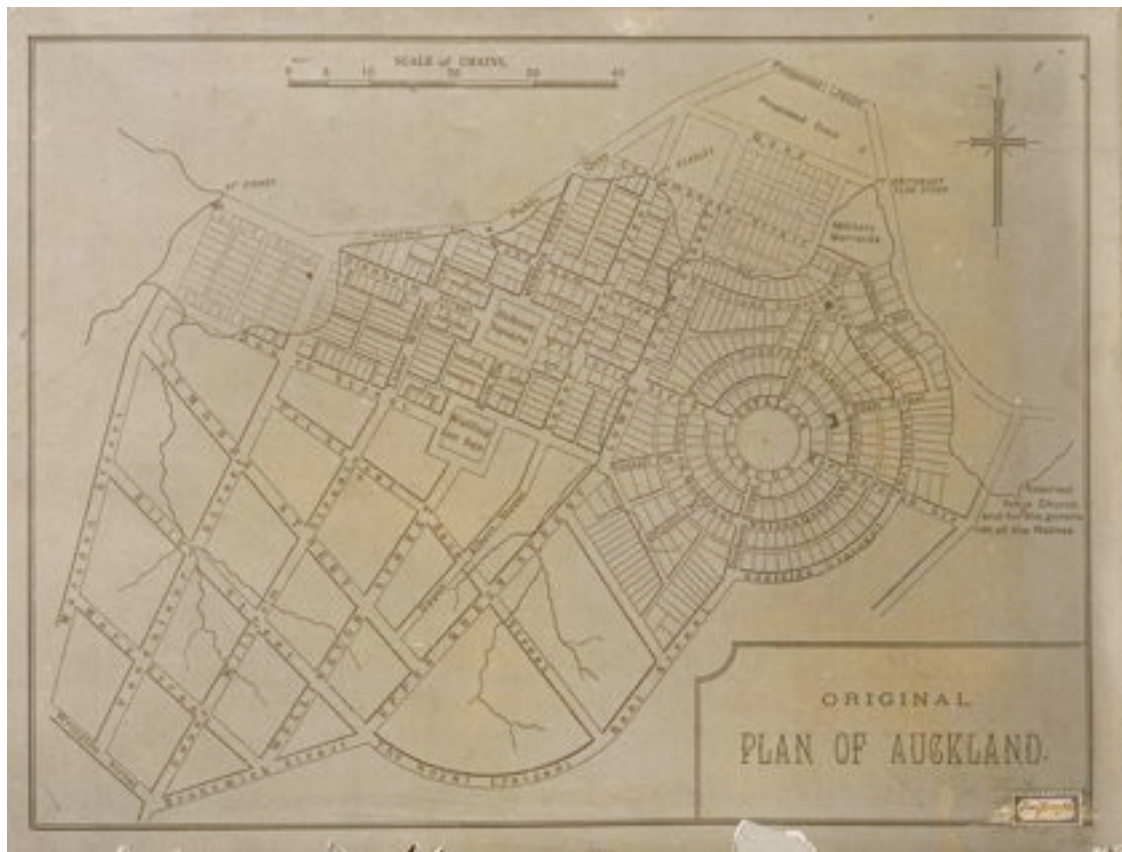
Figure 33 - Original Plan Of Auckland, by Felton Mathew 1841. (NZ Map 2664, map courtesy of Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries (N.Z.))

TIKANGA MĀORI

Chapter Seven: Whanaungatanga (Kinship Relationships)

Kī mai ki ahau,

He aha te mea nui o te ao.

Māku e kī atu,

He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.

You say to me

What is the most important thing in the universe?

I will reply

People, people, people.[1]

The next two chapters focus on achieving a better understanding of Māori society and culture, and how this can inform urban design processes. As was discussed in chapter three, simple, one line explanations of tikanga in English do not convey the full meaning, depth, or diversity of interpretation that exists within te ao Māori. The purpose of these chapters is to better understand the kaupapa that underpins tikanga and interpretations of Māori cultural landscapes, with specfic reference to whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, and key aspects of tikanga protected under the *Resource Management Act* (1991).

The concept and practice of whanaungatanga is important to urban design because it is the structure of Māori society and politics and is what holds everything together.[2] Whanaungatanga encompasses Māori relationships between gods, ancestors, land, water, people, places and all living things. The defining aspect of tikanga Māori that differentiates the Māori concept of whanaungatanga from Eurocentric understandings of relationships is the emphasis on whakapapa (genealogy) and kinship.

---

[1] Whakataukī. Quoted in Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand,* 45.
[2] Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural*, 67.

Whanaungatanga is based on the word whānau (family) and can be translated as relationship, kinship[3] or relatedness and connectedness.[4] The Waitangi Tribunal describes whanaungatanga as being te taura tāngata.

> Te taura tāngata is the cord of kinship that binds Māori people together through whakapapa; it is a braid that is tightly woven, tying in all its strands. It is unbroken and infinite.[5]

This chapter discusses several aspects to whanaungatanga, in particular whakapapa, tūrangawaewae, mana, rangatiratanga and mana whenua, which are all defined by whakapapa or genealogy. These are essential for a binational or bicultural approach to urban design because they determine Māori political structures in relation to land, and they shape Māori perspectives of the landscape and understandings of a 'sense of place'. This chapter focuses primarily on the socio-political implications for urban design, and chapter nine discusses how whanaungatanga shapes the Māori view of land and challenges spatial assumptions that underpin the practice of urban design.

Whānau, Hapū and Iwi

Central to understanding Māori politics, their relationship to land, and the basis of whanaungatanga are the structures of whānau, hapū and iwi, and their dual meanings. Whānau means birth, hapū pregnant, and iwi both strength and bones.[6] The dual meaning of hapū (pregnant and sub-tribe) emphasizes the fact that it is a group of people essentially descended from the same womb.[7] The multiple meanings of iwi (tribe, bones and strength) emphasizes the concept of being all of one flesh and blood line, and as how bones make a body strong, an iwi makes people strong.

As a whānau grew in generational depths and numbers it would sometimes split off to give birth to a new hapū, if there was a leader with the:

---

[3] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*.
[4] Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2*, 78.
[5] New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement*, 2.
[6] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 76.
[7] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 215.

"mana derived from founding ancestors through his or her whakapapa, skill in diplomacy, ability to strengthen the identity of the hapū by political marriages, and fighting prowess."[8]

For example, the tribe Ngāti Te Ata, [9]who are based on the southern side of the Manukau Harbour, take their name from the woman chieftain, Te Atairehia, who was the great-granddaughter of the Waiohua chief, Hua Kaiwaka.[10] Although an independent tribe, Ngāti Te Ata maintained its relationship and political ties with relatives and subsequently formed part of the Waiohua Confederation of tribes.[11]

The customary social structures of hapū and iwi consisted of rangatira (chiefs), tūtūā (commoners) and taurekareka (slaves).[12] Rank and leadership has always been determined by order of descent from founding ancestors, with the head of the line being the ariki (paramount chief) who was the first-born in the senior male line, while in the customary social structures his teina (younger brothers) were the other rangatira (chiefs). Women of chiefly descent also acquired a high status, being particularly important in terms of strengthening tribal affiliations through marriage.[13] The tūtūā (commoners) are everyone else from within the hapū who could claim descent from the common ancestor, but were of junior lines that over succeeding generations had diverged from the chiefly line.[14] They formed the largest grouping and can be considered the engine room of Māori society.[15] The taurekareka (slaves) were people captured in defeat at war. They could be taken as wives or husbands, with all children becoming full members of the hapū[16] and subsequently Māori society has not had slaves since the generation taken captive in the wars of the mid-eighteenth century. There was also a very small class of tohunga who were the experts in their field of knowledge, including not just religion, but history, whakapapa, arts (such as carving and tattoo), and practical skills like planting, war,[17] and being a kaitiaki of natural resources such as kaimoana.

Within a hapū or iwi, upholding and respecting kinship relationships is foundational to both the practice of rangatiratanga, and the well-being of the people. Individuals can expect to be supported

---

[8] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*, 63.
[9] Sometimes know as Te Ruakaiwhare, refer Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau,* 28.
[10] The rohe / domian of Ngāti Te Ata extended around Waiuku, Awhitu penisula, Huia and the Waitakere Ranges. Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau,* 28.
[11] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau,* 81.
[12] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou,* 65.
[13] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou,* 66.
[14] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou,* 66.
[15] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 42.
[16] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou,* 66.
[17] Moon, *The Struggle for Tāmaki Makaurau*, 42.

by their relatives and in return they are expected to support the wellbeing of the collective group.[1] This ensures the responsibilities of blood ties are maintained. Understanding these tribal and class structures is important to urban design because they inform contemporary socio-political structures, and as is explained in this chapter and chapter eight, in terms of consultation under the legislation of the RMA 1991, or LGA 2002 they determine who within and iwi or hapū is an appropriate spokesperson.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa encompasses the genealogies of all living things from the gods to the present time,[18] and is integral to the structuring of Māori society. It means 'to lay one thing upon another', such as 'to lay one generation upon another', and in te ao Māori it is the basis for the order of knowledge about all creation.[19] For example the cabbage tree, which was a significant food and material resource for Māori, also has its own genealogy, as do all other plant species. In the case of The Cabbage Tree, *Cordyline australis*, which is called Tī in Māori, it's whakapapa often starts with Tāne, and Ure-te-ngangana, another child of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku, is often cited as the key ancestor responsible for the stucture and natural ecology of Tī.[20] Figure 34 is an example of Ngā Tī, the Cabbage trees.

Knowledge of whakapapa maintains relationships with the Māori gods and ancient ancestors as well as all living things. When the dead are greeted in a mihi it is in recognition of what is believed to be an unbroken lineage from the gods to the past, present and future generations. Māori also believe that the spirits of the dead are always close and need to be welcomed to support the happenings of the day.[21] Having departed to Hawaiiki, the spiritual home of Māori, the ancestral spirits are free to return at whim or on request. Unlike the physical body or the mauri (essence of life), the wairua (spirit) of a person continues for all eternity. Māori can then summon them to return and help with the affairs of their living descendants.[22] It is because of this ongoing connection or relationship between the living and ancestral spirits that those who have passed away are acknowledged in the

---

[18] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 173.
[19] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 173.
[20] Philip Simpson, *Dancing Leaves : The Story of New Zealand's Cabbage Tree, Tī kōuka.* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000), 122.
[21] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro* 167.
[22] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 58.

mihi. In the process of a pōwhiri (official welcome), through the language of the karanga (call), whaikōrero (speech) and waiata (song), the ancestors are remembered and welcomed along with their living descendants[23] on to marae ātea, or to a special occasion.

Knowledge of whakapapa is essential to tribal relationships with the land in terms of both authority and identity. As discussed in chapter five, take tapu or take tūpuna (ancestral land passed down according to custom) is a primary means of claiming authority over land, and this requires the evidence of whakapapa. It is also central to determining speaking rights within a tribe, and establishing ties between tribes, both historically and in contemporary New Zealand. As Cleve Barlow states:

> It is through genealogy that kinship and economic ties are cemented and that the mana or power of a chief is inherited. Whakapapa is one of the most prized forms of knowledge and great efforts are made to preserve it.[24]

The mihi at the beginning of this thesis illustrates the importance of whakapapa. It is the standard way of formally introducing yourself in te ao Māori, and notably it is whakapapa that takes preference. An initial greeting to the gods recognizes them as the start of all whakapapa. References to landscape elements that 'place' the speaker within a tribal or cultural landscape, which is followed by reciting whakapapa perhaps as far back to the founding ancestor of their hapū, and sometimes to the migration waka. By reciting whakapapa individuals can be 'placed' within the socio-political structures of iwi, hapū and whānau. This is in part to determine the mana of a person, which is based on birthright, but also to determine if there are any kinship ties, or other connections, to the people they are addressing that can form a basis for the establishment of a relationship,[25] preferably a kinship relationship. This is important because in te ao Māori where there is kinship there is a basis for a positive relationship that can set a precedent for trust. The other advantage of kinship is that it enables accountability for actions, in that you are not anonymous. When things go wrong, the rights and obligations of kinship and birthright are unalienable.[26] For that reason, in te ao Māori, every action is validated by kinship and whanaungatanga,[27] and therefore whakapapa maintains its importance within contemporary Māori culture.[28]

---

[23] Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2*, 77.
[24] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 174.
[25] Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2*, 78.
[26] Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural*, 70.
[27] Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural*, 69.
[28] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 355.

Through kinship, tribal affiliations between iwi and hapū groups are established and maintained through shared lines of descent. Even if many generations have passed, kinship through chiefly marriage and subsequent shared lines of ancestral descent is a basis for affiliation, and where applicable mutual support. This continues in contemporary times where marriages made many generations ago between chiefly families sometimes as a means of cementing peace between warring tribes or strengthening political alliances, form important bonds that are still acknowledged today. Barlow cites the example of how the Northland tribes of Ngā Puhi, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Kahu and Te Aupōuri accept being linked together as Tai Tokerau (Northland) because of the marriage of two prominent ancestors, Kairewa and Waimirirangi, which cements the connections between all five tribes.[29] Similarly, in Tāmaki Makaurau Kiwi Tāmaki had significant authority amongst the various iwi and hapū of the Waiohua confederation because he was linked to them all through whakapapa. Many of these kinship bonds have been established intentionally to strengthen relations between tribes, maintain peace, and ensure rights to land. In contemporary Auckland the tribes with ancestral roots within Tāmaki Makaurau can all continue to claim kinship relationship through whakapapa that records their descent from Waiohua[30] ancestors.

Where contemporary disputes exist between different iwi and hapū over land or water, whakapapa is part of the historical evidence provided to resolve conflicts. One of the benefits of the Waitangi Tribunal hearing process is that it involves inquiries into whole districts where all the Māori groups that make up the tāngata whenua of an area are bought together. Then "the retelling of traditional and personal stories in evidence before the Tribunal promotes understanding of whakapapa, and affirms the connections between people."[31] This discussion and sharing of knowledge assists in re-establishing or strengthening kinship ties as well as affirming the rights and responsibilities of different whānau, hapū and iwi within an area. Without this indepth process the task of 'unravelling who's who and what's what'[32] is particularly challenging, if at all possible. In recent years, there has been significant conflict in Auckland over the actions of the Crown's Office of Treaty Settlements, which was negotiating exclusively with Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei without adequate consideration of, or consultation with, other iwi and hapū with claims in the area.[33] An urgent Waitangi Tribunal hearing on the process found that the Crown had privileged the Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei claims

---

[29] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 33.
[30] Warena Wero, Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Trust. Quoted in Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process Report*, 87.
[31] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement*,
[32] Waitangi Tribunal., *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement*, 7.
[33] Chris Barton, "Disputed Land Legacy," *New Zealand Herald*, 30 Sep 2006; Barton, "The Battle for Auckland"; Chris Barton, "Flak Flies over Treaty Secrets," *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 2007.

without a fair process of discussion and presentation of historic evidence to confirm if these claims are valid or not. The Tribunal also emphasized the importance of relationships and the damage the Crown had done to these relationships through its bias:

> Instead of supporting the whanaungatanga that underpins rangatiratanga, the Crown's actions have undermined it. Te taura tāngata is the braid of kinship that binds the tāngata whenua groups of Tāmaki Makaurau to each other, and to the whenua (land). While the situation arising from an unfair process that has created two tiers of tāngata whenua in Tāmaki Makaurau persists, te taura tāngata will continue to unravel.[34]

For example, central to one aspect of the debate over the Treaty Settlements in Auckland is a dispute over whakapapa between the people of Te Taoū and Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei. The people of Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei define themselves by descent from the tūpuna Tuperiri, from Te Taoū, whose people married the conquered people of Ngā Oho and Te Uringutu, of the Waiohua confederation. Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei are now claiming exclusive tribal rights to the majority of the central Auckland isthmus. This is a claim based on an assumption of whakapapa that Te Taoū people say is incorrect, since it excludes them and Wahaakiaki, the conquering chief of Tāmaki -Makaurau in the 1700s.[35] They also argue that Wahaakiaki was senior in descent to Tuperiri, and that the people of Ōrākei should be conceived as a hapū of Te Taoū.[36]

Subsequently, through a mihi and introduction a conflict between ancestors who were once at war, or about ancestors and their descent, may be identified. These conflicts can continue in contemporary situations in varying forms, as is currently the case in Auckland. [37] Reasons for conflicts are varied and stem from both historical conflicts[38] and new points of conflict that, like all family arguments and political processes, are fluid and difficult to grasp.

Tūrangawaewae

In te ao Māori the first question often asked of a stranger is not 'who are you?' but 'where are you from?' This is a question about identity and tribal affiliation, as well as location or 'place' of

---

[34] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement*.
[35] Barton, "Disputed Land Legacy" .
[36] Pamera Warner, (representative of Te Taou o Ngati Whatua), in discussion with the author, 2008.
[37] Chris Barton, "The Battle for Auckland," *New Zealand Herald*, 29 Jul 2006.
[38] Barton, "Disputed Land Legacy."

habitat.[39] The answer, which firstly refers to landscape features, also answers in part the question of 'who are you?' This is because the noted features within these landscapes represent the mana and territory of iwi or hapū and referencing them enables identification of tribal affiliations. Tūrangawaewae can be translated as **'**domicile', 'home', or 'home turf',[40] but it literally means 'standing place'[41] and is perhaps best described as being the land to which you belong. Hence, 'tāngata whenua' means 'people of the land' and is the term used to describe Māori people from a specific area. Within the concept of tūrangawaewae is the understanding that it is a place that one is connected to through whakapapa (genealogy),[42] just as membership or relationship with iwi and hapū are determined by whakapapa. Subsequently, it also provides 'a place for the feet to stand; where one's rights are not challenged, where one feels secure and at home.'[43] Te Warena Taua, Chief Executive Officer of Te Kawerau a Maki Trust explains that, "[l]and was an *iwi's turangawaewae* or the essence of their identity and existence as a tribe."[44]

Fundamental to urban design and the principle of whanaungatanga is the fact that Māori did not individually 'own' land since they instead saw themselves as users of the land, or belonging to the land. Māori contracts about land were about relationships with people, and in pre-European times there was no concept or practice that equates with the sale of land.[45] Rights to the use of land were based on whānau and transferable between families within a hapū, but not outside the group unless the group gave permission.[46] This would take the form of take tuku, or land gift which was for the recipients use and not transferrable except back to the giver.

The related meanings of 'whenua' (land) symbolise the special bond between the land and the individual that is established at birth. Whenua is also the word for 'placenta'. As the Māori scholar and elder, Hirini Moko Mead has explained:

---

[39] King, *Ngā Iwi O Te Motu*, 8.
[40] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori.*
[41] Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2*, 78.
[42] Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2*, 78.
[43] Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 272.
[44] Te Warena Taua, "Maori Perspectives on Landscape" In *Reclaiming Our Heritage : The Proceedings of the New Zealand Landscape Conference*, 25-26 July 2003, (Auckland, N.Z.: Environmental Defence Society (N.Z.), 2003), 13.
[45] Stenson, *The Treaty,* 31.
[46] Stenson, *The Treaty,* 31.

Whenua, as placenta, sustains life, and the connection between the foetus and the placenta is through the umbilical cord. This fact of life is a metaphor for whenua, as land, and is the basis for the high value placed on land.[47]

The relationship of birthright and land is cemented in tikanga Māori by the burial of the placenta after the birth of a child. Here the whenua (placenta) returns to the whenua (land)[48] of the child's ancestors from which its life will now be sustained. The remains of the iho whenua (umbilical cord), may also be buried or hidden in a cliff or tree connecting the child to that specific place. Sometimes, a tree would be planted with the iho whenua of a high-ranking child.[49] An example of this is the previously discussed Totara that grew on Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill) from a stick that was buried with the iho whenua of a newborn chief of Ngāti Awa.

The mihi at the beginning of this thesis starts with a reference to a mountain, then sea and/or river that is of tribal or family significance. This reference to land and water, in terms of maunga, awa and moana are integral parts of whakapapa that link an individual with a tribal grouping and with a specific place in terms of whenua or tūrangawaewae. They are symbolic markers of cultural or tribal identity, as well as physical markers of tribal territory. This is because, as the Māori historian Ranginui Walker writes:

> In time the territorial boundary marks of prominent physical features such as mountains, rivers, lakes, streams, or distinctive landforms came to symbolise the chief and his tribe. That symbolism was expressed in sayings and figures of speech in oratory on the marae.[50]

Thus, these references in mihi represent not just one's own ancestral and spiritual connection to a place, but also the mana of the chiefs and domains of the iwi and hapū. These relationships are commonly emphasised further by oratory techniques such as the grammar chosen in specific whakataukī or waiata.

The concept of tūrangawaewae is also important to the practice of urban design because it relates to rangatiratanga and the right to speak on an issue as tāngata whenua. For example, in a meeting on urban design issues affecting a local community, a Māori person who has lived in an area of Auckland for the last 25 years may stand to speak on an issue, but as they introduce themselves it is

---

[47] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 269.
[48] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 269.
[49] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou,* 70.
[50] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou,* 70.

clear that they are not tāngata whenua but are from somewhere else and of another iwi. As a general member of the community their comments will be accepted by Pākehā officials along with the rest of the community's comments. However, as they are not 'from' this place in terms of whakapapa they are not considered tāngata whenua and have no rights to speak on Māori issues related to land and tikanga specific to the place in question. To do so would invite challenge and confrontation in that it breaches the principles of rangatiratanga and mana whenua.

For Pākehā, in a mihi one's chosen tūrangawaewae and potential kinship connection to a place is made obvious to Māori. Places like Maungakiekie / One Tree Hill are an important part of many people's identity,[51] not just Māori, and tūrangawaewae is a concept that may also be valued by Pākehā[52]. However, in tikanga Māori a Pākehā rights to speak on issues, particularly those pertaining to Māori, are limited because of whakapapa. This is because in te ao Māori a person's status and right to speak is established by the interrelationship of whakapapa, tūrangawaewae and mana.

