

**CONSTRUCTING THE IDENTITIES OF PLACE:
AN EXPLORATION OF MĀORI AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL
HERITAGE PRACTICES IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND**

By

Elizabeth Dale Pishief

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Abstract

This thesis examines a problem in current heritage practice, namely, the statutory management of archaeological sites separately from other heritage places with the consequent loss of many sites of importance to Māori. It explores places and the different meanings and practices of heritage constructed around them by archaeologists and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand where such questions have not been critically examined in great depth. The study responds to this gap in the literature by setting out to develop a theory of heritage practice that enables the effective translation of peoples' heritage aspirations into a workable model of heritage management in place of the current framework.

The research has used an interdisciplinary theoretical framework developed from the literature of heritage studies and related fields, which builds on Laurajane Smith's work on archaeology and the authorised heritage discourse, but also includes writing on governmentality, phenomenology, kinaesthesia, agency, and material culture. The research design employed a qualitative, interpretivist methodology. Discourse analysis of the evidence gathered from secondary sources, including legislation and policy; and an ethnography of current professional practice in the form of interviews and participant observation, all produced rich findings about heritage, place and practice that are fundamental to understanding the complex issues examined in this study.

The main finding that emerges from the research is a refined theory of heritage. I argue that heritage is comprised of three tangible elements: person, performance and place, which create what Māori respondents refer to as the 'Connect', a contemporary Māori heritage practice related to customary concepts. Heritage is the Connect. The research has led to the formulation of a more appropriate trans-cultural, bi-national governance model of heritage. As one of the first sustained pieces of critical analysis of heritage management in New Zealand, this thesis thereby makes a significant academic contribution to critical heritage studies and the history, theory and practice of heritage management in this, and other post-settler nations.

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Abbreviations

ADG	Assistant Director General
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
ANZ	Archives New Zealand
ANZAC	Australia New Zealand Army Corps
ARC	Auckland Regional Council
B&CA	Burial and Cremation Act 1964
BVCCT	Bay View Community Charitable Trust
CA	Coroners Act 2006
CfE	Commissioner for the Environment
CFRT	Crown Forestry Rental Trust
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
CRM	Cultural Resource Management
CVM	Cultural Values Model
DoC	Department of Conservation
EPA	Environmental Protection Authority
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPS	Global Positioning System
HPA	Historic Places Act 1993
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IHD	Iwi Heritage Discourse
MCH	Ministry for Culture and Heritage
MHC	Māori Heritage Council
NIWA	National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research Ltd
NZAA	New Zealand Archaeological Association

NZFS	New Zealand Fire Service
NZHPT	New Zealand Historic Places Trust
NZTA	New Zealand Transport Authority
Opus	Opus International Consultants Ltd
PCE	Parliamentary Commissioner of the Environment
POA	Protected Objects Act 1975
PVC	Pro Vice-Chancellor
RMA	Resource Management Act 1991
RSA	Returned Servicemen's Association
SPA	Scenery Preservation Act 1903
SRF	Site Record File
SRS	Site Recording Scheme
TCPA	Town and Country Planning Act 1977
Te Papa	Te Papa Tongariro/Museum of New Zealand
The Treaty	The Treaty of Waitangi
The Tribunal	The Waitangi Tribunal
The Trust	The National Trust (NZHPT prior to 1963)
TPK	Te Puni Kokiri
TTWMA	Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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Introduction:

Exploration of place, person and performance

In 2006, Roy Piahama spoke of the frustration, disenfranchisement and sadness felt by his tribe, Ngāti Tamatera, over the legal destruction of one of their ancestral sites:

Gardens, house pits and midden sites (indicating tribal occupation) on the land block next to the RSA at Waihi Beach were discovered. A recommendation to HPT [New Zealand Historic Places Trust] that these sites should be recorded and then destroyed was a total disappointment for Ngati Tamatera! We had not witnessed such sites as these before and maybe never will again! Fortunately we had recorded these sites on video and had our kaumatua interviewed on Te Karere. The applicant was annoyed and accused Ngati Tamatera of trespassing. A last minute appeal to the Maori Heritage Council to review the decision failed.¹

He then compared this incident with the care taken to preserve another heritage place: the old pump house in Waihi. The Waihi Cornish pump house, built in 1904 was moved at the cost of \$3.2 million-plus because it was located on land that was unstable. The pump house is Waihi's most prominent building and has overlooked the town since the days when the Martha mine was one of the world's most important gold and silver mines. There was strong advocacy from the local community, and considerable support from a number of key stakeholders to save the pump house by relocating it to solid ground. Newmont Waihi Gold was obliged by a condition in their mining licence to take care of the building and consequently paid the removal costs.²

These two stories highlight the anomaly in New Zealand heritage management: the quite different treatment of Māori and European heritage places. The broad topic of this research is the management of heritage places in post-settler New Zealand, where heritage management is dominated by a model of 'heritage' which "largely exists within a historical context that has been created by various influences that reached their zenith throughout Westernised societies with the increasing professionalizing of cultural heritage practice in the late twentieth century."³ This model is unquestioned, despite the emergence of dissonant, post-colonial, post-modernist voices that challenge the Western discourse about heritage management, particularly archaeological site management.

¹ Roy Piahana, "Kaitiakitanga of Cultural Sites," *Archaeology in New Zealand* 49, no. 4 (2006). 279.

² Shelley Howells, "Waihi Pumphouse: Move It or Lose It," *Heritage New Zealand* Winter (2006).

³ Graham Fairclough et al., eds., *The Heritage Reader* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008).1.

This research began as an inquiry into why archaeological sites in New Zealand are being destroyed, although the legislation is ostensibly about protecting them. These archaeological sites are mainly places that originated from the Māori settlement of New Zealand both prior to the arrival of the European settlers and during the intermediary ‘contact’ period to the mid nineteenth century. Heritage places with archaeological qualities are managed quite separately from all other historic heritage such as buildings, structures and wāhi tapu, by the Historic Places Act 1993 (HPA), which is administered by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust (NZHPT), now an arm of central government. These other historic heritage places are managed by local authorities under the Resource Management Act 1991(RMA). In order to understand and explain this paradox, my thesis examines the present-day heritage discourses of archaeologists and Māori in the context of the development of heritage protection legislation. These discourses have not been addressed in the literature on New Zealand heritage, which generally uncritically promotes the Western concept of heritage, and is deeply involved with matters of conservation and further legislative control. In a nation that promotes the idea of bi-culturalism it is critically important that Māori cultural concepts of heritage are no longer side-lined, but given the same weight in decision-making as Pākehā (non-Māori New Zealanders) cultural concepts. The central research question this thesis considers is:

What is heritage, how is it practised, and how should it be ‘managed’ in twenty-first century New Zealand? Closely inter-related with this question is: Why are there separate legal and management systems for ‘archaeological sites’?

Subsidiary questions include: What do heritage places mean to Māori and archaeologists? Can understanding the discourses of these two quite different groups, the relationships between the two groups and how they affect each other, and in turn the places, contribute effectively to improving heritage management practice in New Zealand?

By examining heritage and its practices the problem moves from the ‘destruction of archaeological sites’ to the underlying social and cultural tensions within New Zealand, which are currently being ‘managed’ by emphasising Western cultural concepts (glossed as archaeology or ‘science’ and its importance), rather than the meaning or purpose of heritage. This management method elevates one cultural perspective over the other, which is socially and politically inappropriate in Aotearoa New Zealand. The reasons for this elevation and the

consequent effects on people and places will be examined in this thesis. Addressing these questions requires an analysis of the discourses of heritage within their social and historical contexts. This study will examine heritage practice in New Zealand from the perspective of the discourse and schema of two quite different communities: archaeologists, and Māori interested in heritage, to identify what heritage means to them and how they in turn influence official understandings of heritage; in other words, the legislation. This study considers archaeological places, Māori and Pākehā heritage discourses and practices within their social and legal contexts. The information required for this study will be gathered from a series of interviews with archaeologists and Māori informants, participant observation, and historic research and set within a theoretical framework developed from the international literature on heritage studies.

This is not a thesis about archaeology. It is a thesis in heritage studies that interrogates those heritage places that are designated ‘archaeological sites’ in order to examine current discourses about heritage and place in a bicultural post-settler nation. The aim of this thesis is therefore to understand what heritage places mean to two quite different groups of people, and to find a better, more equitable and appropriate way of managing them. That is, my objective is to develop a heritage management practice that provides for the distinctive dual cultures of New Zealand and enables adequate protection of heritage places with archaeological qualities as part of the cultural and political partnership between Māori and Pākehā.

The research undertaken uses an integrated model of heritage that has been constructed from diverse theoretical sources. In the analytical framework employed for this research developed through the following literature review, I set out to explore the relationships between the structures of ‘heritage’, discourse theory, and governmentality in the context of heritage. I bring together and utilise three bodies of writing from heritage studies and anthropology which illuminate the intersection between places, people and heritage in New Zealand society. First, John Carman’s work contributes insights into the structures of heritage and archaeological discourses and the construct of heritage. Second, Laurajane Smith’s work provides the major theoretical concepts and tools: a revised heritage theory comprising discourse, performance, dissonance and politics within a Foucauldian understanding of governmentality. And third, the body of writing by Julian Thomas, Christopher Tilley and Setha Low et al, introduces important phenomenological, material and anthropological

understandings of place, space and embodiment, which are of relevance in understanding an individual's response to, and interaction with, the world and heritage.

Literature Review

The research conducted in this thesis is a critical analysis of the practices of Māori and archaeologists around places called 'archaeological sites' in a post-settler Pacific nation. It is situated in heritage studies, a new interdisciplinary field concerned with ideas about the nature and management of cultural heritage, including the management of 'archaeological sites'.⁴ Heritage studies examines the ideas, methods and underlying philosophies surrounding cultural heritage including its management, and recognises that heritage is closely involved with people and identity, the places in which they live, and the things that they treasure. Additionally, research in heritage studies examines "what happens when heritage management is done."⁵

I would argue that the interdisciplinary nature of heritage studies, in contrast to archaeology, provides a more inclusive and holistic theoretical framework within which to examine questions around heritage practice. Laurajane Smith and Susan Pearce both mention the widespread reluctance by researchers and practitioners from different disciplines to promote or practice a more collaborative understanding of heritage. They explain the tendency, as Smith puts it, "to talk past one another or guard closely their disciplinary boundaries or territories within the heritage field even though there is a developing coherence of an interdisciplinary field of heritage studies."⁶ She adds that heritage issues have been marginalised and are considered irrelevant by heritage professionals such as archaeologists, architects and historians who have concentrated on, and elevated, the technical aspects of the management process. Pearce comments that "'cultural heritage' stands on the cusp of a number of disciplines such as anthropology, economics, art and history." She provides a pivotal understanding about heritage studies that is also essential to my thesis, explaining that "the study of cultural heritage is not developed through the understanding of a discipline, but through exploration of fields of practice, which demands a different mind-set."⁷

⁴ Ibid.1.

⁵ John Carman, *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction* (London & New York: Continuum, 2002).4.

⁶ Laurajane Smith, ed. *History and Concepts*, vol. 1, *Cultural Heritage Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies* (London & New York: Routledge, 2007). 1.

⁷ Susan M. Pearce, "The Construction and Analysis of the Cultural Heritage: Some Thoughts," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4, no. 1 (1998). 1.

Opinions about what heritage is are diverse and controversial, which Carman comments “indicate the continuous growth of the field [and] the substantial challenges associated with existing in an interdisciplinary field.” He considers that ideas about the definition of heritage are divided into those who question the need for a definition and those who are looking for one. According to Carman and Sorenson, one way of defining heritage is to consider it as an object defined by law, or else as a set of practices. It may also be thought of as “a way of interacting with the world when values and associations are used that draw on concepts of heritage.” The debates around the meaning of heritage indicate the status and concern of the field of heritage studies, but they tend to constrain and delimit “both analytical efforts and the recognition of particular social debates.” Carman adds: “the heritage is an interesting and important contemporary phenomenon worthy of investigation.”⁸ These debates are evidence of the complexity of the concept of heritage, a complexity that is often denied by professionals who reduce it to a few principles of heritage management.⁹ He says the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) defines heritage as “our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations,” which emphasises heritage as a physical and passive entity.¹⁰

In 1999, Ashworth and Howard wrote a textbook on heritage management techniques, which is about the management of the material culture of heritage because, they say, generally that is all that can be effectively ‘conserved’. The material culture, they claim, represents “the heritage of people and activities and remind[s] us of them.” Seven categories of heritage are identified: nature, landscape, monuments, artefacts, activities, people (saints and living people like the Royal family) and sites (places with no heritage at all — mythical places like Glastonbury). However, as it is very difficult to define heritage by listing everything, it is better to think of it as a process or a marketing device. The ‘meanings’ that may surround the place or object are of relevance only in so far as they help manage the fabric more effectively. Nevertheless, they acknowledge heritage is closely involved with people and self identity as well as the places in which they live, but problematic because it means so many different things to different people. They make the vital point that if heritage managers do not understand that local people have quite different opinions from professionals they will be

⁸ John Carman and Marie Louise Stig Sorenson, “Heritage Studies an Outline,” in *Heritage Studies Methods and Approaches*, ed. Marie Louise Stig Sorensen and John Carman (London & New York: Routledge, 2009). 11-27.

⁹ Carman, *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction*. 26.

¹⁰ Carman and Sorenson, “Heritage Studies an Outline.” 11-12.

“very surprised at local reactions.” Their definition of heritage is “whatever people want to conserve, preserve, protect or collect usually with the view to passing it on to others.”¹¹ This is a valuable description of the major concerns of heritage practitioners and useful for understanding the schema of most New Zealand practitioners.

In order to explore the concept of heritage more fully there is a need to understand heritage as a cultural construct composed of different ideological and material phenomena for different groups of people, which means there are innumerable possible heritages, each shaped for the specific consumer group. But, although there may be an infinite variety of possible heritages, in New Zealand the dominant Western discourse controls the development of independent heritages and it is this problem that this thesis investigates.

The Authorised Heritage Discourse

In this section I survey major theories of heritage by scholars such as John Carman and Laurajane Smith. Carman explains how the powerful Western heritage discourse has been naturalised throughout the world by the activities of international agencies such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and UNESCO. There are two forms of this discourse, which must be distinguished from one another because they are very different and, Carman warns “it is dangerous and limiting to confuse them.”¹² The first tells us how heritage is done and the consequences of doing it that way. Carman identifies three sub-sets of this form of the discourse: commentary, guides to practice and research, which make up heritage studies. Carman views ‘heritage studies’ as the overarching label for all matters to do with ‘heritage’: commentary, theory, heritage practice, and the theory of practice, as well as heritage studies research. There is no separation of the parts as there is in museum studies, where museology, or the study of museum techniques and practices, is often regarded as a sub-discipline.

The second form of discourse identified by Carman is “informed by an idea of what heritage is for and therefore what practitioners should aim to achieve. It is primarily not about what heritage is, but about what it ought to be.” He comments that many statements about the nature of heritage or its ownership are of this kind. “Elsewhere they masquerade as terms used ‘not to clarify but as a well-worn cliché no one bothers to define any more, a form of in-group

¹¹G. Ashworth and P. Howard, eds., *European Heritage Planning and Management* (Exeter: Intellect, 1999). 10-11; 17.

¹² Carman and Sorenson, “Heritage Studies an Outline.” 11-27.

cipher’.”¹³ This understanding of a heritage discourse that attempts to define what heritage ‘ought to be’, and naturalises concepts such as ‘heritage’, ‘the past’, ‘archaeology’, even ‘management’, provides insight into the vagaries of heritage management in New Zealand, helps explain the present situation, and encourages my effort to theorise it more thoroughly.

The constructed nature of all knowledge is a constant theme in the literature and of particular relevance to this study. Carman introduces the idea of heritage being a construct, saying that heritage is the product “of a process best described as ‘categorization’ — the ability to place things in certain conceptual boxes, separating them out from all other things in the world and consequently thinking about and treating them differently.” He adds, “‘the heritage’ is just one conceptual box — and therefore as much a human artefact as any of the individual things that comprise it.” In an earlier work he defines ‘the heritage’ as “constructed out of various kinds of objects, which are deemed appropriate for heritage status.” There are three categories of heritage, which are arranged hierarchically from ‘container’ to ‘contained’: portable object; building, site or monument; and landscape. But he cautions that definitions which include some things inevitably exclude others and reiterates that heritage is complex, and there is no agreement as to what it is, but that how it is understood depends on how it is approached and what it is considered to be for. It is “all around us, but not necessarily visible to us, because we do not ‘see’ it as heritage.” Although heritage is complex and full of dissonance there is a drive towards simplification and consequently it is often regarded as a realm of relatively few practices. “Nevertheless,” comments Carman, “the issues of heritage involve very difficult ones: these include complex ideas such as value, meaning, emotional response, commodification, and the role of the professional in society.”¹⁴

Archaeology is often closely associated with heritage and sometimes stands in for it. Yannis Hamilakis identifies archaeology as a construct of the discipline itself. It is a construct about the recovery and interpretation of the archaeological record shared by science-oriented and (most) post-processual archaeologists, but, insists Hamilakis, “the ‘archaeological record’ does not exist as such; people in the past did not leave a record of their lives for us to discover, preserve (for future generations), and decipher.”¹⁵ It is the discipline of archaeology that creates its object of study, “out of existing and real, past material traces” expressed through the archaeological discourse. Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett too, considers that,

¹³ Carman, *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction*. 2-5.

¹⁴ Ibid.viii; 2-4; 26.

¹⁵ Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). 13-14.

“disciplines make their objects and in the process make themselves.”¹⁶ Peter Ucko makes the important point that archaeological interpretation is subjective, saying, that “if the equation between material culture and social grouping is ambiguous then so too is much archaeological interpretation.”¹⁷ In this debate about the ‘archaeological record’ Carman cites scholars like Christopher Tilley who asserts that archaeology is a contemporary social act that is not about the past.¹⁸

The constructed nature of knowledge, including heritage knowledge, is not merely a Western phenomenon, but a universal attempt to understand the world, which is produced through language as “the key ingredient in the constitution of knowledge.” Adam Jaworski and Nicholas Coupland explain that all aspects of experience are based on acts of classification, knowledge and interpretation, which are built on “a process of defining boundaries between conceptual classes and of labelling those classes and the relationships between them.”¹⁹ Language is the medium through which classifications are created and therefore reflect the cultural understandings implicit in that language. This means the discursive formations of one language/cultural group, for example Māori, are not easily comprehended by Pākehā and vice versa. The understanding that all things are constructed by the language used is helpful to my study, particularly, as we see below, the idea of discourse as a set of cultural languages which construct social reality.

David Harvey introduces the idea that the performance of ‘heritage’ is not new, but an activity that has always taken place, which usefully reinforces the universality of the phenomenon, and its importance. He considers that heritage is a process that has always been with us and has always been produced, or constructed, by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences. He describes heritage as “a contemporary product shaped from history,” conveying the idea of the subjective nature of heritage, “filtered with reference to the present, whenever that ‘present’ actually is. It is a value-laden concept related

¹⁶ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). 17.

¹⁷ P. J Ucko, “Foreword,” in *Politics of the Past*, ed. Peter Gathercole and David Lowenthal (New York: Routledge, 1994).

¹⁸ Carman, *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction*. 14.

¹⁹ Adam Jaworski and Nicholas Coupland, eds., *The Discourse Reader*, 2 ed. (London & New York: Routledge, 2006). 3.

to processes of commodification, but intrinsically reflective of a relationship with the past, however that past is perceived and defined.”²⁰

Webber Ndoro and Gilbert Pwiti show that heritage is perceived in different ways by different groups. They introduce the understanding that the well-being of the cultural heritage can be threatened by things other than material damage, saying: “Separation of cultural items from their natural environment under coercive circumstances such as colonial occupation may inflict spiritual damage upon the people and cause great emotional stress.”²¹ The cultural understandings realised through the language create the idea of spiritual damage to a site, which enables the site to become a political symbol for the community’s alienation and displacement from their land and culture and a focus for their cultural resurgence. The emergence of ‘Other’ voices and ‘Other’ discourses such as this in relation to spiritual damage to places illustrates the constructedness of all discourse — whether the Western discourse, the indigenous discourse, or the archaeological discourse. This understanding of all discourses as constructed is helpful in showing how the intangibility of heritage is reflected in the cultural discourse, but also that no perspective, no discourse, should be elevated more than any other. All are relevant and yet all merely interpretations or constructs, reinforcing both how complex the construct of heritage is, but also its universality. This provides me with a balanced view of discourse pertinent to the different perspectives analysed in this study, in other words, a discourse that elevates the spiritual over the material is no different from a discourse that elevates the scientific over the cultural.

The Western discourse of heritage, within which archaeology has a pre-eminent position, is nevertheless very powerful and has been disseminated globally. In this dominant Western model of heritage management ‘authentic’ places, sites and objects have ‘intrinsic value’ in their own right and there is an emphasis on the ‘fabric’ of heritage and the processes of recognition, conservation and management. There is tension between the Western way of ‘managing’ heritage, which emphasises the role of the professional and the expert over the local communities whose heritage is the subject of ‘management’. Ndoro and Pwiti attribute this to heritage management in colonial times reflecting the interests of the colonists, not

²⁰ David C. Harvey, “Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies,” in *Cultural Heritage Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, ed. Laurajane Smith (London & New York: Routledge, 2007). 31.

²¹ Webber Ndoro and Gilbert Pwiti, “Heritage Management in Southern Africa: Local National and International Discourses,” in *Heritage Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader* ed. Gerard Corsane (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). 141.

those of the local communities, which resulted in the alienation of local communities from their cultural heritage. But it also reflects the growing professionalisation of heritage management practices world-wide. Heritage management practices in former colonial countries continued after independence through the ministrations of international agencies such as UNESCO with the result that Western ideas and international demands rather than local values have driven the course of heritage management. Ndoro and Pwiti comment:

A new heritage management élite whose values are rather different from the population at large administer new models of managing the heritage. Indigenous views and feelings about the past held by the wider community thus have been disregarded. Western models impose on bodies of cultural material the analytical rigour of categorization, division and quantification in place of the synthetic interpretative modes of integration and association.²²

Carlos Condori speaks of the way archaeology in Bolivia is used for nationalist purposes and how ironically, despite continually protesting “against imperialism and external influences,” it is firmly rooted in a Western ideological framework, which carries “a strong colonialist ideological overload.” He says the white colonisers “take possession of what is not theirs in order to lay the foundations of ‘their’ nation in a past that does not belong to them and whose legitimate descendants they continue to oppress.”²³ Bill Sillar comments that many indigenous peoples are suspicious of archaeology and anthropology because they were part of the colonising process, which described and categorised indigenous peoples. This information was then used by “administrators to deprive them of their land rights and dignity and to re-educate them as subservient citizens or marginalize them at the edge of the social and economic life of society.”²⁴ Archaeology still remains at the core of debates about definitions of indigeneity, the longevity of occupation and the continuity of cultural practices. Harry Allen and Caroline Phillips maintain that indigenous criticism of archaeology is related not only to “questions of Indigenous identity and the quest of Indigenous rights movement for self-determination and justice” but also to “the emergence of CHM [Cultural Heritage Management], which brought indigenous peoples and archaeology into frequent direct interaction.”²⁵

²² Ndoro and Pwiti, “Heritage Management in Southern Africa,” 143.

²³ Carlos Mamani Condori, “History and Prehistory in Bolivia: What About the Indians?,” in *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*, ed. R. Layton, *One World Series* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989). 48.

²⁴ Bill Sillar and Cressida Fforde, “Conservation Identity and Ownership in Indigenous Archaeology,” *Public Archaeology* 4 (2005). 72.

²⁵ Harry Allen and Caroline Phillips, “Maintaining the Dialogue: Archaeology, Cultural Heritage and Indigenous Communities,” in *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 21st Century*, ed. H Allen and Caroline Phillips, *One World Archaeology Series* (Walnut Creek: Leftcoast Press, 2010). 20.

Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith warns that “the ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s colonized peoples.”²⁶ Research is an area of “struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of resisting of the Other.” She argues that the Western research methodology is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of colonial and imperial practices and the idea that research projects are undertaken for the “greater good of mankind,” is naturalised, so researchers believe that they as individuals embody the ideal and represent it as they work with indigenous peoples.

Despite the widespread criticism of archaeology and its association with colonisation by indigenous peoples, ‘Indigenous Archaeology’ has emerged. George P. Nicholas defines it as:

[A]n expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community-oriented or –directed projects, and related critical perspectives.²⁷

It is “an archaeology with, for and by Indigenous peoples,”²⁸ that aims to make archaeology more representative of indigenous communities and relevant and responsible to them; to redress inequalities in the practice of archaeology; and to inform and broaden the understanding of the archaeological record by incorporating indigenous world views, histories and science. It overlaps with other emergent forms of archaeology such as ‘collaborative’ or ‘community’ but remains quite distinctive. It assists with developing a more equitable and accessible archaeology, but Nicholas considers its greatest contribution, in his opinion, is to force archaeologists to consider other ways of thinking about things, which is essential for ethical as well as practical reasons. He encourages its development as a distinct sub-discipline, because “the pursuit of community-based, ethno-critical and reflexive methods and modes of interpretation are much needed in contemporary archaeology,” but he is concerned

²⁶ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York/Dunedin: Zed Books Ltd/University of Otago Press, 1999). 2; 7-8.

²⁷ George P. Nicholas, “Seeking the End of Indigenous Archaeology,” in *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 21st Century*, ed. Caroline Phillips and H. Allen (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010). 234. Nicholas (Citing Nicholas 2008: 1660.) defines Indigenous Archaeology in a number of ways:

- The active participation or consultation of indigenous peoples in archaeology.
- A political statement concerned with issues of self-government, sovereignty, land rights, identity and heritage.
- A postcolonial enterprise designed to decolonise the discipline.
- A manifestation of indigenous epistemologies.
- The basis for alternative models of cultural heritage management or stewardship.
- The product of choices and actions made by individual archaeologists.
- A means of empowerment and cultural revitalisation or political resistance.
- An extension, evaluation, critique or application of current archaeological theory

²⁸ Ibid. 233; 234.

that it is developing outside mainstream archaeology and advocates for it to be incorporated into the discipline so that it is not marginalised.²⁹ He urges Indigenous knowledge and practice to be integrated into archaeology, while Indigenous archaeologies maintain separate identities. He usefully suggests that there is no inconsistency with the idea that both can exist together and that an inclusive, non-dichotomous approach is possible and mutually beneficial as well as ethically imperative.³⁰

An essential element of the theoretical framework for this thesis comes from Australian scholar Laurajane Smith. Smith explains in *Uses of Heritage* that there is “a hegemonic ‘authorised heritage discourse,’ [AHD] which is reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts and institutionalised in state cultural agencies and amenity societies.”³¹ She analyses this dominant discourse about heritage that focuses on ‘things’ and works to naturalise a range of ideas and assumptions about heritage. The AHD “focuses the attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations ‘must’ care for, protect and revere,” writes Smith, “so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their ‘education’ and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past.”³² The legitimate spokespeople for the past are ‘experts’ such as architects, archaeologists and historians, and it is they alone who have the necessary skills and knowledge to understand the innate value in historically important sites and places.

According to the AHD, as Smith describes it, the material heritage symbolically represents ‘identity’, promotes the values of the élite social classes (thereby alienating other social and cultural groups) and excludes competing discourses through its traditional conception of heritage as a discrete object that can be physically identified, surveyed, mapped, recorded and placed in a site register. This physical classification “helps to reduce the social, cultural or historical conflicts about the meaning, value, or nature of heritage, or more broadly the past, into discrete and specific conflicts over individual sites and, or technical issues of site management.”³³ She notes that the AHD is a “professional discourse that privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations, dominates and regulates professional heritage practice.” The scientific discourse of archaeological theory assists with

²⁹ Ibid. 233.

³⁰ Ibid. 240; 242; 246.

³¹ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006). 30.

³² ———, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004). 2.

³³ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. 31.

maintaining the sense of expertise that ensures archaeology a privileged position in debates about heritage, which has political implications.³⁴

A crucial aspect of the AHD is the idea of ‘significance’ which rests on the assumption of an inherent characteristic. Joseph Tainter and John Lucas say the concept is from the empiricist-positivist school of Western philosophical thought, which considers that all phenomena have meanings or significance somehow inherent in some sense within themselves. It assumes that all experiences are, or can be ‘objective’ so the meaning should be evident regardless of the perspective/biases of the observer and will not change through time. The idea that science is objective and theory-neutral cannot be sustained because scientific disciplines repeatedly change, and the basic idea of the object being studied also changes. “Phenomena do not possess inherent or primary meanings to be discovered,” they explain, “any phenomenon ... is assigned meaning by the human mind, and it may be assigned as many different meanings as the investigator chooses to give it.”³⁵ Timothy Darvill too, deals with the various values held by people, specifically with regard to the archaeological heritage explaining they are not ‘received’, but result from a persistent and never-ending competition for what is relevant and what is acceptable. Knowledge is very important both for forming values and stimulating change in values.³⁶ He identifies three main value gradients: use value, based on present requirements; option value, based on future possibilities; and existence value, which acknowledges value ‘because it is there’.

Smith maintains the Venice Charter of 1964 is the “canonical text of modern ‘heritage’ practices,” which “reinforces the conservation ethic and stresses one of the key principles of heritage management: that the cultural significance of a site, building, artefact or place must determine its use and management.” When UNESCO adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* in 1972 the heritage discourse was developed and further institutionalised the nineteenth century conservation ethic and the ‘conserve as found’ ethos. She argues: “Under this convention, heritage is not only monumental, it is universally significant with universal meaning, and it is, ultimately

³⁴ ———, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. 2.

