

# Towards a South Pacific Urbanism

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*Tikanga Māori and Urban Design in the Context of  
Tāmaki Makaurau and the Auckland Region.*

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# 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.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> 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’<sup>3</sup> 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 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Aunt while researching this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> 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 origins 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

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”.<sup>4</sup> 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 protocol that they will actively seek to achieve good urban design outcomes in their areas of work.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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 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

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<sup>4</sup> New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (MFE), "New Zealand Urban Design Protocol," (Wellington. N.Z.: Ministry for the Environment, 2005), 7.

<sup>5</sup> In signing the Urban Design Protocol, signatories are agreeing to what principles constitute 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.

<sup>6</sup> MFE, "New Zealand Urban Design Protocol", 5.

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 policies 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),<sup>7</sup> and professional experiences in the practice of urban design within the Auckland Region.<sup>8</sup>

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, 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

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<sup>7</sup> 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 .

<sup>8</sup> 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 Waterfront; 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.

competing interests that urban designers must address in the design of cities. It also reflects the complexity of the urban ecology<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup> 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 that the word Māori became commonly used to describe the indigenous people of New Zealand,<sup>12</sup> who had started in the 1800's to refer to themselves as tāngata Māori (ordinary people)<sup>13</sup> in comparison to European settlers. Tribal groupings, of iwi and hapū have persisted at the centre of Māori identity<sup>14</sup> and despite the significant challenges of urbanisation, tribal authority and many of

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<sup>9</sup> 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 processes 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 interdependencies 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Rose Orbell, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend* (Christchurch, N.Z.: Canterbury University Press, 1998), 29.

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

<sup>13</sup> King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, 146.

<sup>14</sup> King and Filer, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, 217.

its structures have been maintained.<sup>15</sup> 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),<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>16</sup> Auckland City Council, *Auckland City's Long-Term Plan 2006 -2016*, 3 vols, vol. 3 (Auckland: 2006).

<sup>17</sup> 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. Multiplied to the scale of a building or – crucially – a city, this is indeed a political matter." Ian Bentley, *Responsive Environments : A Manual for Designers* (London: Architectural Press, 1985), 9.

and ideological”.<sup>18</sup> 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.”<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> Many of these policies talk of strengthening identity, reflecting character and creating a ‘sense of place’.<sup>21</sup> 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’,<sup>22</sup> 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

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

<sup>19</sup> Bentley, *Responsive Environments*, 9.

<sup>20</sup> 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* (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).

<sup>21</sup> 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*.

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

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”.<sup>23</sup> 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”.<sup>24</sup> 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 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

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

<sup>24</sup> Brydon, "Postcolonialism Now" 691-706.



symbolizing Auckland's increasing 'orientation to and identification with the South Pacific'.<sup>25</sup>

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',<sup>26</sup> 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 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".<sup>27</sup> 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

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<sup>25</sup> Clinton Bird, *Britomart Precinct Proposed Private Plan Change - Urban Design Review*, (Auckland, N.Z.: May 21, 2008), 5.

<sup>26</sup> Bird, *Britomart Precinct*, 46.

<sup>27</sup> MFE, *People, Places, Spaces*, 33.

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 of 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)<sup>28</sup> 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 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.<sup>29</sup> Of greatest significance to this thesis is *Te Aranga – Cultural Landscapes Strategy* (2008),<sup>30</sup> 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 reinstatement, development and articulation of the physical and metaphysical cultural landscapes of whānau, hapū and iwi.”<sup>31</sup> 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

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<sup>28</sup> 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).

<sup>29</sup> 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 Sustainability Framework*, (Auckland, N.Z.: 2007).

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

<sup>31</sup> MFE, *Te Aranga*, 1.

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.

## 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 policies 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 policies 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 (sacred 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.<sup>32</sup> The population of large pa, including Maungakiekie, could have exceeded 1000 people,<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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,<sup>36</sup> or under terms of similar meaning. For example, Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City*

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<sup>32</sup> *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.

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

<sup>34</sup> 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).

<sup>35</sup> 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+Community+Profile>, (accessed June 20, 2009).

<sup>36</sup> *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, s.v. "Urban Design", (by James Stevens Curl),

(1960) refers to how the physical forms of a city can “be classified into five types of elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks.”<sup>37</sup> 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.