Mana

Mana can be translated as meaning 'integrity', 'charisma', 'prestige', 'jurisdiction'[53] or power and authority[54] as a result of any of the following types of mana: mana atua is the enduring and indestructible power attributed to the Māori gods; mana tūpuna is the power and authority of the ancestors, which is passed down the chiefly lines, as demonstrated in whakapapa, and can only be inherited as of birthright; mana tāngata is the power and influence acquired by an individual in respect of their skills and knowledge; and mana whenua is the power that results in the possession of land and its ability to produce sustenance for the family and tribe.[55]

The mana of an ariki (paramount chief) or rangatira (chief) is inherited at birth and because of that, mana Tūpuna has the greatest influence, but is gained or lost by all of the above aspects of mana. The purpose of stating one's whakapapa in a mihi is to enable the people who are being addressed to determine what authority you have to speak on an issue, in terms of mana Tūpuna. For example, the

[51] Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 272.
[52] For example I have referred to Rangitoto and Motutapu as being my tūrangawaewae.
[53] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 143.
[54] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 61.
[55] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 61 -62.

mana of chief Kiwi Tāmaki was great because of his whakapapa, which included multiple connections to the ancient tribes of Tāmaki through his parents, Te Tahuri and Te Ika Maupoho and descent from Hua-kai-waka. This is important because in te ao Māori your right to speak with authority on any issue, including urban design, is based not only on your skills or position, but on who you are in terms of ancestry and where you are from. The following whakataukī illustrates this point:

> 'Kaua te ware e tū te marae' – Do not let those who have no position of importance or rank stand on the marae. (Meaning) Lowborn people should not be heard in the assembly.

Similarly, younger siblings are expected to defer to elders when it comes to speaking about issues on a marae, reflecting the hierarchies of kinship within both whānau and hapū and the positions of Rangatira.

Rangatiratanga is the ability to exercise chieftainship[56] and is inherently linked to both mana and whakapapa, as both are required in the position of a rangatira. Mana may be inherited at birth, but it must also be upheld and respected to be maintained. For example:

> In traditional Māori society, chiefs were rarely autocrats. They sprang out of and were maintained in their positions of authority by their whanaunga, their kin. Whanaungatanga was therefore a value deeply embedded in the maintenance of rangatiratanga. It encompassed the myriad connections, obligations and privileges that were expressed in and through blood ties, from the rangatira to the people and back again.[57]

Traditionally the concept of mana whenua was about the prestige associated with the ability of the land to produce food. This is because the mana of an iwi or hapū is maintained by their ability to demonstrate manaakitanga (the action of hospitality) to others, an important aspect of tikanga Māori that requires working together, and which must be upheld on all occasions.[58] Kiwi Tāmaki also had great mana because of the extensive wealth of the tribe as evidenced by their plentiful gardens, generosity and opulence in terms of manaakitanga to visitors. In te ao Māori, 'The most important

---

[56] The second article of the Treaty of Waitangi, speaks of the queen guranteeing the chiefs "te tino rangatiratanga = chieftainship over o ratou whenua = your lands , o ratou kāinga = your settlements, and o ratou Taongā = your most precious possessions." Stenson, *The Treaty*, 13.
[57] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process,* 6.
[58] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 29.

attributes for the hosts are to provide an abundance of food, a place to rest, and to speak nicely to the visitors so that peace prevails during the gathering.'[59] The importance of an abundance of the food is another custom shared with Pacific Islanders.

In urban design the importance of manaakitanga is reinforced in the *Te Aranga – Cultural Landscapes Strategy* (2008) that cites Maankitia (hospitality) as central to the implementation of the strategy. A key component of this is "[a]ccording respect and extending friendship towards one another."[60] The principle of manakitia has been expressed in Auckland's Viaduct Harbour, as shown in Figure 12. Here the footpath paving has incorporated the pātiki (flounder) pattern traditionally used in tukutuku lattice wall panels used in the inside of wharenui on marae. This pattern represents manaakitanga because of the wealth of flounder found within the isthmus, which was considered a local delicacy[61]. Hence, the pātiki pattern was chosen because of its historical revelance, and to illustrate the desire of iwi to welcome visitors, and is appropriately located in the part of the central business district most focused on tourism and restaurants.

Another important aspect of mana illustrated in a mihi, and a part of formal pōwhiri or hui, is the recognition given to the wharenui. The wharenui is greeted in acknowledgement of the mana and protection provided not just by the building, but also by the people and/or their ancestors whom the whare represents.[62] This is particularly relevant on a marae where the wharenui is conceptualized as an embodiment of the pre-eminent ancestor for the iwi or hapū, and acknowledgement is required to uphold the mana of the tribe. It is also applicable in a secular context. For example, in a mihi to students at the University of Auckland one would still greet 'te whare e tu nei' (the house that we stand in). In this situation the house represents the institution of the University to whom it belongs. In reference to the whare, or building, you are then also acknowledging the mana (prestige and authority) of the University and its role as host of the hui.

Upholding mana in terms of the protocols of tikanga Māori is very important. Breaches of tikanga can result in an insult to the mana of those involved and is particularly important when tribal elders and rangatira are involved. Historically trampling on mana was cause for utu (payment) and could

---

[59] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 63.
[60] MFE, *Te Aranga,* 7.
[61] Rau Hoskins, "Te Aranga Māori Cultural Landscape Strategy," (lecture series, Designing Auckland: A lunchtime learning seminar, Auckland City Council, Auckland, N.Z., August 19, 2008).
[62] It is customary to name a tribal house after a prominent ancestor, and the support posts after other ancestors who together bind the generations of the tribe to one another. These are usually carved to represent these ancestors. In order to give honour to the host people, the kinship relationships are always expressed even when a house is not carved. Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 167.

lead to war. Whilst war is unlikely in contemporary situations, failure to appropriately address issues related to mana can result in a breakdown in communication.[63] Respecting and abiding by the protocols established by Māori, and upheld by elders, is essential to upholding the mana of all involved. Karakia and waiata are examples of tikanga Māori protocols that are important in showing respect for the mana of Māori in a hui, and their importance increases the greater the mana of those present.

Key aspects of tikanga Māori relating to meetings also includes being prepared to allow a meeting to be opened in prayer, being patient if the introductory speeches take a while, and being prepared to sing. In the context of a hui any whaikōrero, particularly if part of pōwhiri or poroporoaki (farewell), is also followed by a waiata. In joining to sing a waiata the participants are expressing their support for the message shared by the speaker through the meaning of the song or traditional chant. In the formal situation of a pōwhiri[64] (ceremonial welcome) where women are not allowed to partake in the whaikōrero (formal speeches),[65] the waiata is their expression of views in and support (or not) of the speaker to enhance their mana. In less formal situations the seemingly impromptu song after a speech is a deeply embedded part of Māori culture as a means of sharing or supporting the emotions or viewpoint of the speaker. Waiata are also an important source of tribal knowledge and a medium through which knowledge is passed from one generation to the next. They encompass information on genealogies, family relationships, beliefs about the gods, incantations, epic love stories and the great deeds of ancestors. [66]

---

[63] For example: if a younger man stood to speak for a group first, the mana of the kaumātua present, either as tāngatawhenua or manuhiri will be slighted and they may choose not to speak afterwards. Tauroa and Tauroa, *Te Marae*, 73 and 76.

[64] A pōwhiri is a formal welcome and tapu lifting ceremony of great spiritual signifance to Māori, in particular on a marae which visitors cannot enter or walk upon until the ceremony has been undertaken. Pōwhiri are also used in other formal situations to welcome people to a place and whilst the details of the protocols may vary from tribe to tribe the basic principles are the same across the country. They include the karangā (woman's initial call of welcome and reply), sometimes a wero (challenge by a warrior) then whaikōrero (formal speeches) with accompaning waiata (songs of support) from the women, and the presentation of koha (gifts). Once these are finished the visitors are greeted by a hongi (the pressing of noses and symbolic sharing or breath), and then invited to have some kai (food). Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 99: Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2*, 82.

[65] In some East Coast tribes woman are allowed to speak as part of a Pōwhiri, but this is an exception to the norm. Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2*, 82. Instead of speaking, the mana (prestige) of the woman in maintained by the Karangā (welcome call), which is of great spiritual significance and the appropriateness of the waiata without which the male speaker cannot stand. Until the pōwhiri is completed and the peaceful intention of the visitors is confirmed, the Marae atea, or area where the pōwhiri are held, is considered to be part of the realm off Tu (the God of war) and as such the roles of men and woman are carefully defined.

[66] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 151.

Karakia and waiata are also important for the processes of urban design because they ensure a good wairua (spirit) is established for a gathering, and the kaupapa of what is to be discussed. It is also appropriate to ask beforehand what the protocol for the meeting will or may be, to be prepared for the level of formalities and to respect the mana of the people involved. This is particularly important if the event involves kaumātua (elders), rangatira of high rank is of significant importance, or is taking place on a marae, bearing in mind that the kawa (protocols) differ between tribes, and that these are determined by the host marae. Being humble and respecting the protocols and the mana of Māori representatives, in particular tribal elders and rangatira, one foundational to a bicultural approach to urban design, harmonious communication and positive relationships.

Mana Whenua

In contemporary situations the term 'mana whenua' has come to refer less to the status of mana achieved through the abundance of land, and more to do with the right to control, gain or retain the power and authority over land. It is interesting to note here that Mead, in his book called *Tikanga Māori* decided not to discuss mana whenua and mana moana (control of the sea) as historically important aspects of tikanga because they are now viewed by Māori as political ideas used in particular, as a means of laying claim to resources in contemporary disputes.[67] Mana whenua is the name now often given to describe the tribe or hapū that has the dominant power and authority over an area of land in terms of tikanga Māori.[68] The Resource Management Act defines mana whenua as "customary authority exercised by an iwi or hapū in an identified area" and tāngata whenua (in relation to a particular area) as "the iwi, or hapū, that holds mana whenua over that area."[69]

Another term of similar meaning to mana whenua, and which is used by Auckland City Council, is 'ahi kā'. Ahi kā is used by Auckland City Council to describe the people of enduring occupation and authority,[70] and is based on the action of maintaining ahi kā (home fires burning). This is in contrast to iwi with historical associations to the isthmus, referred to as tāngata whenua and described by Auckland City Council as being the Māori with historical and spiritual connections to the area; and to

---

[67] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 6.
[68] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 143.
[69] Ministry for the Environment, *Guidelines for Consulting with TāngataWhenua,* Appendix I: Glossary.
[70] ACC, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan*, 194.

taurahere used to describe Māori people who live in Auckland but are outside of their tribal territories. [71]

The question of who, as in what tribe or hapū, has mana whenua status today is predominately determined by who controlled what areas of land at the time of the signing of the Treaty in 1840. However to determine that often requires starting at the beginning in terms of whakapapa and historical events, or at least with the arrival of the influential ancestral waka of the fourteenth century, which in places like Tāmaki Makaurau is a complex process. In theory, the iwi and hapū with mana whenua or ahi kā are those that controlled and resided on the land in 1840. However, as is evident in contemporary conflicts around Treaty settlements, agreement on who had the authority where in Tāmaki Makaurau is still being debated.

Auckland City Council currently recognizes Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei, Ngāti Paoa and Ngāti Rehua as ahi kā. [72] Ngāti Rehua aren't mentioned in the histories retold in the previous chapters because they are the people of Aotea or Great Barrier Island, descending from Hoturoa, captain of the Tainui waka. [73] They are also referred to as Ngāti Rehua Ngāti Wai ki Aotea, [74] as a result of their intermarriage with Ngāti Wai. The tāngata whenua recognized by Auckland City Council comprises the ahi kā, plus Ngāti Maru, Ngāi Tai, Kawerau a Maki, Ngāti Te Ata and Tainui (Huakina Development Trust). Auckland City Council also allows for other iwi who have yet to affirm their interests, [75] thereby providing opportunity for other iwi and hapū groups to be recognised as tāngata whenua if they have historical association with an area. Appendix B includes a copy of the Auckland Regional Council's list of iwi and hapū groups, illustrating the full range of tribal interests throughout the wider region.

Central to contemporary relationships between iwi and hapū, and with local government, will be the outcome of discussions around Treaty claims. The maps from the Waitangi Tribunal's investigation are included in Appendix C. They illustrate the extent to which tribal interests overlap and the

[71] ACC, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan*, 194.

[72] Ahi kaa are engāged or consulted on issues of governance, policy development and the Resource Management Act 1991. Tāngata whenua on issues surrounding the Resource Management Act 1991 (resource consents). Taurahere comprises community groups and individuals. Taurahere are engā ged or consulted on policy issues and relevant projects. ACC, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan*, 194.

[73] Ngāti Rehua Trust, "Who Are Ngāti Rehua", Ngāti Rehua Trust Website Design, http://www.ngā tirehuangā tiwaikiaotea.co.nz/information.php?info_id=2, (accessed December 2, 2008).

[74] Judge Spencer (da Silva, 1998, p.30) (for the Māori Land Court). Quoted in Ngāti Rehua Trust, "Who Are Ngāti Rehua", (accessed December 2, 2008).

[75] ACC, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan 2006 -2016*, 194.

reasons why conflict continues in Tāmaki Makaurau. They are important because unlike much of the published historical writings on the history of the isthmus they provide a physical reference that locates tribal structures on the land, albeit in the form of a broad overview. Their limitation is also that they provide only a broad overview and that the boundary lines were often fluid than implied in printed map. Across the isthmus there are landforms (such as rivers and mountains) with associated place names and histories that traditionally indicated the location of tribal boundaries, but which are far less obvious for urban designers unfamiliar with the histories associated with them.

In political terms comparisons can be made between iwi and city or regional councils, and between hapū and community boards. For example, each council has control over the use and development of land, the protection of the environment, bylaws that govern behaviour, and differences in process. This could be compared with an iwi or large hapū. Within each local council there are a number of Community Boards that are responsible for communication on many of the day-to-day issues that arise in a city, and often their representatives sit on committees that make decisions on whether a proposed development should occur or not. A comparison can be drawn between a Community Board and a hapū [76] It is therefore important to note that within the area of each iwi is a collection of hapū whose areas of interest are not mapped, and are subject to even greater variation and overlap with some hapū being able to claim descent from more than one iwi. Given the historical importance of hapū as the main settlement grouping, the Waitangi Tribunal maps of Tāmaki Makaurau are only a broad generalization of tribal relationships and their complexities, as evident within the previous chapters. The Native American Indian scholar, Jay Johnson, in his dissertation on "Biculturalism, Resource Management and Indigenous Self-Determination," notes how:

> The multi-layered, overlapping nature of Māori relationships and authority
> structures provides a distinct challenge to applying clear, linear boundaries to Māori
> groups ... They also refuse all attempts to legally define their boundaries,
> particularly boundaries based on iwi or runanga authority. [77]

---

[76] For example, each council has control over the use and development of land, the protection of the environment, bylaws that govern behaviour, and differences in process. This could be compared with an iwi or large hapū. Within each local council there are a number of Community Boards that are responsible for many of the day to day issues that arise in a city, and often their representatives sit on the Commissioner committees that make decisions on whether a proposed development should occur or not. A comparison be drawn between a community board and a hapū.

[77] Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management …", 227 and 230.

The refusal to legally define, instead of notionally define, iwi boundaries illustrates a Māori preference for flexibility in tribal relations. This is of importance to urban design processes because it needs to be acknowledged that the process of mapping Māori territory requires ordering "the patterns or Māori authority and relationship across the landscape, attempting to force an order which does not exist in Māori society."[78] The boundaries of Māori territories and interests are fluid, being formed and maintained by kinship relationships between people that are subject to change and variation depending on the issue at stake.

When comparing the Tribunal's maps with those of local authorities it is also clear that in Tāmaki Makaurau the boundaries between tribal territories and local government authorities differ. Most local councils have minimal resources, skills or knowledge to know how to interact with the political systems of Māori, or adequately address the complexity of historical issues that underpin issues relating to mana whenua. The maps of the Waitangi Tribunal are useful because they illustrate spatially the location of potential political boundaries, and can assist local government authorities in understanding tribal interests, providing their limitations are acknowledged. In terms of resolving substantive conflicts over mana whenua, only the Waitangi Tribunal has the resources and skills to address the complexity of historical issues and support whanaungatanga.

Summary

To start a thesis, or a meeting on urban design, with a karakia and greeting to God and the dead who have left us, followed by recitation of one's genealogy is a bit of an anomaly within discourses on urban design, but very important in terms of tikanga Māori. This is because in te ao Māori everything is connected by whakapapa, and everything has a spiritual dimension.[79]

Understanding the depth and diversity of aspects related to the value of whanaungatanga is important to the practice of urban design, because it is what binds Māori society together in terms of defining identities, relationships, rights and obligations between people groups and their ties to the

---

[78] Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management ...", 230.
[79] Ritchie, *Becoming Bicultural*, 78.

land. Without it Māori society would be at risk of unravelling.[80] The principles of whanaungatanga are embodied in the structures of, and relationships between and within, iwi and the natural world. These relationships are recorded by whakapapa and governed by the principles of mana and rangatiratanga. It is these active relationships that form the structures of Māori societies. Everything comes back to the principle of kinship for validation. This is particularly important for determining rights to land, the status of mana whenua, and locating identity through the principle of turangawaewae, which forms the essence of a tribe.

A bicultural approach to urban design cannot be separated from whanaungatanga, turangawaewa, mana and rangatiratanga in either historical analysis or contemporary application. They are applicable because they shape Māori relationships to land and water, in terms of identity, environmental responsiveness, and understandings of a 'sense of place', as will be discussed in the following two chapters. They are also important because Māori did not share the European concept of ownership, and "tribes behave toward each other as if they were still sovereign over the whole of their traditional tribal domains."[81] This is a view that is supported by the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi, as dicussed in chapter two and illustrated in Appendix A.

A bicultural approach to urban design requires accepting this view and engaging with the Māori poltical system of iwi and hapū, in conjunction with the Eurocentic-based political structures of local government. Whilst the Māori political system is certainly different to the Eurocentric structures of democracy and individual ownership of the land, it is no less complex, and is also subject to fluctuation and unpredictability, political divisions, alliances, manipulation, and changes in power. No one would expect all members of several different Community Boards within one Council or all Councils within the Auckland Region to always agree. Hence, it is unrealistic to expect all iwi or hapū groups to agree on all issues.

It is also important to remember that in te ao Māori it is the relationships of birthright and kinship, and the attribute of mana that are more important than Eurocentric-based professional expertise when it comes to decisions on land and urban design.

---

[80] For example: the loss of cultural identity and lack of cohesion within family, both extended and nuclear, has been linked to many of the problems found with contemporary Māori society. Waitangi Tribunal, *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process,* 7.
[81] Taua, "Māori Perspectives on Landscap', 14.
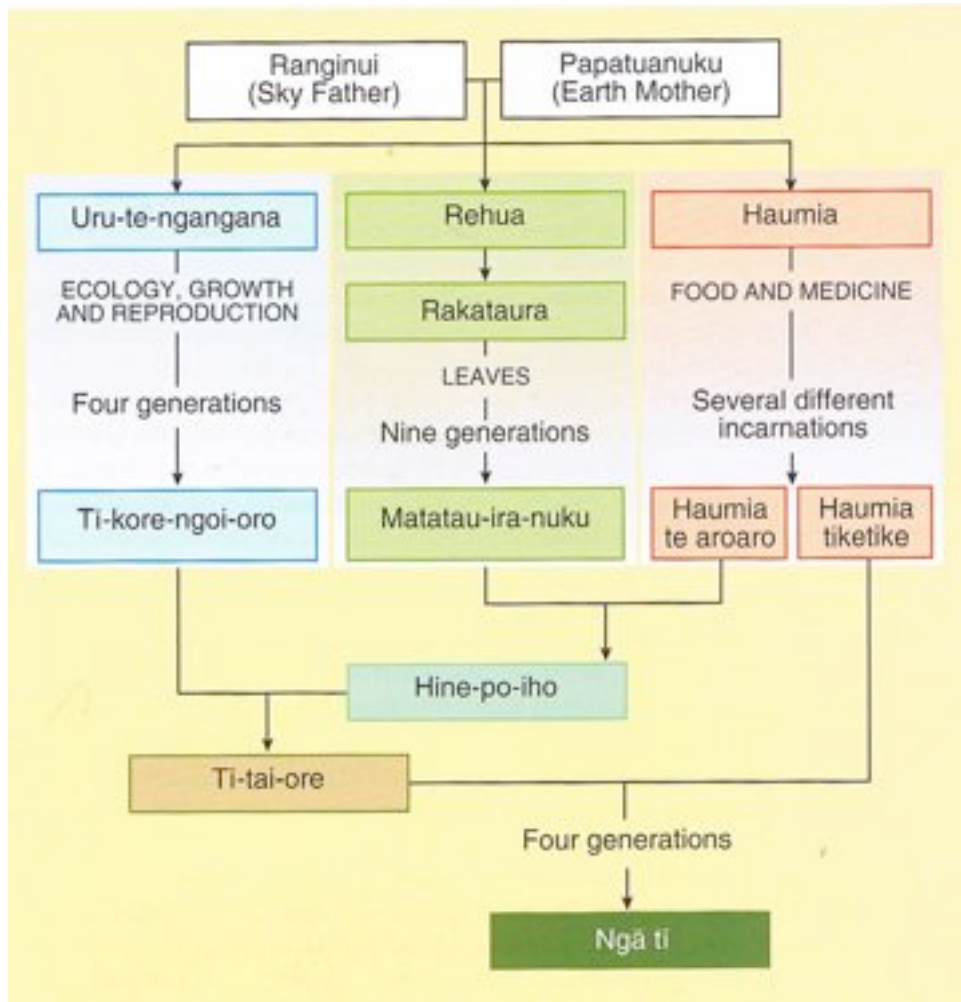
Figure 34 – The whakapapa of Ngā Ti / Cabbage Trees. (drawing from Philip Simpson, *Dancing Leaves : The Story of New Zealand's Cabbage Tree, Tī kōuka.* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000), 122)

Chapter Eight: Wairuatanga – The Spiritual Nature of Things

> Toitu he kainga, whatungarongaro he tangata
>
> The land still remains when the people have disappeared. [1]

This whakataukī illustrates the importance of land that stems from Papa-tū-a-nuku, and continues as a record of events and the wairua of ancestors even after they have left. Wairuatanga can be translated as being the spiritual nature of things. The dichotomy of wairuatanga and why it is so important to the discussion of urban design is because whilst being a 'spiritual' and subsequently intangible and seemingly non-physical aspect it relates to the very tangible element of land. In application, it includes the practice of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and the protection of wāhi tapu (sacred places), both of which are protected under the *Resource Management Act 1991* that governs all urban development. Subsequent case law has confirmed that, "[t]here is no doubt that Māori spiritual values are relevant considerations under the RMA. The issue is the extent to which such values should be given weight when balancing all alleged adverse effects".[2]

In te ao Māori spiritual relationships are portrayed in the concepts of mauri, wairua and tapu, and they are important to urban design because they relate to how the land is perceived and valued by Māori. It is from these that many aspects of tikanga Māori have emerged that inform protocols related to settlement and the use of natural resources. Understanding:

> [t]he arguments of different indigenous peoples based on spiritual relationships to
> the universe, to the landscape and to stones, rocks, insects and other things, seen and

---

[1] Aileen E. Brougham, A. W. Reed, and T. S. Kāretu, *The Reed Book of Māori Proverbs = Te Kohikohingā Whakataukī a Reed*, 2nd ed. (Auckland N.Z.: Reed Books, 1987), 82.