³⁵ Joseph A. Tainter and G. John Lucas, “Epistemology of the Significance Concept,” in *Cultural Heritage*, ed. Laurajane Smith (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007). 307-8, citing Hill and Evans.

³⁶ Timothy Darvill, “Value Systems and the Archaeological Resource,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 1, no. 1 (1994). 13.

physically tangible and imposing. The idea of ‘authenticity’ is also significant in this convention, and in many ICOMOS charters.”³⁷

But the emphasis on the authenticity of the original and historical legibility is a Western concern. In China, Denis Byrne notes, the emphasis is on the spirit of the place.³⁸ Julie Lahn too, identifies the preoccupation of Western archaeologists and museums with objects or ‘things’ that are considered to be ‘authentic’. These things are generally from the past and represent the ‘Other’. It is through a process of ‘fetishisation’ that ‘things’ obtain an apical status in the archaeological and wider scientific community.³⁹ Authenticity is a form of cultural discrimination projected onto objects.

Thus the core concepts of the AHD emerged from Western ideas developed during the nineteenth century at a time of European global expansion, and they have since become entrenched in international heritage discourse through the agency of UNESCO and ICOMOS in the twentieth century. Although UNESCO has developed a ‘World Heritage List’ for the protection of intangible heritage, this list and its contents, are firmly embedded in the Western model of heritage management and reinforce and naturalise the Western heritage discourse, which still retains conceptions of the superiority of European elite traditions and institutions. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett argues that even though this is a list of the intangible, it does not include minority, indigenous intangible culture, but “cultural forms associated with state-sponsored temples and royal courts as long as they are not European,” which preserves the distinction between the West and the ‘rest’.⁴⁰ The imperialism of the nineteenth century is just below the surface. Indeed, Ucko suggests UNESCO’s promotion of the idea of the universal significance of archaeological sites and international concern for the archaeological heritage of other countries (exemplified in the World Heritage List) may have imperialist underpinnings.⁴¹ This usefully points to the naturalisation of such views in post-settler New Zealand, which in my view uncritically accepts the authority of agencies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS thereby promoting the AHD as a universal phenomenon.

³⁷ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. 26-7.

³⁸ Denis Byrne, “Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management,” in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson Jnr., John Schofield, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 54, citing Wei and Aass 1989:8.

³⁹ Julie Lahn, “Finders Keepers, Losers Weepers: A ‘Social History’ of the Kow Swamp Remains,” in *Cultural Heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, ed. Laurajane Smith (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007). 365-7.

⁴⁰ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Exhibitionary Complexes,” in *Museum Frictions Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp, et al. (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2006). 164-5.

⁴¹ Byrne, “Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management.” xii-xiii.

I have found the concept of governmentality developed by Michel Foucault a useful tool for critically assessing heritage legislation and the effect of individuals and disciplines on the management of heritage places in a post-settler nation. Thomas Lemke explains that Foucault defines government “as conduct, or ... ‘the conduct of conduct’ ... a term which ranges from ‘governing the self’ to ‘governing others’. ... [He] endeavors to show how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other’s emergence.” As Lemke puts it, Foucault insists that:

We must distinguish the relationships of power as strategic games between liberties — strategic games that result in the fact that some people try to determine the conduct of others — and the states of domination, which are what we ordinarily call power. And, between the two, between the games of power and the states of domination, you have governmental technologies.⁴²

Governmentality theory thus provides a clear way of thinking about heritage discourse. Stuart Hall remarks that “Foucault observed, ‘there is no power relation without the relative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute ... power relations’.”⁴³ Tony Bennett in turn emphasises that governmentality is not limited to the actions of state or state-funded institutions, but is concerned with the “regulation of conduct which spans public-private relations of ownership and state/civil society distinctions.”⁴⁴ Additionally Foucault’s conception of contingency, as well as his determination to unravel not so much the causes of the problem but the way the problem has arisen through a series of contingent events, can be applied to the problem of heritage management in New Zealand.

Laurajane Smith writes that there were several developments and events in the 1960s and 1970s that facilitated the use of archaeology in terms of what Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller call ‘a technology of government’, which, she says, is “the process whereby the knowledge, techniques, procedures and so on of a particular discipline become mobilised in the regulation of populations.”⁴⁵ These events included the debate about whether the material resource was someone’s heritage or an archaeological resource, which was connected with assertive

⁴² Thomas Lemke, “Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique,” *Rethinking Marxism* 14, no. 3 (2002).

⁴³ Stuart Hall, “Whose Heritage? Unsettling ‘the Heritage’, Re-Imagining the Post-Nation,” in *The Politics of Heritage: Legacies of ‘Race’*, ed. Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo (London & New York: Routledge, 2005). 73, citing: Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

⁴⁴ Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*, ed. Flora Kaplan Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museum Meanings* (London & New York: Routledge, 2004). 8.

⁴⁵ Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. 2, citing: Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, “Political Power Beyond the State: Problematics of Government,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (1992). 175

indigenous political movements that were creating new social tensions for ‘post-colonial’ states. The second development was the concern to conserve and preserve the ‘past’ that was gathering impetus in Western nations at the same time. The final development was that archaeologists became active players in the debate about the need to conserve the past and lobbied government for legislation to protect what came to be called the ‘archaeological resource’. Associated with these developments was the emergence of the ‘New Archaeology’ or processual archaeology, which promoted itself as a rational, scientific and objective discourse; the professionalisation of archaeology; and the development of Cultural Resource Management (CRM). (Thomas King tells us this is the term often used to define “doing archaeology in connection with development and land use, under various ... laws.”)⁴⁶ These events created an opportunity to develop not only a formalised role for archaeological engagement with the governance of identity, but also an explicit role that became institutionalised through state bureaucracies and heritage agencies.⁴⁷

Other scholars comment on this point that the dominance of Western hegemony allows Europeans to promote their own heritage over that of subordinate groups thus creating the national identity in their own image.⁴⁸ Ucko, for example, draws attention to the political nature of archaeology saying “most archaeologists seem to think that an objective study of the past is possible and that they themselves are engaged in it. In fact archeology is a highly political practice.”⁴⁹ Smith agrees, writing that “through CRM archaeology becomes actively involved in the politics of cultural identity, which has profound consequences not only for the discipline itself, but also for those who define the ‘things’ that are ‘managed’ by archaeologists as part of their cultural heritage.”⁵⁰ She asserts that the archaeological discipline “must continue a discourse informed by ‘processual science’ if its position as a technology of government, and its role in governing cultural identity, is to be maintained.”⁵¹ It is depoliticised by the idea that as it is a rationalist construction it operates above competing interests.⁵²

⁴⁶ Thomas F King, *Doing Archaeology: A Cultural Resource Management Perspective* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2005). 12-13.

⁴⁷ Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. 4-6.

⁴⁸ Byrne, “Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management.” 229.

⁴⁹ Ucko, “Foreword.” viii.

⁵⁰ Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. 2.

⁵¹ Ibid. 3.

⁵² Ibid. 10.

Another scholar who offers a political critique along these lines is Harvey who suggests that understanding “the historically contingent and embedded nature of heritage allows us to go beyond treating heritage simply as a set of problems to be solved, and enables us to engage with debates about the production of identity, power and authority throughout society.”⁵³ He contends that knowledge of the past should be seen as a political resource and that the control and interpretation of a particular version of the past is related to power differentiation and the legitimisation of authority. “The past is essential to identity,” he claims, “and its manipulation to create apparently ‘natural’ interpretations of history is central to the formation of power relationships and the maintenance of authority.” Harvey thinks that “the notions of identity, ritual and belief that sustain the structure of authority are inevitably founded upon contemporary views of heritage, and senses of the past.”⁵⁴ These theories can readily be applied to my study. The AHD can be seen as the naturalised Western discourse used as a political management tool, reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts and institutionalised in state cultural agencies and amenity societies such as UNESCO or, in New Zealand, NZHPT, and supported to a large extent by the élite middle-classes described by Raymond Williams as ‘the tea-shop people’ who promote their construction of heritage.⁵⁵

Lahn draws a parallel with archaeologists claiming that they express their power and authority to define prehistory through ownership of inalienable possessions, which ensures a ‘legitimation’ of the knowledge created or held by a particular group or individual and perpetuates the inequality of power. She discusses Weiner’s concept of inalienable possessions; to own an inalienable possession boosts one’s political power and enhances professional opportunities. Possession can also empower and build a group identity to which the individual belongs. The object becomes a ‘cultural appendage’, an integral part of the controlling group. Weiner writes that “the person or group that controls (and thus defines) the movement and meaning of such objects inherits an authority and a power over others.”⁵⁶ These ideas about objects as cultural appendages, or an integral part of the controlling group, can equally be applied to heritage places.

⁵³ Harvey, “Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies.” 25.

⁵⁴ David C. Harvey, “Continuity, Authority and the Place of Heritage in the Medieval World,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 26, no. 1 (2000). 48-50.

⁵⁵ Raymond Williams, “Culture Is Ordinary,” in *Studying Culture: An Introductory Reader*, ed. Jim McGuigan and Ann Gray (London, New York: Arnold, 1997). 7. Williams describes the conservative ‘respectable’ middle class as ‘tea shop’ people — those who are secure in their world and with time on their hands.

⁵⁶ Lahn, “Finders Keepers, Losers Weepers: A ‘Social History’ of the Kow Swamp Remains.” 383-5.

Comparable analyses have been undertaken of museums that are relevant to heritage institutions. For example, Fiona Cameron points out that museums are “an institutional form that is primarily disciplinary working alongside others, where normative values and relations are expressed and legitimated, and as sites for managing citizens’ actions and beliefs.”⁵⁷ In response to this more static, disciplinary, managerial system she introduces the concept of ‘liquid governmentalities’,⁵⁸ as a relevant way of analysing the mobility, complexity and uncertainty of contemporary society and institutions. She asserts that this is a way of conceiving governmentality as a dynamic process rather than as a search for meaning, which moves attention from the meaning of governmentalities to considering ways of proceeding and how institutions can and might contribute to these changes.⁵⁹ Cameron’s concept of liquid governmentalities adds to, and links with, emerging ideas of heritage.

Heritage Revised

Having reviewed the political analysis of heritage discourse, I turn now to survey new writing which attempts to revise the theory of heritage. Heritage is complex and carries conflicting meanings which are simultaneously embedded in the memories and the identities of multifarious communities as well as being imposed from above. Rodney Harrison reminds us that heritage management takes two forms: official heritage (top-down) and unofficial or community heritage (bottom up).⁶⁰ In 2000, a review undertaken by English Heritage for the British government identified tension between the ‘authority’ role of the state in archaeological site protection and the demands from people (in an increasingly diverse and multi-cultural Britain) to create their own engagement with the past.⁶¹ Roger Thomas notes the need for everybody’s heritage to be recognised in a multi-cultural society and makes the essential point “that heritage is a very personal matter, that the relevance of heritage to individuals is a key issue and that heritage has a major contribution to make to meaning in people’s lives today.”⁶²

⁵⁷ Fiona Cameron, “Liquid Governmentalities, Liquid Museums and the Climate Crisis,” in *Hot Topics, Public Culture, Museums*, ed. Fiona Cameron and Lynda Kelly (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2010).

⁵⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, “Education in Liquid Modernity,” *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 27, no. 4 (2005).

⁵⁹ Cameron, “Liquid Governmentalities, Liquid Museums and the Climate Crisis.”

⁶⁰ Rodney Harrison, “What Is Heritage?,” in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, ed. Rodney Harrison, *Understanding Global Heritage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press/The Open University, 2010). 5-42.

⁶¹ MORI, “Survey of People’s Attitude to the Historic Environment,” (English Heritage, 2000).

⁶² Roger M Thomas, “Archaeology and Authority in the Twenty-First Century,” in *Public Archaeology*, ed. Nick Merriman (London: Routledge, 2004). 196.

Likewise, Paul Shackel describes how the past is remembered through landscapes, monuments, commemorative ceremonies and archaeology; these help to create an official public memory that becomes part of a group's heritage. He thinks that public memory can be established by: forgetting about or excluding an alternative past; creating and reinforcing patriotism; and/or developing a sense of nostalgia to legitimise a particular heritage. Important issues that show how public memory develops are the parts of the past that are remembered and how they are remembered and interpreted: "Memories can serve individual or collective needs and can validate the holders' version of the past. In the public arena they can be embedded in power to serve the dominant culture by supporting existing social inequalities."⁶³

Similarly, Harvey discusses Pierre Nora's distinction between an élite institutionalised memory preserved in the archives, and the memory of ordinary people, unrecorded and ingrained in the unspoken traditions and habits of everyday life. Rather than seeing this 'traditional memory' as something that has ended and been defeated by 'false heritage', Nora sees it as having been transformed (partly by technological and archival development) and democratised. In this light, rather than viewing heritage as a false, distorted history imposed on the 'masses', we can view heritage sites as forming one link in a chain of popular memory.⁶⁴ Raymond Williams objects to the concept of 'the masses' saying: "there are in fact no masses, but only ways of seeing people as masses ... tempting to mass them, as 'the others'."⁶⁵

We rely on memory to give meaning to our lives, to tell us who we are, what we need to do, how to do it, where we belong and how to live with other people. Collective memory "is not a metaphor but a social reality transmitted and sustained through the conscious efforts and institutions of groups."⁶⁶ But memory, whether individual or collective, is constructed and reconstructed by the dialectics of remembering and forgetting, shaped by semantic and interpretive frames, and subject to a panoply of distortion. "Memories are not replicas or documentaries of events, they are interpretations," comment Climo and Cattell, "human memory is highly constructed and individuals' sense of self and identity results from

⁶³ Paul A Shackel, "Public Memory and the Search for Power in American Historical Archaeology," in *Cultural Heritage Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, ed. Laurajane Smith (London & New York: Routledge, 2007). 307.

⁶⁴ Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies." 26.

⁶⁵ Williams, "Culture Is Ordinary." 11.

⁶⁶ Jacob J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell, eds., *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2002). 4, citing Halbwachs n.d.

narrative constructions integrating the past, present and future. Memory is tightly connected with emotions.”⁶⁷

Memory is needed to make amends for the passing of time which obliterates everything. The results of human creativity such as design, art, sonnets, fiction, archaeology are, Peter Conrad asserts “our personal victory over the past ... for even the obscurest of individuals is not irrevocably dead so long as he or she is remembered: hence ... monuments ... a slab of sandstone, [or] the fragile papery entablature of a sonnet.” He remarks that historians see the past from a distance while fiction brings it alive, because “literary characters are always alive.”⁶⁸ This idea of the importance of ‘art’ as an antidote to ‘science’ is reinforced by Nicholas Shakespeare’s discussion of remembering and forgetting: “History needs to forget as much as fiction needs to remember and in that intersection there should be ample space to build an open house — a monument of competing narratives.”⁶⁹ Leading on from this discussion of memory I move to the idea of the intangibility of heritage.

Although Laurajane Smith stresses tangible heritage is privileged, her argument that all ‘heritage’ is intangible allows room for the popular construction of heritage. She does not dismiss the tangible heritage, but de-privileges and denaturalises it as the self-evident form and essence of heritage. She maintains that it is the present day cultural processes and activities, including the management and preservation/conservation processes that are undertaken at, and around, places and objects, which make these places and objects ‘heritage’. She separates the ‘idea’ of heritage from the ‘practice’ of heritage — defining the ‘practice of heritage’ as the techniques of management and conservation that the “experts such as heritage managers, archaeologists, architects, museum curators undertake.” The idea of intangibility has challenged the emphasis on the authenticity of the fabric of places and the “preservationist’s desire to ... conserve heritage as an unchanging monument to the past.” Smith insists that “heritage is heritage because it is subjected to the management and preservation/conservation process, not because it simply ‘is’.” She explains that the process of identifying and managing places to protect “is itself a constitutive cultural process that identifies those things and places that can be given meaning and value as ‘heritage’, reflecting contemporary cultural and social values, debates and aspirations.”

⁶⁷ Ibid. 13.

⁶⁸ Peter Conrad, “A History of Memory,” in *Memory, Monuments and Museums: The Past in the Present*, ed. Marilyn Lake (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2006). 17; 30.

⁶⁹ Nicholas Shakespeare, “Remembering and Forgetting,” in *Memory, Monuments and Museums: The Past in the Present*, ed. Marilyn Lake (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2006). 40.

Smith has thus extrapolated the definition of intangible heritage beyond the myths, ceremonies and material arts that are interconnected with the tangible heritage to include all the actions (including management or archaeological activities) associated with places. Places and objects do not have inherent value as ‘heritage’, their heritage value is created by the actions of people in the present, which include such things as acts of commemoration, narration, conservation, preservation, visitation and regulation. These give the sites and assemblages heritage value because the “real subject of heritage preservation and management processes” is value and meaning. For this reason, “all heritage is ‘intangible’ whether these values or meanings are symbolised by a physical site, place, landscape or other physical representations, or are represented within the performances of languages, dance, oral histories or other forms of ‘intangible’ heritage.”⁷⁰

In a key idea employed in this research, Smith identifies the act of visiting as an integral part of the performance of heritage that is many layered and complex. The emotional and cultural links to places are not only determined by geographical proximity, but may include displaced indigenous peoples and dispersed communities as well as the particular local community, so that any site may have a range of different meanings for groups and individuals. She develops a theory of heritage that establishes and elaborates themes of memory, performance, identity, intangibility, dissonance and place. Her argument is:

Heritage is neither simply a technical process of conservation and management as has been traditionally portrayed, nor only the subject of such management practices. Rather the phenomenon, ‘heritage,’ is a cultural and historical practice worthy of analysis and enquiry in and of itself. More specifically ‘heritage’ is a cultural process or performance that is concerned with the production and negotiation of cultural identity, individual and collective memory, and social and cultural values.⁷¹

The discourse of heritage is not just about the language or words but refers to the social process because the discourses themselves “constitute, construct, mediate and regulate understanding and debate.” Discourse organises the way people behave, the social and technical practices they perform and how knowledge is constructed and reproduced as well as the way concepts are understood.⁷²

The idea of ‘performativity’ comes out of the literature on remembering. Gaynor Bagnall emphasises that visiting heritage places is a physical experience of performance and

⁷⁰ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. 3-6; 56.

⁷¹ Smith———, ed. *History and Concepts*. 2.

⁷² ———, *Uses of Heritage*. 4.

reminiscing and challenges the idea of passivity in heritage visitors.⁷³ Smith notes that Abercrombie and Longhurst too argue that audiences are not passive because “the performances audiences engage with diffuse out into everyday life to inform ideas of individual and group identity.” It is difficult to maintain the distinction because participation in heritage events, or even just visiting sites, is an “active statement of identity in which visitors become embroiled in a performance for which they are also audience.”⁷⁴ This active engagement is not limited to visitors but also those concerned with managing and interpreting heritage sites. As Sharon Macdonald points out, “just ‘having a museum’ was itself a performative utterance of having an identity.”⁷⁵

The idea of performance is essential to my framework. Drawing on this literature, my conception of ‘use’ in this thesis is closely linked to performance and practice, and includes *all* the performances around places, for instance: activities such as visiting museums or tourist attractions; professional actions like conservation management and archaeological excavation; personal pilgrimages to shrines, cemeteries or an ancestral home (land); and even economic developments such as farming, forestry or the development of a subdivision. These activities, or uses, all affect the individual concerned and it is this notion of the way ‘using places’, or ‘practising’ heritage, *ahi kā* (keeping the fires burning), contributes to memory and identity formation that is helpful in the construction of my theoretical framework.

The anthropological work on place attachment and embodiment provides additional understanding about the ways in which performances construct heritage places. The Western notion of place is a culturally constructed concept of boundedness — mapped and separated from its surroundings. However, Nancy Munn points out that Aboriginal-owned places are typically “not clearly bounded discrete locations but ... foci whose influence stretches outward.” She notes that “ancient places are organised like the mobile centred fields of actors as spaces stretching out from a reference point to vague peripheries,” and emphasises that “these places are the topographic remnants of the centred fields of ancient actors. The centre is not merely the body, but the body as it normally engages in movement and action.”⁷⁶

⁷³ Gaynor Bagnall, “Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites,” *Museum and Society* 1, no. 2 (2003): 87-103.

⁷⁴ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. 67, citing Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998: 68-9.

⁷⁵ Sharon Macdonald, “Museums, National, Postnational and Transcultural Identities,” *Museum and Society* 1, no. 1 (2003): 3.

⁷⁶ Nancy D Munn, “Excluded Spaces: The Figure in the Australian Aboriginal Landscape,” in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2003). 49.

According to Irwin Altman and Setha Low, four inter-related processes are associated with forming and/or maintaining place attachments: biological, environmental, psychological and socio-cultural. Six separate processes of culturally based place attachment are described:

- Genealogical bonding through history or family.
- Linkages through loss of land or destruction.
- Economic ties through ownership, inheritance and politics.
- Cosmological bonding through spiritual or mythological relationships.
- Linkages through religious and secular pilgrimage and participation in celebratory cultural events.
- Narrative ties through story-telling and place naming.⁷⁷

Although the distinguishing characteristic of place attachment is that affect, emotion and feeling are central to the concept — whether these are positive or negative emotions and feelings — place attachment also involves the interplay of cognition, that is thought, knowledge and belief; and the important element of practice, which includes action and behaviour.⁷⁸

Other writers have explored different phenomenological approaches to the experience of space and place. Julian Thomas explains that people discover their world in the process of understanding it, saying Tuan stresses the role of the human body in this process, suggesting that it is the presence of the body that gives places their structure and orientation and this affects the way that we characteristically create architecture. Places are most significant to us when they are associated with a human presence (ourselves or others).⁷⁹ Christopher Tilley introduces the concept of the ‘gap’, between people and their world, which is particularly relevant to my theorisation of heritage:

Phenomenology involves the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject. It is about the relationship between Being and Being-in-the-world. Being-in-the-world resides in a process of objectification in which people objectify the world by setting themselves apart from it. This results in the creation of a gap, a distance in space. To be human is both to create this distance between the self and that which is beyond and to attempt to bridge this distance through a variety of means — through perception (seeing, hearing, touching), bodily action and

⁷⁷ Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low, eds., *Place Attachment*, vol. 12, Human Behaviour and Environment: Advances in Theory and Research (New York & London: Plenum Press, 1992). 9.

⁷⁸ Altman and Low, *Place Attachment*, citing Proshansky: 1983, 4.

⁷⁹ Julian Thomas, “Phenomenology and Material Culture,” in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, et al. (London: Sage, 2006). 49.

movements, and intentionality, emotion and awareness residing in systems of belief and decision-making: remembrance and evaluation.⁸⁰

John Gray uses the concept of kinaesthesia to underpin his work on hill shepherds in the Scottish borderlands, explaining that de Certeau suggests that people “kinesthetically appropriate” a place “through practices that resist the normative meanings of the anonymous subjects presumed by cartographers and city planners.” In this way space becomes “a practiced place” where people create a familiar locality “in the same way that speakers act out language systems in the creation of vernacular meanings.” Gray proposes that the regular movement of people over the land, and the sensual understandings that emerge from this movement, are the “primary ways of place-making.” Other elements such as “being at home in the hills” and understandings about the history of the area contribute to the identity of the hill sheep farming people and link them with the wider regional Borders identity. The ideas of kinaesthesia and a person’s role — “neither as an author nor as a spectator” — show “how people create places from attachments to them, and simultaneously, define the self.”⁸¹ These are important ways of understanding people’s attachment to heritage places and how people and places interact, and are thus very useful for the theoretical framework employed in this study.

Miles Richardson expresses it as “being human is to be an extraordinarily complicated and even a contradictory creature.” He continues with Heidegger’s (1962) description of the interdependence between the two modes of our existence, that is: the factual, realistic, pragmatic self; and the fictional, imaginative, spiritual self — and the world we exist in as ‘being-in-the-world’:

To be-in-the-world we must have a *world* to be in. We cannot otherwise exist. Yet ‘world’ is not an external thing existing apart from our actions and awaiting our entrance; but it is dependent upon our *being in*. Through our actions, our *interactions* we bring about the world in which we then are; we create so that we may be, in our creations.⁸²

Richardson explains that it is by being *at* a place that culture forms, in other words “the way spatial realities are experienced communicates culture.” Munn goes beyond this

⁸⁰ Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, ed. Barbara Bender, John Gledhill, and Bruce Kapferer, Explorations in Anthropology (Oxford/Providence: Berg, 1994). 12.

⁸¹ John Gray, “Open Places and Dwelling Places: Being at Home on Hill Farms in the Scottish Borders,” in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2003). 224-5.

⁸² Miles Richardson, “Being-in-the-Market Versus Being-in the-Plaza,” in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2003). 74-5.

phenomenological understanding to “construct the person as a truly embodied space, in which the body, conceived as a moving spatial field makes its own place in the world.” Rockefeller takes this idea further and argues that “Places ... are not in the landscape, but simultaneously in the land, people’s minds, customs and bodily practices.” This concept, that places are more than either the place or the intangible concepts, but include the activities and *bodily practices*, is very helpful to my study because it adds people’s actual *bodies* as well as their practices to the understanding of place and demonstrates the “critical importance of praxis in the construction of place-based identity.”⁸³

Associated with this is the concept of the agency of things (or place), which comes from recent anthropological work restoring the concept of animism — now no longer considered merely the belief systems of a ‘primitive’ or undeveloped culture, but a valid conception that challenges the Western intellectual tradition of knowing the world only as one of dualities: nature versus culture, or mind against matter. Groleau “repositions animism as something that arises out of an ongoing engagement between humans and the world they inhabit rather than a set of beliefs.”⁸⁴ From animism has developed a concern with object agency.⁸⁵ Groleau also argues that it is practice that animates objects, including places, rather than animacy being an inherent quality of places or objects. Although some objects are specifically created for ritual practices other mundane objects are transformed through associations with ‘sacred’ objects or because of their use in ritual practices.⁸⁶ These ideas of the agency of place strengthen my performative, phenomenological, theoretical framework.

New Zealand literature

While I have reviewed extensive international writing about heritage and related issues, there is unfortunately a shortage of critical literature in the New Zealand context; a gap which this thesis attempts to address. The gap is related in part to the novelty of heritage studies worldwide and in part to the small scale of a heritage profession dominated by archaeologists and conservation architects concerned with the details of the management of heritage and its

⁸³ Setha M Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, vol. 4, Blackwell Readers in Anthropology (Malden, MA: Blackwell 2003). 5-6.

⁸⁴ Amy B. Groleau, “Special Finds: Locating Animism in the Archaeological Record,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009). 398

⁸⁵ Benjamin Alberti and Tamara L. Bray, “Special Section Animating Archaeology: Of Subjects, Objects and Alternative Ontologies,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009). 340

⁸⁶ Groleau, “Special Finds: Locating Animism in the Archaeological Record.” 399

material fabric, particularly excavation and conservation. Relatively unprofessionalised and lacking accreditation through formal qualifications, the heritage sector is also quite explicitly anti-academic and anti-theoretical.

However, there are studies which contribute to a scant local literature including: work on heritage and place;⁸⁷ heritage management and the spirit of place;⁸⁸ the management of dissonant heritage;⁸⁹ and heritage management.⁹⁰ There is one textbook, Hall and McArthur's *Heritage Management in New Zealand and Australia: Visitor Management, Interpretation and Marketing*,⁹¹ and an indispensable study, Harry Allen's *Protecting Heritage Places in New Zealand*.⁹² The latter discusses the difficulties associated with archaeological and Māori heritage management within the present system and provides ideas to address these issues. Also, two New Zealand Māori archaeologists, Gerard O'Regan and Makere Rika-Heke, have recently provided insight into archaeological practice in New Zealand from their perspectives as they balance between two worlds. In addition to these publications, valuable insights may be gained from work produced in public history, Māori studies, museum studies and landscape geography, which contribute to the multi-disciplinary body of local literature on heritage matters.⁹³ Despite this apparent volume of local literature it is interdisciplinary

⁸⁷ V.G. Kirby, "Heritage in Place" (University of Canterbury, 1997).

⁸⁸ Joanne K. Whittle, "'Your Place and Mine': Heritage Management and a Sense of Place" (MA, Lincoln University, 1993). Robyn L Burgess, "Report to ICOMOS New Zealand on ICOMOS General Assembly at Quebec," <http://openarchive.icomos.org/36/1/77-BuSd-82.pdf>.

⁸⁹ Paulette Wallace, "A Fraction to Much Friction: Contested Heritage and the Whiteley Memorial" (Victoria University of Wellington, 2008).

⁹⁰ Jannelle Warren-Findley, "Human Heritage Management in New Zealand in the Year 2000 and Beyond: The Ian Axford New Zealand Fellowship in Public Policy," (Wellington 2001).; Alexander Trapeznik, ed. *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000).

⁹¹ C.M Hall and Simon McArthur, eds., *Heritage Management in New Zealand and Australia: Visitor Management, Interpretation and Marketing* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁹² Harry Allen, *Protecting Historic Places in New Zealand*, vol. 1, Research in Anthropology and Linguistics (Auckland: Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1998).

⁹³ Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney, eds., *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006), Michael Belgrave, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005), Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips, eds., *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), Amiria Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Mason H. Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1999), Kynan Gentry and Gavin McLean, eds., *Heartlands: New Zealand Historians Write About Where History Happened* (Auckland: Penguin, 2006), Kolokesa Uafa Mahina, "Koloa Tukufakaholo: The Management of Tonga's Cultural Heritage," (Victoria University of Wellington, 2003), Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2007), ———, "Museum Theory and Practice: The Critically Reflective Professional," (2010), S.M Mead, "The Maintenance of Heritage in a Fourth World Context: The Maori Case," in *Artistic Heritage in a Changing Pacific*, ed. Philip C. Roth and Roger G. Rose (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), Ani Mikaere, "The Treaty of Waitangi and Recognition of Tikanga Maori" in *Waitangi Revisited*:

literature that contributes to the field of heritage studies; it is not literature that has emerged from critical, theorised, in-depth research into heritage or its practices.