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<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t1.e6127> (accessed May 23, 2009).

<sup>37</sup> 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)**

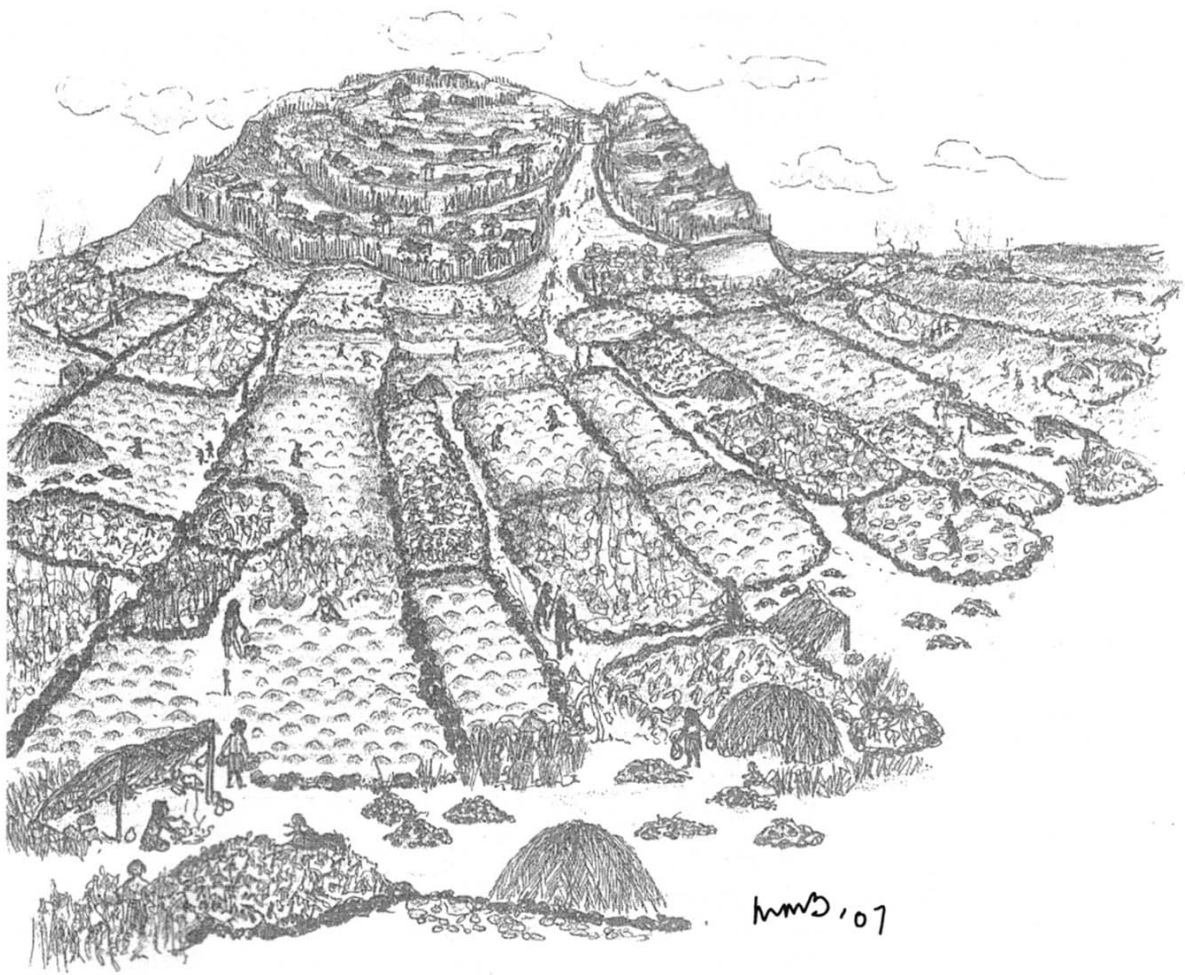


**Figure 2 - View from Quay Street 'water axis' through the historic red fence of the Ports of Auckland and across the Waitemata Harbour to Rangitoto. (Photo by author, 2009)**





**Figure 3 - Auckland central area illustrating the 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))**