[2] "In [the] Mahuta [case] the Court accepted that the Waikato/Tainui people have a special relationship with the Waikato River, which is of fundamental importance to their social and cultural wellbeing. The issue for the Court was the significance being given to that relationship in determining the resource consent applications before it." In addition, the Environment Court, in the Beadle case, determined that in regard to the Treaty of Waitangi: "The person making a decision on a designation requirement or resource consent application has to take into account the principle of the Treaty by which the Crown has an obligation of active protection of Māori property and taongā, which are not limited to physical and tangible resources but extends to spiritual and intrinsic values". MFE, "Why Consultation is Necessary".

unseen, have been difficult arguments for Western systems of knowledge to deal with or accept. These arguments give a partial indication of the different worldviews and alternative ways of coming to know, and of being which still endure within the indigenous world.[3]

This chapter discusses some of the spiritual concepts within te ao Māori that relate to the physical environment, and are important for a bicultural approach to urban design.

Mauri

Mauri (vitality or life force) can also be translated as the 'spark of life'[4] or 'power of the Gods.'[5] When a person dies it is because the mauri has left the body. Wairua translates as spirit. Māori believe that all things, people, animals, birds, even the earth itself have a spirit as well as a physical body that are joined together as one at birth by the mauri or manawa ora (hope or life-giving essence).[6] For example, when a person dies the wairua (spirit) of the person is no longer tied to the physical body and is free to roam. During a tangihanga (funeral) the body cannot hear what is being said, but the wairua of the person can. Throughout a tangihanga Māori believe that the wairua of the deceased is with them and watching from above. If ill is said of them, or the ceremonies are not carried out properly, it is believed that the spirit may become angry, not leave the place and instead stay to seek retribution.[7] In terms of a living person the wairua (spirit) is believed to be able to temporarily leave the body, such as in a dream, but the mauri never always remains.[8]

Mauri, therefore, is the sign of mortal life. It is the breath and flow of blood. It is the energy and vibrancy of a person. When someone is not well there is something wrong with the mauri.[9] A person cannot control their own mauri, but it can be represented by a physical symbol, such as a stone or piece of wood that was reinforced spiritually and hidden away for safe keeping as protection against

---

[3] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 74.
[4] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 46.
[5] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 83.
[6] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 152.
[7] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 56.
[8] Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 54.
[9] Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, 53.

witchcraft.[10] It is possible for mauri to be created in things, for example a wharenui, through a covenant with the gods. In a meeting house the mauri forms the sacred heart and is the covenant that the gods will protect it. [11]

The oceans, rivers and forests all have mauri also. When the mauri of a place is disturbed so is the environmental health of that place. This is often evidenced by a depletion of food supplies. In order to restore the mauri (or life) appropriate rituals are undertaken and a rāhui[12] (conservation ban) is put in place until the area is restored to health. [13]

Mauri is particularly important for water, and the "mauri of each waterway is a separate entity and cannot be mixed with the mauri of another."[14] It is for this reason the Nganeko Minhinnick, on behalf of her hapū, Ngāti Te Ata, from the southern the shores of the Manukau Harbour, objected to a 1981 proposal by New Zealand Steel Ltd to use water from the Waikato River, that afterwards would be discharged into Ruakahua Stream, which flows into the Manukau Harbour.[15] Whilst considered by scientists to have no environmental effect, under the principles of tikanga Māori it would disrupt the mauri of the Manukau and was considered a 'sacrilege'.[16]

The mauri of an entity can be protected by locating it within a material element. Mauri were brought from Hawaiiki on the migrating waka and sometimes believed to represent and protect the mana of an entire iwi.[17] The leaders of migrating waka on arrival in Aotearoa also placed mauri stones and/or

---

[10] Herbert W. Williams and Polynesian Society (N.Z.), *A Dictionary of the Māori Language*, 6th ed., (Wellington, N.Z.: Govt. Printer, 1957), 197 and Elsdon Best, *Māori Religion and Mythology : Being an Account of the Cosmogony, Anthropogeny, Religious Beliefs and Rites, Magic and Folk Lore of the Māori Folk of New Zealand. Part 2* (Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer, 1982), 48. Quoted in Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 53.

[11] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 83.

[12] A rāhui is a state of being that is implemented via rituals to ensure a place is made 'off limits' for a special reason. Traditionally this would often be to protect food supply so the resource could be replenished, or because someone had been seriously hurt or died. The rāhui would then stay in place until the area had been ritually cleansed. Sometimes a pou (post) would be erected to warn people that a 'rāhui' was in place.Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2*, 77.

[13] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 83.

[14] Taua, "Māori Perspectives on Landscape", 24.

[15] David V. Williams, "Purely Metaphysical Concerns" In *Whenua Managing Our Resources*, edited by Merata Kawharu, (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2002.), 290.

[16] Williams, "Purely Metaphysical Concerns", 290.

[17] Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth,* 118.

spiritual guardians[18] in specific areas as a way to ask for the gods to support the life of the place. For example, the Te Arawa traditions recall how:

> At different places the tohunga Ngatoroirangi alighted to perform rituals and conceal spiritual guardians brought from the home marae, Taputapuatea. Fresh supplies would be gathered before they set off, secure in the knowledge that the area was spiritually clear for future occupation.[19]

Mauri were also used as a way of laying claim to an area. For example, on arrival to what is now known as the Hauraki Gulf, Tamatekapua, captain of the Arawa, placed a mauri named 'Tikapa' on a large rocky island at the entrance to the Gulf, and it is from this that 'Tikapa Moana', the general name given to its waters originates. Another example is the mauri placed by Kahumatamomoe on the island known as Te Mata after which the Waitemata Harbour, on the western side of the Tāmaki Makaurau isthmus, takes its name.[20] The English names for this small rock, visible from the Harbour Bridge and located just off the coast at Herne Bay, is Boat Rock or Watchmen's Island. The specific location of where a mauri was placed becomes a wāhi tapu (sacred place).

In Tāmaki Makaurau the recorded locations of where a Mauri was placed are in the centre of prominent geographic areas, perhaps so that the mauri (life force) could flow out over the wider area. For example, Watchmen's Island sits within the main channel of the Waitemata Harbour, and waters passing around it flow from the Hauraki Gulf into the upper harbour. Rangitoto was a location chosen for a mauri stone by the people of the Tainui canoe. Rangitoto's centrality to the harbour and its high visibility from land and throughout the Hauraki Gulf means that if its spatial relationship to the surrounding area can be equated to its potential for spiritual significance, it is an influential location. In the case of Rangitoto, Taikehu, the tohunga from the Tainui waka, knew the karakia (prayers) needed to placate the guardian reptiles that Kahumatamomoe had placed on the island for the protection of his interests. Taikehu then proceeded to the summit:

---

[18] *Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* s.v. Te Arawa, (by Paul Tapsell), of New Zealand, http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/TeArawa/1/en. (accessed May 8, 2008).

[19] *Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* s.v. Te Arawa, (accessed May 8, 2008).

[20] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto, 7.*

"where he performed rituals and placed Mauri stones thus making Rangitoto the property of the Tainui iwi. The peaks (of Rangitoto) were afterwards named "Ngā Tuaitara a Taikehu" meaning "the dorsal fins of Taikehu."[21]

In this narrative the placement of a Mauri stone is used to mark territory and establish mana as well as asking the gods to protect Tainui interests in the area. As illustrated in chapter five, the descendants of the Tainui canoe became well established on the adjacent islands and across the isthmus. The placement of the mauri on the summit could be interpreted as not only claiming authority over Rangitoto, but also a claim of protection of the gods over all of Tainui interests in the area, through and central location of Rangitoto and its visual relationship to the surrounding area.

Tapu and Noa

The basic principles of tapu (sacred) and noa (ordinary) are common throughout the Pacific Islands, and in pre-European times were the maintenance of 'law and order'. Tapu means sacred or set apart and there is both inherent tapu and achieved or applied tapu. Humankind like all living things has an inherent tapu. As Barlow defines it:

First and foremost, tapu is the power and influence of the gods. Everything has inherent tapu because everything was created by Io, each after its kind or species. The land has tapu as well as the oceans, rivers and forests, and all living things that are upon this earth.[22]

With the source of tapu being from the gods, people from the main chiefly lines, who can trace ancestry back to the gods, are believed to have a greater amount of tapu.[23] The consequences of breaking tapu are believed to lead to serious injury, bad luck, or even death.

Personal tapu relates to the body with some parts being more tapu than others,[24] and people being more tapu at different stages of life. One way of understanding personal tapu is that a person is more

---

[21]Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto,* 8.
[22] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 128.
[23] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 46.
[24] For example: the head is tapu and passing anything over someone's head, or touching their head violates that tapu. On a marae it is not acceptable to sit on a pillow which is used by your head, as this too violates tapu.

tapu when they are sick or when in a vulnerable state, such as in childbirth, or a potential danger to others.[25] A principle of tapu is to set apart or even quarantine and this provides protection for maintaining both physical and spiritual health. For example, when an accident occurs resulting in death, that place will become temporarily tapu. A rāhui (prohibition) may then be placed on the area until the area is spiritually cleansed, and for example might prevent people from taking shellfish from that area until it is considered no longer tapu and safe to eat.

Tapu can be both good and bad, and subsequently an individual can chose which to follow.[26] Tapu can be lost as a result of negative events, but restored by the intervention of a tohunga (Māori priest),[27] and gained through commitment to the influence and protection of the gods. Barlow likens this to how, if human beings want to follow the dictates of evil forces, they become tapu to them and receive the appropriate fruits of their devotion. However, if they wish to follow the teachings of the benevolent god they receive the choice fruits. [28]

Historically, fear of potentially dangerous spiritual powers was prevalent in te ao Māori. During the pōwhiri the intentions (good or evil) of visitors are established through the wero (challenge) and the karanga (call) that provides spiritual protection from any spiritual attack on the hosts throughout the spiritually sensitive time when the visitors are welcomed. The process of a pōwhiri is about the lifting of any negative attributes of tapu from visitors before they walk on a marae ātea, which is a highly tapu place. No visitor can walk into a contemporary marae complex until being invited through the process of a pōwhiri. To do otherwise violates the tapu of the marae and puts the individual at spiritual risk. Once the formalities of the pōwhiri are completed the guests share in a meal, because cooked food is noa, and negates tapu,[29] thus completing the transition from tapu to noa, in reference to the marae. Noa is most simply translated as free from tapu[30].

Tapu restrictions also come into play in the process of regular food and resource gathering. Specific protocols apply when people want to take something out of the bush or sea, because these are the realms of Tāne and Tangaroa. For example, the cultivation of kūmara is a tapu event, with the gardens being tapu from the start of the work to the harvesting of crops. This tapu reflects the importance of kumara as a food crop and the difficulty of growing kumara in the non-tropical

---

[25] Blood is tapu, and during childbirth the woman, child and whenua (placenta) are all highly tapu. A person also becomes more tapu as death approaches.
[26] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 128.
[27] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 46.
[28] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 128.
[29] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 49.
[30] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 173.

environment of Aotearoa. If correct tikanga is not undertaken in addressing tapu restrictions the gods and ancestors may not be appeased and hence the event may not go well.

Even with the arrival of Christianity, and its adoption by many Māori, the protocols and restrictions of tapu situations and places have continued. These sit alongside Christian beliefs, to the extent that both churches and Marae co-exist within many tribal areas. Similarly, karakia, which are an important part of tikanga Māori, may refer specifically to the Christian God through reference to Jesus Christ, or to one of the Māori Gods, or generically to the Creator God. Based on observation any of these approaches is accepted in common situations, and there is less conflict between Māori and the Christian faith than there is between secular Pākehā culture and the Christian faith. In the context of Pākehā communities, prayer is nowadays left only to very formal situations, for example the opening of civic council meetings or Parliament, or solely religious situations. In te ao Māori, karakia are part of both sacred and secular functions, on the marae and in everyday situations within the city such as language learning classes. This continues from ancient times when there were many types of karakia for both special occasions and daily life.[31] Subsequently, it is standard protocol before a mihi to open and close any gathering, personal or professional, with a karakia.[32] Karakia are also important to give thanks for food[33] before eating.

Acknowledging and respecting protocols, such as karakia in meetings and the restrictions of tapu, are important for a bicultural approach to urban design, not just for the purposes of respecting cultural difference and encouraging good relationships, but because for Māori it is a way of ensuring they, or anyone else, will not be harmed by unexpected events. It is also particularly important to urban design because of wāhi tapu (sacred places) that are permanently tapu, protected under government legislation, and scattered throughout urban areas.

---

[31] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 37.
[32] Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu*, 73.
[33] Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu*, 75.

Wāhi Tapu

Some places or things become tapu because of their cultural, historical or spiritual importance and these are known as wāhi tapu (sacred places) or taonga tapu (sacred things). Under the *Resource Management Act 1991* wāhi tapu sites are considered a matter of national importance and must be considered[34] in any assessment of development. They are important because it is here that the spiritual dimensions of wairuatanga become physical and specific to the geography and character of a place. As with personal tapu there are multiple aspects to wāhi tapu and the level of tapu related to a place can vary.

Urupā (cemeteries) are always tapu, but some are more tapu than others depending on the antiquity of the urupā and who is buried there.[35] Urupā can also be found for one person, or small family groups, that were buried either within or very near the family's home, as is typical in Polynesian burial practice.[36] Auckland lava caves and crevices in rocks were commonly used as urupā. The body was temporarily buried then dug up; with the bones being cleaned and displayed before finally being hidden in what were likely to be secret burial locations.[37] There are burial caves on a number of volcanic cones in the Auckland region that are kept secret and blocked to public access.

When a Māori skeleton is unexpectedly found, as a result of construction, all work must stop. Māori elders are then contacted so the appropriate protocols can be undertaken to protect workers from being affected by the tapu of the body, and to respect the mana of the ancestor. Where an area is known to be wāhi tapu, and a potential urupā, Māori spiritual values have been recognized as relevant under the Resource Management Act 1991 in a High Court decision on *TV3 Network Services*. A resource consent application to locate a television transmitter on land alleged to be wāhi tapu was declined by the Environment Court, which recognised that:

---

[34] In achieving the purpose of the RMA, 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 ... the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu and other taongā. New Zealand Parliament, "Resource Management Act, 1991," (Government Printer, 1991), Part II: Purpose and Principles, s5(2). Quote in New Zealand Ministry for the Environment, *Whakamau Ki Ngā Kaupapa - Making the Best of Iwi Management Plans under the Resource Management Act 1991*, 2nd ed., (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Envrionment, 2003).
[35] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 67.
[36] Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 173.
[37] Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, 174.

Because of the long history of occupation of Horea generally by ancestors of the tāngata whenua, the whole area is closely associated with deep respect for their ancestors and the places where they lived, fought, and were buried, and that any disturbance of the ground for the translator would be regarded by them as a desecration.[38]

Rangitoto Island is tapu because it was both a general urupā for the people of the area and because of the bloodshed over it[39] in the fight between the captains of the Te Arawa and Tainui migratory waka whilst they were moored at Orawaho, now also known as Islington Bay. The name Te Rangi i totongia a Tamatekapua (The day that the blood of Tamatekapua was shed) records the event[40] and is an example of how sites where significant events took place, or a tohunga or important chief did something, became tapu from the nature of the event or the tapu of the ancestor.[41]

Other wāhi tapu include places where people have died and continue to be dangerous, such as currents in the sea or rivers,[42] and mountains that may have a measure of tapu as symbols of tribal and personal identity, especially when associated with the mana of ancestral chiefs. Very tapu places are those associated with the gods, such as tūāhu (altars),[43] where religious ceremonies are performed[44] and traditional whare Wānanga (buildings for learning) where spiritual practices were taught.[45] All wāhi tapu sites have protocols associated with them that must be observed in order to maintain personal safety, respect for the mana of the ancestors involved, and to ensure the blessings of the gods. There are many different rituals and karakia (prayer) associated with the various customs of tapu, all intended to placate the gods,[46] and maintain the well-being of the people.

The urban design implications of wāhi tapu affect the processes of urban design, such as how some places are perceived and the protocols around how they are managed. For example the involvement of elders from the relevant iwi or hapū, and inclusion of protocols such as karakia, and blessing or

---

[38] MFE, "What Constitutes Consultation".

[39] G Graham, "Tainui - Her Visit to the Waitemata and Tāmaki (as Narrated by Maihi Te Kapua Te Hinaki in 1894)," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 60 (1951). Quoted in Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 9.

[40] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto,* 8.

[41] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 68.

[42] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 68

[43] A "sacred place for ritual practices by a tohunga, consisting of an enclosure containing a mound and marked by the erection of rods which were used for divination and other mystic rites." Te Whanake, "Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index", Te Whanake, Māori Language online, http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz (accessed June 24, 2009).

[44] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 68

[45] Mead, *Tikanga Māori,* 68

[46] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro,* 128.

tapu raising ceremonies, become particularly important in consultation, design and construction processes, where wāhi tapu are involved. These also affect the physical outcome that may be appropriate for a place. In some cases, Māori may prefer a wāhi tapu to not be publically identified and to remain as undisturbed as possible, especially if it is a very tapu location associated with the gods, or the burial of a significant ancestor. In other situations, the removal and reburial elsewhere of the bones from a small urupā may be acceptable. Construction in some places that are tapu because of their historical significance may be acceptable, if the design, and specific features within it, purposefully respect and acknowledges the mana of the tribe whose ancestors are associated with the wāhi tapu. Of greatest significance is that in terms of tikanga Māori it should be the elders of the iwi or hapū associated with the area, and who have the mana in terms of tikanga Māori, that decide how a wāhi tapu should be treated, not the urban designer.

Kaitiakitanga

Along with wāhi tapu, the concept of kaitiakitanga is included within the *Resource Management Act 1991*, so is important to urban design. Tiaki means to guard, or similarly to protect, conserve, foster or keep watch over, and kai refers to the agent of the action, so kaitiaki can be translated as guardian and kaitiakitanga as guardianship.[47] Kaitiakitanga is defined within the Resource Management Act as 'the exercise of guardianship by the tāngata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Māori in relation to natural and physical resources; it includes the ethic of stewardship.'[48] A primary focus of kaitiakitanga is to maintain the mauri of the natural environment, so it can continue to support human life. Thus, there is an emphasis on protecting and restoring natural waterways, areas of native bush or regeneration planting, beaches, shellfish, water quality, kai moana (seafood) and areas of other natural resources, such as flax.

The first kaitiaki were the Māori gods who descended from Rangi and Papa, and are responsible for their individual domains, and descendents. For example Tāne is the kaitiaki of the forest, Tangaroa the sea and Rongomatane of root crops.[49] Like all aspects of tikanga, the practices of kaitiakitanga have their origins with the Māori gods and have been developed over many generations of interaction with the natural environment.

---

[47] Marsden and Royal, *The Woven Universe*, 67.
[48] RMA 1991. Quoted in *Guidelines for Consulting*.
[49] Marsden and Royal, *The Woven Universe*, 69.

Kaitiakitanga is also inherently linked to the practice of rangatiratanga, and the concepts of mana, whanaungatanga, wairuatanga and mauri. According to Johnson, to preserve the mana of an iwi or hapū, the group needs to 'continue to serve as kaitiaki over the resources and treasures of their community' as evidence of maintaining ahi kā. [50] Conversely, in contemporary case law the right at act as a kaitiaki is firstly determined by who has mana whenua. For example, the Environment Court has ruled that:

> Under tikanga Māori, kaitiakitanga determines who has the right to be consulted over proposals affecting a particular resource. Where there is a dispute over which group has mana whenua over an area of land, this must be determined by the Māori Land Court.[51]

One of the limitations of the approach of including aspects of tikanga Māori within legislation is that other concepts that inform these definitions can be inadvertently forgotten. "For instance," Johnson writes, "the inclusion of the term kaitiakitanga while omitting mana leaves the guardianship of the previous term's definition without the foundation of a key conceptual regulator."[52] As mana in relation to land and resources is determined by whakapapa and tribal histories in relation to the land, understanding the Māori historical context of a place is essential for understanding the application of kaitiakitanga.

In order to be kaitiaki, one must have the appropriate connections to the place, in terms of whakapapa, but also the mana tāngata and mana atua required to undertake the role of guardian. Traditionally, a kaitiaki (guardian) from the tribe is appointed by kaumātua to be responsible for the guardianship of a particular taonga, such as fisheries or marae activities, and is accountable to the tribe.[53] In the case of the natural environment, because of the holistic approach that Māori have towards the environment, the role inherently captures a complex mix of social, cultural, economic and spiritual aspects that inform how Māori respond to environmental issues. These are systems and values that have been established over long eras of tribal association with land and water[54] and which continue to inform contemporary issues.

---

[50] Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management …", 217.
[51] *Winter & Ors v Taranaki Regional Council* [A106/98]. Quoted in MFE, 'Which Groups should be Consulted?' Ministry for the Environment, *Guidelines for Consulting with TāngataWhenua under the Rma: An Update on Case Law* (cited).
[52] Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management …", 218.
[53] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 126 – 127.
[54] Stenson, *The Treaty*, 127.

Another example of the limitations of how tikanga Māori is defined in legislation, is the exclusion of spiritual kaitiaki, such as taniwha (monsters).[55] Kaitiaki are also guardian spirits left behind by ancestors to watch over descendents and to protect sacred places. They most commonly take the form of animals, birds, insects and fish.[56] Barlow writes;

> One of the kaitiaki of my area is the owl. In the event of the death of a relative the owl will appear and utter a special cry to close kin, forewarning them of the event … Probably every tribe, sub-tribe and family have their kaitiaki, and each of them will have their special stories about them and the signs by which they can be recognized.[57]

The reptiles left on Rangitoto Island by Kahumatamomoe from the Te Arawa waka were his kaitiaki. Māori were scared of ngārara (reptiles), which include lizards (skinks and geckos), tutara and the giant reptiles of Māori traditions. Lizards were perceived as being representatives of Whiro, the god of evil and death. However, some reptiles were used as kaitiaki and released near burial caves to watch over the dead.[58]

> They were also used as kaitiaki for mauri – a talisman, usually a stone, which was thought to protect the health and vitality of a forest or tree. Lizards – often the moko kākāriki (Naultinus elegant) or moko tāpiri (Hoplodactylus pacificus) – were released near mauri, and were believed to stay there forever.[59]

Lizards are rarely included in Māori carving, but when they are it usually as kaitiaki. For example, a representation of a guardian ngārara (reptile) is on a post of a Te Arawa meeting house, named after Tamatekapua, at Whakarewarewa, near Rotorua.[60] The original kaitiaki were the Māori gods, and sometimes carvings, incorporated into buildings, or pou (carved posts) as boundary markers, may represent a guardian of a tribe or place.