David Hamer, Alexander Trapeznik, Janelle Warren-Findley and Harry Allen in the late 1990s examined management practices in New Zealand and hinted at the need for further research, and a deeper understanding of heritage. Hamer, particularly, showed that New Zealand heritage professionals tend to concentrate on the technical aspects of heritage management, that is, the qualities of particular buildings, or the legislation and its limitations, rather than justifying *why* we should preserve anything. He stated: “Exactly how historic places are involved in the relationship between our past and our future remains unstated, as does the role historic places play in the maintenance of our identity.”⁹⁴ Hamer was writing in the late 1990s when several reviews of heritage management were undertaken. The first of these was the Parliamentary Commissioner of the Environment’s (PCE) review of heritage management in 1996, which examined the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) and the Historic Places Act 1993 (HPA). Huhana Smith notes this review “critiqued the protection mechanisms within these laws, revealing deficiencies in meaningful protection [and] highlighted the lack of co-ordination between agencies involved in the management of historic and cultural heritage.”⁹⁵

Perspectives on the Treaty of Waitangi, ed. Michael Belgrave, Merata Kawharu, and David Williams (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2005), Joan Metge, *The Maoris of New Zealand* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), Joan Metge and Patricia Kinloch, *Talking Past Each Other: Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1989), Joan Metge, *Tuamaka: The Challenge of Difference in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010), Mary O’Keeffe and Tony Walton, “Archaeological Heritage Management,” in *Change through Time: 50 Years of the New Zealand Archaeological Association*, ed. Louise Furey and Simon Holdaway (Auckland: New Zealand Archaeological Association, 2004), Stephen O’Regan, “Maori Control of Maori Heritage,” in *The Politics of the Past*, ed. Peter Gathercole and David Lowenthal (New York: Routledge, 1990, 1994), Caroline Phillips and Matthew Campbell, “From Settlement Patterns to Interdisciplinary Landscapes in New Zealand,” *New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph: Change Through Time* 26 (2004), Catherine Schroder, “Place Attachment in New Zealand” (Victoria University of Wellington, 2006), Jeffrey Sissons, *First Peoples Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures* (London: Reaktion 2005), Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Paul Spoonley, ed. *Tangata Tangata: The Changing Ethnic Contours of New Zealand* (Southbank, Victoria: Thomson Dunmore Press, 2004), Rachael Selby, Pataka Moore, and Malcolm Mulholland, eds., *Maori and the Environment: Kaitiaki* (Wellington: Huia, 2010), Janet Stephenson, “The Cultural Values Model: An Integrated Approach to Values in Landscapes,” *Landscape and Urban Planning* 84 (2008), I. H Kawharu, ed. *Waitangi: Maori & Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1989), Janet Stephenson, Mick Abbott, and Jacinta Ruru, eds., *Beyond the Scene: Landscape and Identity in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2010).

⁹⁴ David Hamer, “Historic Preservation in Urban New Zealand: An Historian’s Perspective,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, no. 2 (1997). 253.

⁹⁵ Huhana Smith, “Ma Te Whakaaro, Ma Te Kotahitanga, Ka Whai Oranga Te Taiao,” in *Maori and the Environment: Kaitiaki*, ed. Rachael Selby, Pataka Moore, and Malcolm Mulholland (Wellington: Huia, 2010). 305.

In 1998, Harry Allen wrote *Protecting Historic Places in New Zealand* which set out to provide a “handbook describing the legal and practical applications of heritage protection in New Zealand ... for students and other interested people.” In this invaluable text, Allen notes the importance of legislation in protecting “historic and cultural heritage ... on behalf of all sections of the community,” and argues for the relationship between the historical interests of the population and the activities of heritage protection agencies to be made explicit. He explains that “such relationships range from the creation of a national identity through commercial uses of history, to the servicing of the needs of academic disciplines ... to assisting the legitimate historical aims of ethnic and social minorities.” He identifies many of the problems associated with heritage management in a post-settler nation and puts forward some thoughtful solutions, which mirror many of the proposals in the 1998 ministerial review. Although Allen acknowledges that the links with heritage preservation and the academic study of history remain poorly developed he is of the opinion that this “is not the case for archaeology.”⁹⁶ However, as I will argue in this thesis, the links between archaeology and heritage ‘preservation’ are strong because New Zealand heritage management is grounded in the AHD and there is a tendency among some archaeologists to conflate archaeology with heritage management.

Allen’s work is a vitally important contribution to understanding the legislation and many of the problems surrounding heritage management in New Zealand, and is the first wide-ranging attempt to understand the phenomenon of heritage in New Zealand. However, although it is not a theorised study as such, it is a widely researched and critically important contribution to understanding heritage management in New Zealand. Alexander Trapeznik’s collection of essays provides useful information about the history and development of heritage management in New Zealand interspersed with chapters promoting good management processes.⁹⁷ In contrast to Allen’s work, it could be argued that Trapeznik’s collection maintains the naturalised heritage discourse endemic in New Zealand. Despite the usefulness of these texts, however, there is a dearth of critical heritage studies like those in Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom.

Janelle Warren-Findley, an American, writing in 2001, presses for further regulation and clarification of terms and duties to improve the outcomes for heritage. She considers New Zealand needs “stable policy-making that produces laws or regulations or standards that make

⁹⁶ Allen, *Protecting Historic Places in New Zealand*. 3.

⁹⁷ Trapeznik, ed. *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*.

clear what the process is, how it must be carried out, by whom, and to what standard of practice.” A fundamental problem in New Zealand heritage management is the lack of basic definitions of ‘culture’ and ‘heritage’ in law and regulations, which makes it difficult for the historic heritage sector to be clear about what it is to perform. She writes: “At times the terms seem to be code for Maori (culture) and European (historic or heritage),” and notes that sometimes the word ‘culture’ possesses the anthropological definition and at other times it has the arts definition, yet these are “profoundly different from each other.”⁹⁸ This conflation of terms indicates the deep lack of understanding of the meaning, purpose and uses of heritage that is endemic among New Zealand heritage practitioners and associated with an “anti-theoretical stance [that] abstract theory is ... of little practical relevance.”⁹⁹

There are some encouraging signs of more theoretically informed research. A study of the meaning of place in New Zealand was undertaken by Robyn Burgess and Alan Joliffe, in association with Raewyn Solomon and John Wilson. *Wai o Puka/Fyffe Historic Area — Transmitting the Spirit of Place* is an isolated example of research in New Zealand that makes an important contribution to the wider global field of heritage studies. The work aimed to ascertain how spirit is transmitted, with the authors using consultation and visitor surveys to identify differing levels of response to both place and transmission tools. They drew conclusions that have wider implications for heritage management than just for this place. “Simply *being there* in this place allows people to experience the awe and wonder of this distinct powerful landscape and marine environment,” they write, “and understand at least something of why people have been drawn to the area over many centuries.” They conclude:

Resource management tools for sustainability such as heritage place protection and conservation, retention of landmarks, land and marine resource management and protection, and ecological restoration all help safeguard the wider Spirit of Place. Community involvement in Wai o Puka/Fyffe Historic Area and the general environment revitalises the spirit and encourages community engagement and an appreciation of the adaptive use of this place and its physical, spiritual and cultural values.¹⁰⁰

This study is important because it is based on detailed research about the place and the people who use the place. The conclusions have emerged from the findings: they are grounded in research and are a significant addition to the writing on heritage management in New Zealand. The authors also make the essential point about ‘being there’, which is a core concept within

⁹⁸Warren-Findley, “Human Heritage Management in New Zealand in the Year 2000 and Beyond: The Ian Axford New Zealand Fellowship in Public Policy.” 40.

⁹⁹Carman, *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction*. 40.

¹⁰⁰Burgess, “Report to ICOMOS New Zealand on ICOMOS General Assembly at Quebec.”

my framework, which develops an understanding of the importance of bodily practices at places.

Another more theorised contribution is made by Master's student Paulette Wallace who explores heritage dissonance through an in-depth study of a contested colonial monument in Taranaki. Wallace concludes that awareness of cultural diversity and recognition and incorporation of other knowledge systems is essential if heritage management is to become relevant. She writes that "heritage management in this country should seek to achieve a genuine engagement with the social values that people attach to places, and map out a process where different communities' values can be considered."¹⁰¹ I also argue that dissonance is an inherent and vital quality of heritage, particularly in a post-settler nation, where negotiation about place and land is ongoing and endemic in the wider society.

Other disciplines including anthropology, Māori studies and geography provide insights into heritage management in New Zealand. For example, Amiria Henare explores not only how "meanings become attached to things or the role objects play as vehicles for human agency," but also, and more importantly, "how artefacts *constitute* and *instantiate* social relations and how they therefore do not simply 'represent', 'symbolise', or even 'embody' meaning — they help bring it into being." She says that the (potential) longevity of artefacts is one of the most important and singular features of their social existence and helps explain the particular roles they perform in social life because they collapse temporal and spatial distance, bringing together people who would otherwise remain out of contact. These ideas about artefacts can readily be transferred to understandings about heritage places. Heritage places are not just any place — to be a heritage place a place must be identified, special, selected and documented in some way e.g., as a record in a data base or a name in a waiata. This process and the temporal and spatial links generate ties between many people which may be integral to the social lives of those people.¹⁰²

However, this understanding of links across space and time must be set within the context of place and understandings of landscape. Māori writers show how Māori see landscape and whakapapa as inextricably inter-related. Museum professional and environmental scholar Huhana Smith discusses the concepts of heritage landscapes, but argues that although the legislation (RMA and HPA) recognise culturally valued areas in landscapes "they remain

¹⁰¹ Wallace, "A Fraction to Much Friction: Contested Heritage and the Whiteley Memorial". ii.

¹⁰² Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*. 2-3.

unconvincing when it comes to protecting wider or inter-related areas of Māori cultural and spiritual significance,” which she considers is the result of “a lack of co-ordination.” The concepts are present but the interpretation is limited. Smith notes:

There is no specific recognition of how whakapapa as a genealogical reference system relates people to lands, waterways, ecosystems and areas of spiritual importance. If a heritage landscape concept recognised and emphasised these intricacies, then laws might better reflect and respect the multiple narratives of iwi and hapū interaction with place, natural resources and other influential events or experiences that remain embedded within landscape.¹⁰³

The concept of interdisciplinary landscape studies is well developed in New Zealand archaeology and provides valuable methods to assist with decision-making in the management of land-based heritage. Interdisciplinary landscape studies incorporate not only aerial photography, tephrochronology, early survey plans, soil plans, radiocarbon determinations, archaeological surveys and palynology, but anthropological and historical perspectives, especially ethnography and ethnohistory.¹⁰⁴ Phillips and Campbell note “the relationship between ethnohistory and archaeology is still not well developed, but clearly they have a lot to offer each other.” In their opinion New Zealand is well placed to lead significant international research in these fields and mention that a number of archaeologists have produced detailed studies of Māori traditions and early European accounts.¹⁰⁵

Geographer Janet Stephenson discusses the importance of landscape (or the related idea of place) to communities and their cultural identity, pointing out that a common theme in the literature is the close association between individual and group identity and the history and events linked to a tangible environment. “Culture and identity are not just about social relationships, but are also profoundly spatial,” she writes, and, “Inappropriate landscape development can change or obliterate locally distinctive characteristics and cultural meanings, creating a break between communities and their past.” Stephenson proposes a cultural values model (CVM) that incorporates ideas of space, time, communities, disciplines and change. This model integrates the understandings of insiders, (local residents and tangata whenua); and outsiders, generally experts in one of the disciplinary fields such as archaeology or ecology. There are three components of landscape: the first, which Stephenson calls ‘forms,’ is the physical, tangible and measurable aspects of landscape or space and includes things such as natural landforms and vegetation; and human-made features such as structures, tracks,

¹⁰³Smith, “Ma Te Whakaaro, Ma Te Kotahitanga, Ka Whai Oranga Te Taiao.” 308.

¹⁰⁴Phillips and Campbell, “From Settlement Patterns to Interdisciplinary Landscapes in New Zealand.” 99-101.

¹⁰⁵Ibid. 99-101, citing Anderson: 1998, Kahotea 1983, Phillips 2000a, Sullivan n.d.

archaeological sites. The second component is ‘relationships’ including people-people relationships, people-landscape interactions and valued relationships within the landscape that have no human involvement such as ecological relationships.

The third component is ‘practices’ which includes both human practices — past and present actions, traditions and events; and natural processes — ecological and natural processes; and those practices/processes that incorporate both human and natural elements. “Human practices and the processes of nature are a continuum of dynamic action rather than conceptually separate,” Stephenson explains, and “to separate the two is to replicate the nature/culture fission and deny the inseparability of natural and cultural processes.” Time is another essential element of landscape and provides what she defines as ‘time-thickness’, which means that “landscape values are contingent on elements from both the past and the present.” She argues for the need to include movement, social practice, and time in cultural landscape models, to move them “beyond static understandings.”¹⁰⁶

Again, Māori scholars have contributed to this debate. Huhana Smith’s Ahi Kā Roa Cultural Heritage Assessment Project uses the concept of a braided cultural landscape, proposed at the Heritage Think Tank convened by the chairperson of NZHPT Dame Anne Salmond in 2003. This recognises other groups’ inter-generational use of land and was introduced as an attempt “to encompass iwi and hapū views and to develop Māori cultural heritage significance by simultaneously capturing other historical relationships to land.” Huhana Smith’s aim was to seek “solutions to the ongoing lack of national and local direction for Māori cultural heritage.” GIS spatial modeling and GPS technology are used to map landscape significance thereby drawing “together archaeological, ecological, natural and cultural attributes to explore all inter-relationships between physical evidence, cultural memory, and identity.” The project is community focused and searches for ways that Māori communities might reconnect with their environment “to exercise kaitiakitanga, promote sustainability and strengthen tribal identity through a grounded relationship with Papatūānuku (earth mother) and ngā atua Māori (environmental entities.)”¹⁰⁷ The assessment is framed around local people themselves defining the cultural landscape and managing it their way.

This project is discussed in a chapter in the significant recent publication *Māori and the Environment: Kaitiaki*. Politician Pita Sharples explains that kaitiakitanga “in Ngāti

¹⁰⁶ Stephenson, “The Cultural Values Model: An Integrated Approach to Values in Landscapes.” citing Antrop, 2005, 134-6.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, “Ma Te Whakaaro, Ma Te Kotahitanga, Ka Whai Oranga Te Taiao.” 313-4.

Kahungunu terms” is about achieving “balance in sustaining our natural resources as the basis for our well-being — rather than as limitless commodities to use at our will.” Sharples elaborates on this explanation saying that “each iwi, each hapū, each whānau will have their own unique kawa, which guides them in the vital role of guardians of our natural resources”¹⁰⁸ The important contributions that Stephenson and Huhana Smith’s models of cultural landscape practice make are that they provide useful and nationally accepted models, which I am able to develop in my overall model of heritage management. As I show in this thesis, the concept of kaitiakitanga is particularly relevant to the development of a more appropriate heritage management practice in New Zealand.

Makere Rika-Heke and Gerard O’Regan are Māori archaeologists who comment on New Zealand archaeology. Rika-Heke says she always wanted to become an archaeologist because she was “intrigued by the past, forever thinking about the olden days, about what the land would have looked like in pre-European times and about the stories and deeds attributed to my waka-voyaging ancestors.” She genuinely feels more comfortable around taonga or wāhi tapu than she does around people. Although she is motivated by pain and anger at the injustices that have been done to her people, the main impulse is that she discovered she was at odds with:

the way in which heritage management and archaeological research was being conducted in this country. The lack of real decision-making powers over our own heritage wreaks havoc in my mind — that, and the fact that 80% of the heritage in this country is Māori, yet non-Māori hold the majority of the custodial power over it. It is 2009 and we are still waiting for an identifiably Māori regional archaeologist to be appointed, the one person, aside from the minister for the environment, (sic) with permissive powers to authorize or decline the destruction of significant sites. With that in mind you could say I deliberately set out to become an agent of change where possible, my rationale being that if the structure was not working then I would change it to make it work for Māori. That, of course, is a work in progress.¹⁰⁹

Gerard O’Regan has worked in museums since the 1980s when there was “a really purposeful endeavour by the people of the day to get Māori involved at the National Museum ... but still doing the traditional museum thing.” In a recent book he reflects on the changes in the relationships between Māori and museums subsequently, and suggests that the real shift came when the National Museum “decided to establish a Māori department that could only be staffed by Māori.” This resulted in the three most junior staff of the museum suddenly

¹⁰⁸ Selby, Moore, and Mulholland, eds., *Maori and the Environment: Kaitiaki*. vii.

¹⁰⁹ Makere (Margaret) Rika-Heke, “Haere Tika Tonu Atu - Keep Going Forward,” in *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists*, ed. George Nicholas (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2010). 271-2.

becoming “quarter of the curatorial kaha of the institution,” which gave them great insights into the wider world and also lots of opportunities.¹¹⁰ In 1995-6 he undertook a major piece of research “on the substance and nature of Māori participation in New Zealand museums.”¹¹¹ There were two major understandings from this. The first, that “Māori will change the museological agenda to one more responsive to tribes only where there is sufficient number of Māori in the management ranks. Decisions relating to Māori matters and collections are made in the management ranks.” The second was the realisation of how important the Māori museum workers’ network was in clarifying for him what it meant to be a ‘Māori museum worker’. He comments that although the remarkable progress made in the 1980s and 1990s has not continued, the progression has “become part of normal museum life and so we actually have made quite significant advances ... some really good significant advances.”¹¹²

O’Regan noted there are few Māori engaged as ‘archaeologists’ and for this reason Māori have little input into shaping the agenda for archaeology, especially the research agenda. In 1998, he became heritage manager for South Island iwi Ngāi Tahu, which involved managing projects which were “focused on bringing culturally enriching experiences to our own tribal members.” People were taken to visit rock art sites and he watched them “moving from a theoretical valuing of the art to an actual experience of it and feeling empowered by this.” He states:

It crystallized my thoughts that in order for our people to meaningfully assert an authority over our treasures, they first had to really know what and where those treasures were, and also to actually experience them. Without such knowledge, any claim of authority would be hollow, especially as compared with that of the archaeologists, landowners, and developers who do have experiences of these treasures and places.

Here O’Regan makes the essential point that Māori need to know and experience their own taonga, whether objects or places. He speaks of a salvage excavation on an eroding midden undertaken by the rūnanga under its authority and how important it had been for the Ngāi Tahu people who were caring for and handling their heritage. He emphasises that the “handling of physical heritage is ... a hugely important process in itself,” because it is through holding, fondling, looking at, and reflecting on the people of the past associated with the

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Gerard O’Regan, “Working for My Own,” in *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists*, ed. George Nicholas (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2010). 238.

¹¹² ———, 2009.

objects that insight and appreciation is gained. He added, “I believe it applies to our archaeological sites and stories as much as it does to our family heirlooms.”¹¹³

In reviewing this rare but important writing by Māori scholars on heritage issues, these two Māori archaeologists identify the need for greater involvement of Māori in the decision-making around Māori heritage places and objects because that is where decisions about Māori cultural heritage are made and where Māori are noticeably absent.

Recent New Zealand literature generally expresses the naturalised AHD of Western heritage management, although some of the emergent ideas about heritage, performance and contestation that are appearing in overseas literature are beginning to be considered in recent writing. There remains a dichotomy in heritage management, however, which is partly attributable to the reluctance to explore other ways of ‘doing heritage’. Nevertheless, the development of a ‘community-based’ bicultural landscape methodology, the concept of *kaitiakitanga*, understandings about the importance of ‘just being there’, and of the dissonance that emerges if other perspectives are ignored or over-ridden, all provide local theoretical work that contributes to this research. This research is situated at a seminal point in the emergence of exploratory, conceptual, critical/theoretical heritage studies in New Zealand, which is still in its infancy as a field of study.

Methodology

In the preceding literature review I surveyed writing on topics germane to my thesis topic in order to construct a theoretical framework for this study which examines the research question: What is heritage, how is it practiced, and how should it be ‘managed’ in twenty-first century New Zealand? Closely inter-related with this is the question: Why are there separate legal and management systems for ‘archaeological sites’? In this section I proceed by laying out a history of that question and how it changed and developed over the course of the thesis. This section on research design explains the reasons for the changes in my question and methodology that resulted as I considered the meaning of heritage, and began to recognise how the performances people enact at various places relate to identity making and participated in some of those performances. I now recognise that the original methodology and research questions were produced by me in the guise of a heritage practitioner ensnared within a post-modern interpretation of the AHD. The experience of participating in heritage

¹¹³O'Regan, “Working for My Own.” 239-240.

performances, both as a heritage consultant and socially, resulted in a greater awareness and understanding about what heritage is, what heritage places are, and why they really do matter. This has led me beyond an apologetic post-modernism to an understanding of an ‘Iwi Heritage Discourse’, which aligns more closely with the new understanding of heritage that refutes the AHD as *heritage*, while acknowledging the AHD as a management tool.

This change in focus occurred when I ‘came home’, re-immersed myself in the Hawke’s Bay community and directly observed the heritage performances of other people, particularly, although not exclusively, Ngāti Kahungunu iwi and hapū, and was able to reflect on them and my own personal heritage performances. I have worked for over twenty years in all aspects of heritage management, including archaeological and historic heritage. I have a broad understanding of heritage practice and issues from my extensive experience providing and co-ordinating services relating to the identification, preservation, conservation, enhancement, and/or commercial development of heritage places. My strengths are in archaeological and historic site assessment, conservation planning and heritage management, iwi and community liaison, heritage research projects and historic research. I am a skilled networker and have worked on, and managed, many different heritage projects for a variety of institutions and clients throughout New Zealand. Some clients or employers have been NZHPT, Department of Conservation (DoC), Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand (Te Papa), Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH), National Institute for Water and Air (NIWA), Crown Forestry Rental Trust (CFRT), New Zealand Fire Service (NZFS), New Zealand Transport Authority (NZTA), many local and regional authorities across New Zealand, and numerous private clients. When I enrolled for this PhD I was living in Wellington working as principal heritage consultant for Opus International Consultants Ltd. (Opus), but various events led to my returning to Napier, where I have lived most of my life.

Hawke’s Bay is a predominantly rural region with a total population of 158,248 (September 2010); Māori comprise 23 percent of the population.¹¹⁴ Most people live in the two main towns, Napier and Hastings, which are located on the Heretaunga Plains 18 km apart. Social networking is a noticeable characteristic of this community — people like to know where others come from, how they fit in to the community, who they are related to — as it provides a sense of continuity, security and identity, but also reciprocity and responsibility.

¹¹⁴ Ministry of Health, “Population by District Health Board,” <http://www.maorihealth.govt.nz/moh.nsf/indexma/population-by-dhb>.

My career as a heritage consultant resulted from a series of contingent, but serendipitous events. I obtained a Bachelor of Arts in English before marrying and having children. During those child-rearing years I renewed my early interest in archaeology by joining New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA), which had a very active local group organised by Mary Jeal, a representative of the amateurs of earlier times, trained by Lady Aileen Fox in the field in Hawke's Bay in the 1970s. Jeal was the Hawke's Bay file keeper and a former president of NZAA and particularly involved with the Māori community and their heritage places. I met many archaeologists, visited marae and went on archaeological expeditions surveying or visiting many places in the region. Then curiosity led me to do a graduate diploma in New Zealand history and I worked in the Napier museum for two years. Later, I enrolled for my post-graduate diploma in Museum Studies and became file keeper on Jeal's retirement, carrying on the amateur legacy, but increasingly, 'professionalising' myself. As file keeper I was co-opted onto the Hawke's Bay branch of NZHPT and became the contact person for anything archaeological in Hawke's Bay. I then began working for DoC and developing my career as a heritage practitioner. An 1890s photograph of part of Otatara Pā, (since quarried away), that I found when writing its assessment of significance led me to do my Master of Arts in Museum Studies, but more importantly highlighted to me the tragedy of this loss and the importance of retaining these places in the landscape.

These experiences (including, very importantly, my origins as an amateur), ongoing relationships, and the insights I gained from working, studying and networking throughout New Zealand have encouraged me to explore questions about heritage, identity and politics. Listening to people, but also being part of a very close-knit community, assisted me in developing a self-reflexive form of practice, which has been an essential element of my methodology and my analysis. My experiences as a practitioner also provided opportunities to explore academic theory through professional practice and to enable new theories, concepts and models to emerge from practice because, as Labrum and McCarthy explain, "they are two sides of the same coin — mutually constitutive rather than diametrically opposed. If theory has practical outcomes, it follows that every-day practices also have theoretical implications." They continue with the comment equally applicable to heritage studies that "the value of research for museum practice lies in the opportunity for developing

applied theory and theorised practice.”¹¹⁵ McCarthy comments that scholars have argued that “theorising is a form of practice in its own right,” and he promotes ‘praxis’, a term pioneered by Paulo Freire and other educationalists as a helpful concept because it “integrates theory/practice as a personal theory-in-action employed by people to make sense of experience.”¹¹⁶ He also provides an understanding of ‘practice’ that is more liberal than the limited perspective of ‘professional practice’ and enables Māori heritage practice to be considered on the same plane as that of archaeologists. Practice is:

1. The actual application of a plan or method, as opposed to the theories relating to it.
2. The customary way of doing something.
3. The practising of a profession.
4. The action or process of practising something so as to become proficient in it.¹¹⁷

Labrum and McCarthy also draw a distinction between museum studies and museology that is relevant to heritage studies, describing “‘museum studies’ as the academic analysis of museum history, theory and practice, a critical examination of diverse aspects of museums within their social context.” It is a “broader field of study than ‘museology’, the scientific study of specific museum methods. Everything in the museum, indeed the museum itself, is an object of study.”¹¹⁸ Consequently, this research, while contributing to the wider academic field of heritage studies, also attempts to generate research into the current practices of heritage management in New Zealand.

My professional experiences as a heritage practitioner working with archaeological sites and the diverse people associated with those places including NZHPT, developers, local authorities, archaeologists and tangata whenua made me critically aware of the gap between them all and the limitations in both the legislation and the understanding of the phenomenon of heritage. My initial question was why are archaeological sites being destroyed when they are all (ostensibly) protected? It arose from a number of incidents that I had observed during my years as a heritage consultant working ‘at the coal-face’ in New Zealand land-based heritage. One incident when I was working in Wellington made me realise that the way

¹¹⁵ Bronwyn Labrum and Conal McCarthy, “Museum Studies and Museums: Bringing Together Theory and Practice,” *Te Ara Journal of Museums Aotearoa: Special Issue: Museum Studies in New Zealand* 30, no. 2 (2005). 4; 9.

¹¹⁶ Conal McCarthy, *Museums and Maori* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2011). 19

¹¹⁷ Ibid. Citing Shorter OED online 2010.

¹¹⁸ Labrum and McCarthy, “Museum Studies and Museums: Bringing Together Theory and Practice.” 5.

archaeological heritage was being treated was symptomatic of an underlying struggle for authority. The archaeological authority (consent) process is not about the place or the 'archaeological residues' so much as the power and authority of the bureaucracy. It was also related to wider concerns about 'power', and politics, not very well understood in New Zealand heritage management, which is concerned with aesthetics, fabric and the construction of an idealised national identity partly attributable to the paradox within NZHPT itself, created by the tension between local and national heritage.

It is accepted in current archaeological practice that certain places will go in the face of development as long as somebody 'monitors' or in certain special cases 'excavates' the sites to obtain scientific information about the past. For economic and development reasons the HPA aims for "mitigation through salvage investigations, rather than continuing preservation."¹¹⁹ The law in effect protects the 'information', that is the residues, which only archaeologists have the skills to interpret. However, occasionally some sites might be conserved and cared for 'for posterity', which is, in itself, a problematic method of managing places. Thomas King's *Doing Archaeology* was a useful introductory book to the sort of archaeology we are doing in New Zealand.¹²⁰ It showed me the influence of 'processual' archaeology on 'Cultural Resource Management' and put our methods of 'doing consultancy archaeology' into an international context. However, Laurajane Smith's *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* was pivotal in altering my understanding of CRM archaeology. When I read Smith I realised how political New Zealand archaeology is.¹²¹

Understanding the discourse that Smith has labelled the AHD provided a context for the sort of archaeological site management that I could see all around me, which was making me increasingly uneasy. My question altered to: "Why and how are Māori heritage sites being lost when as 'archaeological' sites they are all legally protected?" Significant underlying questions that contributed to the research question were: What does the political discourse expressed in archaeology 'do' to people's understanding of, and relationship with heritage places? What is the effect of conservation practices on these places and the different people

¹¹⁹ H Allen, "The Crisis in 21st Century Archaeological Heritage Management," in *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 21st Century*, ed. Caroline Phillips and Harry Allen, *One World Archaeology* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010). 162. Allen, *Protecting Historic Places in New Zealand*. 11 citing McFadgen 1966: 98.

¹²⁰ King, *Doing Archaeology: A Cultural Resource Management Perspective*. 19.

¹²¹ Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. 2.

associated with them? How does understanding ‘the performative discourse’ people have around places facilitate retention of the places in the landscape?

The primary question and the first two sub-questions show the constraint of the legal and ‘best practice’ management systems on Māori heritage places and the people associated with them. The final sub-question indicates the changes in my thinking. I recognised that heritage is about intangible connections expressed through performance and that without performance, place, and person there is no heritage. The discourses around performances indicate the underlying cultural schemas that connect people and places, or things, and enable the creation of identities of all kinds.

I originally chose a strongly qualitative, longitudinal, comparative case study design for my research. Qualitative research is influenced by interpretivism, an alternative to the positivist epistemological position that advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality which has dominated Western thought for decades. Positivism also involves phenomenism, deductivism, inductivism. It is objective; there is a clear distinction between scientific and normative statements with the former being considered the true domain of the scientist. Interpretivism is the “view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action.”¹²²

Interpretivism is the product of three related attitudes: “Weber’s notion of *Verstehen*, symbolic interactionism; and phenomenology.”¹²³ Interpretivism is particularly relevant to the methodology I have developed; situated as I am as an outsider trying to understand two quite different ‘cultures’, as well as my phenomenological emphasis on the body and place.