---

[55] Johnson, "Biculturalism, Resource Management …", 218. Taniwha can be described as a "water spirit, monster, chief, something or someone awesome - taniwha take many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory." www.maoridictionary.co.nz, (accessed June 24, 2009)
[56] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 34.
[57] Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro*, 35
[58] *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, s.v 'Ngārara – reptiles' (by Bradford Haami), Ministry for Culture and Heritage / Te Manatū Taongā , http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/TheBush/FishFrogsAndReptiles/Ngā raraReptiles/en, (accessed June 13, 2009).
[59] *Te ara,* s.v. 'Ngārara – reptiles'*, (by Bradford Haami)
[60] *Te ara,* s.v. 'Ngārara – reptiles'*, (by Bradford Haami)

In terms of urban design, kaitiaki are important firstly because they are the people responsible for a specific place, resource, or cultural taonga, with in-depth knowledge of the environment and associated tikanga, and the mana to speak on behalf of their iwi or hapū. The practice of kaitiakitanga, which focuses on maintaining the mauri, or environmental health of natural areas, or features, such as streams, also provides a point of commonality with the urban design objective of supporting environmental sustainability. In terms of spiritual guardians, such as the Māori gods, taniwha or animals who act as tribal kaitiaki, it may (or may not) be appropriate to include representations of these kaitiaki in the design of specific places. The decision for this rests with the iwi or hapū who has mana whenua over the area, and their nominated kaitiaki.

Summary

In te ao Māori spiritual relationships are portrayed in the concepts of mauri, wairua and tapu, and they are important to urban design because they relate to how the land is perceived and valued by Māori, as well as how Māori respond to land and the use of natural resources. It is from these concepts that many aspects of tikanga Māori have emerged that inform protocols related to settlement and the use of natural resources. These include karakia (prayers or ritual incantations), rahui (conservation ban), the elements of a powhiri (official welcome ceremony), and the design and positioning of carvings that reference the kaitiaki of places, the mana whenua of tribes and potentially support the mauri of an area.

The protection and enhancement of mauri in natural environments is important to Māori because it is what provides for life. The restoration of natural environments, even within the highly urbanised city, is becoming increasingly important to Pākehā. This interest is evidence of a growing concern for environmental sustainability in the practice of urban design, which means the outcomes sought by both cultures have an element of commonality. However, a bicultural approach to urban design requires including the spiritual aspects of tikanga Māori within the scientific and engineering based solutions used to address environmental issues. A practical example of this is the requirement to not mix different types of water, because water is a taonga that is sacred and mixed water of different origins (such as the Waikato River and the Manukau Harbour) can disturb its mauri. In terms of contemporary urban design issues, this can also relate to how stormwater is treated, and the concept

of kaitiakitanga is essentially the Maori environmental management system for ensuring the maintainence of mauri.[61] Thus, it relates to the use of all natural resources or elements within the urban environment such as trees, water, soil, earthworks, birds … Kaitiaki can also include spiritual beings.

Specific care is required for the treatment of wāhi tapu sites, in particular sites that are considered highly tapu because of their connection to the death of people, especially ancient rangatira, and sites connected with the worship of the māori gods. How a wāhi tapu site is treated will vary depending on the nature of the tapu and the tikanga of the iwi or hapū connected to the area. In some cases the histories behind a tapu site can be shared, and may inform understandings of a 'sense of place'. Some other sites, such as burial grounds and sites associated with the ancient worship of the Māori gods, may be too tapu for public acknowledge. All wāhi tapu require the appropriate protocols and the authority for decisions on how to treat them must rest with the kaitiaki of the appropriate iwi or hapū of the tangata whenua.

All the principles of whanaungatanga apply to decision making on how to treat wāhi tapu, as well as determining the position of kaitiaki, and the rights and responsibilities of kaitiakitanga. Conversely, the practice of kaitiakitanga is important to maintaining the status of ahi kā and the positioning of mauri emblems, that invoke the protection of the gods, is also a way of asserting mana over land and resources.

---

[61] Taua, "Maori Perspectives on Landscape", 27.

TE WERO – THE CHALLENGE

Chapter Nine: Tikanga Māori and History, Challenging Eurocentric Conventions of Urban Design.

> Ka haere whakamua, ka titiro whakamuri
>
> Keep sight of the past lest the way forward becomes lost[1]

The previous chapters have discussed various aspects of tikanga Māori, and the Māori history of Tāmaki Makaurau which shape Māori understandings of a 'sense of place'. This differs from that experienced by Pākehā which is why Māori prefer the term cultural landscapes to urban design, in regard to both rural and urban areas.

This chapter explores the spatial consequences of the findings from the previous chapters. It considers how a better understanding of tikanga Māori and the Māori historical contexts of Tāmaki Makaurau challenge some of the most basic of urban design assumptions that we take for granted. It discusses the role of maps in the process of urban design, their importance as communication tools and how maps can be a useful tool for the de-colonisation or urban space. This requires expanding the frames of reference used in mapping processes, such as scale, projection, and symbolization to incorporate the values of Māori cultural landscapes. It also requires responding to the challenges that Māori cultural landscapes pose to the most basic Eurocentric understanding of space and place. In particular the spatial assumptions of orientation, human scale, hierarchy, and view that inform processes of urban design through the mapping and interpreting of information on cities and landscapes.

---

[1] Māori proverb. Quoted in Paul Tapsell, "Papamoa Pā," in *Whenua Managing Our Resources*, ed., Merata Kawharu (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2002).

Mapping

Mapping is important to the process of urban design because of its ability to record vast amounts of information specific to a place, it enables a record of what exists, and gives a basis for analysis and future planning. The types of information mapped regularly range from the location of sewer pipes and roads, to the traffic volumes experienced on roads at particular times of the day or week, the heights of buildings, the geology of soils, the location of known archaelogical sites, and of contemporary retail activities and overland flow paths of stormwater … and so the list goes on. Mapping can also be used to record people's experience of places, such as the location of sites that are considered to be a landmark, valued views, property prices and the percieved safety of a place. All of this information is then collated and informs understandings and analysis of spatially related elements and experiences within an urban context. This analysis is then used to guide decisions that affect the physical character of the city. The processes of mapping are also essential to urban design processes because they support communication and the sharing of knowledge between people, including the communication of agreed opportunities or limitations between the multiple groups of people and varying professional disciplines that shape the city.

A bicultural approach to urban design cannot avoid the processes of mapping, but it does have to be treated with caution. In New Zealand maps have been integral to the colonisation of the country and have disenfranchised Māori from their ancestral land. Byrnes argues that processes of surveying, mapping and place naming also enabled the colonisation of the land though "language, literally inscribing it with new meanings and ways of seeing."[2] This is evident from the previous chapters that illustrate a richness in Māori histories and relationships to the landscape, yet in terms of contemporary cultural landscapes "[t]he development of the city has also rendered Ngāti Whatua and other Māori invisible on the Tāmaki landscape".[3]

In this thesis, I argue that the mapping of Māori cultural relationships to the landscape is important for supporting communication between the cultures, and to enable these relationships to influence the form and experience of the ever changing organism of the contemporary city. This includes a city's relationship to Papa-tu-a-nuku or the land, and amongst others the realms for Tane, native

---

[2] Byrnes, *Boundary Markers : Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*.
[3] Ngarimu Blair, "Tāmaki - Kaitiakitanga in the Concrete Jungle," in *Whenua Managing Our Resources*, ed., Merata Kawharu (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2002).

plants and birds; Tangaroa, the sea and its inhabitants; Ruaimoko, volcanic geology; and whakapapa, the history of human settlement and relationship with the natural environment.

Like other colonial countries New Zealand's maps "reflect widely shared Western values (geometric precision, consistency, completeness, cost-effectiveness)."[4] The geographer Mark Monmonier also describes them as having:

> "three basic attributes: scale, projection, and symbolization. Each element is a source of distortion. As a group, they describe the essence of the map's possibilities and limitations."[5]

To date the use of maps in the process of urban design have been predominately defined by the possibilities and limitations of Eurocentric understandings and perceptions of space and place, landscape and settlement. However, if the frames of reference for the attributes used in mapping processes, such as scale, projection, and symbolization are enlarged to incorporate the values of Māori cultural landscapes new possibilies are revealed. This enables maps to become a useful tool for the de-colonisation of urban space and creates new opportunities for bicultural values to inform the design of the city.

The *New Zealand Historical Atlas - Ko Papa-tū-ā-nuku e Takoto Nei* (see how the land lies)[6] is an interesting source for this discussion. Within the section on pre-European Māori history the geographers have actively attempted to map Māori historical narratives, as distinct from archaeological information, in a way that is meaningful to Māori. The result is that;

> "Although they are displaying traditional information, these maps are not traditionally Māori. But nor are they conventional cartographic, an avoidance that seemed appropriate given the link between cartography and the Pākehā colonisation of New Zealand."[7]

These maps provide an interesting prototype for consideration in the process of urban design. The rest of this chapter similarly discusses how historical examples from the previous chapters, and

---

[4] Mark S. Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 123.
[5] Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, 5.
[6] Malcolm McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas = Ko Papatuanuku E Takoto Nei* (Auckland, N.Z.: D. Bateman in association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1997), Plate 9.
[7] McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, 9-10.

aspects of tikanga Māori that they illustrate, challenge common Eurocentric based understandings of orientiation, scale, hierarchies and view that inform mapping techniques used in contemporary urban design processes.

Orientation (Case Study: The First Migrations)

Critical to any discussion on urban design is the question of orientation. Where do you start? What do you look at for guidance? And on a map which way is up? To orient oneself within the city requires landmarks, and sunrises, north and south, and the translation of this onto paper for communication. Legibility is an important outcome sought by urban designers in the design of the city, and this revolves around the use of environmental clues to support orientation. In terms of establishing a starting point for a discussion on orientation it is important to note that Māori and other indigenous cultures have, as Smith describes:

> Different orientations towards time and space, different positions within time and space, and different systems of language for making space and time 'real' underpin the notions of past and present, of place and of relationships to the land. Ideas about progress are grounded within ideas and orientations towards time and space.[8]

Important in tikanga Māori is the fact that it is from the past and it is the actions of the ancestors and gods that the wisdom of how to address contemporary issues is sought. This is illustrated in the whakataukī at the start of this chapter. Another way to translate this whakatauki is ka haere whakamua (to go forward), ka titiro whakamuri (look backwards), which in terms of orientation in relation to the subject means that the past is in front. This principle of orientation is further emphasized by the fact that the term sometimes used to mean the past is wā o mua,[9] (times of front).

This orientation to the past as a guide to resolve contemporary challenges and plan for the future is shared by related Pacific cultures.[10] A bicultural approach to urban design in New Zealand and the

---

[8] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 55.
[9] Ryan and Māori Language Commission, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*, 612.
[10] For example: In the book Vaka Moana, Ben Finney states: "My own experience living and working in Tahiti and Hawai`i over the last four decades has impressed on me how strongly the Tahitians and Hawaiians value links to their past – to the point of going beyond Santayana's dictum about the perils of ignoring history by actively looking backward for inspiration in coping with present and future problems. For example, in an essay on cultural renaissance and identity in French

Pacific Islands thus requires us to look to the past for answers to today's challenges, and reiterates the importance of Māori historical contexts informing processes of urban design in Auckland. This includes the migration histories and creation myths that to most Pākehā would be considered irrelevant to the urban design of the contemporary city but which are important because of the value placed on them in terms of whakapapa and subsequently tūrangawaewae, the practice of kaitiakitanga, tribal identity, and 'sense of place' as well as spiritual beliefs. Therefore, they have the potential to influence urban design in a much greater manner than has previously been explored.

Another aspect of orientation relates to north points, and how in Eurocentric mapping techniques, on which the practice of urban design relies, north is conceived of being 'up' and is almost always shown as pointing up to the top of the page. When it is not a map can be confusing to people familiar with such an orientation. In the practice of urban design the importance of north points on maps and drawings and it being orientated 'upwards', reinforces understandings of the patterns of seasonal sunlight and shade. It also enables orientation within the wider context of the urban landscape and world as it is described by European mapping techniques. However, for Māori it is the opposite.

For Māori north is conceived as down and south is up. This has its orgins in the traditions of Māui and how he caught the North Island of New Zealand, called Te Ika a Māui (The fish of Maui) from his canoe which is the South Island. For the north island, 'Up' is the southern part of the island which forms the head of the fish, and 'down' is the Northland, which forms the tail of the fish.[11] It is also reflected in the whakataukī used to describe the territory of Tainui:

> Mokau ki runga , Tāmaki ki raro,Manga-toatoa ki waenganui
> Mokau above, Tāmaki below, Manga-toatoa in the middle.[12]

Mokau is the south towards Taranaki, and Tāmaki forming the northern boundary. The potential implications of this change in orientation is illustrated in Figures 35 - 37 from the *New Zealand Historical Atlas*. This map is 'upside-down' and has an oblique perspective view. The intention of the geographer is that:

Polynesia, Wilfred Lucas (1989) explained that his fellow Tahitians were "using the past to confront the future," gaining insights and strength from prior accomplishments to help them cope with the Nuclear Age into which they had been thrust. In her treatise on Hawaiian history, Lilikala Kame`eleihiwa (1992, 22), wrote, "It is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present day dilemmas."

[11] Anne Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*, 2004 ed., (Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 2004), 166.

[12] McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, plate 19; Stone, *From Tāmaki - Makaurau, 14.*

> "the use of different orientations draws attention to important connections, relationships and 'ways of seeing'. Thus, in speech, that which lies to the south is habitually referred to as 'above' – 'rungā ' – and that which lies to the north as below – 'raro'."[13]

The use of an oblique perspective helps to create a sense of progression and movement through time and better suits the narratives of Māori history.[14] It also enables the landscape illustrated by the map to be more easily understood than planameteric maps which require knowledge of geographic symbolism to interpret them. Both of these aspects are useful in terms of urban design, because similarly a city is experienced by progressing through spaces and moving through time, across a landscape that is not flat but diverse in its contour, shape and character. Conventional maps used as a basis for codifying cities, such as street maps, and similarly planning for cities, such as the District Plan maps, are usually devoid of landscape and character information that are important in defining a 'sense of place'.

Oblique perspectives can also be used with different orientations based on a conical view from a point of origin, and to reflect the directions of specific journeys. The *New Zealand Historical Atlas* uses this technique to reflect dominant traditions about tribal expansion and migration in certain directions.[15] Figure 37, titled Te Tai Tokerau, Te Hiku-o-te-Ika-a-Māui (The Tail of the Fish of Maui) illustrates this approach. The Tai Tokerau tribes include Ngāti Whātua, and in this map Northland is in the foreground with Tāmaki Makaurau in the background, illustrating the longer history of Ngāti Whatua, and the Tai Tokerau tribes, including Ngā Puhi, with Northland.

Returning to Goldstone's text quoted in the introduction to this thesis:

> So once again, to look at things from a fresh angle, turn your map upside down. North, always at the top, is now at the bottom. You have traced a huge question mark, ending significantly with the final and emphatic dot … Rangitoto!*[16]*

Perhaps as a starting point for a bicultural approach to urban design we need to turn the map upside down, 'to look at things from a fresh angle' and see how this change in orientation affects the way space and landscape is perceived. Figure 36 is the Tainui map and it is interesting how the once familiar figure of the ismthus looks different, and in the disorientation that results the Māori names

---

[13] McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, 10 & plate 17.
[14] McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, 10.
[15] McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, 10.
[16] Goldstone, *Tears of Rangitoto,* Figure 12.

take precedent. However, a literal change in turning maps upside down may, or may not help. It is clear that a bicultural approach means intentionally looking to the past to seek answers, which is a 180 degree change in orientation for the majority of the development industry and standard practice of urban design. Seeking to understand and include the Māori history of a place enables the indentification of points of reference or landmarks that support the legibility of Māori cultural landscapes.

Scale (Case Study: Mythology and the formation of Rangitoto)

The oblique perspectives maps of Figures 36 and 37 also distort the scale of the map. In figure 36 this enables the vast territory of Tainui and the ancestral relationships between the ismthus and wider Tainui area to be better understood. Whilst smaller in physical area the location of Tamaki Makauru in the foreground means it reads as visually prominent and as important as the wider expanse of Tainui land.

In Figure 37 the foreground focuses on the areas of earliest history, which are potentially the most important (depending on tribal affilations[17]) with the earliest of Northland archaeological sites being found near the end of Te Hiku-o-te-Ika-a-Māui.[18] Similarly, the scale of the map of New Zealand drawn by Tuki Tahua in 1793, and recorded by Lieutenant-Governor Philip King whose secretary wrote the notes on map,[19] also reflects importance through variations in scale. Within this map, shown in Figure 38, the areas of greatest familiarity to the drawer are larger. The areas further away are significantly smaller in scale and although there are fewer features on the maps, those that are noted are of particular importance.[20] Hence the South Island is much smaller in scale than the North Island, with only the information on it being that which is most relevant to North Islanders, like Tuki who was from Northland. The information on the South Island map notes the important sources of pounamu (greenstone) and stones for hatchets, which the author of the map had been told about, although they had never met anyone from that island.[21] Historian Malcom McKinnon notes that "[a]lthough Māori did not produce maps like this before contact, it is completely embedded in the

---

[17] Te Tai Tokerau is a group of related iwi from different waka, in contrast to the Tainui map which only shows the interests of iwi descending from Tainui.
[18] Refer to McKinnon et al., *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plate 11.
[19] McKinnon et al., *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plate 9.
[20] McKinnon et al., *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plate 9.
[21] McKinnon et al., *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plate 9.

approach which Māori themselves took to explaining the world, working from the familiar, the family, outward".[22] This is also reflected in oratory, by the prominence given first to the localised places of significance, being maunga and awa that vary between hapū, before reciting whakapapa.

Another aspect of scale that challenges European norms is the interpretation of the mythical parts of Māori history that are linked with the formation of land, and inherently with the character and identity of the land itself.[23] The Te Kawerau a Maki iwi have a story about the origin of Rangitoto Island that links it to the Waitakere Ranges, called Te Unuhanga o Rangitoto (The drawing out of Rangitoto). This revolves around a tohunga of the Turehu people who lived in the Waitakere Ranges. The Turehu people were also known as Patupaiarehe, or fairy people, and there are a number of legends about them around the Tāmaki Isthmus.[24] The following account of this legend is based on Graeme Murdoch's retelling of the event in *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*.

> In ancient times the tohunga of the Terehu people would gather on "Te Ahuahu", a high hill north of present day Piha, and undertake ceremonial gatherings where they would perform rituals and discuss traditional lore. At these wananga /universities, and ceremonial gatherings the tohunga would often demonstrate their spiritual powers. One day, after watching these demonstrations by other tohunga, Tiriwa, the leading Terehu chief of the area, decided to show his superior powers. He lifted Rangitoto, the mountain that blocked the view of the coastline extending down to the entrance of the Manukau Harbour, from the Te Ahuahu gathering place. Tiriwa walked up to the volcanic cone and by using specific karakia he was able to lift Rangitoto onto his shoulders. In just several large strides he carried the mountain over the Waitakere Ranges to the east coast and began to carry it out to sea. As the water got deeper, it rose to his loins, and (being cold) he gasped! And dropped Rangitoto in the location it is found today. To Kawerau a Maki, this purakau [myth] explains the origin of Rangitoto Island and the deep chasm on the Waitakere coastline called "Te Unuhanga o Rangitoto" or "the drawing out of Rangitoto", which is known to Pākehā as Mercer Bay.[25]

---

[22] McKinnon et al., *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plate 9.

[23] The atlas deals with this issue through combined representations of land, and graphic images of the gods, or ancestors and the evetn associated with the creation acts.

[24] The Patupaiarehe are also credited with the creation of Maungakiekie. Phillips-Gibson, *Tāmaki Makaurau Myths*.

[25] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito mo Rangitoto, 4.*

Figure 39 dramatically illustrates how this narrative, like the creation stories of Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku, challenges the perception of human scale. Tiriwa, who is recorded in whakapapa as a pre-eminent ancestor of the Te Kawerau a Maki people, could stride across the isthmus carrying Rangitoto, which thus becomes human in scale despite its height. An alternative reading is that the mana of Tiriwa is such that it extends beyond the 'scale' of mere human descendants, such that it could be said that the mana of Tiriwa surpasses the grandeur of Rangitoto.

In Eurocentric cultures scaling in relation to land is used to portray distance, or applied as symbols onto maps of the land to quantify difference. Distance, as Smith notes, is one of the concepts through which Western ideas about the individual and community are moderated. New Zealand was first governed from a distance, distance is measurable and in research it has come to stand for objectivity, although this is not as measurable.[26] This explanation of the history of Rangitoto introduces the link between the physical and metaphysical, which in te ao Māori merge, such that objectivity is about relationships and mana not scientific quantification or separation. This challenges Eurocentric assumptions of scale and the representation of scale, providing new compositions of connections between places and people, history, mana and land.

Hierarchies

Pre-european Māori were highly reliant on natural features for survival and subsequently their lifestyles and settlement patterns were significantly informed by the ecology, geology and marine biology of the region. This is to a much greater extent than the founding fathers of the colonial city who set about reclaiming harbours, quarrying away mountains, and the modernist approach to engineering, that pipes streams, fills gullies, and dumps sewage and stormwater into harbours without consideration of the impact on natural resources. It is only recently that environmental issues have gained importance and are being seriously considered in terms of informing design and development practices.

The detailed geological map of the isthmus made by Dr Ferdinard von Hochsetter in 1859, included as Figure 31, is perhaps one of the most descriptive visual records of pre-European settlement. It does not show the location of historic Māori settlements, but it does show the landform as it was

[26] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 56.

before mountains were quarried, swamps drained, harbours reclaimed and fertile garden soils claimed for suburban dwelling. Evident in this map is the unique form of Rangitoto, the centrality of Maungakiekie and the physical prominence of Maungawhau, which is the tallest of the isthmus volcanoes. The dominance of Maungawhau is reflected in the name of its crater, being the feeding bowl for the God of volcanoes, Mataaho, who dwelled periodically on Maungawhau. In terms of heirachies, the physical dominance of Maungawhau as a result of its height and central location also reflected its political importance as the home of the Waiohua chiefs, in particular Hua Kaiwaka, who through his many allegiences was considered the most influential of his era. Writing about the fighting pa, the archaeologist Gordon Ell notes how:

> The remains of these fortresses are spectacular but they are only part of a settlement which comprised gardens and sometimes fisheries. They can often be viewed as part of a network of defenses, along a range of hills for example, marking a border. Students of Māori tactics can relate a number of outer pa to a central point. These in turn facilitate a series of defensive moves where an attack on one brought a rearguard action from the others. Other pas however were simply seasonal; defensive positions adjacent to hunting or fishing grounds.[27]

A distinctive characteristic of Auckland is the close visual relationship between the multiple pa sites of different iwi and hapū, such that whilst being poltically independent they could also function together as an affiliated defence network if needed. Within the hierarchy of settlements there would have been sets of relationships within the territory of a iwi, such as Ngāi Tai, Te Kawerau-a-Maki, Ngati Paoa and the Waiohua, as well as between them. For example from Maungawhau or Maungakiekie, which were central to the rohe of the Waiohua, the Ngāi Tai villages on Motutapu could have been clearly visible. Murdoch records that for Ngāi Tai, peace was maintained because they "were surrounded by other Tainui iwi, and also by the fact that by the early seventeenth century they were part of the powerful tribal grouping known as Te Waiohua,"[28] yet they still maintained their independence. Similarly, the territory of Ngati Paoa along the Tamaki River; the Ngāti Kahu hapū of both Kawerau and Ngāi Tai along the coastal areas of the North Shore; and the territory of the Tainui tribes of Waikato on the southern shores of the Manukau Harbour, and Hauraki to east, are all visible from Maungakiekie.

---

[27] Ell, *Shadows on the Land,* 39.
[28] Murdoch, *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto*, 10.

Of all the pa sites within the Auckland area, Maungakiekie is also by far the most magnificent in terms of size and terracing. The site was chosen by the military architect/urban designer/chief, Titahi of the Ngāti Awa tribe.[29] In time it would become the largest of all the fortified pa, and home to the Te Waiohua chief, Kiwi Tamaki. Titahi, in choosing Maungakiekie over the other pa that he helped to build up made a strategic decision. Not only was Maungakiekie like the other maunga a good choice for settlement because of its rich and fertile volcanic soils, it was also ideal for defence and surveillance, even more so than Maungawhau because of its proximity to the two canoe portages of Otahuhu and Te Whau. In terms of heirachies these portages formed part of the regional transport network of waterways that were the equivalent of contemporary state highways of national importance. Being located at a hub of canoe travel was on of Tāmaki Makauraru's strengths, but this was also its downfall in the musket wars with Ngā Puhi.

From the summitt of Maungakiekie all of the major pa sites on the surrounding maunga and coastal headlands are visible, as are its fertile gardens, the two waka portage routes, and the two harbours for fishing. The only direction in which its view across the isthmus is compromised is to the north west, as shown in Figure 40 where Maungawhau is located. Perhaps this reflects why, in terms of tribal heirachies, Maungawhau was more dominant for most of Tāmaki Makaurau's history.

After the decision to vacate Maungawhau it is not surprising that the Waiohua chief, Kiwi Tāmaki (Hua Kaiwaka's grandson) chose Maungakiekie as his home. In the middle of the eighteenth century, when the population and wealth of the Waiohua was at its greatest, Maungakiekie could be compared to the Central Business District of Auckland City. Its strategic location would have assisted in maintaining the political prominence of the Waiohua in the surrounding area. In terms of a defensive network it is the prime location for a citadel, and its multiple terraces were easily defended through increased fortifications. It is noticeable in the historical accounts of the Te Taou raupatu, that it was Kiwi Tamaki's bravado, and the clever planning of Wahakikaki and Tuperiri, that lead to Te Taou being able to defeat its more powerful neighbour, despite the odds being against them. The Te Taou leaders carefully chose to avoid Maungakiekie, choosing the Waiohua settlements furthest from the centre, or of least significance in terms of spatial heirachies, to attack first. They only approached Maungakiekie once Kiwi Tamaki had already been killed and his taua (war party) scattered. Later Tuperiri of Te Taou o Ngāti Whātua chose Maungakiekie as his place of residence although requiring less space and with a lot less people than the Waiohua he rebuilt the

_____

[29] Moon suggests that this was sometime between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, although the archaeologist, Gordon Ell states that people have lived on Maungakiekie for at least 700 years. Ell, *Shadows on the Land,* 50.

defences to suit. This was a strategic decision not just related to defence, or mana, but because Maungakiekie is ideally located in between the two favoured fishing grounds of Ōrākei / Hobson Bay on the Waitemata, and Onehunga on the Manukau. It was not until after the death of the Tuperiri, and the establishment of a relative peace across the isthmus through a new generation of kinship ties, that Maungakiekie was vacated by the Tāmaki iwi in preference for the coastal settlements.

As this section attempts to illustrate, to map the heirachies of Māori settlements within Tāmaki Makaurau, in terms of nodes, paths, landmarks, views and activity areas would result in a map starkly different to existing representations of the contemporary city of Auckland. Nowadays it is motorways, not harbours and rivers that form the main transport routes, and the intensive nodes are town centres generally located on the lowlands, not the volcanic hill tops of the old pa sites. In terms of maps, it is the town centres that take precedence over the amorphous blobs that represent the maunga that have become recreational parks, and no longer centres of economic wealth and tribal mana.

In terms of te ao Māori, the locations of greatest use and significance were the harbours, the rivers, and the maunga. It is from these locations, being those less visited by Pākehā, that the legibility of the isthmus was understood by Māori and relationships established. It was also through the controlling of these strategic assets that power balances between iwi and hapū were established and maintained. The histories of Maungakiekie and Maungawhau demonstrate a correlation between the physical form and hierarchies of settlements across the landscape, and the political heirarchies of various eras. Thus, the political principles of mana whenua, ahi kā, rangitiratanga and whakapapa once shaped the urban form of the isthmus. Inheritant in contemporary interpretations of Māori cultural landscapes is thus both the physical relationships of land forms and water in terms of their locations and spatial heirarchies, and the heirarchies of whakapapa and rangitira within iwi, and between iwi and hapū. This explains the importance and inclusion of whakapapa, mana whenua, ahi kā, and rangitiratanga as guiding principles in the *Te Aranga Cultural Landscapes Strategy*.[30]

---

[30] MFE, *Te Aranga* , 7.

View

Underpinning all aspects of Māori cultural landscapes, be they political in the form of mana whenua, or spiritiual in the form of wāhi tapu, or both as in the practices of kaitiakitanga, is the concept of whanaungatanga (kinship relationships). Integral to this is whakapapa and through whakapapa individuals are linked to iwi, hapū, and the land of their ancestors. Figure 41 illustrates some of the kinship relationships discussed in this thesis. As the Te Arawa anthropologist, Paul Tapsell writes Maori relationships to the land have enabled them to maintain a record of their whakapapa and conversely a record of their claim to land.

> By using common ancestors as points of reference mapped upon their customary landscape, Maori have been able to maintain a complex knowledge of their kinship and descent connections. These ancestors link them not only to themselves and their neighbours, but also to all things that exist in the universe. In former times all landmarks, prominent trees, rocks, hills, each bend in a stream, and everything within a tribe's territory, were richly layered with ancestral names and events which validated the group's right of occupation.[31]

This is actively reinforced through whaikorero, waiata, taonga, and place names that seek to reinforce ancestral claims to land and the complex patterning of tribal relationships that cover the land. Warena Taua describes how;

> The song of Kiwi Tamaki is a case in point. The song recites the mountainous boundaries of a famous Waiohua ancestor in and around the district of Auckland. The tribal groups, their leaders, their landcape symbols and distinctive achievements are woven into the composition. Such songs are a *tour de force* of ancient knowledge, traditions, geography and tribal history. The entire landscape of both islands is covered by sounds of this nature.[32]

Tapsell describes how 'the successful marae orator captures this pattern, weaving all the ancestors together into an interconnecting korowai of complementary relationships upon the land'.[33] Within this korowai (cloak), all taonga (sacred items) form a 'single genealogical thread', stitching

---

[31] Tapsell, "The Flight of Pareraututu", 327.
[32] Taua, "Maori Perspectives on Landscape", 13.
[33] Tapsell, "The Flight of Pareraututu", 335.

relationships between earth, sky, gods, people and ancestors together.[34] Critical to achieving a bicultural approach to urban design is the inclusion of these genealogical threads within the urban fabric of the city, and this requires understanding some of the spatial characteristics of whanaungatanga. The following two examples have been chosen from the history of the isthmus to illustrate the concept of whanaungatanga in terms of urban design and cultural landscapes.

The Ngāi Tai version of Rangitoto's origin, was discussed in chapter four. In this narrative Matakamokamo lived on a mountain called Te Rua Maunga o Matakamokamo, which stood where Pupuke Moana (Lake Pupuke) is now located. Matakamokamo was a descendant of Mataoho, the God of earthquakes and volcanoes after whom the large crater on Maungawhau is named. After the fight between Matakamokamo and his wife, Mahuika the goddess of fire was furious, and cursing them called on Mataoho, who created a volcanic eruption. This formed a hole that became Pupuke Moana, and Rangitoto Island rose instead from the sea. Later both parents were also turned to stone and sunk below the ground by two violent volcanic eruptions. These formed the two explosive craters now found at Awataha, by present day Northcote.

These places can be located on a two-dimensional map, but it is Figure 18 and the view of Rangitoto, towering above the abyss of Lake Pupuke, that the origin of the relationships becomes apparent. Here it is very easy to imagine the disappearance of one volcanic form in the formation of another. Whilst (according to geologists) this did not happen, the fact that in this legend Ngāi Tai link the formation of all these volcanic sites with Mataaho, God of volcanoes, illustrates an awareness of geology linked with anthropomorphic events of both history and legend. This emphasises the geological character of a place and establishes kinship relationships between land forms, with the two craters at Awataha and rocks off Takapuna beach being of one family. This story also illustrates how natural landforms and the stories around their creation, or habitation, were used to teach tikanga through the retelling of such events.[35] In this case its respect for fire.

This example, and others referred to in this thesis, such as the events around the naming of Rangitioto, of Tiriwa, the arrival of the Tainui canoe, the rise and fall of Maungakiekie and the Waiohua confederation illustrate how distinctive landforms were related to each other and conceived as part of a wider landscape of events. Whakapapa and iwi history are saturated in geography, full of references to mountains and rivers, to journeys and migrations. Similarly, mountains and rivers and the geography of landscapes are satuated in iwi history and whakapapa that give Maori a 'sense of

---

[34] Tapsell, "The Flight of Parerauututu", 335.
[35] Goldstone equates this storey with Tu and jealously and anger.

place' through the distinctiveness and intimacy of kinship relationships. These form what is being referred to by Māori as cultural landscapes, and although appearing hidden in the contemporary city, they are not forgotten by Māori.

Summary

This chapter considered the spatial implications of tikanga Māori in terms of the conventions of urban design in an attempt to reconsider the colonial understanding and interpretation of land as determined by scientific quantification and qualification, upon which the contemporary practice of urban design is building. A Smith notes, an important aspect of indigenous cultural politics and critique is a spirit of re-visioning.[36] Thus, to enable a re-working of urban design, which critiques the colonial position, a 're-visioning', or perhaps a re-positioning in terms of spatial orientation and hierarchy or hegemony should be undertaken to recognize that "it may be argued that simultaneously present in any landscape are multiple enunciations of distinct forms of space. [37]

The examples from this thesis illustrate how Māori enunciations of space or place, if fully revealed, may challenge some of the most basic spatial assumptions found in Eurocentric processes of urban design. This includes aspects of orientation and scale, and in particular the concept of human scale, that challenge the fundamentals of mapmaking, architectural plans, the scientific analysis or representation of a site's context, and the concept of view or vantage point in the shaping of settlements, mental maps and points of reference.

This thesis argues that to turn a map around, so that south is up and north is down, challenges orientation and changes perspectives on land. Similarly, even if a map is not literally turned around, but instead there is a change in outlook towards the past, as a means of informing the future, a significant change in perception occurs. This along with the importance of place to ancestral relationships, changes the understandings of scale, hierarchy and view, so that they are not just about the scientific analysis of land.

---

[36] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 24.
[37] Steve Pile, "Introduction," in *Place and the Politics of Identity*, ed., M. Keith and S. Pile (Florence, KY, USA: Routeledge, 1993), 6.

Figure 35 – "Ngā Tapuwae-nuku / Journeys and migrations" (map from McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plate 17).
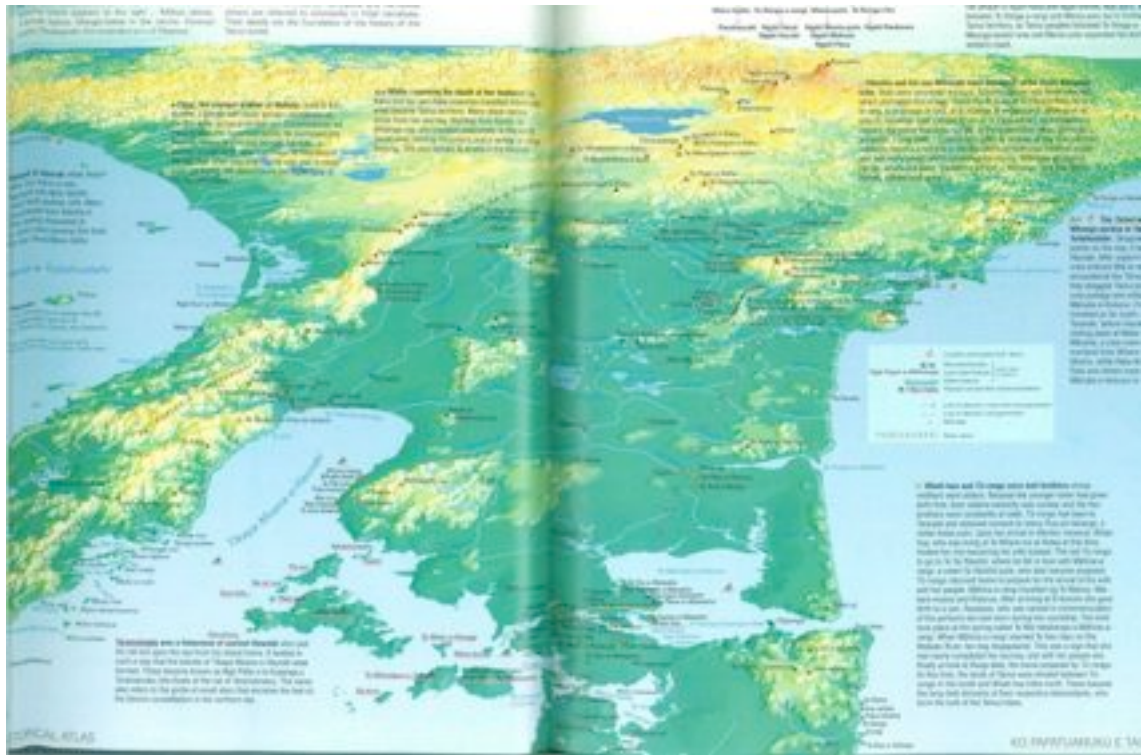
Figure 36 - "Tainui" (map from McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plate 19).

Figure 37 - "Te Tai Tokerau, Te Hiku-o-te-Ika-a-Māui" (map from McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plate 18).

Figure 38 - "Tuki's Map 1793." (map from McKinnon et al, *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas*, **Plate 9).**

Figure 39 - Tiriwa carrying Rangitoto. (drawing by Loc Keokatavong in *Tamaki-Makaurau : Myths and Legends of Auckland Landmarks*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2006.)

Figure 40 - Maungawhau as viewed from Maungakiekie (photo by author, 2009)
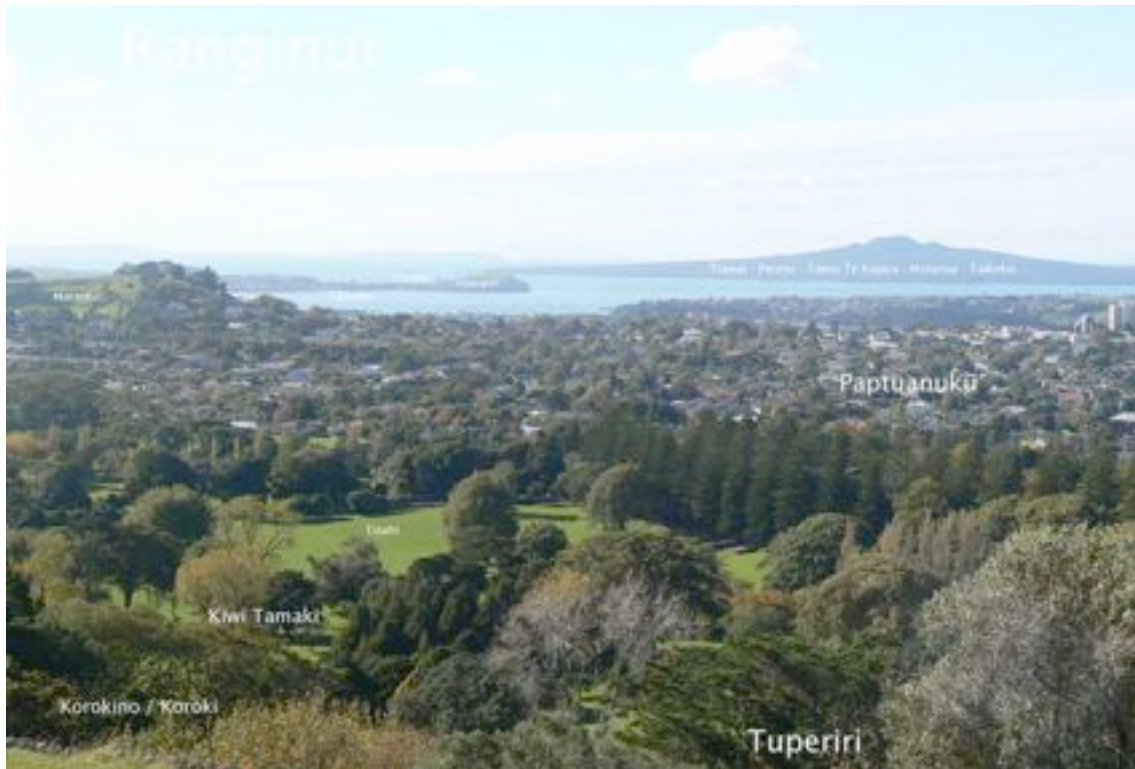
Figure 41 - View from Maungakiekie, illustrating some of the ancestral relationships that form points of reference in the Maori cultural landscape of the city. (illustration by author, 2009)

Conclusion

> Knowledge is the dawn of understanding. Understanding is the first sign of tolerance, and tolerance is the bright light of racial harmony.[1]

In terms of tikanga Māori, the ancient Māori prophecy that foretold the arrival of Governor William Hobson sets a precedent for the acceptance by Nga Iwi o Tāmaki Makaurau of sharing authority with the European constructs of governance in Tamaki Makaurau.[2] This is further reinforced by the invitation from Apihai Te Kawau and Ngāti Whātua to Governor Hobson, inviting them to establish the new government, and the city of Auckland, on the shores of the Waitemata Harbour, with the tuku whenua (gift of land) in 1841. This is a different situation to many other parts of New Zealand, in particular the areas where tribes, such as Tuhoe, did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi, let alone gift land and invite the Crown to settle with them. This history is significant because it sets the foundation of a bicultural approach to urban design in Tāmaki Makaurau / Auckland City.

The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, whilst still a point of contention, created a legal framework for tikanga Māori to be protected through the authority of tino rangatiratanga. In terms of contemporary Māori and Pākehā relations, it created the basis for a binational approach to both the protection of the natural environment and the management of urban settlements, including the practice of urban design. Within contemporary legislation on urban development and local government investment, consideration of the binational principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and Māori cultural concerns, is now required. Legislation requires consultation with Māori, and for example supports the practice of kaitiakitanga and the protection of wāhi tapu sites, although case law, which is based on Pākehā interpretations of tikanga in the European based structures of legislation, is divided over how much weight should be given to Māori concerns in the decision making processes.

The legislative requirements are reflected in many new urban design policy documents that encourage the inclusion of Māori cultural and historical elements to support the creation of uniquely

---

[1] Sir James Henare. Quoted in Tauroa, *Te Marae,* Foreward.
[2] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.

New Zealand urban environments. Alongside these changes is an (e)merging of bicultural identities to form a bicultural continuum, or a third space outside of the binary categories of colonisation, and when other cultures are included results in an increasingly diverse and complex mix of bicultural and multicultural identities within the contemporary city. These cultural and legislative changes support a bicultural approach to urban design that rethinks assumptions about culture and identity, which in colonial times focused on an 'us-them' dualism, to one of 'both/and' mutualism,[3] where ideas of European origin are not the only ideas to be considered in decisions about the urban environment.

However, within the practice of urban design there is minimal understanding of what a bicultural approach to urban design might entail. Robust critique and a better understanding of tikanga Māori and history is needed to ensure bicultural interpretations of urban design are not limited to spatial forms, hierarchies, or terms of reference that are defined by their colonial origins and limited to those approved by Eurocentric discourses. To do so would perpetuate the dominance of imperialism.[4]

Since the start of the twenty-first century there has been a focus on improving the design of New Zealand cities, particularly in the Auckland Region, to support population growth through a range of new urban design initiatives. These initiatives have their origin in the European and colonial practices of urban design, although many recognize the importance of including Māori history and culture within the urban design of cities. The *Te Aranga Cultural Landscape Strategy* was developed as a Māori response to the *New Zealand Urban Design Protocol*, and identifies key principles in tikanga Māori that can inform contemporary urban design practices. Fundamental to this is how Māori have chosen the term Cultural Landscapes as opposed to Urban Design, because it better describes their relationship to both rural and urban areas, and better reflects their objectives for the environment of the city.