The qualitative research design was chosen because the preoccupations of qualitative researchers are relevant to my study. First, is the underlying premise that people attribute meaning to events and their environment and it is necessary to view the people and events with empathy. Second, the emphasis that qualitative researchers place on process revealed by the concern to show how events and patterns unfold over time is useful and relevant. Third, a qualitative research design is flexible and lacks structure. And finally, concepts and theories usually emerge inductively from the data.¹²⁴

¹²² Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). 13; 32; 40-55.

¹²³ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 276.

¹²⁴ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 277-281.

At this stage of the research design, I aimed to evaluate the consequences of the present archaeological management strategies and statutory systems on the heritage performances of the people involved with the places and to develop theories or concepts about how to effectively manage places to enable them to be foci for the intangible performative discourses of identity making. I intended using a number of different methods for obtaining the robust data that is required for this research project. These included historical, theoretical and empirical approaches to enable me to generate the data that I needed to collect to understand my questions. The methods selected were:

- Documentary research.
- Unstructured and semi-structured interviews with key informants.
- Observational surveys — semi-participant video-recording of visits to the places.
- Focus group meetings about the visits in order to identify the attitudes or responses of people to the places now.

Discourse analysis is a major tool for analysing existing heritage management, Jaworski and Coupland explain that:

Discourse analysis offers a means of exposing or deconstructing the social practices that constitute ‘social structure’ and what we might call the conventional meaning structures of social life. It is a sort of forensic activity, with a libertarian political slant. The motivation for doing discourse analysis is very often a concern about social inequality and the perpetuation of power relationships, either between individuals or between social groups, difficult though it is to prejudge moral correctness in many cases.¹²⁵

I am particularly interested in two forms of discourse analysis:

- Foucauldian discourse analysis, particularly in relation to governmentality.
- Social discourse analysis.

It is necessary to distinguish between ‘a discourse’ meaning text, which is thematically or situationally unified as a coherent formation of knowledge or truth; and ‘discourse’ meaning something like the fact of organised language as a set of social relations of knowledge. The Foucauldian usage of discourse, or discursive formation, is “a mode of organisation of knowledge in relation to material institutions, and is thus not primarily a linguistic concept,” writes Tony Bennett. “Rather, it has to do with practices and configurations of power, often rooted in organizations which both control and are structured by distinct disciplinary

¹²⁵ Jaworski and Coupland, eds., *The Discourse Reader*. 5.

knowledges.”¹²⁶ Discourses construct the possibility that certain truths will prevail which reinforce structures of discursive authority and displace the voices of others. They bring about certain material effects and certain regimes are legitimised. Foucauldian discursive formations are heterogeneous, made up of languages, but also material practices and structures.

I found it helpful to draw on Naomi Quinn’s work on social discourse. She explains that the “term discourse is used to mean language in use either spoken or written and typically consisting of segments of speech or written text longer than single words or sentences and which is used interchangeably with talk.” Her definition is “not being limited to the popular narrower Foucauldian sense of a way of talking and a set of associated practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations that together constitute a body of knowledge, identified with members of some subgroup of society,”¹²⁷ but rather includes other usages of ‘discourse’ which are termed ‘social discourse’.

In this research design it is necessary to examine both the political nature of the discourses around heritage, that is, the power/knowledge empiricism of Foucault, (archaeology) and the social discourse (Māori) whereby communities express their cultural understandings regarding their heritage places. This is to understand more fully the meaning of heritage in a bicultural nation in order to develop theories or concepts that may provide a solution to the overarching problem: why are archaeological sites being destroyed? In this particular area of Māori Pakeha relations, I found *Talking Past Each Other: Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication* by Joan Metge and Patricia Kinloch provided insights into the difficulties of cross-cultural communication in a post-settler nation.¹²⁸

In grappling with this cultural interaction, I used the concept of schema, that is to say a pattern of thought or behaviour, but one that is liable to distortion because people tend to notice those things that fit their schema and discount things that do not. Schema is conventional knowledge, which exists in memory.¹²⁹ Quinn explains schema can be shared with a group:

People in a given group share to greater or lesser extent understandings of the world that have been learned and internalised in the course of their shared experience and

¹²⁶ Tony Bennett, Lawrence Grossberg, and Meaghan Morris, eds., *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Blackwell, 2005).

¹²⁷ Naomi Quinn, ed. *Finding Culture in Talk: A Collection of Methods* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). Introduction, 5

¹²⁸ Metge and Kinloch, *Talking Past Each Other: Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication*.

¹²⁹ “Discourse Analysis,” http://www.slideshare.net/cupidlucid/discourse-analysis-presentation-710333?from=share_email_logout3.

that individuals rely heavily on these shared understandings to comprehend and organise experience, including their own thoughts, feelings, motivations and actions and the actions of other people. ... These shared cultural understandings are largely tacit and referentially transparent to those who hold them.¹³⁰

Every discipline is the product of its intellectual and philosophical inheritance. Shared understandings create normative frameworks and objective judgments are widely shared subjective judgments. Understanding past attitudes helps identify where schema originate but what people do now indicates how the schema motivates them. In order to understand the schema of archaeologists, for example, it is therefore necessary to listen to their discourse and observe what they do. The schema that professional archaeologists have developed through their years of training and collegiality influence their interpretations of the material evidence. The interpretations affect their discourse and the understandings they pass on to others.

An important part of the original research design was case studies. I initially decided to have several case studies: Otatara Pā Historic Reserve, Hakikino Pā and the Ocean Beach cultural landscape in Hawke's Bay and Kaiapoi Pā/Pegasus Town in North Canterbury. I was interested in documenting the history of the uses and attitudes to the sites in addition to the present uses. I also intended researching the historical background to New Zealand's present understandings of heritage. Then I limited myself to two case studies, Heipipi Pā cultural landscape and Kaiapoi Pā/Pegasus Town, in order to give historic depth to the study and to show change in attitudes over time. Finally, however, a number of places that I visited during the course of my field work, or which people mentioned during their interviews are used because my research moved from a concern about 'case studies' to examining two discourses and related performances about place.

The original aim with the case studies was to show the various 'uses' Maori heritage places have had over time, and how these uses reflect the discourse about the places, and to identify the effect of the various archaeological strategies on the places and people. This included the effects of conservation, archaeological processes and archaeological policies on the places and the various meanings people bring to heritage places. Each case study represents a major arm of archaeological performance around Māori heritage places: 'scientific' archaeology and 'CRM' archaeology, although in the present political conditions both forms of archaeological practice are dependent on legislation for their existence. The theme of the conservation of archaeological sites is also represented in each place. These three performances: science,

¹³⁰ Quinn, ed. *Finding Culture in Talk: A Collection of Methods*. 2-3.

politics and conservation are all elements of the AHD, which is political, fabric-based and ‘expert’ driven and expresses the dominant Western discourse about heritage, elevates archaeology and makes, or confirms, the identities of the experts.

My methodology was based on a number of formal interviews but during part-time work I heard valuable comments that I have used, without formally interviewing the commentators.

The people I did interview included archaeologists and Māori. The archaeologists were:

- Kevin Jones, MA. Formerly an archaeologist with DoC, having moved from NZHPT in 1987 when DoC was established, now practising CRM archaeology.
- Kiri Petersen, MA Formerly a consultant archaeologist with Opus, now working for NZHPT.
- Karen Grieg, MA. Formerly NZHPT archaeologist, then a consultant archaeologist, currently a doctoral student at Otago University.
- Dan Witter, PhD. An American archaeologist who worked in Australia for many years as CRM archaeologist and came to New Zealand just prior to getting the contract for Pegasus Town excavations.
- Pam Bain, MA. Formerly a DoC archaeologist/historic officer, now employed in another profession.
- Jeremy Habberfield Short, PhD. Previously at Opus, then Witter’s assistant at Pegasus Town, now CRM archaeologist in Australia.
- Rick McGovern-Wilson. PhD. Senior Archaeologist for NZHPT.
- Mark Allen. PhD. Studied Hawke’s Bay Pā sites for his doctorate and regularly returns to New Zealand. Now Anthropology Co-ordinator and Professor of Anthropology in the Geography and Anthropology Department at Cal Poly Pomona, California.
- Cathryn Barr. MA. Senior Archaeologist with Opus.

The Māori I interviewed were:

- Robert Macdonald, (Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitane). Kaumatua and overseer of Pouhokio Station, owned by his Māori family trust. The visionary behind the formation of Waimarama Maori Tours and development of Hakikino Pā.
- Rose Mohi, (Ngāti Kahungunu). Kuia and relation of Robert Macdonald’s.
- Darren Botica, (Ngāti Kahungunu). Matakite, originally from Wairoa, returned after years working in Australia.
- Te Marino Lenihan, (Ngāi Tūahuriri Ngāi Tahu). Cultural Liaison between developers and tangata whenua. Lawyer raised in the North Island. Whakapapas to Kaiapoi Pā.

- Billy¹³¹, (Waitaha, Ngāi Tūahuriri). Cultural monitor, archaeological field assistant on Pegasus Town excavation, worked in Australia.
- Cherie Williams, (Ngāi Tūahuriri Ngāi Tahu). Cultural monitor, archaeological field assistant on Pegasus Town excavation.
- Frankie Williams (Ngāi Tūahuriri, Ngāi Tahu). Cultural monitor, archaeological field assistant on Pegasus Town excavation.

The part time work I undertook led to invaluable field experience because the events I experienced in the course of that work were not structured, but ‘natural’ and I could observe what actually was going on — the heritage practices — and my own reactions. The projects included work with NIWA and Tangoio Marae on historical fishing practices in their rohe. Two Crown Forestry Rental Trust (CFRT)¹³² projects also contributed to my participant observation ‘field’ work. The first, for Ngāti Pahauwera, involved identifying sites of significance in twelve DoC reserves to provide additional support for their claim for more than token parcels of land. Archaeological field surveys were undertaken with Pam Bain and hapū members, and I did additional historic research in the Māori Land Court Minute Books, which was then correlated with names on old maps and archaeological information to provide a robust justification for a better outcome for Ngāti Pahauwera than they had been offered by the Crown.

The second project was for Mana Ahuriri, a group of seven closely inter-related hapū in the Napier area. This was a different type of research project. I think a ‘classic’ Waitangi claim process, driven by Wellington lawyers and heavily reliant on professional historians from outside Hawke’s Bay, so that it revealed the tendency to elevate the ‘expert’, in this case the lawyer and the historian. It lacked any understanding of the benefits of archaeological or landscape research — one legal historian went so far as to deride archaeology. One of the steps in ‘settling’ claims is to identify sites of significance (pā, kainga, eel weirs, streams, swamps, etc.) to the claimants. These are then overlaid on the Crown land available for ‘settlement’ and the history and associated evidence (e.g. archaeological sites or well-documented customary practices) is used to determine what land or other compensation will be given as part of the reparations. There are many places that are not recorded in Hawke’s Bay and although it takes considerable research to actually correlate them with place names and history, their very presence in the land provides proof of occupation and adds weight to

¹³¹ Billy did not want to be fully identified.

¹³² Crown Forestry Rental Trust, <http://www.cfrt.org.nz/>. CFRT provides funding and assistance to Māori who have claims against the Crown that may involve or could involve Crown forest licensed Lands.

claims for land blocks as well as assisting the people to make reconnections with the places of their ancestors. Unfortunately there was no provision for any field work in this project and consequently this valuable tool was not used.



Fig. 2: Coastal pā at Moeangiangi, north of Napier. The defensive ditch (etc.) shows as lines on left hand hill. This is one of six unrecorded and unnamed places recently located that are within the Maungaharuru ki Tangitu Waitangi Claim area. The photograph is taken looking east from one of the other unrecorded pā.

I also had opportunities through my social connections to observe people's interactions and responses to places, for example, on visits to local sites important to Māori such as Hakikino, Purahatangihe and Arapaoanui. These will be discussed further in chapter three. Another related experience occurred when I visited my own great-grandfather's grave in Aramac in Western Queensland. This highlighted for me the importance of 'place' and the sensory experiences gained from actually going there and making the connections with the past and enabled me to (tentatively) extrapolate my experiences to understand other people's responses to heritage places.

These experiences of working professionally in the field, and more informal social experiences with people and places while I was undertaking the more structured interviews led me to revise my methodology. The role of participant observer was added to my research tools because it provided useful insights into another way of viewing heritage — as a

performance of the intangible — and because it allowed the experiences of a practitioner's performances to be recounted. These experiences enabled me to replace the more structured observational surveys, that is, semi-participant video-recording of visits to the places that I had included in my original methodology, with participant observation. It was a more 'natural', less intrusive way of obtaining information about discourses. Rountree and Laing say that "participant observation is central to ethnographic methods ... it requires the researcher to participate in the everyday lives of the research participants and at the same time to observe, reflect on and record all this experience."¹³³ A typology has been developed to show the variations between different researchers: the researcher may be a complete observer, an observer as a participant, a participant as observer, or a complete participant, although Atkinson and Hammersley consider this to be an oversimplification.¹³⁴ James Fernandez describes participant observation as "essentially a method aimed at the experience of place."¹³⁵ It was the unstructured, random experiences that I had as participant observer which led to my realisation that not only were these experiences crucial to my understanding of heritage, but a core part of my research methodology.

This also led to the addition of other places to the original two case studies, and instead of comparing the effect of the archaeological discourse on the places and the people's understandings of heritage in just two situations, I moved to exploring two different discourses spread over a greater range of sites: archaeological discourse and Māori discourse. With a broader analysis of a range of sites, my aim moved from looking at the sites and effects of the archaeological strategies and discourses, to exploring two discourses, Māori and archaeologists, to discover how they understood heritage and archaeology, and what heritage places meant to them.

My fieldwork changed the focus of my research, from the destruction of archaeological sites (although that remains a core underlying concern), to an interest in the *meaning* of heritage places to people and whether understanding their performances around places would enable me to comprehend what heritage is and how people respond to places. Associated with this was a question about the relationships between the two groups and how they affected each other and in turn the places. My objective was now to use the deeper knowledge gained from my

¹³³ Kathryn Rountree and Tricia Laing, *Writing by Degrees: A Practical Guide to Writing Theses and Research Papers* (Auckland: Longman, 1996). 102.

¹³⁴ Rountree and Laing, *Writing by Degrees*, 102.

¹³⁵ James Fernandez, "Emergence and Convergence in Some African Sacred Places," in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Blackwell, 2003). 187.

research into the different discourses of archaeologists and Māori to develop a broader and more inclusive model of heritage that incorporates both discourses and allows for a more creative and equitable way of governing heritage and facilitates the retention and use of heritage places. Therefore I formulated a revised question that captures more fully the focus of my research:

What is heritage, how is it practised, and how should it be ‘managed’ in twenty-first century New Zealand? Closely inter-related with this question is: Why are there separate legal and management systems for ‘archaeological sites’?

Subsidiary questions include: What do heritage places mean to Māori and archaeologists? Can understanding the discourses of these two quite different groups, the relationships between the two groups and how they affect each other, and in turn the places, contribute effectively to improving heritage management practice in New Zealand?

I conclude this section with some information about the major places mentioned in the text; the map of Hawke’s Bay shows most of the places and brief descriptions follow.

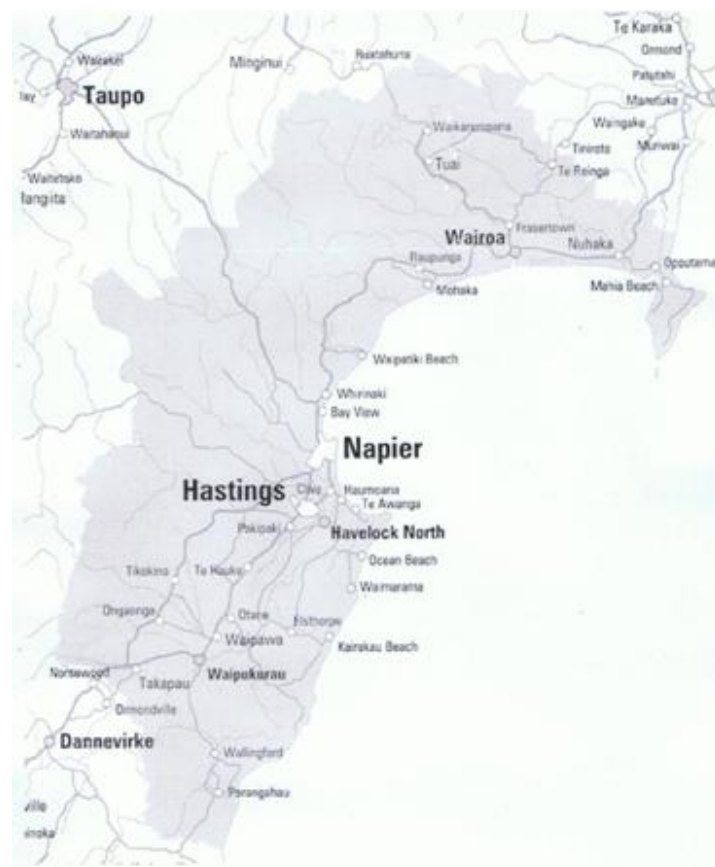


Fig. 3: Map of Hawke’s Bay.

Heipipi Pā Historic Reserve, Bay View: The land was part of the Ahuriri Block purchase of approximately 260,000 acres made by Donald McLean in 1851. From 1859 it was owned and farmed by various Europeans until purchased by the Crown in 1990. The reserve, gazetted in 1992, is administered by DoC's Wellington/Hawke's Bay conservancy. The history is confusing and associated with several iwi/hapū. The most important inhabitant was Tunui, a god, tohunga, or spirit who prevented Taraia from taking Heipipi when he and his Ngāti Kahungunu followers arrived in Heretaunga.¹³⁶



Fig. 4: Part of Heipipi Pā Historic Reserve overlooking the settlement of Bay View, Hawke's Bay.

Otatara Pā Historic Reserve Taradale, southwest Napier: This was also within the Ahuriri Block purchase. Part of the reserve was purchased in 1971 by the Crown, Napier City and Hawke's Bay County Councils. In 1973 it became a historic reserve managed by a Trust Board until 1981 when administration passed to the Department of Lands and Survey. The Crown bought the quarry in May 1979, but quarrying continued until September 1986. In 2005 further land was purchased by DoC. Since 1987, DoC in consultation with Ngāti Paarau of Waiohiki Marae, the hapū, which "sits in the shadow of Otatara," has managed the reserve. This hapū has the mandate to represent the many other hapū in Hawke's Bay linked to Otatara, and is descended from Hikawera II who lived at Otatara Pā and was the great grandson of Taraia, the

¹³⁶ Patrick Parsons, "Wai 400: The Ahuriri Block Maori Customary Interests," in *Waitangi Tribunal Reports* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1997).

leader of the Kahungunu infiltration into Heretaunga. Otatara Pā is one of the largest and oldest pā in Hawke's Bay (see figs. 5 and 6.)



Fig. 5: The entrance to Otatara Pā Historic Reserve. This is the quarried Otatara Pā — pou and palisading are ‘healing’ the damage. The complex extends behind and to the right of this photograph.



Fig. 6: Otatara Pā Historic Reserve showing terracing and pits. The defensive bank is in the centre of the photograph. Hikurangi Pā *top right* is also visible.

Ngāti Pahauwera heritage places: These are on DoC land situated north and north-west of the Mohaka River, around Raupunga in northern Hawke’s Bay. The land was alienated by most of the methods used by the government: block purchase (Mohaka Block 1851); confiscation (Mohaka-Waikari confiscation 1867); the consolidation schemes of the 1930s onwards; and sale through the Māori Land Court.¹³⁷ The place considered in this thesis is Maulders’ Conservation Area, an area alienated in 1966 and the remainder in 1969. After several European owners it was transferred to the Crown in 1985. The founder of Ngāti Pahauwera was Tureia who came from Mahia. He and his people lived at Waipapa, Pirau and Te Mokehu, but their descendants spread out over the land.¹³⁸

Hakikino Pā: This is west of Te Apiti Road, south of Waimarama. It was bought by the Crown as part of the government’s soldier resettlement scheme after World War I but repurchased by the Māori owners of Pouhokio Station. The station is a working farm but associated with it is a cultural tourism operation and a nursery growing native plants.¹³⁹ Hakikino is a Rangitāne Pā that was captured by Te Aomatarahi, one of Taraia’s ‘generals’. Hinengātiira, the high born Rangitāne woman, was found hidden in a cave nearby and married to Te Aomatarahi’s son Rongomaipureora, thus founding the hapū of Waimarama (see fig. 3).

Kaiapoi Pā and the wider Pegasus Town landscape, North Canterbury, South Island:

This land was included in ‘Kemp’s Purchase’ of 1848 which exceeded 20,000,000 acres. “The price paid was £2,000, and land to the extent of 6,359 acres was set apart for the Natives shortly after the sale.”¹⁴⁰ Kaiapoi Pā was famous for its pounamu industry and became the centre of trade, but “fell in the early 1830s at the hands of Te Rauparaha and his allies, and the resulting bloodshed from that slaughter rendered the landscape tapu.”¹⁴¹ It is north-east of Rangiora on the map of New Zealand (see fig.1).

¹³⁷ “Mohaka Ki Ahuriri Report,” (2004), <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/view.asp?reportid=d6d0c6a3-efe6-4507-b4b3-6dd4bf5c5552>.

¹³⁸ Elizabeth Pishief and Pam Bain, “Ngati Pahauwera: Places of Significance Supplementary Report,” (Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2009). 9.

¹³⁹ Robert Macdonald, 24 November 2009.

¹⁴⁰ Alexander Mackay, “Land Purchases, Middle Island: In Continuation of Paper G. 6, 1874, Presented 29th July, 1874: Presented to Both Houses of the General Assembly by Command of His Excellency,” (Wellington: New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 1875).1.

¹⁴¹ Te Marino Lenihan, “Developing Ancestral Landscapes: The Interface between Developers and Tangata Whenua,”(n.d.), http://researcharchive.lincoln.ac.nz/dspace/bitstream/10182/1451/1/Lenihan_Marino.pdf.

Conclusion

I am now ready to pull together the theoretical framework drawn from the literature reviewed above with the methodology laid out in this section. My theoretical framework links Foucault's tripartite theory of governmentality and Cameron's concept of liquid governmentalities with a model of heritage as a complex construction created by individual performative discourses that create social networks of belonging. This framework provides a way of exploring the relationships between discourse, power and place in a post-settler nation. It also enables the analysis of various heritage performances to be considered as the 'strategic games' that people play that influence and create technologies of government, which are themselves produced by the dominant, naturalised, social and political structures. The emergent heritage studies field, with its theories about the intangibility of heritage, discursive performance, heritage as a constructed process and the contested nature of heritage, provides the tools for critically examining the naturalised discourse of current heritage management. In my framework, phenomenological understandings that people understand the world by experiencing it (Being and Being-in-the world), and anthropological theories of place attachment, are brought together with concepts of kinaesthesia, agency and an understanding of the critical importance of praxis. Thus we can see how people create their individual identity through processes of shared experience, cognitive understandings and social networks, which form fluid and heterogeneous groups. It is with these groups, whether small or large, that the pressures and tensions of heritage management arise. Group ambition and the struggle for recognition are key elements in the contestation around heritage places where these matters are negotiated, or ignored.

In this thesis I argue that heritage is located in places and objects which are constructed by the discourses around them, in other words, the language associated with them is fundamental to their 'being'. By reframing archaeological sites as heritage places they become places where new discourses can emerge. By reconstructing heritage not as a tangible 'thing' but an intangible, emotional, imaginative, memory-laden, cultural performance around place(s) that is inherently political and dissonant, and concerned with the making, remaking, and, or, maintenance of identity (in the present), the gap between intangible and tangible heritage is bridged. The performances of heritage are complex and can be enacted by, or from, many perspectives: they may be cultural, archaeological or political; they may be undertaken by individuals or groups — including 'experts', descendants, or visitors.

The model of heritage employed in my thesis provides for a more inclusive way of appreciating and managing heritage places in a bicultural society, which includes Māori notions of cultural landscapes, (taonga, tikanga, mauri and kaitiaki) and develops and strengthens themes of community and governance. The liquid governmentality concept adds to my theoretical framework because as Cameron explains “it allows the possibility of different governmental solutions to emerge. It allows us to view the present and future in different ways, to observe interactions between the multifarious discourses as a creative process.”¹⁴² Liquid governmentalities enables me to move away from established ideologies and institutions, the view that “what is possible is always determined by what already exists,”¹⁴³ to consider new, alternative ways of viewing heritage and its discourse, practice and governance. By bringing together the three bodies of theory: Carman’s work on the structures of heritage and archaeological discourse and the construct of heritage; Laurajane Smith’s major theoretical concepts and tools (the AHD, performance, discourse, politics and governmentality); and Nicholas, Tilley, Low et al’s phenomenological, material and anthropological work on place, space and embodiment, as well some of the emergent ideas about the agency of things (places), I am advancing heritage studies internationally as well as nationally.

This introduction now concludes with an outline of the contents of the following four chapters. Chapter one describes Māori land-based heritage within a post-settler framework. It provides background information about the Treaty of Waitangi, land alienation, the assimilation of Māori into colonial society and Māori cultural resilience. An overview of the legislation relevant to archaeological heritage management is covered, before a brief discussion about current heritage practice. Chapters two and three present my findings about the discourses of archaeologists and the discourses of Māori: chapter two draws on the interviews to discover what archaeologists think of heritage and archaeology and examines two practices CRM and conservation management that shed light on archaeological schema and performance and the influence of archaeologists on the legislation; chapter three provides a brief overview of some customary concepts before exploring Māori heritage discourses and practices and their uses of archaeology. Chapter four analyses and discusses the findings from the research and draws some conclusions about the nature of heritage before proposing a new

¹⁴²Cameron, “Liquid Governmentalities, Liquid Museums and the Climate Crisis.”

¹⁴³ Ibid. 126

form of heritage management that takes into account the discourses that prevail in New Zealand heritage practice that this research has revealed.

Chapter one

Māori land-based heritage within the settlers' discourse

This chapter discusses the background to heritage management in Aotearoa New Zealand by first setting it in its context as a 'settler' nation, like Canada and Australia, that is, a former colony of the British Empire where the British settlers have retained their political and numerical dominance. The English language, law, social systems, religious practices, educational systems and many other cultural manifestations and values of Britain have been retained.¹ Māori and their culture have been subservient to the dominant British culture since the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s after which the colonial government assumed full responsibility for Māori affairs.² Now, despite apparent "new government policies of biculturalism and 'post-colonial' academic critique,"³ many attitudes remain unreflectively Eurocentric, and ostensible official attempts to create a bicultural society have met with ongoing social resistance.

Māori resilience within the settlers' land

The Treaty of Waitangi (the Treaty), signed in 1840 by a representative of the British Crown and over 500 chiefs, is 'the founding document' of New Zealand and remains a central issue in the life of the nation, beset with conflict as it was from the beginning. The Treaty was a method of gaining Māori co-operation to enable peaceful European settlement, although the settlers themselves were not all committed to the Treaty.⁴ The major issues, particularly after the passing of the New Zealand Constitution Act in 1852, were the acquisition of land, the procurement of power and the neutralisation of Māori opposition.⁵

The Treaty is a complex area of law, with many problems that have not been resolved satisfactorily. A major reason for the difficulties is that there are two versions, one in Māori and one in English (as well as an English translation of the Māori version). For example, in the Māori version the British were given the right of governance 'kawanatanga', but in the English version Māori ceded 'sovereignty', which had no direct translation into Māori —

¹ Amiria Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). 12.

² Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, Port Nicholson Press, 1987). 3.

³ Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*. 14.

⁴ Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*. 3-4.

⁵ Gavin McLean, 2011.

there was no overarching ruler of New Zealand — as each chief had rangatiratanga of his own area. Consequently, Māori thought they had ceded governance in return for protection, while still retaining responsibility for their own affairs. Again, in Article 2, the word ‘rangatiratanga’ was used to promise upholding the authority Māori had over their lands and taonga. This word emphasises status and authority, but the English text emphasised property and ownership rights by guaranteeing “Māori the undisturbed possession of their properties, including their lands, forests, and fisheries, for as long as they wished to retain them.”⁶ Article 3 promised the benefits of royal protection and full citizenship, emphasising equality.

The Treaty governs the relationship between the Crown and Māori and the rights it proclaims are enforceable in the courts in certain circumstances. The Waitangi Tribunal (the Tribunal) has the statutory role of interpreting the Treaty and advising the government on ways of resolving Māori grievances. By 1991 the Tribunal had concluded that many of the principles of the Treaty were inherent in the general principle that “the cession by Māori of sovereignty to the Crown was in exchange for the protection by the Crown of Maori rangatiratanga.” Tino rangatiratanga is ‘full chieftainship’ and approaches the power of sovereignty in its intensity of control, which includes not just lands, estates, forests and fisheries, but all that they treasure, including culture, language and tikanga, or custom, as well as many other material resources. Andrew Sharp says the courts have “with impeccable orthodoxy, found the authority of expertise to lie with the Tribunal as to the content of the principles of the Treaty, but not the authority to make the opinions law.”⁷

The Tribunal was created in response to Māori protest at their situation in the 1970s resulting from their dispossession from their lands and other taonga by the government since 1840. The loss of land, the loss of connections with that land and the accompanying loss of kaitiakitanga and tino rangatiratanga are major concerns of Māori and of this thesis. Land alienation was achieved by a number of different methods, which were refined as the need for land for the incoming settlers became more pressing. Jeffrey Sissons discusses the settlement process of the European colonisers with regard to indigenous land saying that it had to “undergo a process of cultural erasure and re-inscription before becoming national property. It had to be surveyed, mapped, blocked, subdivided, legally described, given monetary value

⁶ “Meaning of the Treaty,” Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpu Whakamanu i Te Tiriti o Waitangi, <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/meaning.asp>.

⁷ Andrew Sharp, “The Treaty in the Real Life of the Constitution,” in *Waitangi Revisited: Perspectives on the Treaty of Waitangi*, ed. Michael Belgrave, Merata Kawharu, and David Williams (Oxford, New York, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2005). 316-7.

and fenced.” Many of the laws to do with indigenous land were aimed “at removing land from the control of traditional leaders, often by creating lists of individual owners for legally surveyed blocks.”⁸

Richard Boast explains the phases of land-purchasing by the Crown began with the “so-called pre-emption era from 1840 to 1860.”⁹ During the land wars from 1860 to 1869, land was acquired by confiscation and through the Māori Land Court established by the Native Lands Act 1862. Settlers could directly purchase Māori land once the owners had a title from the Court and a Crown grant. Both the New Zealand Settlements Act and the Suppression of Rebellion Act in 1863 gave the government wide-ranging powers to confiscate tribal lands. Durie remarks that “tribes who actively or passively resisted surveyors or sales were regarded as rebels and their lands were confiscated. Even if there was little more than a suspicion of ‘rebellion’, land could be taken.”¹⁰

The second phase of state purchasing was different because the 1862–1873 Native Land Acts completely changed Māori land tenure from “a customary tenure governed by Māori customary law to a kind of freehold grant governed by the common law and statute.” It was the interaction between the new legal structures formed by Native Lands Acts and government policy that “created the highly distinctive and socially damaging Crown purchasing system.”¹¹ The Māori Land Court was modelled on the British courts of law and there was no opportunity to incorporate Māori forms of justice, evidence, and debate or to give local chiefs roles in determination as had been promised.¹²

Land fragmentation occurred because the Māori Land Court applied the principle of succession to Māori land, which undermined Māori communal land tenure and rapidly made land economically worthless. ‘Consolidation’ was an attempt to resolve the economic problems, but without addressing the issue of succession, the cause of the problem.¹³ The Native Land Act 1909 provided the first set of comprehensive schemes on land consolidation. Sir Apirana Ngata became the Native Minister in 1928 and began implementing his life-long

⁸ Jeffrey Sissons, *First Peoples Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures* (London: Reaktion 2005). 143.

⁹ Richard Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921* (Wellington: Victoria University Press Victoria University of Wellington Law Review, 2008). 5-6.

¹⁰ Mason H. Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998). 118-9.

¹¹ Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*. 6.

¹² Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination*. 117.

¹³ S. K. L. Campbell, “National Overview of Land Consolidation Schemes 1909-1931,” (Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1998). 5-7.

policy of promoting the development of Māori land by and for Māori.¹⁴ He supported the land consolidation scheme, although consolidation was very much in the Crown's interest. S. K. L. Campbell comments that "interestingly the consent of Māori was not a legal pre-requisite for schemes, Māori had no avenue through which to appeal, new terms and conditions could and were imposed upon existing consolidation arrangements." Furthermore, "Māori ancestral ties to the land were repeatedly subordinated to the Crown's objective of enabling Māori land to be profitably utilised and occupied."¹⁵

The policy of 'amalgamation' or assimilation was used to bring Māori under the same judicial and political system as the settlers, but with only nominal equality before the law and with very little help to achieve a genuine equality in economic and social life.¹⁶ This official policy was not challenged until well into the twentieth century.¹⁷ From the beginning of European settlement the methods and underlying purpose of educating Māori children to learn English language and culture ('civilisation') were problematic for Māori.¹⁸ But assimilation was advocated by both Sir Māui Pōmare and Sir Peter Buck/Te Rangi Hiroa in the 1906 annual report of the Health Department.¹⁹ Pōmare said: "There is no alternative but to become a pakeha ... no hope for the Maori but in ultimate absorption by the pakeha." Buck, in the same report, pressed for the removal of Māori communal land and its replacement with individual titles "to enable him to take his stand on terms of equality with the whiteman as fellow citizen."²⁰

Māori were demographically, socially, and economically much more disadvantaged than Pākehā. Nevertheless, they remained semi-autonomous, because, although "they had lost most of their best land and most of their powers of effective resistance," they were predominately rural, and isolated from urban Pākehā society. By the 1920s, despite the "rhetoric of assimilation," Māori were largely leading a life of benign segregation. This was a

¹⁴ Eric Ramsden, *Sir Apirana Ngata* (Wellington: A H & A W Reed, 1948). 41.

¹⁵ Campbell, "National Overview of Land Consolidation Schemes 1909-1931." 1-2.

¹⁶ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand* (Auckland: University of Auckland, 1978). 308.

¹⁷ R. K Harker and K. R McConnochie, *Education as Cultural Artifact: Studies in Maori and Aboriginal Education* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1985). 57.

¹⁸ J. M Barrington and T. H Beaglehole, *Maori Schools in a Changing Society* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1974). 4.

¹⁹ Graham Butterworth, "Pomare, Maui Wiremu Piti Naera (?1875 - 1930)," in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, ed. Claudia Orange (Auckland/Wellington: University of Auckland/Department of Internal Affairs, 1996)., 404; M. P. K Sorrensen, "Buck, Peter Henry (?1877-1951)," in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, ed. Claudia Orange (Auckland, Wellington: University of Auckland/Department of Internal Affairs, 1996). 72.

²⁰ Harker and McConnochie, *Education as Cultural Artifact: Studies in Maori and Aboriginal Education*. 59.

result of the work and influence of great leaders such as Sir James Carroll, Te Puea Hērangi, Tahupōtiki Rātana, but particularly, Sir Āpirana Ngata. A variety of separate religious, military, welfare, land development, educational, cultural, and sporting organisations assisted to “preserve Māoriness and helped make a certain limited amount of space for it in state and society.”²¹ This was achieved through a mix of protest and co-operation, engagement and disengagement so that Māori, can be seen to be in part responsible for their ‘better’ position than many other indigenous peoples of settler societies. Māori managed to retain their identity as Māori despite the assimilation policies and the ‘minimisation of difference’ that prevailed in the 1880s and beyond during the ‘recolonial’ period, when the relationship with the ‘metropolis’ (Great Britain) was tightened and modern New Zealand became “an ideological and economic (though not necessarily a cultural and social) semi-colony of Britain.”²² In this society enormous pressure was placed on ethnic minorities to conform and assimilate, but difference persisted as a New Zealand Dutchness or Scotsness or a modern Māoriness; hybridisations created by the mingling of people in a small country influenced by the ‘compound cultures’ (global, pan-British/American, New Zealand) developing throughout and beyond New Zealand.²³ A further influence — not to be forgotten — is the land itself, and its situation in the South Pacific.

Education remained a tool in the process of assimilation, but increasingly after 1945, many Māori moved from their rural areas to work in urban areas and the children were educated in the mainstream schools. Although the “ubiquitous assimilationist policy” dominated New Zealand education, as early as 1936 W. D. Dale was advocating for ‘fusion’, an attempt at compromise that had seeds of the idea of ‘cultural differences’, and a reflection of changing official policy on assimilation. In 1949, Prime Minister Peter Fraser spoke of “an independent, self-reliant and satisfied Maori race working side by side with the pakeha as the Government’s aim.”²⁴ However, policy is not the same thing as practice. J. K. Hunn’s *Report on Department of Maori Affairs*, 1961, dominated the race relations debate in New Zealand reinforcing the official policy on ‘integration’, defined as: “to combine (not fuse) the Maori

²¹ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 2001). 206.

²² Ibid. 11.

²³ Ibid. 190-1; 217-219.

²⁴ Harker and McConnochie, *Education as Cultural Artifact: Studies in Maori and Aboriginal Education*. 61, citing Butterworth, G.V, “Highpoint and Hiatus” in D.H. Bray and C.G.N. Hill (eds) *Polynesian and Pakeha in New Zealand Education*, Vol. 1. Auckland, Heinemann, 1973, 17.

and pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct.”²⁵ It made far-reaching recommendations on social reform for Māori and encouraged them to move into the urban areas.²⁶ Alan Ward notes that in the 1960s Erik Schwimmer argued that Māori aspired to an ‘ambiculturalism’, or “tolerance of cultural differences [and] recognition of the validity of the two cultures and the ability of each to make creative use of the other.” Māori leaders have held this aspiration since the beginning of culture contact — wanting to select European influences, while retaining their own mana regarding their society and culture. But government policy directed that “the unity of the New Zealand people was only to be achieved by a uniformity of institutions — inevitably the colonists’ institutions.”²⁷ In the 1970s, Māori communities began to affect government, although Māori academic Ranginui Walker commented in 1972 that, “the paternalistic, ethnocentric, assimilative *ethos* of the dominant Pakeha society is more inimical to social harmony in New Zealand than the desire of the Maori to perpetuate his own cultural and social institutions.”²⁸

Sissons stresses the idea of the ‘authentic’ Māori as an important element in this historical process, commenting, “indigenous authenticity is racism and primitivism in disguise ... the earlier racial thinking persists in the shadow of the new culturalism.”²⁹ He elaborates “racism now exists as a trace, a ghostly presence that haunts culturalist thought.”³⁰ It is the different techniques that the oppressive idea of authenticity uses which maintain the distinctions between the settler and the Other. These include eco-authenticity, biological/social authenticity and cultural authenticity, particularly tribal authenticity. The operation of eco-authenticity is discernible by indigenous people having to demonstrate their continuous traditional links and uses of land (and the sea-bed and coast) in order to be able to have their rights and identities officially recognised. Indigenous people who do not belong to tribes, especially urban dwellers, are commonly excluded from official recognition on the grounds of cultural (in) authenticity. Oppressive cultural authenticity is apparent in New Zealand in the exclusion of non-tribal Māori from their rights to a share in the fisheries. In 1992, Māori tribal representatives and the government agreed that the tribes would receive a half share of a fishing company and a percentage of the fishing quota, but only those who affiliated with an iwi (tribe) would receive a share. About 26 per cent of the Māori population consequently

²⁵ Cited in Ibid. 61.

²⁶ J.K. Hunn, “Report on Department of Maori Affairs,” ed. Maori Affairs (Wellington 1961).

²⁷ Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*. 312.

²⁸ Harker and McConnochie, *Education as Cultural Artifact: Studies in Maori and Aboriginal Education*. 62.

²⁹ Sissons, *First Peoples Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures*. 37.

³⁰ Ibid. 37.

became an excluded middle, neither fully individual, nor fully tribal. Although urbanism and mobility are the realities of the modern lifestyle, urban indigenous people are viewed with suspicion by officialdom, which considers them to be ‘dislocated’ and does not include them in cultural policy or constitutional debates as they should be. According to Sissons, the politics of authenticity suggests that the future of diverse indigenous people will be one of increasing exclusion through the “operation of official and self-imposed binary distinctions.”³¹ He also considers the idea of ‘hybridity’ or the melding of cultures and the creation of vibrant new ones, to be equally problematic because “hybridity is ... a term reserved almost exclusively for Others; it is a new conceptual tool for the maintenance of a binary distinction between indigenous otherness and the post-settler self.”³² Nevertheless, despite these concerns Sissons suggests that “the future for indigenous cultures will be the development of a new politics of urban belonging and rural-urban connection,”³³ with kinship playing a vital and inclusive role.

An understanding of contemporary New Zealand society has to take into account debates about culture, power and sovereignty. Sociologists Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley consider ways in which Māori rights to tino rangatiratanga might be incorporated into future constitutional arrangements and propose that “questions of sovereignty and jurisdiction need to be considered and a negotiated resolution attempted that is capable of recognising multiple jurisdictions and especially those that afford space and autonomy to Māori.” They argue that as cultural identity provides an alternative basis for entitlement, indigenous rights need to be addressed by a “bi-nationalism that grants significant space and discretion to Māori for autonomy, primarily but not exclusively at the local level.” Many people now believe that “Māori ambitions for tino rangatiratanga need to be given effect, and the constitution of Aotearoa should incorporate the rights of the tangata whenua.”³⁴

Māori academic Mason Durie has always argued that there are several terms used to describe Māori aspirations for greater control over their own destinies and resources. These include sovereignty, autonomy, independence, self-governance, self determination, tino rangatiratanga, and mana motuhake. There are important distinctions between them, although they all encompass ideas about the advancement of Māori as Māori, the protection of the

³¹ Ibid. 57.

³² Ibid. 37; 42; 53.

³³ Ibid. 59.

³⁴ Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1999). 253.

environment, and reject the tenet of assimilation. He says the term which carries the most colonial overtones is 'sovereignty' since it "ascribes sovereign power to a supreme source," which does not reflect "Māori decision-making, which favours consensus rather than decree." Many Māori are convinced that "cultural and economic survival is not necessarily to be found in a duplication of colonial arrangements for power or governance."³⁵

As I have shown in tracing the historical and social background to New Zealand society, heritage management has to be understood in the context of a post-settler society in which the descendants of the colonists are numerically, politically and culturally dominant and retain their language, law, political, social, and cultural structures.³⁶ Academic and museum professional David Butts draws attention to the way the "dominant culture in New Zealand assumes the power to define the limits of indigenous recognition in itself and exercise of (in) tolerance ... within the politics of (in) tolerant multiculturalism." He says that multiculturalism is an adaptive strategy by the dominant culture of dealing with dissonant voices in society. It replaces an *intolerant* racism with a *tolerant* racism.³⁷

Some of the dissonance regarding land-based heritage places results from different ideas about land (although it is also strongly associated with notions of sovereignty and territoriality), including the management of land and the legislation around land. Consequently, the legislative framework of land administration in New Zealand will be touched upon to give contextual background, prior to a brief discussion of the relevant legislation regarding historic places in New Zealand. Boast explains that real property statutes fall into three main groups: those that deal with Māori land and the jurisdiction of the Māori Land Court, starting with the Native Lands Acts of 1862, 1865 and 1873, which became "a famously intricate jungle in their own right," (not clarified until 1909); the various Land Acts that dealt with the administration and alienation of Crown lands; and statutes that "dealt with the national surveying system, with registration and state guarantee of land titles, beginning with the Land Transfer Act 1870." New Zealand's land laws are still structured by statutes in these key areas: "the current versions being the Te Ture Whenua Maori/Maori Land Act 1993, the Land Act 1948, and the Land Transfer Act 1952."³⁸

³⁵ Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination*. 218-9.

³⁶ Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*. 12.

³⁷ David Butts, "Museum Governance, Indigenous Recognition and (in)Tolerant Multiculturalism," *New Zealand Sociology* 21, no. 1 (2006). 91, citing Jane Kelsey in Fleras, 1999, 209. [The brackets and italics are in the original].

³⁸ Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori Land in the North Island 1865-1921*. 4-5.

Archaeological heritage legislation: its origins, implementation and manifestations

The modern ideas of heritage emerged in the Western world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the intellectual movement (the Enlightenment) developed the principles of observation and testing that laid the foundation for modern science. Collecting, understanding, and displaying objects from the past and other places were the activities of privileged, leisured people who were “strongly involved in social and cultural practices of meaning and identity making.”³⁹ The categories that came to dominate heritage could be investigated by the same techniques as Enlightenment researchers used for scientific knowledge so “heritage had to be collectible, classifiable and comparable,” and had to relate to the “big questions of the Enlightenment about the origins of nations, religion and human progress.”⁴⁰ In France in 1837, the Commission des Monuments Historique established an inventory of buildings that were selected according to date, architectural style or associated historic event. Susie West and Jacqueline Ansell emphasise “the same **criteria** dominate the twentieth century approach to selection.”⁴¹ National legislation proliferated in the twentieth century and international frameworks expanded. Consequently, heritage processes devised by professionals to assist other professionals to manage and maintain objects of heritage intensified. Common principles and tools, such as conservation plans, have been developed to assist with the documentation of interventions.

In Australia, the Burra Charter in 1999 renamed sites and monuments as ‘places of cultural significance’, which switched the emphasis from fabric to the meanings of places, that is, the ‘significance’ people attribute to material culture. The definition of significance did include the three old values: aesthetic, historic, and scientific, but social value was added, which included community values of tangible places, thus pushing the established canon towards selecting places that represent broader social interests.⁴²

The protection of natural heritage has a long history in New Zealand compared with historic heritage, although some Māori pā were reserved under the Scenery Preservation Act 1903 (SPA).⁴³ This legislation focussed on the preservation of places of scenic beauty, but did

³⁹ Susie West and Jacqueline Ansell, “A History of Heritage,” in *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, ed. Susie West (Manchester: Manchester University Press/The Open University, 2010). 8.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 8-9.

⁴¹ Ibid. Emphasis in original.

⁴² Susie West and Jacqueline Ansell, “A History of Heritage,” in *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, ed. Susie West (Manchester: Manchester University Press/The Open University, 2010), 11; 33; 40.

⁴³ This was amended in 1906.

provide for the acquisition of land of historical interest.⁴⁴ Māori places and artefacts were inextricably bound up in the colonial mind with natural history.⁴⁵ Scenery preservation societies emerged at the end of the nineteenth century and some, such as the Taranaki Scenery Preservation Society (1891) used the SPA to preserve Māori pā sites, a major interest to this Society, because two members, S. Percy Smith and W. H. Skinner had a “profound, if appropriated” interest in history.⁴⁶ Consequently, there are a number of historic reserves in Taranaki, such as Pukerangiora Pā at Waitara (bought in 1909) that were reserved under this legislation.⁴⁷ Historian Kynan Gentry comments that these historic reserves “were exploited in the name of the country’s rapidly expanding tourism industry.”⁴⁸ The SPA was also a response by the government to important social shifts in New Zealand. Prime Minister Richard Seddon articulated the belief that by experiencing New Zealand’s “beautiful gorges and bush scenery” the new population would make a connection with the land which would assist them to identify with New Zealand as ‘home’.⁴⁹

An incident in 1917 over plans to remove rock art in Otago for museum collections caused considerable concern, resulting in the Scenery Preservation Board’s annual report in 1918 mentioning that “‘historical monuments’ would include aboriginal rock-paintings, earthworks of Maori pas, Maori or pre-Maori stone fences, battle-sites of Maori wars, redoubts, blockhouses and perhaps certain buildings erected by the early colonists.”⁵⁰ Interest in the landscape of the New Zealand Wars grew between 1890 and mid-1920s and marks “a watershed in the history of historic preservation in New Zealand.”⁵¹ Gentry identifies three themes associated with this emerging interest, the first being the power of local identification with the places, which was far stronger than any “perceived values of the wars as being nationally important;”⁵² second, the sites began to be increasingly viewed as sites of tourism; and third, anniversaries were important as “nostalgic points of reference for the preservation

⁴⁴ Gavin McLean, “Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze,” in *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, ed. Alexander Trapeznik (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000). 27.

⁴⁵ Elizabeth Pishief, “Augustus Hamilton: Appropriation, Ownership and Authority” (Massey, 1998).

⁴⁶ David Young, *Our Islands, Our Selves: A History of Conservation in New Zealand* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004). 99.

⁴⁷ Lands & Survey, “4/431 Scenic Reserves - Pukerangiora Pa Scenic Reserve - Taranaki Land District 1909-1964,” ed. Department of Conservation (Wellington: Archives New Zealand, 1909-1964).

⁴⁸ Kynan Harley Gentry, “Associations Make Identities: The Origins and Evolution of Historic Preservation in New Zealand” (Melbourne, 2009). 125.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 125, citing Seddon, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, (NZPD) vol. 126, 22 October 1903, 704-5.

⁵⁰ McLean, “Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze.” 29, citing Report of the Scenery Preservation Board, 1918, *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, C-6. 2.

⁵¹ Gentry, “Associations Make Identities: The Origins and Evolution of Historic Preservation in New Zealand”. 199.

⁵² Ibid.

cause.”⁵³ In 1917, J. Allan Thompson recommended that local bodies be given the power to purchase or become guardians of historic sites and monuments, recognising the unique relationship that local communities have with the heritage in their areas.⁵⁴

In the years preceding the New Zealand Centennial in 1940, the greatest impact of the commemorations was on local communities as many people began to investigate and preserve their local histories. This interest led to “a flood of renewed associations between community and place,” comments Gentry, which had a “profound impact on local identification with the historic landscape.”⁵⁵ Although the lead-up to the 1940 centennial celebrations of the official beginning of European colonisation of New Zealand created interest in places commemorating New Zealand’s history, it was not until 1952 that Duncan Rae introduced his private member’s Bill proposing the establishment of a national trust in New Zealand. He commented in his introduction to the Historic Places Bill in 1954, that it was the years around the Centennial when many people became aware of their own history for the first time. This local and community relationship with places was a source of pride and attachment to place and the interplay between these ideas and central government’s ideas about historic preservation and national identity shaped the Historic Places Act in 1954.

During the 1940s the preservation of Māori rock art had re-ignited interest in greater legislative protection for archaeological sites, but the government’s solution was to suggest fencing such places, gaining the support of the landowners, and compiling, “a photographic record of the country’s rock drawings before they suffered further damage.”⁵⁶ No protective powers were included in the Historic Places Act in 1954 when it was passed.⁵⁷ During the 1950s there was considerable ‘historic’ activity: the War History Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs was publishing comprehensively; the National Archives Act was passed in 1957; the National Geographic Board was established; the New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA) was formed in 1955; local historical societies were raising interest in local history and preserving historic sites and buildings; and the Department of Lands and Survey continued to preserve and interpret historic reserves.⁵⁸

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 216, citing Thompson to Under Secretary of Internal Affairs, 10 July 1917, IA1,158/193, ANZ

⁵⁵ Ibid. 290.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ *Historic Places Act 1954*, (1 April 1955).

⁵⁸ McLean, “Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze.” 31.

The National Trust (the Trust), as NZHPT was called until 1963, was to be interested in “battlegrounds, Maori pa, and other places of interest to Maori and Pakeha,”⁵⁹ as well as buildings. Although a few Māori reserves were transferred to the Trust, as Māori wished to manage their own places Trust staff focussed on offering Māori advice rather than acquiring Māori historic places. At this time there were no specific provisions for archaeological investigation; the purpose of the Act was to “mark, preserve and keep records.”⁶⁰

In the 1960s, there was a growing awareness of the impact of colonisation on Māori with the emergence of urban protest movements, such as Ngā Tamatoa, which spearheaded the 1970s protests over the loss of land and culture. The Land March in 1975 from Northland to Wellington, initiated by Dame Whina Cooper, involved thousands of people and embodied Māori protest over ongoing land alienation. Political activism continued at Waitangi, and at Bastion Point in Auckland in 1977-78. It was within this political milieu that the Historic Places Act was amended to include the first provisions for managing archaeological sites. At the same time, the Waitangi Tribunal, which became a forum for the expression of Māori protest and anger over the impact of European colonisation, was established to address perceived breaches of the Treaty.⁶¹

Gavin McLean situates the emergence of the archaeological provisions within a different, but complementary, framework saying that in the 1950s the Trust had fought for the preservation of rock art sites in the North Island from hydro-development and protection of the Auckland volcanic cones as well as supporting archaeological projects while Trust members worked on clearing and presenting archaeological sites such as Te Porere and Paremata Redoubt to the public. But in the 1960s, site recording and salvage archaeology associated with the huge state electricity projects taxed the Trust’s resources so that by 1969 the Annual Report suggested that “those responsible for any major work liable to destroy or intrude upon sites of prehistoric or historic significance should support prior archaeological investigation.”⁶² This was the first time archaeology was mentioned in the annual reports.

Although in 1963, the Trust had asked Roger Green, then senior lecturer in prehistory at Auckland University, to speak to the conference of regional committees in Christchurch.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 34, citing D.M. Rae, speaking in the Second Reading Debate, National Historic Places Bill, 26 August, 1953.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 36.

⁶¹ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, “Māori - Urbanisation and Renaissance,” Te Ara - Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori/5>.

⁶² McLean, “Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze.” 38-9, citing NZHPT Annual Report 1969, 9.

Green's paper laid out the problems in the management of New Zealand prehistoric sites in the absence of support at a national level for their recording, investigation and preservation, (particularly in a period of rapid urban and national infrastructure development) and the lack of adequate legislation for the preservation of nationally important prehistoric sites. Green advocated for the Trust to expand its interests to include 'National Prehistoric Places', because, "*Our Maori population has left an invaluable heritage, not only in their oral literature and social life, but in their now abandoned prehistoric remains.*"⁶³ Being one of only a few professional archaeologists he was concerned that archaeology should contribute as fully as possible to New Zealand's cultural life. He advocated for at least one, if not more, archaeological field officers to be employed by the Ministry of Works, the Department of Lands and Survey or the Trust, to "rescue information from nationally significant sites threatened with destruction, and ... make a public record of other prehistoric remains that are to be destroyed."⁶⁴ This is a signal of the beginning of the professionalisation of archaeology in New Zealand. Green considered it was vital "to consider adequate forms of preservation for prehistoric sites of national importance, so that there will be a heritage for future generations to investigate and marvel at."⁶⁵ Techniques for investigating archaeological sites were sure to improve and it was essential that some sites were preserved so that new techniques and ideas could be tested. Consequently, a national scheme for site recording and for site protection and preservation was necessary "to ensure that we preserve a small portion of it [the prehistoric record] for future generations and other investigators."⁶⁶ This paper clearly frames these heritage places as places of importance to archaeological investigators.

It was not until 1975 that Green's advice was acted upon when amendments, initiated by the Trust, were made to the HPA. These were almost entirely concerned with the archaeological heritage of New Zealand and included a definition of an archaeological site:

'Archaeological site' means any place in New Zealand or within the territorial waters of New Zealand (a) which was associated with human activity more than 100 years ago; or (b) which is the site of a wreck of any ship, boat, or aircraft where that wreck occurred more than 100 years ago, and which is or may be able, through investigation by archaeological techniques, to provide evidence as to the exploration,

⁶³ My italics. Roger Green, "Prehistory in New Zealand: The Need for Action to Preserve Archaeological Sites," in *Conference of Regional Committees* (Christchurch: National Historic Places Trust, 1963). 2.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 7.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 8.

occupation, settlement, or development of New Zealand, being evidence which could not otherwise be made available for scientific, cultural, or historical studies.⁶⁷

For the first time, specific provisions were made for the protection of archaeological sites other than those in reserves. It was not lawful “for any person to destroy or damage or modify, or cause to be destroyed or damaged or modified, the whole or any part of any archaeological site, knowing or having reasonable cause to suspect that it is an archaeological site, whether or not the site has been registered under section 9c.”⁶⁸ The Trust chairperson commented in 1977 that the HPA Amendment Act, which had given the Trust real statutory powers for the first time, “is probably the most important single development in its 21 years operation.”⁶⁹ Another Act was passed by Parliament in 1980 “to preserve the historic heritage of New Zealand, to continue the New Zealand Historic Places Trust and to establish the New Zealand Historic Places Board of Trustees with the necessary powers and functions for the full and proper attainment of the objectives of this Act, and to amend and consolidate the Historic Places Act 1954.”⁷⁰

During the late 1970s and 1980s, NZHPT had archaeologists on staff and robust research was undertaken by the organisation. Numerous surveys were undertaken in Hawke’s Bay and other areas by (particularly) students, which provide base-line information about not only what was present on the land at that time, but what has been lost subsequently. For example Neville Ritchie and Jenny Cave (students) undertook a survey of the Waimarama district in 1975 and Mary and Mick Jeal (amateurs) surveyed the Mahia Peninsula during several summers in the mid to late 1980s.⁷¹ Significant research projects were undertaken in the Auckland region and an archaeologist worked in Central Otago — seconded to the Ministry of Works for the Clutha Valley Hydro-electricity Development Project. However, in 1988 when all NZHPT archaeologists transferred to the newly established DoC, the research capability went with them.⁷² NZHPT was left with only one archaeologist who was responsible for issuing authorities to damage, destroy or modify archaeological sites. During the first part of the 1990s, NZHPT had some limited funds to assist with small scale field surveys and excavations, but this money was generally used to assist students undertaking

⁶⁷ *Historic Places Amendment 1975*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ McLean, “Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze.” 39, citing NZHPT Annual Report, 1977, 4.

⁷⁰ *Historic Places Act 1980*. Title.

⁷¹ New Zealand Historic Places Trust, “Archaeological Reports Digital Library,” (2011).

⁷² McLean, “Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze.” 39.

work that might contribute to research projects.⁷³ Robert Hunter (a Māori and an amateur) was one of the last people to be supported by NZHPT when he surveyed large areas of central Hawke's Bay in the early 1990s. He ceased because NZHPT "would not even pay for his photographic film."⁷⁴

In 1993, the HPA was revised again with the purpose of promoting the identification, protection, preservation, and conservation of the historical and cultural heritage of New Zealand. All those people exercising functions and powers under the new Act were charged with recognising that "historic places have lasting value in their own right and provide evidence of the origins of New Zealand's distinct society."⁷⁵ The HPA contained a requirement that it "must continue to be interpreted and administered to give effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, unless the context otherwise requires."⁷⁶ It stipulated that recognition is given to the "relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wahi tapu and other taonga."⁷⁷ NZHPT was given no more statutory powers to implement these goals and the archaeological provisions remained essentially the same. The major statutory power the NZHPT has is in regard to the archaeological provisions of the Act. Archaeological sites are protected from damage, destruction or modification unless an application is made to the NZHPT for authority to undertake such activities.

In 1996, the Commissioner for the Environment (CfE) noted that the HPA authority provisions were similar to the resource consent provisions of the RMA, but inadequate in comparison to RMA consent processes in respect of local decision-making, consultation, independent assessment and systematic enforcement. The CfE recommended the Minister for the Environment consult with the Minister responsible for culture and heritage about the desirability of placing the archaeological site provisions within the RMA.⁷⁸ This review was followed in 1998 by a Ministerial Advisory Committee that considered the legislation and management systems for historic heritage on land, including land covered by water. Its main legislative recommendation was that the RMA should be the principal regulatory tool and the

⁷³ Karen Greig, "NZHPT National Research Framework: Discussion Paper," ed. New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga (Wellington 2007).