The tikanga identified within the *Te Aranga* strategy as guiding principles for responding to urban environments, (Kaitiaki, Whakapapa, Mana Whenua, Ahi kaa roa, Rangatiratanga, Manaakitia, Tapu

---

[3] Paul Meredith, "Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-Cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand ", (presented at In Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference, Massey University, N.Z. 7-9 July 1998).

[4] For example: "[Design] through 'imperial eyes' describes an approach which assumes that Western ideas about the most fundamental things are the only ideas possible to hold, certainly the only rational ideas, and the only ideas which can make sense of the world, of reality, of social like and of human beings." Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 56.

and Kanohi ki te kanohi, pakahiwi ki te pakahiwi[5]) are very different in detailed intent and character to the 7 C's of the Urban Design Protocol (Context, Character, Choice, Connections, Creativity, Custodianship, Collaboration). The tikanga of Te Aranga focus more on reinforcing tribal mana by supporting tribal relationships with the land, and the application of kaitiakitanga (guardianships), manaakitanga (hospitality), and rangitiratanga (chiefly authority). These actions further support the mana of a tribe and their ancestors, as well as the *Te Aranga* objective of Te Ira Tangata (the ultimate state of well being) for both people and the environment. All of these aspects of tikanga Māori relate back to the values of wariuatanga (wairua, mauri, tapu) and whanaungatanga. For example, the practice of kaitiakitanga requires local government authorities to recognize the mana of an iwi or hapū of the tangata whenua.

Tikanga has continued to adapt to the changing needs of New Zealand's contemporary society, whilst maintaining its ancestral origins. This thesis argues that central to a better understanding of tikanga and to achieve a robust bicultural approach to urban design is a more indepth understanding of Māori history. In te ao Māori history is an important taonga, that is often tapu, and because it informs contemporary tribal structures and rights to land and resources it is also very political. Māori politics, speaking rights, and authority are defined by whanaungatanga, which includes personal ancestry and ancestral connections to land. Thus, in accordance with tikanga Māori, the historical research for this thesis started at Rangitoto Island, where I have a personal connection.

Māori history starts with the actions of the Māori gods, and is the first of many differences between the cultures of Pacific and European origin. Aspects of Māori cosmology are shared throughout Polynesia, in particular the reference to Hawaiiki as a place of ancestral origin, and a place to return to after death. This is one of many other similarities between the Polynesian cultures of the South Pacific and the culture of New Zealand Māori, which is a product of a shared ancestry adapted to the unique environment of Aotearoa over many hundreds of years. Understanding the shared heritage between the Pacific Islanders and Māori provides opportunities for possibilities of kinship to be discovered and whanaungatanga to be re-established or strengthened within the context of the contemporary New Zealand city. This provides a basis for an ongoing dialogue and for the discovery of similarities and differences in culture and relationship to land and settlement. Understanding the unique and shared characteristics of Māori and Polynesian culture and heritage can assist with contemporary issues relating to the migration to and settlement of Polynesian peoples in Auckland;

---

[5] "[T]he value of working face to face and shoulder to shoulder," MFE, *Te Aranga,* 7.

strengthen whanaungatanga; provide new insights into what pre-European Māori settlements might have been like; and what both Māori and Pacific approaches to contemporary urban development issues might entail.

Māori understandings of cultural landscapes (urban design and 'sense of place') are formed and understood by their relationships between the physical form of the landscape and its relationship to whakapapa and historical events. This adds a new dimension to the process of urban design and new patterns within the city. Tapsell describes how 'the successful marae orator captures this pattern, weaving all the ancestors together into a interconnecting korowai of complementary relationships upon the land'.[6] Within this korowai (cloak) all taonga (sacred items) form a 'single genealogical thread', stitching relationships between earth, sky, gods, people and ancestors together.[7] Critical to achieving a bicultural approach to urban design is the inclusion of these genealogical threads within the urban fabric of the city, and making space for new interpretations of place that strengthen whanaungatanga.

However, this requires uplifting the 'blanket of shame' that covers the land[8] and hides these histories and genealogies. A robust and in-depth understanding of Māori historical contexts and relationships is the most appropriate starting point for a bicultural approach to urban design. However, in a place with such a complex history as Tāmaki Makaurau understanding the relationships of kinship and historical events that determine rights and relationships to land in te ao Māori is beyond the skill and resources of most urban designers, local Councils, and the Crown. Hence, the importance of the Waitangi Tribunal and their hearing processes to resolve Treaty Claims and provide direction for the practice of urban design.

This thesis briefly summarises some of the tribal histories that have shaped the cultural landscape of Tāmaki Makaurau. Many of these events are remembered in the place names and land forms that have endured the upheavals of tribal conflicts, and the wāhi tapu that have been created as a result of these events. These names, which may be all that remains of some important Māori historical sites, provide reference points for uncovering the history of a place and inform urban design processes. What is also both unique and problematic in terms of history, and contemporary tribal politics within

---

[6] Tapsell, "The Flight of Parerautuu," 335.
[7] Tapsell, "The Flight of Parerautuu," 335.
[8] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.

Tāmaki Makaurau is what could be described as being its 'essential character'.[9] The area of Tāmaki Makaurau has always been very metropolitan in character and the home of multiple tribes with significant intermarriage between them, as well as kinship ties to other groups outside of the isthmus. Tāmaki Makaurau was as desirable then as it is now for its natural assets, wealth, and strategic location. As a result, it was extensively fought over, but also had great times of peace supported by mutual prosperity.

Located at a node of canoe travel, what had been the strength and a source of wealth for Tāmaki Makaurau became its downfall when between 1820-1840 it became a highway for Māori war parties armed with muskets on the search for vengeance. But it was this same strategic location combined with its then minimal population that made the area attractive to Governor Hobson for the establishment of the new city of Auckland. Having recently sign the Treaty of Waitangi, the Māori of Tāmaki were happy to welcome the settlers for the protection they offered against further Māori warfare, and the opportunities for trade that they provided. A decision that was also foretold in prophecy, so confirmed in terms of tikanga Māori.

However, the expectations of Māori in the gifting of land and acceptance of the governorship of the British Crown, in terms of the rights that they understood were to be guaranteed to them in the Treaty of Waitangi and inherent in the principle of tuku whenua, were ignored. Instead of maintaining rangatiratanga over their lands whilst allowing for British governorship they lost all control, and almost all of their land. For Ngati Whatua o Orakei, the protests at Bastion Point in 1977 finally stopped the Crown from taking the last of their land, and the Waitangi Tribunal hearing in 1991 secured a physical home for Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei. However, as the story of One Tree Hill illustrates, relationships between iwi Māori and the Crown, and Māori and Pākehā, whilst better than they used to be are still far from reaching a place of reconciliation and harmonious partnership.

A bicultural approach to urban design requires government agencies, and their international consultants, to recognize the importance of meaningful engagement and collaboration with iwi and hapū as expected by the Treaty of Waitangi and the principle of tino rangitiratanga. This requires interaction with the political systems of both local government and iwi and hapū to ensure a robust process of cultural critique, collaboration and shared decision making. This is to avoid resorting to tokenistic gestures and 'shoplifting' of historical and cultural values, a process that perpetuates the

---

[9] Pamera Warner, (Representative, Te Taou o Ngati Whatua) in discussion with the author, 2008.

disempowerment of Māori[10] and a continuation of the colonial structures under the guise of seeking a uniquely New Zealand character. This is why the Central Motorway Interchange and the Viaduct Harbour landscaping, are a step towards "Te whakatinanatia i nga wawata Maori o te taiao," (embodiment of Maori aspirations in the built environment) a primary objective of the *Te Aranga* strategy. However, the Onewa Road interchange does not meet this objective because it lacked the extent of collaboration with iwi Māori required to ensure the aspiration and values of tikanga Māori were met .[11]

The Māori political system of rangitiratanga, with its constructs of hapū, iwi and waka, like the European based systems of democracy and all poltical systems, is subject to fluctuation and unpredictability. When engaging with Māori in the practice of urban design it is important to remember that it is essentially about two political systems interacting; that of local government, and that of iwi Māori. Some of the outcomes sought by both cultures have an element of commonality. For example, Auckland's volcanic landscape and two beautiful harbours are highly valued by both Māori and Pakeha. They are valued in terms of their contribution to a 'sense of place', and the contribution they make to local and tribal identity, urban amenity and sustainability of customary practices. The protection and enhancement of mauri in natural environments is also important to Māori, and the restoration of natural environments even within urban areas is becoming increasingly important to Pākehā.

However, a bicultural approach to urban design needs to include the spiritual, and/or genealogical and traditional aspects of tikanga Māori within the scientific and engineering based solutions used to address environmental issues in the practice of urban design. This, and a deeper understanding of Māori history, politics, and tikanga poses questions and challenges that have the potential to challenge even the most basic of spatial assumptions that the practice of urban design takes for granted. This includes understandings of orientation, scale, hierarchies and view because in te ao Māori everything is connected through whakapapa, and this shapes Māori understandings of space, place and cultural landscapes. This is the principle of whanaungatanga.

Whanaungatanga is what binds Māori society together in terms of defining identities, relationships, rights and obligations between people, groups, and their ties to the land. The principles of

---

[10] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.
[11] Pita Turei (current spokesperson for Ngāti Paoa, and previously a spokesperson for Ngai Tai ki Tamaki) in disussion with author, July 1, 2009.

whanaungatanga are embodied in the structures of, and relationships between and within, iwi and the natural world. It is these active relationships that are recorded by whakapapa and governed by the principles of mana and rangatiratanga that form the core of Māori culture, the structures of Māori societies and their politics. In te ao Māori everything comes back to the principle of kinship for validation and this is more important than Eurocentric based professional expertise when it comes to decisions on land and urban design. Thus, a bicultural approach to urban design cannot be separated from the influences of whanaungatanga, in either historical analysis or contemporary application.

The principles of whanaungatanga, such as whakapapa, turangawaewae and mana, guide Māori cultural and spiritual relationships to the land. Māori spiritual values relate to their understanding of the natural environment, history and whakapapa, which starts with the Māori gods. These values are portrayed in the concepts of mauri, wairua and tapu, and are important to urban design because they also shape how land is perceived and valued by Māori. They also guide how Māori respond to land and the use of natural resources. It is from these concepts that many aspects of tikanga Māori have emerged that inform protocols related to settlement, the use of natural resources and the protection of, or from, wāhi tapu. Examples of these protocols include karakia, rahui, powhiri, carvings, weaving and customary practices in relation to the use of resources. Decision making on how to treat a wāhi tapu, as well as determining the appointment of kaitiaki, and the rights and responsibilities of kaitiakitanga, need to be guided by the principles of whanaungatanga in determining who or what hapū has the authority or historical connection to the site. The treatment of wāhi tapu will vary depending on the nature of the tapu and the tikanga of the iwi or hapū connected to the area. Even with the adoption of Chrisitanity, wahi tapu have maintained their significance, and many traditional protocols have continued in recognition of the fact that the spiritual landscape of te ao Māori inheritated from their ancestors has not changed, even if Māori responses have changed in part to incorporate the Christian faith.

A bicultural approach to urban design must address cultural protocols, values and behaviours as factors explicitly built into consultation processes, including reporting back to the representatives of the iwi and hapū involved[12] to encourage robust cultural critiques and opportunities for collaboration. This is important to all parts of an urban design process, in particular the information gathering and contextual analysis of place from which conceptual design ideas emerge for further analysis and evaluation. Māori values and criteria based on tikanga should form part of evaluation

---

[12] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 15.

processes and where appropriate the authority for making decisions should include both elected council representatives, and representatives of iwi or hapū with the mana in terms of whenua, tupuna and tangata, to speak with authority, in terms of tikanga Māori about a specific place.

Standing on top of Maungakiekie, also known as One Tree Hill, the city looks different to how it is experienced on the low-lands. Individual buildings fade and the landscape dominates. Sites that are far away appear closer because of their visual clarity. In terms of te ao Māori the locations of greatest use and greatest significance were the harbours, the rivers and the mountains. It is from these locations, being those less visited by Pakeha, that the legibility of the isthmus was understood by Māori and relationships established. From the summit of Maungakiekie there are opportunities for interpreting the spatiality of Māori cultural landscapes, and the relationships of city and landforms, tangata whenua (people of the land), events and ancestors in terms of tikanga Māori. This can then enable an inclusion of, or dialogue between, Māori cultural landscapes and the practice of urban design. Starting with the recording and analysis of the landscape from those view points that are important to iwi Māori, as opposed to the conventional plan form of the map. Then through the exploration of how the cultural and physical hierarchies encapsulated within these views, and unbounded by the conventions of scale, can be interpreted and enhanced through translation to the specific sites encompassed or referenced within the relationships that form the view.

The themes of orientation, scale, hierarchies and a view shaped by whakapapa all come together at Maungakiekie. The strategic significance and symbolizm of Maungakiekie is made prominent by its history as the home of influential chiefs, and its physical centrality that enabled maximum control and influence across the isthmus and supported tribal hierarchies. However, it is also important because of the two other factors of whanaungatanga and rangatiratanga .

Across Moana nui a Kiwa, the Pacific ocean, the companion to the obelisk monument on the summit of Maungakiekie stands at Avana Harbour in Rarotonga, a monument established to commemorate the gathering of the same seven waka, as memorialized on the obelisk for their migration to the land of Kupe. It is located in view of the Avana Passage out of which the waka are said to have sailed on their way to Aotearoa. If genders were to be attributed to these two the obelisk that stands upon Maungakiekie would have to represent the man and the Avana Harbour the woman. The analogy is so obvious, but must be noted as it is integral to the concept of whakapapa and whanaungatanga. It references the fact that despite the dispute over when and how the migrations took place, through the process of reproduction and birth the blood lines are such that two nations are linked by whakapapa throughout the Pacific. The obelisk is also an appropriate symbol of how the ancestors that arrived in the waka of the fourteenth century and their descendants asserted themselves as rangatira in their new homeland.

The lack of a tree on One Tree Hill is also an appropriate symbol of the contemporary status of relationships between Māori and Pākehā, recognizing that,

> "… the replacement will have to be acceptable to both Māori and Pākehā, planted in a spirit of reconciliation rather than one-up-manship. If it isn't, sooner or later it too will be a victim of chainsaw diplomacy."[13]

The promise of a future tree, planted in the spirit of reconciliation, also reflects the resurgence of rangatiratanga; the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi; the challenges of a binational approach to governance and decision making; and a seeking of shared values and bicultural identities, within the practice of urban design in Tamaki Makaurau.

The conceptual, spatial, and political challenges to the Eurocentric based principles and processes of urban design identified in this thesis, have arisen because simultaneously present in the urban landscape of Auckland are the cultural landscapes of Māori, with their Pacific relationships, and the urban design elements of the colonial city with its global aspirations. These two bodies of Māori and Pākehā contextual information and knowledge, with two political systems and two sets of guiding principles, have the potential to inform a distinctively unique South Pacific urbanism, which is culturally and environmentally sustainable. To achieve this requires intentionally seeking methodologies that recognize cultural differences and that are not bounded or defined by pre-conceived notions of difference or commonality – providing instead multiple viewing points, differing perspectives, the practice of rangatiratanga, and an open ended discourse and journey along the unexpected, where the past is always in front and relationships are most important.

> Mā pango, mā whero ka oti te mahi
> Through co-operation of the black and red, the work will be completed.[14]

---

[13] Waikato Times, "Old Pine More Than Just a Tree," *Waikato Times,* 28 October, 2000.
[14] Whakataukī / Proverb. Quoted in Papa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2*, 94; Quoted in Brougham, Reed, and Kāretu, *The Reed Book of Māori Proverbs*, 27.

Appendix A: The Treaty of Waitangi 1840

The English Version

This version of the Treaty is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.[1]

Preamble

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands – Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the First

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without

---

[1] Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiritio Waitangi, "EnglishVersion" in "Treaty of Waitangi", Waitangi Tribunal, http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/english.asp , (accessed July 4, 2009).

reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

W HOBSON Lieutenant Governor.

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof: in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty.
[Here follow signatures, dates, etc.]

The Māori Version

This version of the Treaty is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.[2]

Preamble

KO WIKITORIA, te Kuini o Ingarani, i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga, me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani-kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te Wenua nei me nga Motu-na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei. Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana. Na, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aianei, amua atu ki te Kuini e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.

Ko te Tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu-te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangitira ki nga hapu-ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangtiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te

[2] Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiritio Waitangi, "Māori Version" in "Treaty of Waitangi", Waitangi Tribunal, http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/maori.asp , (accessed July 4, 2009)

Wenua-ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini-Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

(Signed) WILLIAM HOBSON, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor.

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu. Ka meatia tenei ki Waiangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga.

The English translation of the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi

Also known as the Kawharu Translation, because it was undertaken by former Tribunal member Professor Sir Hugh Kawharu.[3]

Preamble

Victoria, the Queen of England, in her concern to protect the chiefs and the subtribes of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve their chieftainship and their lands to them and to maintain peace and good order considers it just to appoint an administrator one who will negotiate with the people of New Zealand to the end that their chiefs will agree to the Queen's Government being established over all parts of this land and (adjoining) islands and also because there are many of her subjects already living on this land and others yet to come. So the Queen desires to establish a government so that no evil will come to Māori and European living in a state of lawlessness. So the Queen has appointed 'me, William Hobson a Captain' in the Royal Navy to be Governor for all parts of New Zealand (both those) shortly to be received by the Queen and (those) to be received hereafter and presents to the chiefs of the Confederation chiefs of the subtribes of New Zealand and other chiefs these laws set out here.

The first

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government over their land.

The second

The Queen of England agrees to protect the chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures. But on the other hand the Chiefs of the

---

[3] Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiritio Waitangi, "Kawharu Translation" in "Treaty of Waitangi", Waitangi Tribunal, http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/kawharutranslation.asp, (accessed July 4, 2009)

Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.

The third

For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.

[signed] William Hobson Consul & Lieut Governor

So we, the Chiefs of the Confederation of the subtribes of New Zealand meeting here at Waitangi having seen the shape of these words which we accept and agree to record our names and our marks thus.

Was done at Waitangi on the sixth of February in the year of our Lord 1840.

Appendix B: The Contemporary Iwi of Tāmaki Makaurau – that are recognised by the Auckland Regional Council as Tangata Whenua to be consulted with on development issues.

The Auckland Regional Council (ARC) lists the following groups iwi and hapū organisations as contact groups for consultation on Resource Management Act issues, specific to different parts of the Region. Pare (carved lintel over a door) is used where different tribes can be grouped together because of whakapapa. The term pare references back to the meeting house on Marae, which is an embodiment of tribal descent.

Ngati Wai[1]

	Ngati Manuhiri
Organisation	Manuhiri Omaha Kaitiaki Ora Trust
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney

	Ngati Rehua
Organisation	Ngati Wai ki Aotea Trust
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Auckland

	Ngati Wai
Organisation	Ngati Wai Trust Board
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney

---

[1] List from Auckland Regional Council, "Tangata Whenua – Ngati Wai", Auckland Regional Council, http://www.arc.govt.nz/council/maori-relations/tangata-whenua/tangata-whenua-contacts/ngati-wai.cfm (accessed July 9, 2009)

Ngati Whatua[2]

	Ngati Whatua o Orakei
Organisation	Ngati Whatua o Orakei Maori Trust Board
Local Government City/ District of Interest	North Shore, Auckland, Waitakere, Manukau

	Ngati Whatua o Kaipara ki te Tonga
Organisation	Ngati Whatua Nga Rima O Kaipara Charitable Trust
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney, Waitakere, North Shore

	Te Uri o Hau
Organisation	Environs Ltd
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney

	Ngati Whatua
Organisation	Te Runanga o Ngati Whatua
RMA Contact	Hally Toia
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney, North Shore, Waitakere, Auckland

---

[2] List from Auckland Regional Council, "Tangata Whenua – Ngati Whatua", Auckland Regional Council, http://www.arc.govt.nz/council/maori-relations/tangata-whenua/tangata-whenua-contacts/ngati-whatua.cfm (accessed July 9, 2009)

Pare Hauraki[3]

	Ngati Tamatera
Organisation	Te Runanga a Iwi o Ngāti Tamaterā
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney, North Shore, Auckland, Manukau, Papakura, Franklin

	Ngai Tai
Organisation	Ngai Tai ki Tamaki Trust
Organisation	Ngai Tai Umupuia - Te Waka Totara Trust
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Auckland

	Ngati Whanaunga
Organisation	Ngati Whanaunga Incorporated
Local Government City/ District of Interest	North Shore, Auckland, Manukau, Papakura, Franklin

	Ngati Paoa
Organisation	Ngati Paoa Whanau Trust
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney, North Shore, Auckland, Manukau
Organisation	Ngati Paoa Trust
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Papakura, Franklin
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Waiheke

---

[3] List from Auckland Regional Council, "Tangata Whenua – Pare Hauraki", Auckland Regional Council,
 http://www.arc.govt.nz/council/maori-relations/tangata-whenua/tangata-whenua-contacts/pare-hauraki.cfm (accessed July 9, 2009)

	Ngati Maru
Organisation	Ngati Maru Runanga
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney, North Shore, Auckland, Manukau, Papkura, Franklin

	Hauraki
Organisation	Hauraki Maori Trust Board
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney, North Shore, Auckland, Manukau, Papkura, Franklin

Pare Waikato[4]

	Ngati Te Akitai
Organisation	Puukaki Marae Environmental Committee
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Auckland, Manukau, Papakura

	Ngati Te Ahiwaru
Organisation	Makaurau Marae Environmental Committee
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Auckland, Manukau

	Te Kawerau a Maki
Organisation	Te Kawerau Iwi Tribal Authority
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Rodney, North Shore, Auckland, Manukau

	Ngati Tamaoho
Organisation	Ngati Tamaoho Trust
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Auckland, Manukau, Papakura, Franklin

	Ngati Te Ata - Waiohua
Organisation	Te Ara Rangatu o Te Iwi o Ngati Te Ata Waiohua Trust
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Auckland, Manukau, Papakura, Franklin

---

[4] List from Auckland Regional Council, "Tangata Whenua – Pare Waikato", Auckland Regional Council,
http://www.arc.govt.nz/council/maori-relations/tangata-whenua/tangata-whenua-contacts/pare-waikato.cfm (accessed July 9, 2009)

	Waikato
Organisation	Waikato Raupatu Lands Trustee Company Ltd
Local Government City/ District of Interest	Waitakere, Auckland, Manukau, Papakura, Franklin