⁷⁴ Robert Hunter, pers. comm. c. 1993.

⁷⁵ *Historic Places Act 1993*, (1993). Purpose and Principles, s. 4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Part 6: Miscellaneous Provisions, s.115.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Purpose and Principles, s. 4.

⁷⁸ Helen Hughes, "Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand," (Wellington: Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 1996).

regulatory provisions of the HPA should be repealed. “In particular the statutory protection of archaeological heritage under the HPA should be integrated into the RMA.”⁷⁹ It recommended that a new Ministry for Culture and Heritage should co-ordinate policy and a “distinct Māori heritage agency should provide for Māori heritage policy and leadership while empowering iwi, hapū and whānau.”⁸⁰ A National Policy Statement under the RMA should direct national policy, and local authorities should be provided with adequate information to enable them to undertake their enhanced role satisfactorily. NZHPT should remain an independent statutory body — a public heritage organisation that advocated for heritage, but with no regulatory powers.⁸¹ Nevertheless, few of these proposed reforms were carried out apart from the establishment of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH). In 2004, NZHPT was established as an autonomous Crown Entity, supported by the government and funded via, ‘Vote Arts, Heritage and Culture’ through MCH, with the HPA prescribing its work, functions, and powers.⁸²

In July 2010, changes to the HPA were proposed that were designed to improve the efficiency of the consent process, which has long been a problem for developers because a separate consent from NZHPT is required as well as a district council’s resource consent if an archaeological site is within the proposed development. It had been mooted that the archaeological provisions of the HPA may be integrated with the RMA, but that is not the present bill before parliament.

It is useful to examine the views expressed by NZAA in its May 2010 position paper on the government’s review of the archaeological provisions of the HPA because they indicate two things, first, the influence of archaeologists on government legislation that is similar to what happened over forty years earlier, but second, and more interestingly, the similarity of the opinions. This later paper describes the places as ‘archaeological sites’, not ‘prehistoric remains’ and considers them to be important to “our sense of national identity, our economic and cultural well-being, and our understanding of how human activity in New Zealand took shape.” Instead of “our Maoris have left a valuable heritage” the language now says “*our archaeological heritage is non-renewable*”⁸³ which emphasises the ‘scientific’ importance of

⁷⁹ “Historic Heritage Management Review Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee,” (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 1998). 6.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² New Zealand Historic Places Trust, “Introduction to the NZHPT,” NZHPT, <http://www.historic.org.nz/en/AboutUs/IntroNZHPT.aspx>.

⁸³ My italics indicating the appropriation.

the places and their ‘ownership’ by archaeologists. The protection of the archaeological heritage is a public responsibility. NZAA recognises that many archaeological sites cannot be protected from development and natural processes so recommends preserving a good representation of archaeological sites and landscapes and not destroying significant archaeological sites without first recording them. Scientific investigation “will enhance our understanding of the past.” Archaeology is important because it “extends our knowledge beyond what can be learned from written and traditional histories alone, and the visible and tangible remains of the past speak to us in ways that recorded history cannot.”⁸⁴ Further, preserving sites and landscapes “allows us to visualise aspects of our past as well as retain important scientific information for future study.” These comments and the pressure to legislate and later to retain the legislation situate the archaeological discourse firmly within the AHD and will be discussed further. NZAA does acknowledge the necessity for involving Māori saying that “management of archaeological sites with Maori cultural associations should involve tangata whenua to ensure that cultural, spiritual and traditional values are identified, recognised and provided for.”

The paper outlines the advantages and disadvantages of the two options for improving the alignment between the RMA and the HPA and avoiding duplication of statutory processes. The first is to retain the HPA provisions, but to improve their alignment with the RMA and the second is to remove the HPA provisions and provide for archaeological site protection and regulation under the RMA. Caroline Phillips comments that when the draft position paper was released the responses by the archaeological community were “overwhelmingly” against the suggestion that the archaeological provisions of the HPA should be put into councils.⁸⁵ This indicates that New Zealand archaeologists are primarily concerned with maintaining the legislative status quo, which has since 1980 protected the information (and thus archaeologists’ expertise) rather than the heritage places. This is further confirmed by the following extract from the position paper:

The HPA mandatory consent requirement for archaeological sites ensures that adverse effects on a proportion of sites are avoided by development, that sites are not damaged or destroyed without record or appropriate consultation with tangata whenua, and that investigations are carried out to professional standards. The RMA complements the HPA: it has a *stronger focus on avoidance of adverse effects, and*

⁸⁴ “Position Paper on Government Review of Archaeological Provisions under the Historic Places Act 1993 and Resource Management Act 1991,” (Dunedin: New Zealand Archaeological Association, 2010). 2; 7.

⁸⁵ Caroline Phillips, 2011.

*can provide for the direct protection of archaeological sites listed on district plan schedules.*⁸⁶

It is considered vital that the powers of local authorities to schedule sites and set rules for their protection are retained, because “this level of site protection cannot be achieved under the HPA.”

The second option “has the potential to provide high levels of archaeological protection,” but only if legislative amendments are made and statutory national standards and policies are put in place. NZAA makes a number of recommendations to facilitate this, but suggest that it is more ‘cost-effective’ to maintain the status quo.⁸⁷

The government is intending to streamline and simplify the authority process within the HPA by:

- Combining the two main types of archaeological authority to create one authority with a single administrative process.
- Reducing the statutory processing times for authorities from three months to twenty days (in most cases).
- Ensuring the NZHPT’s Māori Heritage Council is involved in considering all applications that affect sites of Māori interest.
- Creating a new ‘simplified’ process for authorities of a more minor nature whereby the applicant is not required to provide an archaeological assessment with their application.
- Requiring the Trust to consult on and publish policies for administration of the archaeological provisions of the HPA.⁸⁸

NZHPT insists “the core principles set out in the HPA upon which the authority process is based are not going to change. Indeed, there is no intention to reduce the current level of protection afforded to archaeological sites.” NZHPT also explains that the archaeological provisions of the HPA do not protect wāhi tapu or sites of significance to Māori because the definition of an archaeological site is explicit about the need for physical remains to be present; although some archaeological sites may be wāhi tapu, those wāhi tapu without

⁸⁶ My italics.

⁸⁷ “Position Paper on Government Review of Archaeological Provisions under the Historic Places Act 1993 and Resource Management Act 1991.” 3.

⁸⁸ New Zealand Historic Places Trust, “Review of the Historic Places Act 1993,” New Zealand Historic Places Trust, <http://www.historic.org.nz/en/AboutUs/HPARReview.aspx>.

physical remains of human activity are not archaeological sites, consequently not protected. The Trust continues: “Once a site is identified as an archaeological site, cultural and other intangible values may then be ascribed to identify its significance, but there must be tangible evidence present first.”⁸⁹ Despite NZHPT’s insistence that the changes do not reduce the level of protection to archaeological *sites*, it is not the site, but the ‘archaeological information’ within that place that is protected⁹⁰ (from everyone but archaeologists, who are the only people with the expertise needed to extract that information). This amendment, if it is passed in this form, will not address the issue of damage to Māori heritage places, with or without archaeological qualities because the archaeological discourse continues to dominate.

Another statute relevant to the protection (or otherwise) of archaeological material is the Protected Objects Act 1975 (POA). The POA is mentioned because it is the only legislation that deals with the contents of archaeological sites, that is, the scientific data of such importance to archaeologists and NZHPT. However, MCH interprets the Act as being concerned only with taonga tūturu, that is, artefacts and particularly adzes, fish hooks and carvings, it “does not include waste and by-products of manufacturing such as flakes, shells, oven stones and other ‘scientific material’, unless there is evidence that the object had a secondary use.”⁹¹ That is not what the Act says, schedule 4:6 states: “New Zealand Archaeological Objects: This category consists of any objects, assemblages, scientific samples, and organic remains derived from a New Zealand archaeological site, as defined by the Historic Places Act,” which *does* include the objects dismissed by MCH.⁹²

The RMA is the main statute dealing with how the environment should be managed. Its purpose is to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources. The RMA is the legislation that protects and regulates *all* historic heritage through the heritage policies, objectives and rules in regional and district plans. Other legislation that contributes to the protection, preservation and conservation of historic heritage includes the Building Act 2004, the Local Government Act 2002, and the Conservation Act 1988. The HPA and NZHPT have no statutory role in the protection or conservation of historic heritage apart

⁸⁹ New Zealand Government, “Archaeological Consenting Processes to Be Improved,” Scoop Independent News, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1007/S00169.htm> 4; 9.

⁹⁰ Harry Allen, *Protecting Historic Places in New Zealand*, vol. 1, Research in Anthropology and Linguistics (Auckland: Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1998). Citing McFadgen, 1966: 98.

⁹¹ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, <http://www.mch.govt.nz/protected-objects/index.html>.

⁹² *Protected Objects Act 1975*.

from an advocacy role and the registration of historic places under the HPA. Registered historic places are only protected by the rules in the relevant district plan.

The RMA had superseded the Town and Country Planning Act 1977 (TCPA), which although highly regulatory, gave responsibility to councils for the preparation of their district schemes, which was a change from the interventionist government practices that originated in the 1930s. The RMA bolstered private property rights and was “more free market than regulatory” as long as the environment was not harmed.⁹³

The TCPA had included as a ‘matter of national importance’: “The relationship of the Maori people and their culture and traditions with their ancestral land.” This included land that they did not own. Also matters that were to be dealt with in regional and district plans included provision for “Marae and ancillary uses, urupa reserves, pa, and other traditional and cultural Maori uses.”⁹⁴ In 1991, the RMA included a similar provision as a ‘matter of national importance’: “s 6(e) the relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu, and other taonga.” This widens the original wording of the ‘matters of national importance’ in the TCPA to specifically include “water, sites, wāhi tapu and other taonga.”

In 2003, s 6(f) was added: “the protection of historic heritage from inappropriate subdivision, use, and development,” and historic heritage was defined:

- (a) means those natural and physical resources that contribute to an understanding and appreciation of New Zealand's history and cultures, deriving from any of the following qualities: archaeological; architectural; cultural; historic; scientific; technological; and
- (b) includes: historic sites, structures, places, and areas; and archaeological sites; and sites of significance to Māori, including wāhi tapu; and surroundings associated with the natural and physical resources.

In 2004, s 6(g) “the protection of recognised customary activities,” was added. Local authorities have the statutory responsibility to recognise and provide for the protection of historic heritage. “Most protective mechanisms for land-based historic heritage are administered by local authorities through their District Plan policies and heritage listings

⁹³ Ben Schrader, “City Planning: - from Motorways to the Resource Management Act,” in *Te Ara The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (Wellington 2010).

⁹⁴ *Town and Country Planning Act*, (1 June 1978). s.3(g) Matters of National Importance; First Schedule: s.11(2) and (4), 9(d); Second Schedule: s.36(3).

under the Resource Management Act 1991,” comments NZHPT, “although the NZHPT retains regulatory responsibilities regarding archaeological sites.”

The development and implementation of various types of legislation to ensure the management and protection of cultural heritage is the responsibility of central government.⁹⁵ Legislation reflects the needs of the various communities as perceived at the national level, but does not necessarily reflect the needs and aspirations of all groups within a nation. There is a difference between the ways the state employs heritage at the national level and the social role of heritage building at the local level.⁹⁶ Greg Vossler says that there is a philosophical dichotomy underpinning the development of New Zealand heritage legislation. “The first is that it should respect the community’s right to protect such places. The second is that it upholds the freedom of the rights of the property owner to do what they will with their property.”⁹⁷ Consequently, heritage legislation is inevitably political. Vossler adds, “any legislation that has at its core an objective to protect places of identified heritage value is, on balance, likely to impinge on the rights of private owners.” This results in a precautionary approach by government which is usually reluctant to interfere with private property rights.

This description of the regulatory framework for heritage in New Zealand supports Laurajane Smith’s contention that legislation plays a key role in the management of indigenous material culture. This is done in New Zealand, as well as elsewhere, by stipulating which government departments will have responsibility for its protection and management and by establishing the need for management procedures and processes. Smith notes the legislation covertly incorporates “discourses which, in framing the field of debate, influence the development of policy and procedure.”⁹⁸ This, and the language and vocabulary used, work to privilege or exclude certain groups so that “archaeological resources, become precisely that *archaeological* rather than Indigenous.”⁹⁹ The language used in the proposed amendments to

⁹⁵ David J. Butts, “Institutional Arrangements for Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand: Legislation, Management and Protection,” in *Heritage Management in New Zealand and Australia: Visitor Management, Interpretation, and Marketing*, ed. Michael Hall and Simon McArthur (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993). 169.

⁹⁶ Rodney Harrison, “Preface,” in *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, ed. Susie West (Manchester: The Open University/Manchester University Press, 2010). xiv.

⁹⁷ Greg Vossler, “Sense or Nonsense: New Zealand Heritage Legislation in Perspective,” *Public History Review* 13 (2006). 67, citing Brett Jones ‘Saving Our Cultural Heritage – Historic Buildings: A Critical Interpretation of New Zealand Legislation, its Usage, and Policy Recommendations for the Future,’ unpublished MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1994, 39.

⁹⁸ Laurajane Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004). 126.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

the HPA emphasises the dominant discourse with the inclusion of words such as ‘archaeological’, ‘site’, ‘authority’, ‘provisions’. This language reflects the dominant discourse — the archaeological discourse — of the Western expert and the legal aspects of the places remain the focus of the legislation. The wording ‘Māori interest’, too, has a tone of placation, the benevolence of settler law. It must not be forgotten that, as Durie has written, “law, like history it seems, is not composed of universal truths so much as cultural constructs.”¹⁰⁰

I now turn to the current management practices. Carman describes the four principles of the Western heritage management system, which are an integral part of the AHD, noted earlier when the two papers advocating for archaeological legislation (1963 and 2010) were discussed. First, the idea that heritage is finite and non-renewable; second, that it is a matter of public concern; third, that it is governed by legislation; and fourth, that as it cannot all be preserved it must be assessed for its value. He outlines the key practices: inventory, evaluation, preservation/conservation, rescue archaeology, and presentation.¹⁰¹ In New Zealand there are additional terms for these categories of practice. The practices themselves are not always quite so simply divided, that is, an aspect of one element of practice is often integral to, or inter-related with another element of practice. For example, inventory includes recording, registering and scheduling as well as inventorying, but it also involves surveying and identification, and preservation or protection through reservation or covenanting.

There are a number of inventories of heritage places which identify and regulate the management of heritage places in various ways. Local authorities are required to include lists of historic heritage, protected by rules, in their regional or district plans. NZHPT’s inventory — Rārangi Taonga: the Register of Historic Places, Historic Areas, Wāhi Tapu and Wāhi Tapu Areas, is the national schedule of heritage places established under the HPA. Registration means that a place or area is included on the Register, but does not provide protection for a place or archaeological site, although registered historic places may be included in district plan heritage schedules.¹⁰² DoC has inventories of all known heritage places located on conservation land. Some iwi organisations also have databases of wāhi tapu within their tribal areas. NZAA’s Site Recording Scheme (SRS) is the only database that holds information about all the recorded archaeological sites in New Zealand. Reservation

¹⁰⁰ Edward Taihakurei Durie, “Foreword,” in *Tuamaka: The Challenge of Difference in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Joan Metge (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010). ix.

¹⁰¹ John Carman, *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction* (London & New York: Continuum, 2002). 22-23.

¹⁰² New Zealand Historic Places Trust, “The Register,” NZHPT, <http://www.historic.org.nz/TheRegister.aspx>.

under the Reserves Act 1977 and covenanting under various Acts such as HPA and the Conservation Act 1987 are management tools that do protect and preserve places, generally, but not always, in perpetuity.

Conservation management of heritage places, including archaeological sites, is undertaken with the assistance of guidance documents prepared by NZHPT and the *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value, 2010* based on the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (the *Venice Charter*, 1964), but revised to reflect the needs and understandings of New Zealand heritage management and with a section on indigenous cultural heritage.¹⁰³ NZHPT provides advice in a number of guidance documents including the *Sustainable Management of Historic Heritage* guidance series, which aim to inform owners, local government officials, iwi, hapū, and other stakeholders about the protection and conservation of heritage places under the RMA and other relevant legislation. Discussion papers have been prepared to encourage the development of best-practice guidance, but the Trust acknowledges that before these become guidance documents more research is required, as the issues are complex.¹⁰⁴ There is also a series of ten heritage guidance booklets that provide standards for conservation work.

The emphasis on the role of the ‘expert’ in heritage management in New Zealand is contrary to the realisation, becoming more noticeable in the literature, that heritage is deeply personal, and individuals, and communities, need to enjoy, experience, and manage their own heritage.¹⁰⁵ This is associated with the emergence of memory as a crucial concern in Western societies from the 1960s as a response to the rise of decolonisation, new social movements, and the debate around testimonial movements. Heritage has become one of the principal sites for the creation and contestation of memory and identity politics in the West. “Negotiating differences is simultaneously negotiating identities” writes Norman Fairclough, “working out how I or we relate to others is simultaneously working out who I am or who we are.”¹⁰⁶

These ideas have started to filter into heritage practice in New Zealand. Robyn Burgess, for example, a heritage practitioner employed by NZHPT, reported to ICOMOS New Zealand

¹⁰³ NZ ICOMOS, “ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value,” (2010).

¹⁰⁴ New Zealand Historic Places Trust, “Sustainable Management of Historic Heritage Guidance Series,” NZHPT, <http://historic.org.nz/Publications/SustainMgtSeries.aspx>.

¹⁰⁵ Roger M Thomas, “Archaeology and Authority in the Twenty-First Century,” in *Public Archaeology*, ed. Nick Merriman (London: Routledge, 2004). 197

¹⁰⁶ Norman Fairclough, “Global Capitalism and Critical Awareness of Language,” in *The Discourse Reader*, ed. Adam Jaworski and Nicholas Coupland (London & New York: Routledge, 2006). 151.

that the participants at the General Assembly of ICOMOS were grappling with issues around intangible and tangible heritage. “There is considerable interest in the issue of looking at tangible heritage in conjunction with intangible heritage, not treating the two as separate,” she said, “community and ongoing use is seen by many as a key factor in appropriate conservation and management of sites.”¹⁰⁷

Smith and Waterton warn against the uncritical and undefined use of the word ‘community’, which is endemic in the heritage sector to the point that it has been described as “the cult of the community.” Communities are not homogenous, but heterogenous and often not even geographically bound; there are ‘communities’ of archaeologists just as there are village ‘communities’. The ‘community’ is, however, relegated to a role in relation to its perceived identity as ‘not expert’, and many of the tensions that arise between expert and community revolve around “their respective abilities to define and influence heritage values, meanings and experiences.”¹⁰⁸

The definition of community that is used here is from a glossary prepared by a UNESCO panel of experts regarding intangible cultural heritage. A community is: “people who share a self-ascribed sense of connectedness. This may be manifested for example in a feeling of identity or common behaviour, as well as in activities and territory. Individuals can belong to more than one community.”¹⁰⁹

This chapter has demonstrated that in New Zealand most Māori heritage sites are managed for their archaeological values; all sites with archaeological values are ostensibly protected unless an application to damage, destroy or modify is made to NZHPT. Unusually within the heritage field *all* places with archaeological values regardless of whether they are known or unknown, listed on schedules or databases, or not, are protected, but there is no selection or assessment done until the site is at risk and an authority is required from NZHPT. The application for the authority must be accompanied by an assessment of the archaeological values and proof of consultation with the relevant Māori group. The archaeological values of

¹⁰⁷Robyn L Burgess, “Report to ICOMOS New Zealand on ICOMOS General Assembly at Quebec,” <http://openarchive.icomos.org/36/1/77-BuSd-82.pdf>.

¹⁰⁸Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton, *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology*, ed. Richard Hodges, Duckworth Debates in Archaeology (London: Duckworth, 2009). 21-2.

¹⁰⁹Janet Blake, “Unesco's 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Implications of Community Involvement in 'Safeguarding',” in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. Laurajane & Natsuko Akagawa Smith (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009)., 51, citing an expert meeting held at UNESCO which defined ‘community’ in a Glossary during the preparation of the experts’ draft of the ICHC.

the site are given primacy over any other values that may be attributed to the site, which is demonstrated when considering the protection of wāhi tapu sites registered with the NZHPT.

Academic Harry Allen mentions two hearings of the Tribunal held regarding the adequacies of the HPA and the protection available for wāhi tapu. These are not necessarily sites with ‘archaeological’ values. The Tribunal found in the Manukau hearing that an enhanced level of protection was available for archaeological sites because of their scientific value but that “there is one standard for sites of significance to New Zealanders as a whole and another lesser standard for sites of significance to Māori people (Wai-8: 84).”¹¹⁰ If wāhi tapu happen to have archaeological values in addition to their cultural, spiritual, or traditional values then they will be subjected to the archaeological provisions of the HPA and the archaeological values will provide the ‘protection’. However in effect this enables the site to be excavated by archaeologists for its ‘information’ and this provides mitigation for the destruction of the place.

The effects of colonisation and the settler requirements for land resulted in Māori being much more disadvantaged than Europeans, but their occupation of mainly rural areas and consequent isolation from general European society, as well as some strong leaders who worked within, as well as outside, the political system, ensured that “Māori remained semi-autonomous.” The isolation and separate systems enabled them to retain their resilience, language, and culture despite the policies of assimilation and despite the loss of most of their best land and most opportunities for resistance. Although many of the old policies have been disbanded the genealogy of colonialism can be seen in new versions of old concepts, for example, the idea of ‘authenticity’ is oppressive and a form of racism, but in disguise. Even now in a political climate where biculturalism is promoted by the government the advice of the Tribunal is not enforceable and the Tribunal and its clients still submit to the Crown and its English law. Just as the consent of Māori was not a legal pre-requisite for the land consolidation schemes and they had nowhere to appeal bureaucratic decisions neither is consent a legal pre-requisite for the issuing of authorities to damage Māori heritage places with archaeological qualities, unless the only purpose of the modification is scientific research. All development archaeology is exempt from any legal obligation, other than ‘consultation.’ The comment Campbell made in relation to the land consolidation schemes is equally applicable to the working of HPA: “Māori ancestral ties to the land were repeatedly

¹¹⁰ Allen, *Protecting Historic Places in New Zealand*. 18.

subordinated to the Crown's objective of enabling Māori land to be profitably utilised and occupied."¹¹¹ This is associated with the dichotomy identified by Vossler that governments are generally reluctant to introduce any legislation to protect places of heritage value if it could impinge on the rights of private owners.

Conclusion

Overall then, by tracing the history, implementation, and current status of the heritage legislation, this chapter has shown that New Zealand heritage management discourse remains embedded in the AHD, promotes increasing professionalisation and the development of explicit methods of managing heritage places based on their material expressions. New Zealand heritage professionals conflate or misunderstand the relationship between heritage as the methods of caring for the physical fabric and heritage as the idea, discourse, or event of heritage performed at places as described in current theory in the Introduction. Heritage is simplified into a few principles and the key practices of heritage management. Moreover, archaeologists (as experts) have been very influential in the development and maintenance of separate legislation for managing archaeological sites. Since 1996 there has been some awareness of the inadequacy of the HPA authority provisions in comparison to RMA consent processes in respect of local decision-making, consultation, independent assessment and systematic enforcement.¹¹² However, despite several recommendations to place the archaeological site provisions within the RMA, NZAA has actively and successfully promoted the *status quo*.

Having provided the background necessary to understand current heritage management in New Zealand in this chapter, this thesis now turns to the current research which analyses the discourses underlying the current archaeological framework for managing Māori sites. The next chapter will present and consider the findings from the data collected from my archaeological informants. It will provide insight into how archaeologists create 'archaeological sites' by their discursive performances at places, which has widespread influence on how these places are understood. Additionally through their interactions at such places they create their own identities as *archaeologists* developing concepts of belonging and power that infiltrate the management of heritage places.

¹¹¹ Campbell, "National Overview of Land Consolidation Schemes 1909-1931." 1-2.

¹¹² Hughes, "Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand." 99.

Chapter two

The imperative of science: the archaeological discourse

The previous chapter discussed the development of heritage legislation, particularly archaeological legislation, and suggested that the way archaeology has been naturalised in the legislation is an effect of the AHD and the underlying colonial structures that are embedded in heritage management. This chapter first provides a brief history of developments in New Zealand archaeology and training to provide a context for analysis of the underlying academic schema, which contributes to the archaeological discourse. Archaeological understanding and practice is modified by legislation, primarily the HPA, and the influence of NZHPT, NZAA, developers and Māori whose heritage places are most often the focus of archaeological investigation. The chapter then explores the ways the identity of archaeologists is constructed and revealed through their performances at places and their understanding of heritage. It shows how this archaeologically constructed heritage — formed by memories, training and practice — impacts on heritage places. It discusses the schema of archaeologists in a post-settler society in the South Pacific and the influences that have produced a profoundly ‘New Zealand’ archaeological discourse and associated practice.

The research presented in this chapter has been conducted using documentary sources, interviews with selected archaeologists, participant observation and my ongoing professional involvement with heritage management. The section on cornerstones of archaeological thought explores the physicality and tangibility of archaeology and the ways in which performance and language create the ‘archaeological’ identity of this group of otherwise disparate individuals. Further elucidation of the archaeological discourse is documented in sections on archaeologists’ understanding of heritage and archaeology within that framework.

The final section deals with current heritage management within an archaeological framework, particularly the role of the NZHPT in CRM. The practice of CRM archaeology is analysed in relation to contentious issues of taonga and kōiwi tangata, followed by some discussion of conservation management. The development of the concept of cultural landscapes and the importance of names, people and stories in the construction of heritage places is considered as an emerging heritage management concept and tool. A brief review of a new theory of practice in Australian archaeology, namely ‘Social Archaeology’, is

examined because of its effect on the practice of one archaeologist who is a participant in the research. The chapter concludes by suggesting that a similar development is taking place in New Zealand in response to Māori interaction with archaeologists.

New Zealand archaeology

Since the passing of the amendments to the HPA in 1975 archaeological site management has generally been conducted by ‘processual’ archaeologists who emphasise the science of archaeology. Archaeology is fundamentally about material remains of people’s past activities; archaeologists use these fragments to recreate ‘scientific’ ideas of a past world thereby bringing an essential tangibility to the past and enabling people to interact with it on both factual and fictional levels. The archaeological discourse has been constructed through the development of the academic discipline of archaeology reinforced by interactions archaeologists have with their colleagues. The professional discourse influences their interpretations of the material evidence and affects the understandings they pass on to people. Climo and Cattell note that Halbwachs says collective memory “is not a metaphor, but a social reality transmitted and sustained through the conscious efforts and institutions of groups.”¹

The discipline of archaeology emerged in Europe from the study of antiquities and although antiquarianism has a long history outside Europe, the field techniques and analytical procedures of modern archaeology are products of the European tradition. With the emergence of European scientific thought, nineteenth century innovations in field techniques developed, and the progressive replacement of treasure-hunting by controlled excavation led to the birth of modern archaeology. European colonialism and cultural influence played major roles in spreading the discipline throughout the world. Scarre explains:

Archaeology began by viewing European and Western civilisation as a realm of existence apart from the rest of the world. European artefacts and enterprise, along with Europeans themselves, were understood in terms unlike those of other cultures. Where the two impinged — through conquest or other forms of contact — the interaction was also seen from a profoundly Eurocentric viewpoint. ... Europe remains the supposed hub of the world (Saarinen 1988).²

By the nineteenth century, colonial expansion had become intertwined with the idea of researching the new lands and their peoples. Thus “the discipline of archaeology emerged

¹ Jacob J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell, eds., *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2002). 4.

² Chris Scarre, “The Western World View in Archaeological Atlases,” in *The Politics of the Past*, ed. P. Gathercole and David Lowenthal, *One World Archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990). 7.

from and articulated with a colonial desire to conquer unknown worlds, with artifacts as material proof of a nation's conquests."³ Archaeology began in New Zealand with studies of moa hunter remains and attempts to determine the relationship of moa hunters with contemporary Māori. In 1870, Julius von Haast published his letter to John Owen on the Rakaia middens "in which he asserted that the moa had been exterminated in remote times by a race of palaeolithic autochthones, who themselves had become extinct before the arrival of the Maori."⁴ Debate occurred within the scientific community and many leading protagonists undertook excavations, notably at Sumner in Canterbury and Shag River in Otago, seeking evidence for their theories. Most papers from this debate were published in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* during the next thirty years.⁵ Freeman, writing in 1959, considered that "none of the men involved in this phase of New Zealand's archaeology had any competence as ethnologists. Neither were their excavation and recording techniques refined."⁶

European contact with 'archaeological' sites in Hawke's Bay began with nineteenth century natural historians, or amateur scientific collectors, such as William Colenso, Fritz Meinertzhagen, Augustus Hamilton and Henry Hill.⁷ These collectors were followed in the early to mid-twentieth century by men such as J. E. L. Simcox, Hamish Gordon⁸ and various farming families, who all left significant collections of artefacts; some are located in Hawke's Bay, but others are scattered throughout New Zealand, Britain and Europe. From early scientists, ethnologists and fossickers such as these Hawke's Bay people the beginnings of New Zealand archaeology emerged.

³ Claire Smith and Gary Jackson, "Decolonizing Indigenous Archaeologies: Developments from Down Under," *American Indian Quarterly* 30, no. 3 & 4 (2006). 312.

⁴ J.D Freeman, "Henry Devenish Skinner: A Memoir" in *Anthropology in the South Seas: Essays Presented to H.D. Skinner*, ed. J.D. Freeman and W.R. Geddes (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery & Sons Ltd, 1959). 22.