Appendix C: Maps from the Waitangi Tribunal's *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process Report, Waitangi Tribunal Report.* **Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct, 2007.**

Map 1: Te Kawerau ā Maki

Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei Area of Interest

Te Kawerau ā Maki 'area of primary ancestral interest'

Te Kawerau ā Maki 'area of wider shared ancestral interest'

Map 2: Tainui descended groups

Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei Area of Interest

Tainui descended groups indicated in red
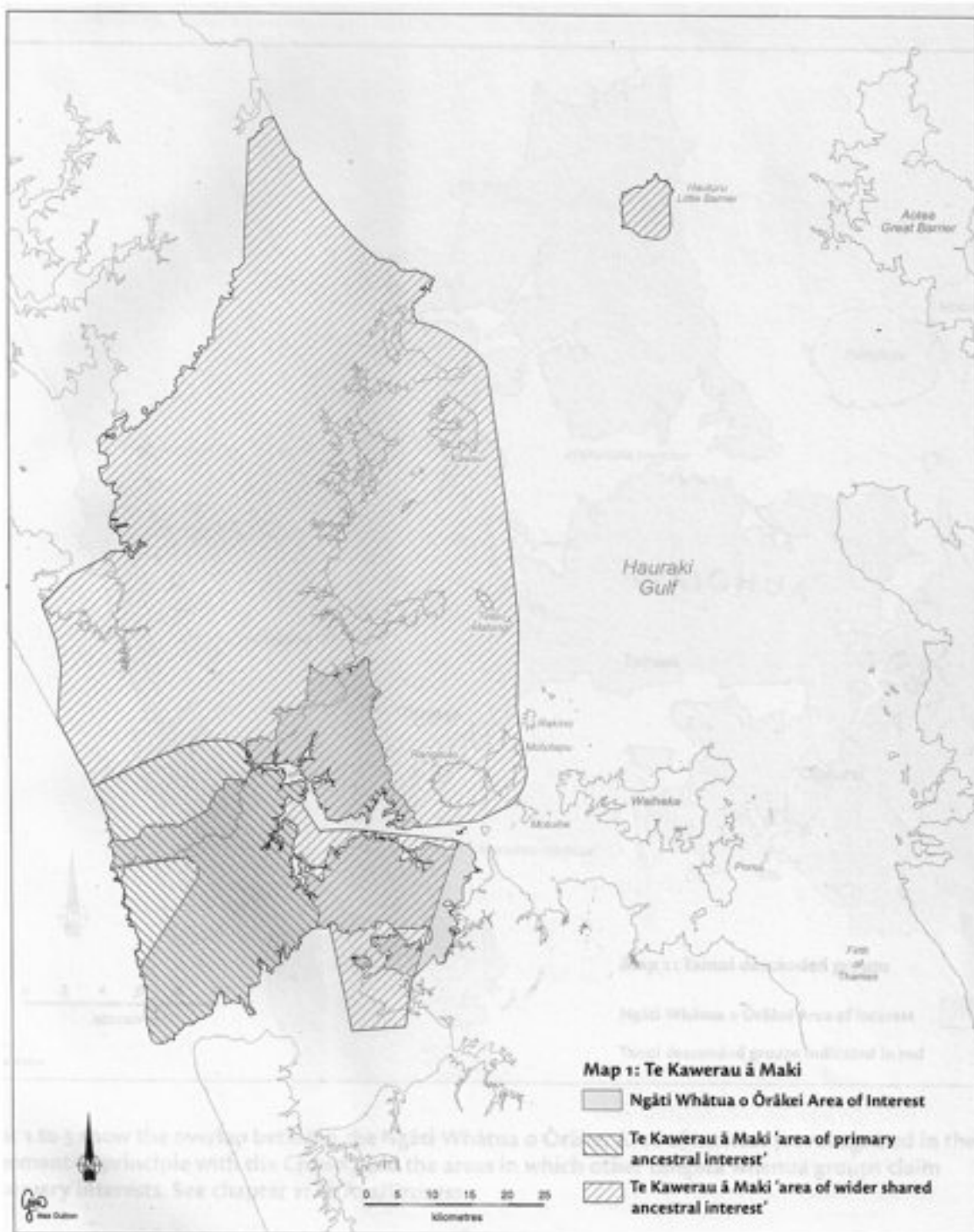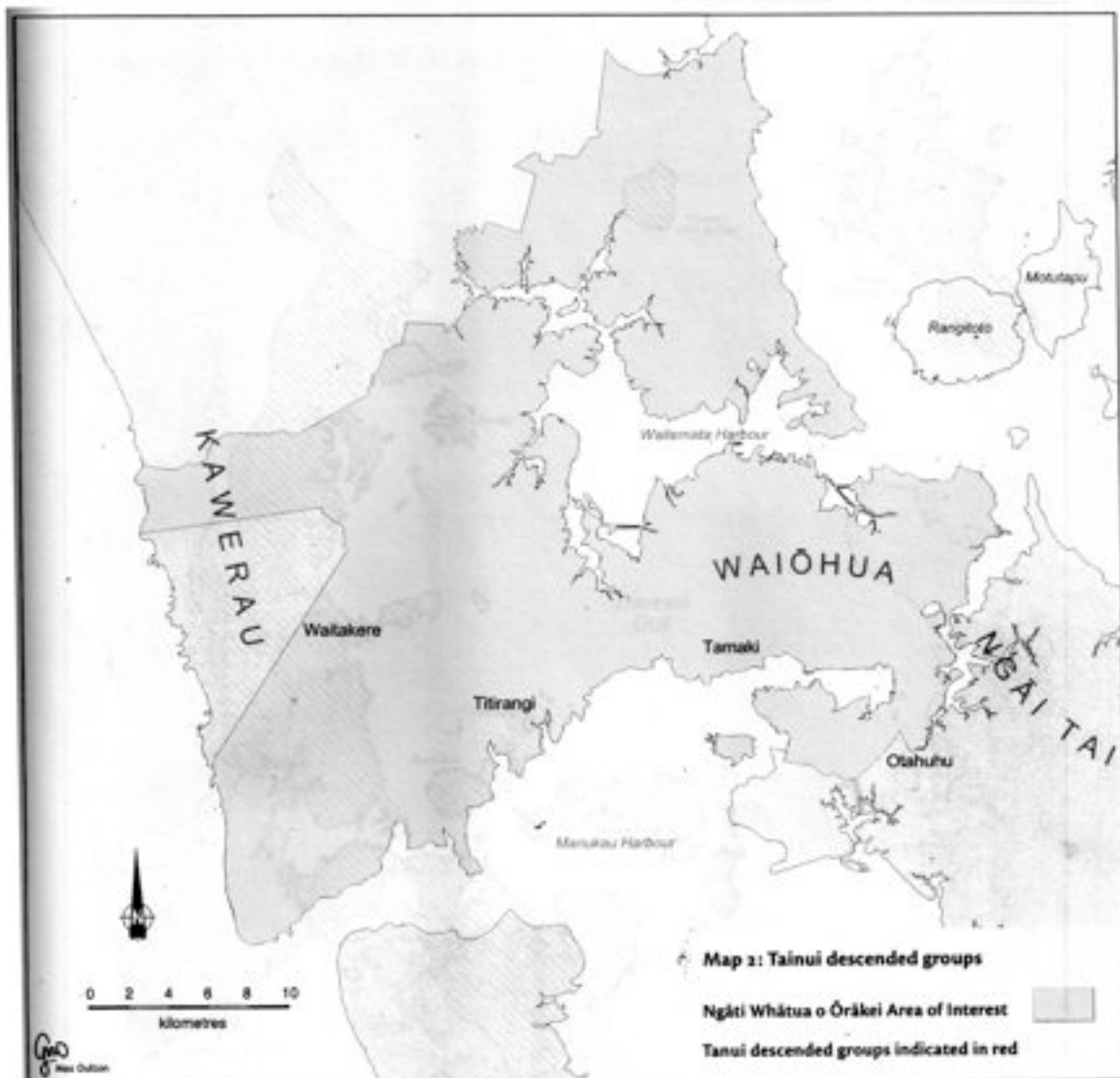
Maps 1 to 3 show the overlap between the Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei Area of Interest (as recognised in the agreement in principle with the Crown) and the areas in which other tangata whenua groups claim customary interests. See chapter 2: Te Ara/Process.

Map 3: Marutūāhu and Ngāi Tai

Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei Area of interest

Area in which Marutūāhu and Ngāi Tai claim customary land interests

Hauraki Gulf

Hauturu Little Barrier

Aotea Great Barrier

Kawau

Rakino

Rangitoto

Motutapu

Waiheke

Motuihe

Ponui

Firth of Thames

0 5 10 15 20 25
kilometres
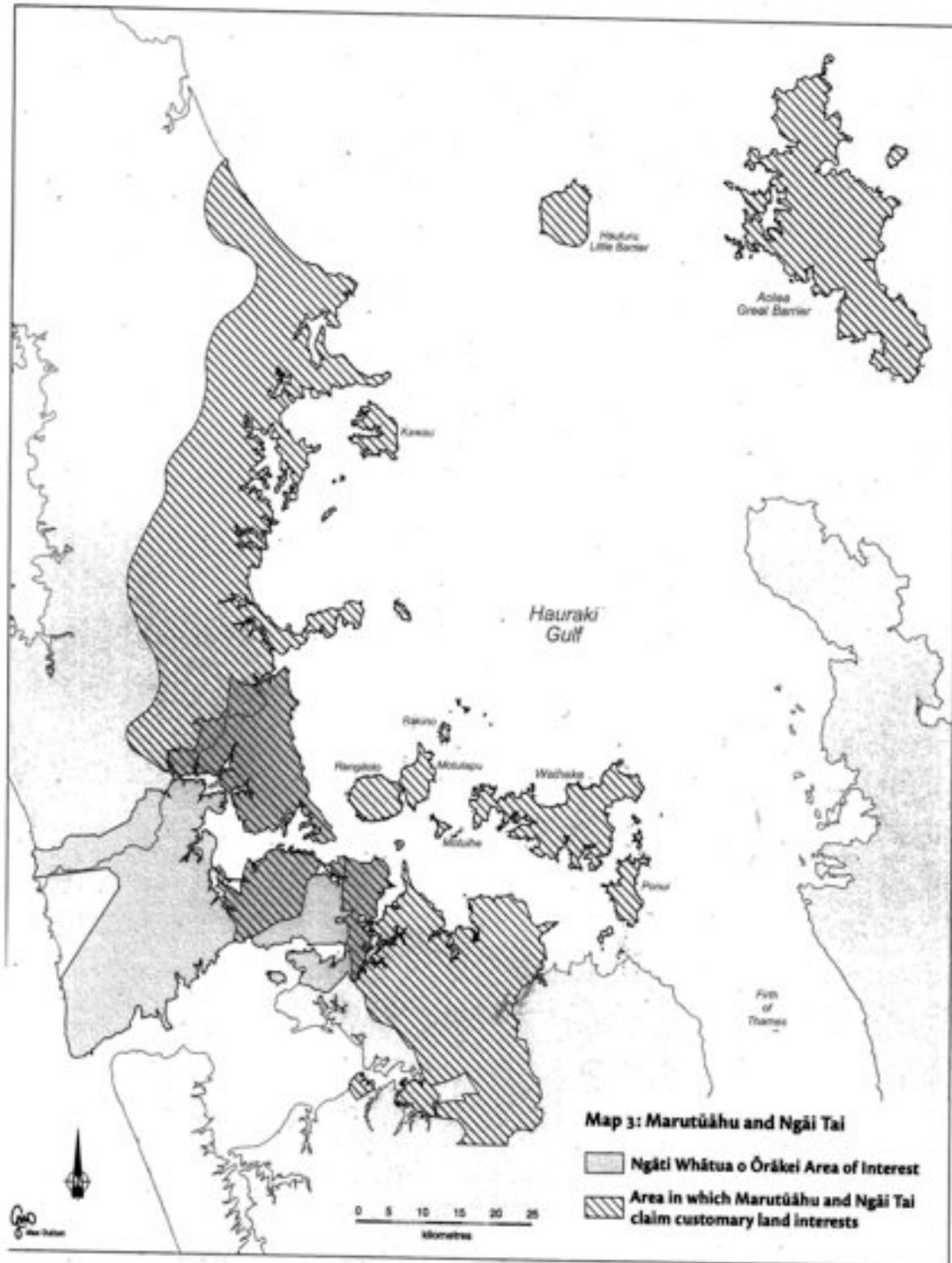
Appendix D: Map of Māori Place names

TE WAITEMATAA

Te Rangi Topuni · Kaipataki · Waikahikatoa · Pupuke · Te Hau · Te Uru · Te Tonga

Whenuapai · Pukekoi · Onuamo · Te Awaru o Peretu · Nga Mahanga · Kiritai

Wakatatere · Te Urupa · Awataha · Onetonema · Nga Awarua · Maunga uika Takapuna

Opuawananga · Ngati te ringaringa · Te Hau kapua

Wai Pareira · Taewhiwhi Kareao · Kohimaramara · Okahumatamamoe

Te Matarae a Mana · Te Onewa · Te Reirangaoraiti · Te Orapu whendiukuika

Te Mataa · Te Routu o Ureia · Te Reuroa · Te Toengaroa · Te Wai a Taikehu

Te Huruhuru · Tukutuuimuka · Waipapa · Te Ipu Paikore · Te Ti turahi

Te Whau · Motutanoa · Te Aka o Te Tui · Maunga Rahiri

Maungawhau · Tilokopuke · Remuera

Oweraka · Maungakiekie · Nga Maara a Tahuri

Te Tatua a Riukuta

MANUKAU
Manuka

Oratia · Waitahurangi · Te Kotuitanga · Pukeapapa · Te Papapa · Rarotonga

Onehunga · Te Apunga a Tainui · Tauoma

Titirangi · Karaka · Paemoham · Nga Ranga · Te rua o Tainui

Mutu Karaka · Te Puneroa Kupenga a Maki · Nga Hau Mangere (Te Ara Tapuri)

Oaloru · Pauroa · Puketutu

Nihotupu · Waikumete · Waitomokia · Nga Tapuwae a Mataoho

Karanga Hape · Otuataua · Te Tukaki tapu · Puhinui

Maungatakekake · Nga Matukurua

MAORI AUCKLAND

240

Glossary – Māori words

ahi kā .... home fires burning

ariki .... paramount chief

ātea ground in front of the meeting house

haka .... dance; or war dance

hapū ....sub-tribe

hui .... meetings

ihi ....
.... to feel an awesome or supernatural power

wehi .... to strike fear or awe

wana .... authority

iho whenua ....umbilical cord

iwi ....tribe

iwi Māori .... Māori tribal

kaimoana .... seafood

kāinga ....village

kaitiaki ....guardian

kaitiakitanga .... guardianship

karanga .... call

kaupapa .... principle / theme

kawa .... protocols

kāwanatanga ....government

mana .... authority / power / prestige

manaakitanga ....hospitality

manawa ora ..hope or life-giving essence

Māori ....ordinary people

Mātauranga .... knowledge

maunga ....mountain

mauri ....essence of life

mihi ....greeting

mokopuna ....grandchildren

ngārara ....reptiles

noa ....ordinary

pā ....fortified villages

papakāinga .... home village

pātiki ....flounder

poroporoaki .... farewell

pou whakairo ....carved post

pounamu ....greenstone

powhiri .... official welcome ceremony

pōwhiri ....welcome ceremony

purakau ....myth

rāhui .... conservation ban

Rangatira............... chieftain, chieftainess

rangatiratanga ....chieftainship

raupatu .... conquest

rawa ....possession

rohe
…………………………………………..
district

taniwha ....monsters

taonga ....treasures

taonga tapu .... sacred things

taua
…………………………………………..
war party

taurahere ....
...... Māori living outside of their tribal area

taurekareka ....slaves

taurekareka ....slaves

te ao Māori .... the Māori world

te reo Māori ....the Māori language

te wero .... the challenge

teina ....younger brothers

tikanga Māori .... Māori custom

tino rangatiratanga ....
.... Māori self-determination

toa .... warriors

tohunga .... priest

tūāhu .... altars

tūrangawaewae .... place to stand

tūtūā .... commoners

urupā ....cemeteries

utu ....payment

wāhi tapu .... scared places

waiata ....song

wairangi ....
.... dream or temporarily deranged

wairua .... spirit

wairuatanga....................... spiritual nature

waka...canoes

wana ....authority

wehi .... to strike fear; awe

whaikōrero ....speech

whakapapa ....genealogy

whakataukī .... proverb

whānau .... family

whanaungatanga .... relationships

whare tupuna .... ancestral house

whare wānanga ...... buildings for learning

wharenui ....meeting house

whenua ....land

Glossary – Gods, Ancestors and Places

Aotearoa . Land of the Long White Cloud

Hine-nui-te-pō ......Great Woman of the Night

Hua kaiwaka .... Hua the Eater of Canoes

Maara Whiu Pungarehu ....The Cultivation Cast Around The Ashes

Mataoho ………… God of Volcanaoes

Maungakiekie .... ……… .. Mountain of Kiekie [*Freycinetia banksii*]

Maungawhau   ……… Mountain of Whau [*Entela arborescens*]

Moana nui a Kiwa ……The great Ocean of Kiwa

Motutapu ………………………… Scared Island

Ngā Hau Mangere .... The Lazy Winds

Ngā Huruhuru a Peretu .... The Hairs of Peretu

Ngā Māhanga .... The Twins

Ngā Poito o te Kupenga o Toi Te Huatahi …….. The Floats of the Fishing Net of Toi Te Huatahi

Ngā Pona Toru a Peretu …The Three Knuckles of Peretu

Ngā Tuaitara a Taikehu …. The dorsal fins of Taikehu

Ngā-whaka-iro-a-Titahi… The carvings of Titahi

Ōkahu Bay ………… [named after] Kahumatamoemoe

Ōwairaka…………………[named after] Wairaka

Papa-tū-ā-nuku .... The Earth Mother

Paruroa .... Long Mud

Ranginui ....The Sky Father

Rongomātāne .... God of Peace and/or Cultivated Food

Tai Tokerau ....[Northland]

Taputapuātea ……….……. Sacred, Sacred Place

Te Awanui o Peretu ....The Great River or Channel of Peretu

Te Hiku-o-te-Ika-a-Māui .. The Tail of the Fish of Maui

Te Ika a Māui ....The Fish of Māui

Te Ipu a Mataoho ……………………The Feeding Bowl of Mataoho

Te Motu a Ihenga ....The Island of Ihenga

Te Pa o Tahuhu .... The Village of Tahuhu

Te Pane o Horoiwi ... The head of Horoiwi

Te Poito o te Kupenga o Taraminuku .... The Float of the Fishing Net of Taramainuku

Te Rangi i totongia a Tamatekapua .....……… The bleeding of Tamatekapua

Te Rua Maunga o Matakamokamo.......... .... The two mountains of Matakamokamo

243

Bibliography

"Now No Tree Hill." 27 October 2000.

"Archaeology." In *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand* edited by A.H. McLintock, 1966. http://www.teara.govt.nz/1966

'Ilaiu, Charmaine. "Fale Tonga Begat Fale 'Amelika." Paper presented at On Adam's House in the Pacific, Symposium in Honour of Joseph Rykwert. Auckland: University of Auckland, 2008.

Auckland City Council. "Cbd Facts and Figures Auckland City Council." Aucklan City Council. http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/auckland/economy/cbd/glance.asp. (accessed January 4, 2009).

———. "History of Auckland City.*"* Auckland City Council. http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/auckland/introduction/bush/default.asp. (accessed June 7, 2009).

———. "Britomart Project: Chronology of Project." Auckland City Council. http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/council/projects/britomart/when.asp (accessed June 7, 2009).

———. *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan 2006 -2016*. 3 vols. Vol. 1. Auckland: Auckland City Council, 2006.

———. *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan 2006 -2016*. 3 vols. Vol. 3. Auckland: Auckland City Council, 2006.

———. "About Auckland City." Auckland City Council. http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/auckland/introduction/city/default.asp. (accessed November 17, 2008)

———. *Designing Great Places for Our People - a Framework for Achieving High Quality Urban Design*. Auckland: Auckland City Council, 2007.

Auckland Regional Council - Te Rauhītanga Taiao. *"*Population and Statistics" http://www.arc.govt.nz/auckland/population-and-statistics/population-and-

statistics_home.cfm. " (accessed November 17, 2008).

———. "Auckland's Growth." Auckland Regional Council.
http://www.arc.govt.nz/economy/aucklands-growth/aucklands-growth_home.cfm. (accessed
December 29, 2008).

Auckland Regional Council, Auckland City Council, Franklin District Council, Manukau City
Council, North Shore City Council, Papakura District Council, Rodney District Council, and
Waitakere City Council. *Auckland Sustainability Framework*. Auckland: Regional Growth
Forum, 2007.

Ballara, Angela. *Iwi : The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from C.1769 to C.1945*.
Wellington [N.Z.]: Victoria University Press, 1998.

Barker, Rosalea. "Will Greater Auckland Stop Auckland Being the Greatest?" *Scoop* 18 May 2009.

Barlow, Cleve. *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford
University Press, 1994.

Barr, John. *The City of Auckland, New Zealand, 1840 - 1920*. Auckland, 1922.

Barr, Mani. *I Ngā Ra Ō Mua (in Days of Old)*. Manukau, N.Z.: Mangere Mountain Education
Centre, 2007.

Barton, Chris. "When History Is on Trial." *New Zealand Herald*, 17 Mar 2007.

———. "Flak Flies over Treaty Secrets." *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 2007.

———. "Politics Crushes Hopes for Justice." *New Zealand Herald*, 27 Nov 2006.

———. "The Battle for Auckland." *New Zealand Herald*, 29 Jul 2006.

———. "Disputed Land Legacy." *New Zealand Herald*, 30 Sep 2006.

———. "Government Orders Hui on $90m Deal." *New Zealand Herald*, 4 October 2007.

Barton, Chris, and Masters Catherine. "Back to Drawing Board; Picking Winners and Losers." *New
Zealand Herald*, 16 Jun 2007.

Bentley, Ian. *Responsive Environments: A Manual for Designers*. London: Architectural Press,
1985.

Best, Elsdon. *Maori Religion and Mythology: Being an Account of the Cosmology, Anthropology,*

Religious Beliefs and Rites, Magic and Folk Lore of the Maori Folk of New Zealand. Part 2. Wellington, N.Z.: Government Printer, 1982.

Bhabha, Homi K. "Culture's in Between." *Artforum International* 32, no. 1 (1993): 167.

———. *The Location of Culture*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1994.

Bird, Clinton. "Britomart Precinct Proposed Private Plan Change - Urban Design Review." Auckland, 21 May 2008.

Bishop, R. "Initiating Empowering Research" *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 29, no. 1 (1994): 175.

Blair, Ngarimu. "Tāmaki - Kaitiakitanga in the Concrete Jungle." In *Whenua Managing Our Resources*, edited by Merata Kawharu, 62 -74. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2002.

Brand, Diane Joy. "Southern Crossings: Colonial Urban Design in Australia and New Zealand." PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2001.

Brougham, Aileen E., A. W. Reed, and T. S. Kāretu. *The Reed Book of Māori Proverbs = Te Kohikohinga Whakataukī a Reed*. 2nd ed. Auckland N.Z.: Reed Books, 1987.

Brown, Deidre. "Foundations of the Morehu." Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, 1993.

Brown, Deidre, and Brian Brake. *Māori Arts of the Gods*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2005.

Brydon, Diana. "Postcolonialism Now: Autonomy, Cosmopolitanism, and Diaspora." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (2004): 691-706.

Bulmer, Susan, and New Zealand Department of Conservation. *Sources for the Archaeology of the Maaori Settlement of the Taamaki Volcanic District*. Wellington, N.Z.: Department of Conservation, 1994.

Buse, Jasper, Raututi Taringa, Bruce Biggs, Rangi Moeka'a, and Cook Islands Ministry of Education. *Cook Islands Maori Dictionary*. Rarotonga: Ministry of Education, Government of the Cook Islands, 1995.

Byrnes, Giselle. *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2001.

Cheng, Derek, and Anne Beston. "Felling of Haka Man Overshadows 'Stand in Black' Campaign."

New Zealand Herald, 10 June 2005.

Christian, Dionne. "Mighty Maui Reaches for the Stars." *New Zealand Herald*, 17 May 2007.

Cumming, Geoff. "A Glimmer of Hope." *New Zealand Herald*, 31 Jan 2004.

Curl, James Stevens. "Urban Design." *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*. Oxford University Press, *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Auckland University.http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t1.e6127

Curtis, Toby. "A Maori Viewpoint Related to Research and Maori." In *The Issue of Research and Maori*. Auckland: Research Unit for Maori Education, University of Auckland, 1983.

Davidson, Janet M. *The Prehistory of New Zealand*. New ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul, 1987.

Davis, Tom, and University of the South Pacific Institute of Pacific Studies. *Vaka: Saga of a Polynesian Canoe*. Suva, Fiji; Rarotonga, Cook Islands; Auckland, N.Z.: Published jointly by Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific and Polynesian Press, 1992.

Dominy, Michele D. "Hearing Grass, Thinking Grass: Postcolonialism and Ecology in Aotearoa-New Zealand." *Cultural Geographies* 9, no. 1 (2002): 15-34.

Ell, Gordon. *Shadows on the Land: Signs from the Maori Past*. Auckland, N.Z.: Bush Press, 1985.

Evans, Jeff. *Ngā Waka O Neherā: The First Voyaging Canoes*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Pub., 1997.

Fenton. "Fenton's 'Orakei Judgment' Native Land Court." In *Important Judgments Delivered in the Compensation Court and the Native Land Court, 1866 - 79* (1879).

Urban Design Forum. "Urban Design Forum", Melcom Communications, http://www.urbandesignforum.org.nz/. (accessed June 15, 2009).

Friesen, Wardlow, and Auckland Regional Council Economic Research and Monitoring Team. "Growth of Auckland Region Dynamics of Population Change 2001-2006: Results from the 2006 Census of Population and Dwellings." In *2006 Census series*, 1 electronic document (22 p.). Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland Regional Council, 2007.

———. "Immigration and Ethnicity in the Auckland Region Results from the 2006 Census of Population and Dwellings." In *2006 Census series*, 1 electronic document (29 p.). [Auckland, N.Z.]: Auckland Regional Council, 2007.

Gatley, Julia. "A Big House in the Pacific: The New Zealand Pavilion at Expo 70, Osaka." Paper presented at On Adam's House in the Pacific, Symposium in Honour of Joseph Rykwert. Auckland: University of Auckland, 2008.

Goldstone, Robert. *The Tears of Rangitoto*. Takapuna, N.Z.: Macmillan, 1979.

Graham, G. "Tainui - Her Visit to the Waitemata and Tamaki (as Narrated by Maihi Te Kapua Te Hinaki in 1894)." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 60 (1951).

Green, Roger C. *A Review of the Prehistoric Sequence of the Auckland Province*.

Grey, George. *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as Furnished by Their Priests and Chiefs*. London: John Murray, 1855. Also available at http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-GrePoly.html

———. 1855. *Legends of Aotearoa*., with introd. By Sidney Moko Mead. Hamilton, N.Z.: Silver Fern Books, 1988.

Gudgeon, W.L. "Maori Deities." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* vol 1, no. 1 (1892).

Hamilton City Council. "2007/08 Annual Plan." Hamilton City Council. http://hamilton.co.nz/file/fileid/3046. (accessed April 22, 2008).

Haarhoff, E. J., Diane Joy Brand, and Elizabeth Aitken-Rose. *Southern Crossings : Waka Whitiwhiti Au Tonga : Conference Guide 6th Australasian Urban History/Planning History Conference*, University of Auckland, New Zealand, 13-16 February, 2002. Auckland, N.Z.: University of Auckland, 2002.

Hayward, Janine. *Local Government and the Treaty of Waitangi*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Hiroa, Te Rangi (Sir Peter Buck). *The Coming of the Maori*. 1982 ed. Wellington: Whitcoulls Limited, 1949.

Hochstetter, Ferdinand von, and University of Auckland Library Early New Zealand Books Project. *New Zealand Its Physical Geography, Geology, and Natural History: With Special Reference to the Results of Government Expeditions in the Provinces of Auckland and Nelson*. xvi, 515 p., [19] leaves of plates (3 folded). Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1867.

Hoskins, Rau. "Te Aranga Maori Cultural Landscape Strategy." Lecture presented at Designing Auckland: A Lunchtime Learning, Auckland: Auckland City Council, 19 August 2008.

Howe, K. R. ed., and Auckland War Memorial Museum. *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors: The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*. Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 2006.

Iriwn, Kathy. "Maori Research Methods and Practices." *Sites* 28, no. Autumn (1994): 27.

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. 1993 Modern Library Edition ed. New York: Random House Inc, 1961.

Jacobs, Jane M. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. London, New York: Routledge, 1996.

Johnson, Chris, and Mark Gerada. *Greening Sydney: Landscaping the Urban Fabric*. Sydney: Government Architect Pubs., 2003.

Johnson, Jay T. "Biculturalism, Resource Management and Indigenous Self-Determination." Dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 2003.

Jones, Pei Te Hurinui, Bruce Biggs, and New Zealand Tainui Maori Trust Board. *Ngā Iwi O Tainui : The Traditional History of the Tainui People : Ngā Korero Tuku Iho a Ngā Tūpuna*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1995.

Kawharu, I.H. "Land and Identity in Tamaki: A Ngati Whatua Perspective." Paper presented at the *Hillary Lecture, 2001*. Auckland War Memorial Museum 2001. Also available at http://www.ngatiwhatuaorakei.com/images/stories/downloads/land_and_identity_lecture_notes.pdf

King, Michael. *Ngā Iwi O Te Motu : 1000 Years of Māori History*. Rev. ed. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed Books, 2001.

King, Michael, and David Filer. *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*. North Shore, N.Z.: Penguin, 2007.

Laxon, Andrew. "Anger Still Boiling beneath New Amity." *The New Zealand Herald,* 6 February 2002.

Llewelyn-Davis. *The Urban Design Compendium*. London, England: English Partnerships and The Housing Corporation, 2000.

London Councils. "Press Release: London's Black and Minority Communities Helped to Have a Greater Voice by London Councils London Councils." London Councils. 14 January 2008. http://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/doc.asp?doc=21605. (accessed April 9, 2008)

Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press, 1960.

Maori, Yvonne Tahana. "Pakeha Put in a Word for the Wananga." *New Zealand Herald*, 25 July 2007.

Maori.org.nz. "Tikanga." Maori.org.nz. http://www.maori.org.nz/tikanga/. (accessed May 31, 2008).

Marasco, Elizabeth. "Cultural Mapping Principles Presentation." Paper presented at Cultural Resource Management Using Cultural Mapping Workshop. Lahore, Pakistan: UNESCO, 2006. Also available at http://www.unescobkk.org/uploads/media/Cultural_Mapping_Principles_Presentation_-_Ms_Elizabeth_Marasco.pdf

Marsden, Maori, and Te Ahukaram u Charles Royal. *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*. Otaki, N.Z.: Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, 2003.

Massey, Doreen. "Politics and Space/Time." In *Place and the Politics of Identity.*, edited by M. Keith and S.Pile. Florence, KY, USA: Routeledge, 1993.

McKinnon, Malcolm, Barry Bradley, Russell Kirkpatrick, and New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs Historical Branch. *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas = Ko Papatuanuku E Takoto Nei*. Auckland, N.Z.: D. Bateman in association with Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1997.

Mead, Sidney M. *Tikanga Māori : Living by Māori Values*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2003.

Mercer. "Mercer's 2009 Quality of Living Survey Highlights – Global." Mercer LLC, 10 June 2008 http://www.mercer.com/qualityofliving#Top_5_ranking_cities_by_region. (accessed June 12, 2009).

Meredith, Paul. "Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-Cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand " Paper presented at Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference, Massey University, 7-9 July 1998. Also available at http://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/hybridity.pdf

Ministry for the Environment. *Guidelines for Consulting with Tangata Whenua under the Rma: An Update on Case Law* newzealand.govt.nz, [cited 8 December 2008]. Available from http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/rma/guidelines-tangata-whenua-dec03/html/index.html.

Monmonier, Mark S. *How to Lie with Maps*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Moon, Paul. *The Struggle for Tamaki Makaurau - the Maori Occuation of Auckland to 1820*. Auckland, N.Z.: David Ling Publishing Limited, 2007.

Murdoch, Graeme, and New Zealand Department of Conservation. *He Korero Tawhito Mo Rangitoto : A Brief Outline of the Maori Historical Association with Rangitoto Island*. Auckland, N.Z.: Conservation Te Papa Atawhai, 1991.

New Zealand Ministry for the Environment. *Te Aranga Maori Cultural Landscape Strategy*. 2 ed. Wellington, N.Z: Ministry for the Environment, 22 April 2008.

———. *Iwi and Local Government Interaction under the Resource Management Act 1991: Examples of Good Practice*. Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2000. Also available at http://www.lgnz.co.nz/library/files/store_005/iwi-local-govt-interaction-rma-feb00.pdf

———. *Talking Constructively: A Practical Guide for Building Agreements between Iwi, Hapu and Whanau, and Local Authorities*. Wellington, N.Z: Ministry for the Environment, 2000.

———. "New Zealand Urban Design Protocol." Wellington. N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2005. Also available at http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/urban/design-protocol-mar05/urban-design-protocol-colour.pdf

———. *Review of Urban Design Case Law*. Wellington, N.Z: Ministry for the Environment, 2008.

———. *Urban Design Toolkit* New Zealand Ministry for the Environment, April 2007.

———. *People + Places + Spaces : A Design Guide for Urban New Zealand*. Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2002.

———. *Urban Design Case Studies*. Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2005.

———. *Urban Design Case Studies : Local Government*. Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2008.

———. *Whakamau Ki Nga Kaupapa - Making the Best of Iwi Management Plans under the Resource Management Act 1991*. 2 ed. Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2003. Also available at http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/rma/whakamau-ki-nga-kaupapa-jun01/index.html

———. *Guidelines for Consulting with Tangata Whenua under the RMA: An Update on Case Law*. Wellington, N.Z: Ministry for the Environment, 2003. Also available at http://www.mfe.govt.nz/publications/rma/guidelines-tangata-whenua-dec03/index.html

New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, Te Ropu Whakamana i Te Tiriti o Waitangi. *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Maori Claim* (2008) Waitangi Tribunal, Te Ropu Whakamana i Te Tiriti o Waitangi, April 1986. Also available from http://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/reports/summary.asp?reportid=%7B6113B0B0-13B5-400A-AFC7-76F76D3DDD92%7D. (accessed April 19, 2008).

New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal. *The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process Report, Waitangi Tribunal Report*. Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct, 2007.

New Zealand Parliament. "Resource Management Act, 1991." Government Printer, 1991.

Ngati Rehua Trust. "Who Are Ngati Rehua." Ngati Rehua Trust Website Design. http://www.ngatirehuangatiwaikiaotea.co.nz/information.php?info_id=2. (accessed cited \ December 2, 2008).

Ngati Whatua o Orakei Corporate LTD. "Ngati Whatua O Orakei." Ngati Whatua o Orakei Corporate LTD. http://www.ngatiwhatuaorakei.com/Tamaki_Makaurau.htm.(accessed January 12, 2009).

North Shore CIty Council. "Proposed Plan Change 30 Urban Design Code." In *District Plan*. North Shore City, Auckland, N.Z.: North Shore City Council, 1 May 2008.

———. *Good Solutions Guide for Intensive Residential*. Takapuna, N.Z.: North Shore City Council 2004.

———. *Good Solutions Guide for Mixed Use Development in Town Centres*. Takapuna, N.Z.: North Shore City Council 2005.

———. *City Blueprint - Setting out a 20-Year Strategy - Managing Growth and Change*. North Shore City Council, September 2001.

North Shore City Council and Auckland City Council. *Good Solutions Guide for Apartments*. Takapuna, N.Z.: North Shore City Council 2007.

North Shore City Council, Auckland Regional Council. *What to Look for When Buying a Terraced House or Apartment*. Auckland, N.Z.: North Shore City Council, Auckland Regional

Council, 2002.

NZPA. "Rat Bones Reduce Colonisation Time." *New Zealand Herald* 4 June 2004.

Orbell, Margaret Rose. *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*. Christchurch, N.Z.:
Canterbury University Press, 1998.

Orsman, Bernard. "Claim Stalls Planting Atop One Tree Hill." *New Zealand Herald* 28 June 2002.

Oxford University Press. *Compact Oxford English Dictionary of Current English*, edited by
Catherine Soanes and Sara Hawker: Oxford University Press, 23 June 2005.

———. *What's in a Name - Place Names* Oxford University Press, 2008.
http://www.askoxford.com/worldofwords/name/placenames/?view=uk. (accessed August 9,
2008).

Papa, Pānia, and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu. A Dictionary and
Resource for Māori Language Beginners*. 2002 ed. Te Awamutu, N.Z.: Te Wānanga o
Aotearoa, 2002.

———. *Te Ara Reo Māori Puna Kupu 2. A Dictionary and Resource for Māori Language
Beginners*. 2002 ed. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Te Awamutu, N.Z.: Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2002.

Park, Geoff, and Craig Potton. *Ngā Uruora = the Groves of Life : Ecology and History in a New
Zealand Landscape*. Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 1995.

Paton, Graeme. "One Fifth of Children from Ethnic Minorities." *The Daily Telegraph (UK)*, 1
October 2007.

Phillips, F. L. *Landmarks of Tainui = Nga Tohu a Tainui : A Geographical Record of Tainui
Traditional History. Volume Two*. Otorohanga, N.Z.: Tohu Publishers, 1995.

Phillips-Gibson, Edith, and Loc Keokatavong. *Tamaki-Makaurau: Myths and Legends of Auckland
Landmarks*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2006.

Pile, Steve. "Introduction." In *Place and the Politics of Identity.*, edited by M. Keith and S.Pile.
Florence, KY, USA: Routeledge, 1993.

Pollock, Sheldon, Homi K. Bhabha, Carol A. Breckenridge, and Dipesh Chakrabarty.
"Cosmopolitanisms." *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 577.

Prickett, Nigel. *Landscapes of Conflict : A Field Guide to the New Zealand Wars*. Auckland, N.Z.:

Random House New Zealand, 2002.

Prickett, Nigel, and Auckland Institute and Museum. *Māori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa*. Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman in association with Auckland Museum, 2001.

Prickett, Nigel, and New Zealand Archaeological Association. *The First Thousand Years: Regional Perspectives in New Zealand Archaeology*. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press, 1982.

Ravuvu, Asesela. *Vaka I Taukei: The Fijian Way of Life*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1983.

Reed, A. W., and Ross Calman. *Reed Book of Māori Mythology*. Rev. ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Pub., 2004.

———. *Reed Book of Māori Exploration: Stories of Voyage and Discovery*. Rev. / ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2006.

Regional Growth Forum (Auckland N.Z.). *A Vision for Managing Growth in the Auckland Region: Auckland Regional Growth Strategy, 2050*. Auckland, N.Z.: Regional Growth Forum, 1999.

Riley, Murdoch. *Māori Sayings and Proverbs*. Paraparaumu, N.Z.: Viking Sevenseas, 1990.

Ritchie, James E. *Becoming Bicultural*. 1992 ed. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers : Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1992.

Rogers, Richard George, and Philip Gumuchdjian. *Cities for a Small Planet*. London: Faber and Faber, 1997.

Rudman, Brian. "Brian Rudman: Challenge to Adidas - Show a Bit More Respect." *New Zealand Herald*, 13 June 2005.

———. "Message to the Race Bigots - We're All New Zealanders." *New Zealand Herald*, 9 April 2008, A7.

Ryan, P. M., and New Zealand. Māori Language Commission. *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori*. 2nd ed. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1997.

Rykwert, Joseph. "The Judicious Eye: Architecture against the Other Arts " Paper presented at the On Adam's House in the Pacific - Symposium in Honour of Joseph Rykwert, University of Auckland, 14 November 2008.

Salmond, Anne. *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. 2004 ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed,

2004.

Sayers, Ross Charles, Eric Walker Dumbleton, and William Norman Hutchinson. *Takapuna Jubilee 1913-1973*. Takapuna: Takapuna City Council, 1973.

Sharples, Pita. "Pita Sharples: Identity Cannot Be Measured in Parts." *New Zealand Herald*, 29 September 2006.

Simmons, D. R., and George Graham. *Maori Auckland*. Auckland, N.Z.: Bush Press, 1987.

Simmons, D. R. The Māori Meeting House = Te Whare Rūnanga. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 1997.

Simpson, Philip. *Dancing Leaves: The Story of New Zealand's Cabbage Tree, Tī Kōuka*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*. New York and Dunedin, N.Z.: Zed Books; University of Otago Press, 1998.

Smith, S. Percy. *The Peopling of the North: Notes on the Ancient Maori History of the Northern Peninsula, and Sketches of the History of the Ngati-Whatua Tribe of Kaipara, New Zealand: "Heru-Hapainga"*. Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1898.

Sorrenson, M. P. K. *Maori Origins and Migrations: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1979.

Spoonley, Paul and Augie Fleras. *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa. *Quickstats About Culture and Identity - Maori* Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa. http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-culture-identity/quickstats-about-culture-and-identity.htm?page=para008Master. (accessed April 19, 2007)

———. *Quickstats About Culture and Identity - Ethnic Groups in New Zealand* Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa. http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-culture-identity/quickstats-about-culture-and-identity.htm?page=para002Master. (accessed April 19, 2007].

———. *Auckland Region Quarterly Review March 2008*. Wellington, N.Z.: Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa, March 2008.

Stenson, Marcia. *The Treaty: Every New Zealander's Guide to the Treaty of Waitangi*. Auckland, N.Z.: Random House, 2004.

Stokes, Jon. "New Haka the Cutting Edge of Sport." *New Zealand Herald*, 29 August 2005.

Stone, R. C. J. *From Tamaki-Makau-Rau to Auckland*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2001.

———. *Logan Campbell's Auckland: Tales from the Early Years*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2007.

Student Learning Centre. "Introduction to Qualitative Research." Auckland: University of Auckland, 2006.

STUFF. "Now No Tree Hill." In *STUFF*: Independent Newspapers Limited, 27 October 2000.

Sustainable Development Unit. "Building Sustainable Urban Communities ", edited by The Department of Internal Affairs. Wellington: New Zealand Government, 2008.

Taonui, Rāwiri. "Canoe Traditions." In *Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, April 2008. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/CanoeTraditions/en. (accessed May 5, 2008)

Taonui, Rawiri. "Polynesian Oral Traditions." In *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*, edited by K. R. Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-), 360 p. Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 2006Tapaleao, Vaimoana. "Tiny School Hosts Huge Festival." *New Zealand Herald*, 13 March 2008 2008.

Tapsell, Paul. "Te Arawa." In *Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, April 2008. http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MaoriNewZealanders/TeArawa/1/en. (accessed May 1, 2008)

———. "The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106, no. 4 (1997).

———. "Papamoa Pā." In *Whenua Managing Our Resources*, edited by Merata Kawharu. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2002.

Taua, Te Warena. "Maori Perspectives on Landscape." In *Reclaiming Our Heritage: The Proceedings of the New Zealand Landscape Conference, 25-26 July 2003*, 232 p. Auckland, N.Z.: Environmental Defence Society (N.Z.), 2003.

Tauroa, Hiwi, and Patricia Tauroa. *Te Marae: A Guide to Customs & Protocol*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Methuen, 1986.

Te Whanake. *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index*. Te Whanake, Māori Language Online. http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/. (accessed June 2009).

The Sustainable Urban Development Unit. "Building Sustainable Urban Communities - Discussion Document." Wellington: The Department of Internal Affairs, 1 September 2008.

Thompson, Rewi. "Orakei Papakainga Towards 2030." Lecture for *Designing Auckland: a Lunchtime Learning*. Auckland: Auckland City Council, September 30, 2008.

Tregear, Edward. *The Māori Race*. Wanganui, N.Z.: A.D. Willis, 1904. Also available at http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-TreRace.html

Waikato Times. "Old Pine More Than Just a Tree." *Waikato Times* 28 October 2000.

Walker, Ranginui. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou = Struggle without End*. Rev. ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin, 2004.

Watson, Georgia Butina, and Ian Bentley. *Identity by Design*. Oxford: Architectural Press, 2007.

Wikipedia. "London" Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London. (accessed April 9, 2008)

Williams, David V. "'Purely Metaphysical Concerns'." In *Whenua Managing Our Resources*, edited by Merata Kawharu. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2002.

Williams, Herbert W., and Polynesian Society (N.Z.). *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*. 6th ed. Wellington, N.Z.: Govt. Printer, 1957.

Wilson, T.L. Rodney. "Forward." In *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*, edited by K. R. Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-), 360 p. Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 2006.