⁵ Davidson, 1984, 5, cited in Mary O'Keeffe and Tony Walton, "Archaeological Heritage Management," in *Change through Time: 50 Years of the New Zealand Archaeological Association*, ed. Louise Furey and Simon Holdaway (Auckland: New Zealand Archaeological Association, 2004). 264; Freeman, "Henry Devenish Skinner," 22.

⁶ Freeman, "Henry Devenish Skinner," 22.

⁷ Elizabeth Pishief, "Augustus Hamilton: Appropriation, Ownership and Authority" (Massey, 1998), Elizabeth Pishief and Roxanne Fea, *Culture of Collecting 60 Years of the Hawke's Bay Museum* (Napier: Hawke's Bay Cultural Trust, 1996). 13-15; D.C. Starzecka, ed. *Maori Art and Culture* (London: British Museum Press, 1996). 153.

⁸ J.E.L Simcox and Don Millar, "The Simcox Notes: Early Occupation of Central and Southern Hawke's Bay as Expressed in the Notes and Drawings of Dr J.E.L. Simcox," (Napier: Hawke's Bay Cultural Trust, 1993), Don Millar, "Hamish Gordon Memorial Collection of Maori Artefacts - Lindisfarne College," (Napier: Hawke's Bay Cultural Trust, n.d.).

An important contribution to the development of New Zealand archaeology was the establishment of the Polynesian Society in 1892 at the instigation of S. Percy Smith. Members of this society aimed to study and preserve “material on the anthropology, ethnology, philology, history, manners, and customs of the Oceanic races and the preservation of all that relates to such subjects in a permanent form.”⁹ The members were people, generally men, who had an interest in the traditional life and culture of Māori and their oral traditions. The society also issued a journal where people could publish their research.¹⁰ Smith was keen to recruit Māori members and in its first years the Polynesian Society had more Māori members than at any time subsequently. Smith relied on material contributed by kaumātua for many articles, which were often published in Māori and English, with explanations by Smith (the editor).¹¹ This appropriation was in part a result of the dominant Eurocentricism of colonial New Zealand and a reflection of the emergent “colonial nationalism,”¹² but also stemmed from a real appreciation for these cultural resources. Rae Belton, a kuia from Pukerangiora hapū in Taranaki, told me that they appreciated what Percy Smith had done for them by recording many traditional stories, which otherwise might have been lost.¹³ Judith Binney also remarked that when academic writers took over the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* the number of articles that Māori contributed diminished, and from the 1930s the *Journal* visibly alienated Māori.¹⁴

‘Scientific’ archaeology emerged after World War I when H.D. Skinner and David Teviotdale began collaborating. The first site they excavated and reported on was at the mouth of the Shag River where von Haast, Hutton, Chapman and Hamilton had dug from 1872 onwards. Teviotdale had become interested in the site as a source of artefacts and contacted Skinner who advised him on digging techniques, the plotting of plans and sections, keeping of a journal and cataloguing finds. Skinner taught the first course in anthropology when he returned from Oxford to be ethnologist at the Otago Museum and lecturer in anthropology at Otago University in 1919. He considered archaeology to be an essential part of anthropology and fostered archaeological research in New Zealand, although he was

⁹ Cited in M. P. K. Sorrensen, *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society over 100 Years* (Auckland: University Of Auckland: The Polynesian Society, 1992)., 24, from Alexander Turnbull Library - Polynesian Society Papers: MS Papers 1187, folder 125.

¹⁰ Sorrensen, 1992, cited in O’Keeffe and Walton, “Archaeological Heritage Management.” 264.

¹¹ Sorrensen, *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society over 100 Years*. 32.

¹² Pishief, “Augustus Hamilton: Appropriation, Ownership and Authority”.

¹³ Rae Belton, 28 May 2011.

¹⁴ Judith Binney, “Encounters across Time: The Makings of an Unanticipated Trilogy,” in *Telling Stories: Indigenous History and Memory in Australia and New Zealand*, ed. Bain Attwood and Fiona Magaowan (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001). 81.

primarily an ethnologist interested in the historic development and inter-relationships between cultures, especially these processes as exhibited in the artefacts of New Zealand and the Pacific.¹⁵

Skinner and Teviotdale conducted excavations in Otago for several decades, but the emphasis was on collecting items of material culture for museum collections. Context, stratigraphy and provenance were less important. Archaeology was not practiced as a modern discipline until Jack Golson arrived in 1954 to take up a position as the first archaeologist at Auckland University. He began an energetic excavation programme in the North Island to redress the imbalance in knowledge between the North and South Islands. He selected sites to excavate that appeared to have similar material culture to those in the South Island with the aim of determining whether the people in the North Island were also contemporary with the moa.¹⁶

NZAA, the unifying organisation for New Zealand archaeology, was established in August 1954 after a meeting initiated by Golson. The first Council was dominated by museum people, but “this was symbolically broken when Roger Green was elected President of the Association.” Nigel Prickett goes on to point out that “the focus of New Zealand archaeology was shifting away from portable artefacts to pits, postholes and settlement patterns, while the new economic prehistory would soon take its exponents far beyond moa bones.”¹⁷ NZAA was established when New Archaeology or processual archaeology was emerging in the United States, although its early development was guided by Golson from England. “New Archaeologists identified relations between technology and the environment as the key factors in determining cultural systems and, through them, human behaviour,” says Trigger, who also notes that the New Archaeology made the claim that it “was able to produce objective, ethically neutral generalisations that were useful for the management of modern societies.”¹⁸ Golson’s paper about the first twenty years of modern archaeology in New Zealand outlines the influences that laid the basis for the teaching of archaeology in New Zealand universities and the development of an environmental, scientific archaeology.¹⁹

¹⁵ Freeman, “Henry Devenish Skinner: A Memoir.” 22.

¹⁶ Janet Davidson, “Museums and the New Zealand Archaeological Association,” in *Digging into History: 50 Years of the New Zealand Archaeological Association*, ed. Matthew Campbell (Dunedin: 2004). 81.

¹⁷ Nigel Prickett, “The NZAA - a Short History,” *Archaeology In New Zealand Digging into History: 50 Years of the New Zealand Archaeological Association* 47, no. 4 (2004).

¹⁸ Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). 302; 313.

¹⁹ Jack Golson, “Old Guards and New Waves: Reflections on Antipodean Archaeology 1954-1975,” *Archaeology in Oceania* 21, no. 1 (1986).

The most important contribution NZAA has made to the development of heritage management in New Zealand was the establishment of the Site Recording Scheme (SRS). NZAA has been collecting and collating data about 'archaeological sites' for inclusion in the SRS since 1957. This was a paper-based record system containing plans, section drawings, photographs, drawings of artefacts and field notes for some 60,000 records. Records have been contributed by many different individuals and agencies and consequently vary in both quality and the amount of detail. Since the advent of the RMA 1991 and the HPA 1993, there has been a greater use of the SRS for identifying, protecting and managing sites through planning and legal processes, with the result that the SRS is now a vital tool in archaeological site management. The SRS is now an electronic data-base called ArchSite, accessible on-line to members, researchers and purchasers of annual licenses such as local authorities and professional archaeologists.

Until Golson arrived in 1954, museums had dominated archaeology for the previous eighty years with collections of archaeological data consisting of artefacts and extinct birds. Janet Davidson highlights the importance of assemblages as scientific specimens and the role of museums as repositories for archaeological collections, and comments that involvement in site protection diminished after the passing of amendments to the HPA in 1975. Consequently there is no formal relationship between museums and NZAA over the "very important matter" of the long term storage of archaeological collections. "There is often little or no liaison between an archaeologist ... and the museum that may ultimately be the repository," writes Davidson, "the Historic Places Trust has shown little interest in enforcing the provisions relating to the long term future of finds as part of the authority process." On this topic, she mentions that Ron Scarlett notes that "museums provided comparative material for archaeologists, their function being to house and take adequate care of collections on behalf of the community."²⁰ Davidson considers that the recent publication of several monographs on assemblages held in museums demonstrates the importance of museums retaining archaeological collections and, as resources in the field diminish, museum collections will become even more important. This concern highlights several themes in New Zealand archaeology: the importance of science; the importance of collections for *archaeologists*; the general absence of Māori; and the disconnection between the various bodies involved with archaeology. Although NZHPT now requires information about the possible repository of

²⁰ Davidson, "Museums and the New Zealand Archaeological Association." 80-1; 84, citing Ron Scarlett's summary of a paper by Vic Fisher given to NZAA conference in 1960.

objects from archaeological excavations as part of the authority application, it cannot insist that the material is deposited in a museum because, first, European artefacts are not protected by the POA, secondly, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage determines the ownership and eventual location of taonga tūturu, not NZHPT, and thirdly, some museums do not include archaeological collections in their Collection Policies, consequently, fourthly, the material might need to be located outside its original region, if it were to be put in a museum, which may have social and cultural implications.

Archaeological practice in New Zealand today can be divided into three groups: academic/research archaeology; conservation management; and cultural resource management (CRM), cultural heritage management (CHM) or development archaeology. Purely academic research archaeology is not examined in this study.

Conservation management archaeology is undertaken by archaeologists or heritage managers who may be employed by institutions such as DoC, NZHPT, some of the larger local authorities or regional councils, within museums as ethnologists or archaeologists, or they may be consultants who specialise in preparing archaeological conservation documents for a range of organisations including government departments and iwi groups. If conservation is required for a heritage place with archaeological features, for example, if the defensive bank on a pā needs stabilising and repairing then this work can be carried out only under an authority from NZHPT.

CRM is the archaeology defined by Carman as ‘rescue’ archaeology. In New Zealand it is generally associated with land development of some kind, for example, road building, subdivisions, or infrastructure development. This archaeology is usually undertaken by consultant archaeologists on behalf of the applicant who wishes to modify the land to enable the activity to be undertaken. Development archaeology is done with an authority from NZHPT.

Cornerstones of archaeological thought

Although this thesis is not about archaeology as such, it is concerned with an analysis of how this discipline has been implicated in heritage management in New Zealand. In this section the discourse analysis is complemented by analysis of interviews with archaeologists and observation of them at work. It could be said that archaeological discourse is embedded in language about movement and place. Key words in the discourse include: surveying,

mapping, excavating, digging, seeing, method, science, management, conservation, landscape, sites, features, monuments, artefacts and provenance. This list captures some of the fundamental concerns of archaeologists and explains the way that archaeological identity is constructed through performance — the movements of bodies around place — as well as discourse, the language that constructs understanding.

Archaeologists move over the land surveying, mapping, managing and viewing places of interest to them, or they excavate, monitor, assess, or record places as ‘archaeological sites’. These places produce information, such as midden, stratification, context, artefacts and kōiwi tangata. This material is revered as ‘scientific data’ and its collection (an activity) takes precedence over other aspects of the place. Low and Lawrence-Zuniga argue that “anthropologists have noted the importance of bodily movement in the creation of place, conceptualising space as movement rather than as a container.”²¹ This shows how archaeologists move over the landscape constructing archaeological sites, thereby creating and claiming places where they are able to use the techniques and methods of their discipline to control the land and construct their own identities as archaeologists.

Archaeology is also bound up with the senses, particularly seeing, feeling, touching and moving. Memory and the senses create emotions which are extrapolated into ideas and judgments. Sight was originally only one of the senses used to understand objects (feel/touch and smell were also commonly used in eighteenth century museums), but by the mid-nineteenth century sight was considered the pre-eminent, and most ‘civilised’ sense, closest to reason in the Western hierarchy of sensory symbolism. This elevation was partly in response to greater contact with indigenous peoples. Westerners associated the ‘lower’ senses (smell, taste and touch) with the sensuality of non-Westerners, while they themselves were “the rational, civilised, élite among the peoples of the world. As reason and sensuality were traditionally opposed in Western thought, non-Westerners were, by contrast, imagined to be irrational and sensuous.”²² But sight is also a cultural construct.²³ Looking at, or interpreting the land to identify archaeological sites has to be learnt; it is not an innate skill. There is a

²¹ Setha M Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, vol. 4, Blackwell Readers in Anthropology (Malden, MA: Blackwell 2003)., 5 citing Pandya, 1990.

²² Constance Classen and David Howes, “The Museum as Sensescape: Western Sensibilities and Indigenous Artifacts,” in *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips (Oxford: Berg, 2006)., 206.

²³ Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2007). 5-6.

constant theme in heritage management that people need to be ‘educated’ to understand what an archaeological site is so that they grasp its scientific importance.

Seeing is considered to be a crucial skill in the New Zealand archaeological discourse.

Having a ‘good eye’ is the sign of an expert. Sight has been closely allied with scientific practice and ideology, the social importance of which grew immensely during the period of colonial expansion.²⁴ Kevin Jones explained the importance of seeing when he discussed the purchase of Heipipi Pā Historic Reserve. It was on visual grounds alone that Jones discounted Heipipi — because it had been ploughed and the features were hard to see (“not in particularly good condition.”) He further emphasised the visuality of archaeology:

I’ve been over Heipipi and I’ve been up to the central defence area where the transverse ditches and banks are heavily eroded down — you can still detect them. ... Yes, well-rounded down, but still recognisable if you’ve got the *right eye*,²⁵ but then as you go further to the north east you come to an area that hasn’t been ploughed, but I don’t think that’s in the reserve area.²⁶

Seeing the site is an important element of visiting the place, so it is considered to be a major management issue. As Jones commented, “if you are getting a ground cover that grows up enough to obscure your ability to see the site then it’s not so useful for public visiting because they can’t appreciate the form of the earthworks ... and also it can be dangerous.”

The visual aspect includes another important theme running through New Zealand archaeology: ‘surveying’, that is, discovering new sites, identifying places to record and list. It also shows the underlying land management systems inherent in a settler society: the land is surveyed, mapped and can then be recorded in the NZAA SRF, which is a form of appropriation that reflects the underlying colonial discourse. Classen and Howes suggest “collecting is a form of conquest and collected artifacts [or sites] are material signs of victory over their former owners and places of origin.”²⁷ New Zealand historian Giselle Byrnes, too, suggests that “the surveyors’ naming, taming, marking out and mapping of the land were assertions of colonising power.”²⁸

The essence of archaeology is about people physically interacting with places. Archaeology is about movement and the senses and whether the action is surveying, excavating,

²⁴ Classen and Howes, “The Museum as Sensescape: Western Sensibilities and Indigenous Artifacts.”

²⁵ My italics.

²⁶ Kevin Jones, 14 September 2009.

²⁷ Classen and Howes, “The Museum as Sensescape: Western Sensibilities and Indigenous Artifacts.” 209.

²⁸ Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001). 4.

researching, analysing or managing, *doing* is the core attribute of an archaeologist. These impressions are reinforced by data gathered from interviews with archaeologists. Kiri Petersen said that “archaeology is the physical excavation of the past. You do have to do more than just excavation to be an archaeologist, but at its core it’s the physical excavation of the past.”²⁹ She thinks of archaeology in terms of the visual and physical acts of excavating a site. “There is nothing like seeing and touching an artefact — for me that can bring me closer to the past,” she said. “There is emotional involvement with excavating and the stuff that you dig up.”

Petersen always finds going onto a site very exciting because she knows that people were there “just where you are standing” and she wonders where they had their houses and what they were doing. She does not feel isolated when she is in her ‘hole’ because she is always thinking about the big picture, the people, and the things. She has an emotional attachment to archaeology, which she finds is hard emotional work, but would not do it otherwise. If she finds an artefact such as an adze then she thinks about the people who used it, and wonders why they put it there. This illustrates the importance of the senses in the construction of connection, intimacy and emotion. Tuan reminds us that “emotion links all human experience including the high flights of thought.”³⁰

Petersen suggested that the emotional and spiritual aspects to heritage places are why many archaeologists “tune out and are clinical” when working on archaeological sites. She recalled an experience associated with a place at Pukenui on the Kapiti Coast, Wellington. The iwi monitor told her that the kuia had gone on to the site before they started work and had seen spirits coming out of the ground and walking about. “That changed my view. She said they weren’t angry about what was going on. That helped me appreciate the site more.”

Nevertheless, as Harry Allen commented in 1998, case law indicates that “‘spiritual’ values are still no match for economic and legal values.”³¹ That is still the case. In March 2010, for example, the two-storey high outcrop of rock (kōhatu) in the Marakopa Valley named Te Rongomai o Te Karaka was blown up to enable a hydro-power scheme to be constructed on the Marokopa River. The local Maniopoto sub-tribes — Ngāti Peehi, Ngāti Te Kanawa and Ngāti Kinohaku, had revered Te Rongomai for centuries as a wāhi tapu. It was a place of

²⁹ Kiri Petersen, 28 May 2010.

³⁰ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977). 8.

³¹ Harry Allen, *Protecting Historic Places in New Zealand*, vol. 1, Research in Anthropology and Linguistics (Auckland: Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1998). 5.

power, a place for tribal gatherings, and a rallying point for warriors. But when a temporary court injunction on the demolition of the rock expired, police forcibly removed thirty-five local people who were attempting to protect their wāhi tapu. Next morning Te Rongomai was dynamited amid cheering from the company managers and local landowners. Māori and Pākehā were represented on both sides of the confrontation, which highlights “the tension between saving what is sacred, or in the name of progress and prosperity damming it, digging it up, or blowing it to pieces.”³²

Most archaeologists usually overlook spiritual and emotional connections with heritage places to distance themselves from the connections that are part of the world-view of many Māori. This can be clearly seen in the interview data. Cathryn Barr explains a common technique of separating the place’s tangible and intangible aspects which is to pass the intangible — understood as the cultural or historical associations with the place — over to tangata whenua as their ‘bundle’ of heritage. Barr remarked:

I don’t think you can [distinguish between tangible and intangible heritage] — there is an overlap. I always remember years and years ago in the Coromandel I was doing some work and was talking to kaumātua and we were talking about the different roles that we had and I was trying to explain what it was that I did as an archaeologist— because they wanted me to say things that I felt I couldn’t say — and in the end I said: “Well it’s like two parts of a book and what I talk about is the physical stuff that I can see on the land and then the spiritual or emotive associations, something I couldn’t comment upon but the two overlap, the two went together and told the full story and so the physical and cultural go together.” I was trying to draw a line — [by saying] *you* can talk about cultural values [but I cannot] — but had to make the point that they do go together.³³

Other key informants expressed similar understandings. Rick McGovern-Wilson said that he has a very strong emotional connection with Toki Toki on the Ohiwa harbour because he had worked very closely with the community. Much of the emotional connection came not from the work itself, but from the connections he established with the people who whakapapa to the place. It had taken two or three years to get permission to excavate there, which required him to engage with the kaumatua Charlie Aramoana at a very personal level and during the excavation he had lived at the marae at Roimata for nearly six weeks. “It’s not so much connecting with the site, the site is there you know,” he said. “I’m an archaeologist. I operate in a scientific, pragmatic approach and I dig my holes and I recover the material, I do the

³² Chris Trotter, “No Hollywood Ending in Battle for Sacred Rock,” *Taranaki Daily News*, 19 March 2010.

³³ Cathryn Barr, 24 May 2010.

analysis and I write it up,” but he did acknowledge that his attitude changes “depending on my interaction with the community that connect to the site.”³⁴

Barr said she approaches places with an almost professional detachment, although, occasionally her original enthusiasm is re-ignited by talking to people who are interested in the place. Despite her studied pragmatism, she finds herself forming an attachment to some places. One is Ruapekapeka where she spent a lot of time: “to me it’s a very special site.” Middens, on the other hand, she did not respond to emotionally (“not being a shell midden specialist”), nevertheless, she conceded that occasionally she came upon one that was stunning or amazing, citing “the shell middens at Porangahau, or Ocean Beach, or up the East Coast where you can wander along and get a midden with moa bone and egg-shell in it.” She was responding to the contents of the midden, a reaction to the data, but also to the rarity of the material. Other sites she responds to emotionally are places like the complex of enormous pits at Te Awanga, Hawke’s Bay, for example, that physically stand out in the landscape. Their presence forms a focal point for the rest of the cultural landscape (isolated pits scattered over the hills) and assists an archaeologist make sense of the landscape, as well as affecting the senses of the archaeologist by their individual agency and their collective aesthetic impact. Barr acknowledged that the stories associated with a place make a difference. Hearing the Māori perspective, learning who lived there, and what it was called, “dramatically” changed her attitude towards it “because then you are getting the second half of the book.”

According to McGovern-Wilson, differences in people’s psychological make-up affect how they look at heritage places. He said in his experience some people look at heritage places in a scientific, pragmatic way while others are more in touch with their emotional side, so personality traits make a difference to how people appreciate places. He has seen some archaeologists getting emotional looking at midden, a response he finds alien, but he considers this demonstrates that common training cannot overcome the personality that people bring to their reaction to places and objects.

Archaeologists often describe their emotions as ‘values’. The idea of value is an ancient one. It originated in the debates by the ancient Greek philosophers about the purpose of human existence, whether the highest purpose was achieving knowledge, creating beauty, or living a good (moral) life. This powerful framework has permeated heritage management and

³⁴ Rick McGovern-Wilson, 26 May 2010.

Western discourses about these three values have been used to rank other cultures in hierarchies of civilisation. Although these concepts are abstract, it is also part of Western tradition to apply “these values to concrete objects in such a way that they seem to be inherent to the objects. This process has blurred the distinction between factual description and judgement.” The separation of facts from judgments is done by selecting facts “within the context of general understandings of what it is permissible to leave out” and this creates a “normative framework”³⁵ (or schema). Within the heritage framework the three values convert to an interest in history or archaeology (truth), beauty (aesthetics), and, according to Otero-Pailos et al. “goodness tends to be left unstated.” However, the emergence of other ways of looking at heritage and the recognition of intangible heritage suggests that these may be ‘goodness’ in disguise. So the emergence of the ‘Other’ in heritage management reintroduces the third element of the ancient debate about the purpose of human existence, which has been side-lined by the emphasis on truth (science) and beauty (élite aestheticism). Otero-Pailos et al. remark:

Material culture is identified as the carrier for abstract values in such a way that the values become *inherent* to the object and *universal* in their importance. Once other people began to challenge the thinking behind these processes history and beauty could stop being used to exclude categories of heritage and the process of heritage as inclusive, relevant and responsive could begin.³⁶

Karen Grieg, another archaeologist interviewed for this research, spoke of archaeological ‘values’, which she distinguishes from archaeological methods or the discipline of archaeology, insisting that they are not the same thing, yet they are used “interchangeably.”³⁷ I would argue that several things are being discussed interchangeably in the interview data: the *discipline* (a branch of learning), the *methods* (the procedures, techniques, or ways of doing something, especially in accordance with a definite plan), the *practice* (the exercise or pursuit of a profession or occupation), and the *qualities* (the physical remains, often termed ‘values’, which a *practicing* archaeologist excavates using the accepted *methods* of the *discipline* of archaeology).

³⁵ Jorge Otero-Pailos, Jason Gaiger, and Susie West, “Heritage Values,” in *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, ed. Susie West (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press/The Open University, 2010), 49, citing Mitchell, 2005: 366.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 50, citing Mitchell, 2005: 366.

³⁷ Karen Greig, 14 September 2009.

The idea of archaeological value is particularly interesting because something of value is a thing which people ‘attach importance to’.³⁸ The RMA speaks of ‘qualities’, not ‘values’, in its definition of a historic heritage place; places (et cetera) may have ‘archaeological qualities’. A quality is “a distinctive attribute or faculty; a characteristic trait.”³⁹ Therefore heritage places may have archaeological qualities plus any number of other attributes such as historic or cultural qualities; but the word quality does not necessarily evoke ‘attachment’ in the same way the word ‘value’ does.

Discussing archaeological values interchangeably with archaeological methods or the discipline of archaeology indicates attachment to either the methods, that is, the techniques of archaeology, or the discipline (the body of learning that is archaeology), or the physical fabric. It indicates emotional involvement with the discipline, or qualities (fabric), or methods, but not necessarily emotional involvement with the *place*. This emerges from the interviews, for example, Dan Witter said when asked what the heritage places meant to him: “They don’t mean a lot. For me personally, the heritage thing relates to profession. I’m a professional heritage manager. I don’t really care about it that much.” When I asked him more about that and said: “But you care about the archaeology?” He became animated and replied, “Yes, yes, I care about the data.” Earlier when I had asked him why he did archaeology he replied that he was interested in it. His response to my question about why he was interested in it was, “Well *that* is emotional. ... I’ve been doing this kind of thing from earliest childhood and I’m still doing it. ... It ranges from the habitual to the obsessive.”⁴⁰

This raises fundamental questions about the protection of heritage places with archaeological qualities if someone describes him/herself as a heritage manager and has a keen interest in the data, but not the place. The problem with an archaeologist who describes his/her interest as ‘obsessive’ then identifies him/herself as a heritage manager is that a manager is someone who controls, directs or manipulates something — in Witter’s case data. But ‘data’ is *constructed* by archaeologists; it is not data until an archaeologist identifies it. Witter’s enthusiasm for the data is about *his* understanding of the objects, constructed through *his* performances as an archaeologist: training, surveying, excavating, analysing and writing-up. These performances may be restricted only to the objects and the site as it is being investigated. They do not inevitably flow over into understanding the importance of the place

³⁸ ‘Value’, in *The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary*, ed. Tony Deverson and Graeme Kennedy (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2005).

³⁹ ‘Quality’, in *The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary*, 2005.

⁴⁰ Dan Witter, 28 July 2009.

from another viewpoint and protecting it for those other values. The performance of archaeology is about dismantling sites, breaking places apart and attempting to refashion the bits into a scientific history. Witter clearly had this end in mind when he referred to himself as a heritage manager — he is managing the data to provide a version of heritage, but an archaeologically-driven version.

A major cornerstone of archaeological thought is this emphasis on data and science. NZAA's SRS is structured on the data collecting, scientific methodology inherited from its origins in the late 1950s when the New Archaeology (Processual) began to influence the discipline in New Zealand. Consequently the 'scientific' discourse in the SRS embeds the distance between the places and people whose history illuminates the places. Although discussions have occasionally been had about the possibility of adding a category for hapū/iwi, such a category has not been included in ArchSite, and Māori remain excluded. The information sought remains confined to: site number, site type, name (rarely given), date visited, site co-ordinates, finding aids, brief description, features (including artefacts), condition, other associated sites and plans of the site, if available. Other information depends on the interests and knowledge of the recorder. An example of this sparse information is Hakikino Pā (V22/91). The site was recorded in 1959 by Norman Elder who provided a sketch plan of a cross-section of the pā viewed from Te Apiti Road. He described the pā as:

Hilltop pa with terrace and scarp features, about 100 feet above sea level. One pit with others possibly concealed by long grass

Scattered shell (*Amphidesma subtriangulatum*) and obsidian flakes. Artefacts said to be recovered by fossickers. One small adze (quadrangular, untanged 3" x 1¼" x ¾" argillite; bruised and polished, owned by A. MacKintosh).

Setting: Views on all sides to sea. Karaka trees on south slope - stream at bottom of south slope. Cultivation terraces? (Not investigated) on hills to south.⁴¹

This information has been summarised by ArchSite as:

NZAA ID: V22/92
Imperial: N142/1⁴²
NZTM E: 1938038
NZTM N: 5580863

⁴¹ Norman Elder, "V22/91 Hakikino," in *ArchSite* (New Zealand Archaeological Association, 1959). When NZAA began recording sites the maps were in imperial measurements (feet, inches, etc.,) and each place was allocated a number related to the particular imperial map it was on. Subsequently, the mapping system became metric, and as the boundaries of the new maps did not correlate with the old imperial maps, all sites recorded at that time were allocated new numbers. Therefore, sites recorded prior to metrication have two numbers; recent ones, only one.

Description: Pa site with features including terrace and scarp defensives (sic) and midden. Find spot for artefacts. A number of archaeological kumara storage pit complexes are present in the valley.

Name: Hakikino.⁴³

Apart from the name there is no indication of the rich history associated with this place and its historic, cultural and spiritual importance to tangata whenua. Most places recorded in the SRS in Hawke's Bay have similar basic scientific information, but limited historic or traditional information. This demonstrates the way heritage places treated as *data* lose elements of their meaning and become almost unintelligible to all but archaeologists.

The idea of the sanctity of 'the science' and 'the data' is endemic in New Zealand archaeology as is shown by the informants interviewed for this thesis. Witter expresses it well in this excerpt from an interview. As mentioned earlier, he became animated when I asked him about the archaeology and replied he cared about the *data* because: "you can analyse it! ... And you can possibly relate your analyses to larger processes of cultural systems. It's all method and theory." Witter's academic and professional background is in the processual archaeology, which has dominated most archaeological thought in New Zealand since the 1960s. His career provides insight into the making of an American processual archaeologist, one who retains many elements of his training, but whose experience in Australia and New Zealand has led him to practice a more inclusive and culturally aware 'social' archaeology.

Witter's father was a palaeontologist and he spent his childhood hunting fossils and artefacts; he was on his first archaeological site when he was nine years old — the Sage Creek Paleo-Indian site. He trained as a zoologist at the University of Wyoming, but became interested in archaeology. He met his wife when visiting his brother in New Zealand. They returned to the United States and Witter attended the University of Mexico at Albuquerque, which is where he "got a Master's in Anthropology." He worked in archaeology in New Mexico before going to Alaska with Lewis Binford.

Binford's 1980 paper, "Willow smoke and dogs' tails: hunter-gatherer settlement systems and archaeological site formation" in *American Antiquity* is described by David et al as "one of the paradigmatic studies of processual archaeology." They continue Binford presented "a secular landscape where ecological relationships are materially manifested in settlement patterns and different site types," but his interpretation was "at odds with Nunamiut

⁴³ Elder, "V22/91 Hakikino."

cosmology and shamanism.” His interpretation stripped Nunamiut landscapes of their cosmological, symbolic and spiritual meaning, and failed to mention shrines and sacred places, “that clearly structured and mediated ecological relationships.” It was he who created an archaeology that is “devoid of meaningful place, and of meaningful emplacement, just as it is devoid of social experience and salience.”⁴⁴

Witter went to Australia in 1974 because his wife wanted to get closer to New Zealand. There, he worked for the Victoria Archaeological Survey before going to Canberra to do his PhD at the Australian National University, after which he worked in New South Wales in the National Park Service, mainly at Broken Hill. In 1999 they shifted to New Zealand, but as Witter had few professional contacts in New Zealand, he continued to do consultancy work in Australia, until such a lifestyle became untenable and he decided to work in New Zealand where he became archaeologist for the Pegasus Town development.

Witter wrote an extensive application for an authority from NZHPT to damage, destroy or modify archaeological sites under s 12 of the HPA. This application provided a detailed research strategy that included: research design; iwi values; historic sources; local knowledge and oral history; geomorphology and environment; regolith terrain map; site type; empirical model (which refers to the correlation of the archaeology to the landscape); processual model (which refers to the reconstruction of Māori life in the area and identification of cultural processes), in the context of the history and the body of knowledge about archaeological sites and prehistory in New Zealand; test implications of the models; and non-indigenous archaeology.⁴⁵ The research strategy demonstrates the underlying schema of an empiricist and a processual archaeologist whose fundamental concerns are with the environment and the data that explicates a model of subsistence economics. Witter does acknowledge the hierarchical chiefly society and the organisation required to manage the huge Hohoupounamu workshop area as well as the possibility that other models may need to be developed depending on the information gathered. Witter explained his research design, which follows the processual model with its emphasis on economics and the environment:

And one of the things that’s obvious to me was, for example, there was one hell of a lot of labour organisation going on to do all these middens ... and all that sort of stuff. Quite complex, because the middens were *not* located where they got the shells. They were bringing the shellfish and all sorts of stuff to [other areas] ... it was actually quite

⁴⁴ Bruno David, Bryce Barker, and Ian J. McNiven, eds., *The Social Archaeology of Australian Indigenous Societies* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press 2006). 13-4.

⁴⁵ Dan Witter, “Historic Places Act Section 12 Authority Application for Pegasus Town,” (Leeston: Witter Archaeology, 2005).

complex and it seemed likely that there might be a labour organisation issue. ... Anytime you are dealing with coastal dunes you've got landscape evolution going on full bore. ... So that was another thing. Yes *indeed it certainly was*. ... It was topics like that in the research design that were really crucial.⁴⁶

This is a valid processual way of designing a research strategy and analysing the data, but it lacks the social, cultural and historical dimensions that help bring the place alive with the voices, performances and beliefs of tangata whenua and their ancestors.

I now turn to another theme that prevails in archaeology: the 'discoverer' theme or 'boy's own adventure' theme, and which may be one reason why so-called CRM fits so surprisingly well with land and infrastructure developments. It may have its origins in the development of anthropology and archaeology as part of the imperial expansion from the West into the lands of the 'Other'. Kevin Jones related a story about the 'discovery' of an early Missionary's house and a Māori catechist's whare:

When we were at the place the Forest Service called the 'homestead' — the SRF said 'the homestead' — we weren't looking for the original homestead but Te Ahi Kerepū Pā — we didn't know it was there, we were looking for some pits that were described and recorded, but we were having lunch by the road and there was this knob of hill and I thought: "There's a knob of a hill and I'll go and have a look at it," and I walk off the road three metres and I come across a split totara fence and I thought: "This is strange," and I walked on a bit further and I came to a whare excavated out of the hillside still with the slab walls on it and enormous big old pine trees and you come to further up Preece's homestead house, which is like a platform with bits of old junk lying around and an enormous rhododendron and ivy all suckering all over the place and went further along and there was another split totara fence and went further along and there was an enormous totara that had been chopped down, still with the chop marks on it on the underside of the felled tree. Some things don't ring quite true about it because there was wire on the picket fence which doesn't seem quite right for the period, but they may have had a bit of wire in 1850. ... But I'm pretty sure it was the original Preece homestead of 1850.

When the age of the fence was queried Jones acknowledged that it might not be that old, although he was sure the site was, but then he queried, "Who was there? Maybe it was used, maybe the Mission stayed there — wasn't burnt or something in the 1860s and someone came back and lived there. But well, so there're some things that don't look quite right for 1850." Barr also demonstrated this theme when asked about Heipipi Pā, a fishing village in the centre of Gisborne on the bank of the Turanga River.⁴⁷ This site was known from traditional stories to be in the vicinity of the government building that was being demolished,

⁴⁶ Witter.

⁴⁷ This is a different place from Heipipi Pā in Hawke's Bay.

but its actual location was not known. Barr said, “*I found Heipipi Pā*. Everyone was just kind of waving in a general direction and saying it was over there. I found it physically ... so that was pretty cool.”

The element of discovery is a constant theme running through archaeological practice and there are numerous examples of unexpected ‘finds’ all over New Zealand, such as Te Horopuriri Pā in the way of the Bell Block Bypass just outside New Plymouth and Te Aro Pā in Taranaki Street in central Wellington. But, as Barr commented, when she was talking about the fishing village Heipipi Pā, which was a building site with three buildings on it, “You think there’s going to be nothing there, we’ll get minimal stuff if we are lucky and be in and out of there in a couple of days.” Yet the discovery meant they were “there for two weeks and [had] to go back again to do more monitoring.” This was because what was thought to be a demolished, or non-existent site was revealed to be an early nineteenth century (‘contact’ period) fishing village with artefacts demonstrating the ‘contact’ between Māori and European. Barr explained there was “a bone fish hook right next to bottle glass and a clay smoking pipe, and a huge piece of cow bone that they’ve started to work — it’s not butchering, they’ve started to carve it.”

Jones’ story about Preece’s mission station introduced another element in the practice of archaeology: the authority of the expert and the way in which sparse evidence can be used to construct an elaborate story that some might term ‘myth’. This may be the site of the missionary Preece’s homestead; I have insufficient information to discuss the matter. There is physical evidence of a former homestead: the ‘junk’ on the platform, the old exotic vegetation and the totara and wire fence are indications of that, but this evidence does not prove that the homestead site really does date from 1850. Although an area seems remote to urban New Zealanders that does not mean that it is not well-known to the local inhabitants and other people such as hunters, trampers and forestry workers. The slab whare mentioned is unlikely to date from the period; there are examples of early extant slab huts, such as Iron Whare, but not that early.⁴⁸ Slab whares were commonly built by deer stalkers and trampers throughout forested areas of the North Island as late as the 1950s.⁴⁹

Jones then explained the effect of this discovery on the people concerned and claimed “this whare floor is probably the whare for the original Ngāti Whare catechist Te Manihera.”

⁴⁸ Iron Whare in Kaweka Range c. 1880.

⁴⁹ <http://www.DoC.govt.nz/conservation/historic/by-region/east-coast-hawkes-bay/aniwaniwa/te-totara-hut/>.

Having established that the site was 'Preece's homestead', the people accompanying him decided that the slab where was the site of the catechist's house because they knew he had lived below the missionary's house. The koro was then discovered to be "crying beside it ... he's a very religious man with a great ability," Jones remarked. The reasons the koro gave for his emotion were that Te Manihera was the man who had introduced Christianity to them and here was his where — the tangible proof of his existence — but yet the people themselves had not known the site was here until this moment. They had known generally that there was a mission station somewhere, but as Jones said "we just chanced upon it because we were looking for these pits that were said to be so many hundred yards past the turn of the road."

So far this chapter has examined how an archaeological discourse is constituted through everyday professional practices revealed by words and actions. It will now analyse how archaeologists define archaeology. The interview material shows that they express a variety of definitions and understand both archaeology and heritage in different ways, although there are common themes that emerge from the data. Jones described archaeology as "the practice of recording and interpreting the physical remnants of past human activity to make an understanding of it in terms of history and stories." He said that heritage places are to be admired and are an indication of "how people went about their business in the past." He considers them to be "places of intellectual reflection, places to study, to understand better, some of these places are not even known about so they can be recorded and made interesting to a wider group of people."

Petersen defined it as "the physical excavation of human activity." Greig thought of it as a "method or tool or a way of understanding or investigating the past." She does not think of it as a noun (although she concedes it is), but as "a body of work or a way of looking at things. I don't think archaeology is a static 'thing'. I have a huge problem with things being described as archaeological sites." She understands archaeology as "a discipline, a body of knowledge ... part of a discourse, part of a Western scientific discourse." She does not consider it "particularly useful as a way of describing heritage places."

McGovern-Wilson described archaeology as "the study of human culture, it's about using scientific techniques to recover material from which you can reconstruct histories and stories and life-ways." He objected to people saying, "Oh, there's lots of archaeology round here," when they are talking about archaeological sites or material and said firmly, "archaeology is a noun, which describes the science, which describes the discipline." His understanding of an

archaeological site was that it is: “the physical manifestation of activity, people and activities, and what was happening at that particular time in our past ... it contains all sorts of things, midden, artefacts, post holes, evidence of structures, houses, roads, walls ... it’s that physical evidence of people.”

Barr said her understanding of archaeology is that it is “primarily the physical evidence of past activities” although it is not only the sites, “it’s the techniques and the discipline” which go with the sites. “[You] can look at a site and say, yes there’s stuff there, and go in and dig it all up but unless you’ve got the discipline you haven’t got control in terms of recovering the information.” This understanding emphasises the ‘constructedness’ of archaeology, the increasing professionalisation and the notion of the ‘expert’.

Pam Bain’s understanding of archaeology has changed from thinking about it as “small objects and data in isolation” to an understanding of ‘place’ rather than ‘site’. (Equivalent to an artefact, or a bit of data in the landscape). Understanding where ‘place’ fits into the landscape is the result of twenty-five years “living on the East Coast working with Uncle Api,” she remarked.⁵⁰ Bain emphasised that “you cannot separate the archaeology from the people and their stories, and those stories are still really close to them,” adding that “the Te Kooti stuff and things like that,” is “really, really, close still. It is people’s lives — you cannot separate it.”

When Witter was asked how archaeology fits into his understanding of heritage he replied that “archaeology is a contributing element to whatever it is you want to call heritage.” This understanding was a common one. McGovern Wilson said that “archaeology and archaeological sites is just one part of that continuum of what I see as being heritage. So in the same way as you have buildings — in the tangible phase of it so it’s just a class if you like, it’s a class of heritage.”

As we have seen in the data analysed in this section, archaeologists define archaeology in a variety of ways. Heritage is also subject to different definitions. Witter claimed to not understand what heritage is, “I really don’t know and as I understand it very few people claim that they do.” But then he described it as “people’s sense of the past and what they feel connects them with the past and in some cases with the entire environment.” He added that

⁵⁰ Api Mahuika.

“people in the natural sciences talk about heritage in that way also.” He said that archaeology is a contributing element to whatever it is you want to call heritage.

Greig said the meaning of heritage depends on the scope of how you define heritage, for example, “in a landscape it can be places, natural features and things that people have made.” But if heritage is being described “in terms of society there might be other parts beside place like things that people pass on or transmit to other generations, future generations, that help form the identity of that society.” These might be “obvious things like songs or visual expression and that type of thing and works of literature and works of art as well ... language, too.” Grieg distinguishes between tangible and intangible heritage “probably because of my practice as an archaeologist and a heritage manager.” Commonly, the use of the term heritage relates to “tangible physical places, and artefacts too; portable culture, that’s heritage, too.” She “went to a course in Nara in Japan about six or seven years ago [and] they were very hot on intangible heritage. They were very interested in it, particularly in terms of Japan — all the traditions associated with temples — they were very into intangible heritage then.”

This way of looking at intangible heritage objectifies it. Intangible heritage, such as a traditional way of doing things, becomes an artefact; it is bounded and managed and in danger of becoming frozen into a ‘thing’. Intangible heritage is not an artefact; it is a moving, living, changing, expression of an aspect of identity. Bain recognises that heritage is about individual and group identity based on both tangible and intangible aspects of a society or culture all together. “Heritage incorporates a wide range of things from people’s stories, language, not just the really common stuff, but things like skills, how we do things, make things, is as important as the archaeology and the history and the photographs.” she said, and it includes, “gardening, where you live, clothes, house, how you decorate it, all those things, and what your rituals are, the whole kind of culture.” Bain thinks heritage means different things and has different priorities for different people and emphasises that it is important for heritage managers to consider the schema or world-views of the people whose heritage places are being managed. She comments that heritage “might not mean the same for me as for Ngāti Porou or Chinese historians, so I think that is important for heritage managers to think about world-view stuff.” Jeremy Habberfield Short told me his perception of heritage is that “in practice there are two spheres of heritage: there is cultural heritage and archaeological heritage, maybe there’s lots more, but in what I do those are the two spheres I interact with.” He considers “heritage, as value based.” Iwi are the communities he deals with mainly, who value heritage, but “they have their own set of values that are attached to heritage and they

are separate and distinct from archaeological values.” His perspective, on the other hand, is that of “an archaeologist, that is my background and my training ... when I do my work I do it as an archaeologist.” However, he understands “there are multiple different values, for example, ownership, people who own heritage, if heritage is on their land they have a different kind of concept of heritage. So it’s kind of like this polysemic thing, multifaceted idea.”

Jones defines heritage as “those things that we preserve for future generations and appreciate as a record of past generations — everything from antique furniture, manuscripts, buildings, archaeological sites, objects, languages.” He described intangible heritage as “that’s heritage we come to learn — beliefs and things like that.” When I interviewed Barr, her view was that “archaeology is one discipline ... [including archaeological sites] ... within the broader concept of heritage.” She mentions there are many layers of history such as “oral history, military history, social history, in any site or any history” and there will always be different versions or different interpretations of them. She also notes that “politics comes into, well, interpretation of sites, presentation of sites, and what gets the money.”

McGovern-Wilson responded to the question by saying “heritage, that’s an interesting question!” He defined it as “that collective of our past that makes us what we are. It’s buildings. It’s archaeological sites. It’s intangible stuff like song and dance and language. It’s a combination of both the intangible and the tangible stuff that makes us who we are collectively.” He insisted that “it’s not Pākehā, it’s not Māori. It’s that whole collective.” This is his broad view of heritage, which he agrees, can be broken down to “individual communities and be more specific if you want to focus, but at a more universal level it’s that collective of things.”

The common themes that emerge from this analysis are that archaeology is understood to be a discipline. It is also seen as a practice which is concerned with the physical remnants of the past that are excavated to produce history. There is a consensus that heritage means different things to different people and how you understand it depends on both who you are and how you define it. One view is that heritage is definable and manageable, even intangible heritage is a ‘thing’, for instance, a language, or dance, or beliefs. The political elements of heritage are mentioned only once, but from a management perspective, not as part of identity negotiation. The idea of heritage being about value, identity, and that it is different for different people is emerging in the archaeologists who have the most contact with Māori,

such as Bain and Habberfield Short. Witter too, made the insightful comment that “heritage is about people’s sense of the past and what they feel connects them with the past and in some cases with the entire environment.” There is emphasis on the practice of archaeology, the discipline of archaeology, and its professionalisation, which is curiously equated with being ‘a heritage manager’. Although there is acknowledgement that archaeology is part of the ‘thing’ called heritage, there is a tendency for archaeologists to separate it out from heritage, particularly when it meets with cultural heritage, despite the general perception that archaeology is part of the ‘continuum’ of heritage, that heritage is the “collective of our past” and has both tangible and intangible elements.

Based on this analysis of the interviews conducted for this research, I would argue that this confusion is a core problem with current archaeological practice in New Zealand.

Archaeologists acknowledge that archaeology is an element of heritage, but they treat it separately from other aspects of heritage such as cultural heritage or history. Yet they often call themselves heritage managers rather than archaeologists and this genealogy gives them additional power, because it is more encompassing. The use of this designation suggests that many archaeologists who call themselves heritage managers retain a strongly archaeological perspective. The following section considers the implications of this.

Heritage management within an archaeological framework

This research is concerned with everyday practices of archaeology, in the form of development archaeology and conservation management archaeology. Many archaeologists in New Zealand consider themselves to be heritage managers as well as archaeologists, particularly when they are involved with conservation management. As suggested above, this new development is both an extension of the power of archaeologists as ‘experts’ and an inherently political activity. The problem with archaeologists calling themselves ‘heritage managers’— when they only have archaeological training — is that the archaeological perspective predominates in decision making, despite, as archaeologists acknowledge, archaeology being a sub-section of ‘heritage’. The appellation ‘heritage manager’ implies a broader range of skills and perspectives is possessed by the holder than is often the case and assists archaeologists extend their power over the management of places.

CRM is about controlling, or managing, the damage or destruction of cultural resources with mitigation for this being the attempt to ‘find out’ about the history of the place. As explained

earlier this is undertaken with an authority from NZHPT, which decides the future of places based on assessments of ‘archaeological values’ prepared by archaeologists; economic pragmatism; and the requirements of owners and developers. Emphasis on the material resource dominates the thinking of this lead heritage agency and most heritage managers, many of whom are archaeologists. The tangibility of material evidence, because it is visual and seemingly indisputable, means archaeological features have greater eminence than the past connections and cultural associations of Māori. Archaeologists who work for NZHPT remain strongly within the processual school of archaeological thought.

This perspective is revealed by McGovern Wilson, who explained that he was trained as an archaeologist so he tended “to view a lot of these places in an empirical, scientific way. I do not necessarily attach emotion to them,” although he admits that when he goes to somewhere such as Kaiapoi, because he knows what happened there he can “attach emotions to a place like that because I know the history of the place — sacked by Te Rauparaha, people killed and eaten, and all that sort of stuff.” However, generally, when he considers a heritage place he takes “a more scientific, pragmatic approach.” He said he is not only psychologically inclined towards pragmatism, and a scientific understanding of place, but he explained that NZHPT “has to put the connections that Māori have with particular places aside.” He did not elaborate on the reasons for this, but I understood it was because of statutory requirements. He added “occasionally authorities are refused on intangible grounds such as whakapapa and traditional stories,” and gave as an example an application for a water reservoir in Tauranga where there were two pā that were too important for their *landscape values* for modification to be allowed, but the refusal was “predicated on cultural values.” Unusually the cultural values were used to protect the physical values.

Development archaeology takes place every day and for a variety of reasons. Many activities occur without any involvement from NZHPT, either because they are part of routine farm management, people do not know they have to apply for an authority (or they choose to avoid applying for one), or there are no archaeological sites apparent in the area. Most activities do not impact on archaeological features, or if they do, the features are not recognised, or are ignored. However, sometimes a ‘site’ is discovered, often associated with kōiwi tangata, and rescue archaeology is required.

Well-conducted development archaeology can be successful with sufficient Māori involvement and adequate funding, as in the Bell Block Bypass in Taranaki. According to the

spokesperson for Transit New Zealand, now the New Zealand Transport Authority (NZTA), representatives from Puketapu hapū were heavily involved in the archaeological investigations along the route with many being very emotionally connected with the place. Many believed that “it made itself known, wanted to be found,” as Puketapu hapū head Grant Knuckey said, adding that the discovery had ignited a new connection with the past. He described the site as if it had a personality: “The site has let itself be examined thoroughly, using our new technology. It made us all take notice.” He appreciated that the archaeological investigations had provided greater insight into the history of the area, particularly how people were living and the type of energy and knowledge required to protect the community, saying, “they must have been people of tremendous ability.”⁵¹ NZTA’s representative explained that although the route of the bypass “had been planned to avoid known heritage places this was one that nobody was aware of before.” However, “Transit is required to be mindful of the social and cultural issues surrounding the work we do,” which necessitates paying for any archaeological excavations that may be needed.⁵² Barr remarked the Bell Block Bypass and the Kaiapoi Pā/Pegasus Town archaeological investigations are rare examples of ‘good’ quality CRM excavations, but a significant reason for the quality of the work was because there was sufficient funding.⁵³

Generally development archaeology is undertaken as mitigation for the destruction of a heritage place and involves the technical excavation or the monitoring of the destruction of a place within a research framework. NZHPT has provided guidance to address the concern that archaeological work carried out for development projects is no longer associated with research aims, but has “become a mechanical process largely limited to the recording of information, rather than the application of that information to the development of our understanding of New Zealand’s past.”⁵⁴ The aims of one recent authority in ‘bold’, followed by the answers highlight the concern:

- **Confirming the nature of the features:** Three of the four features identified by Barr during the archaeological field survey of the area are pits. The remaining

⁵¹ Grant Knuckey, “Taranaki Site Yields Hidden Treasures,” *InTransit*(2005), http://www.taurangaharbourbridge.info/content_files/news/Newsletter171_PDFFile.pdf.

⁵² New Zealand Transit, “Taranaki Site Yields Hidden Treasures,” *InTransit*, no. 159 (2005), http://www.taurangaharbourbridge.info/content_files/news/Newsletter171_PDFFile.pdf.

⁵³ ‘Good’ quality means, in this case, a well-planned, and well funded archaeological *excavation*, that is research based and uses a multi-disciplinary team rather than the mechanical ‘monitoring’ work that is done when funding is limited.

⁵⁴ Karen Greig, “NZHPT National Research Framework: Discussion Paper,” ed. New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga (Wellington 2007).

feature was determined to be part of a bull-dozer track once overgrowth and debris were removed.

- **Obtaining information on the original size and depth of the pits:** The pits were between c.3.9m to c.4.6m in length, c.3m to c.3.1m in width and c.0.66m to c.0.8m in depth.
- **Comparing the archaeological excavation results with similar sites investigated in Hawke's Bay:** Pit features are common both within the Tangoio Hills and throughout Hawke's Bay. The dimensions are similar to other pits in the region.⁵⁵

This is an uninformative, technical result following the correct process, but it contributes nothing to understanding the past, nor even the relationship of the pits to other features in the area. More importantly, it completely ignores the people who built the features of the place, their history, or their descendants who still have a sense of connection with the place.

A forestry manager, Bruce Evans, told me when I was in this same forest (for another reason) that a local kaumatua, Bevan Taylor, had asked to have the position marked by, "not planting trees on it," although the site was buried beneath several metres of fill. This was to retain some form of link with the place where the footsteps of their ancestors had trodden and to ensure that the location could be remembered.⁵⁶

Generally most archaeological work is done on a very tight budget and often with reluctance from the authority holder — the developer or land owner. In Barr's experience, "most developers see NZHPT as a hurdle, a problem." She identified the lack of clear policy and guidelines to staff, staff inexperience, and management inconsistency as the causes of uncoordinated responses from NZHPT, commenting that staff "are a little bit removed from the real world," and "everything's black and white." They do not have the opportunity to sit down and find an acceptable "middle ground," which in her opinion would better protect the "landscape component," but NZHPT does not seem prepared to do this. She did not consider the communication between archaeologists and Māori heritage advisors at the NZHPT to be very good and had a sense that the "Māori Heritage Unit is preoccupied with wāhi tapu registration,"⁵⁷ and not heavily involved with fighting for the rights of their heritage places with archaeological qualities, or for greater tangata whenua involvement. This suggests that the Māori Heritage Council (MHC) may have been side-lined from involvement with the

⁵⁵ Christopher Mallows, "Section 15 Archaeological Excavation of Pits (V20/206) Carters Road Block, Tangoio Forest NZHPT Authority 2009/196," (Hamilton: Opus International Consultants Limited, 2009). 23.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Pishief, "Archaeological Assessment: V20/206 Tangoio Forest, Bay View Hawke's Bay," (Napier: Pan Pac Forests Ltd, 2011).

⁵⁷ Barr.

authority process. Certainly, when I worked in the Trust in the early 2000s the Māori heritage staff were not encouraged to be involved with decisions regarding archaeological sites.

Māori have long been frustrated by the HPA and the fragmentary nature of the current heritage management system and have called for a stand-alone Māori heritage agency that can work with tangata whenua and provide protection for Māori heritage. The government has resisted this ambition and Māori heritage remains within general heritage management laws. The HPA 1993 created the Maori Heritage Council and provided for separate categories of wāhi tapu and wāhi tapu areas within the NZHPT Register as a partial concession to Maori concerns.⁵⁸

A major problem Barr mentioned is the centralisation of the authority process and the fact that the regions are so large regional archaeologists rarely get out into the areas unless there is a major issue. Barr mentioned that despite the RMA, a regional councillor told her that “cultural heritage has nothing to do with the Regional Council.” She thinks this attitude combined with a lack of expertise, and even basic awareness of heritage issues by local council staff means that unless something has been clearly identified as an archaeological issue the staff will not ‘pick it up’ and the consent will be granted, without reference to NZHPT. This attitude may be partly attributable to the centralisation, in Wellington, of decisions about archaeology, and the lack of a historic heritage presence in Hawke’s Bay (already identified as a major problem). However although the district councils are becoming much more aware of historic heritage and their responsibilities under the RMA, the Regional Council remains strongly focussed on rural land and water issues, rather than heritage matters, despite (or perhaps because of) a quarter of the population being Māori. Emphasising ‘science’ rather than opening the Pandora’s box of ‘culture’ is considerably easier for the predominantly Pākehā councillors and staff.

I will now consider the matter of the accidental discovery of kōiwi tangata, a risk often associated with development archaeology. The main laws dealing with the discovery of kōiwi tangata are the Coroners Act 2006, (CA); Burial and Cremation Act 1964 (B&CA), HPA, POA, and Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 (TTWMA). The police must be informed of any discovery of human remains. Barr mentioned discovering kōiwi tangata in the Heipipi Pā landscape at Bay View. During the archaeological monitoring work associated with the

⁵⁸ H Allen, “The Crisis in 21st Century Archaeological Heritage Management,” in *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 21st Century*, ed. Caroline Phillips and Harry Allen, *One World Archaeology* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010). 167-8.

development of a hillside owned by the winery adjacent to the Heipipi Pā Historic Reserve, kōiwi tangata were found scattered through midden deposits. Barr spoke to Heitia Hiha, the kaumatua for the area, who requested they collect the kōiwi tangata and put them somewhere safe, but close to where they came from. The message that she got from Hiha was that the kōiwi tangata were to stay where they were.

Another incident that occurred on the Esk hills was during the excavation of a ‘kūmara’ pit. Barr recalled that “We did a cross-section of it and came across some more [kōiwi tangata] and they were at the base of the pit under about half a metre of shell midden.” According to Barr, these skeletons were on the bottom of the pit, that is at the base lying on the ‘sterile’ layer and one was disturbed, or ‘not articulated’, while the other was ‘jumbled’. The management of these kōiwi tangata created concern in the Māori community because they were removed from the area without consultation and placed in the Napier Museum rather than cared for by tangata whenua and reburied as quickly as possible. It took over a year before they were reinterred and the incident created dissonance between Māori and the museum. NZHPT has guidelines on the discovery of kōiwi tangata because they fall within the definition of an archaeological site. Barr’s actions partly followed these, which advise: “Temporary repositories for kōiwi tangata/human remains may include museums, churches, mortuaries, marae, pathologists’ laboratories, or elsewhere on site, if it is deemed to be secure.”⁵⁹ The guidelines continue:

Tikanga Māori should be observed in all cases of kōiwi tangata/human remains discoveries of Maori origin. This will require that tangata whenua are advised and actively involved in managing finds in the first instance. ... Best practice is to consult with tangata whenua as soon as practicable to ascertain the nature of the cultural safety protocols to be observed as part of the discovery process.⁶⁰

In this case tangata whenua were not adequately involved in the decision-making with the result that the kōiwi tangata were put in the museum, which is quite inappropriate museologically (in New Zealand) as well as culturally, and unnecessary dissonance was caused.

Another incident when kōiwi tangata were discovered in sand-dunes at Castlepoint on the Wairarapa coast elicited the following response from NZHPT:

⁵⁹ New Zealand Historic Places Trust, “Koiwi Tangata Human Remains Guidelines,” (on-line: New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 2010). 20.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 22.

You are required by law to contact the NZHPT — who can provide advice and guidance — and local police, as soon as kōiwi tangata are found. The more people we can get this message to the better — it's important to leave any recovery and investigation to the experts. These are also ancestors of the land, who deserve to be treated with respect.

If you find what you think is kōiwi tangata, or an archaeological artefact, it's important that you leave it where it is, take note of where it is, cover it up if you are able to and report it as soon as possible.⁶¹

The manager of the Central Region of NZHPT, Ann Neill, said that if the remains were considered to be pre-1900 and likely to be tangata whenua, NZHPT would liaise with the appropriate iwi or hapū. NZHPT shared iwi concerns that burial sites were treated with respect and fossickers did not handle and remove kōiwi tangata or historical artefacts. This quotation and the manager's statement provide insight into NZHPT's policies around kōiwi tangata. However, the quotation also is a vignette of NZHPT's discourse and such comments as: "you are required by law," "leave any recovery and investigation to the experts," "archaeological artifact," "report it as soon as possible," position NZHPT uncompromisingly within the AHD.

I will now turn from outlining some of the issues arising from the practice of CRM archaeology, which indicate the underlying dissonance associated with all heritage places as people struggle to be heard and for their perspectives to be included, to a consideration of the practice of conservation management archaeology. My first informant is Pam Bain who views archaeology from a strongly conservation management perspective. She commented that her understanding of archaeology has altered from when she was training and was quite focussed "on the science, on the opportunity to gather information: scientific information, the data, in isolation," which is important and has a role, but "data gathering should never be in isolation from ... the people who created it." She accepts the scientific component in archaeology, but for her, archaeology these days "is more about protecting and managing the sites." It is the sites that "tell us more about the big heritage picture," rather than the science, she comments. For her heritage is about "all those things, the history and so on, coming together and you don't need what the science provides ... sometimes it's enough just to protect it, to manage those sites, to leave them."

⁶¹ Ibid, ———, "NZHPT Information Release," (30 October 2009), http://www.historic.org.nz/en/News/MR_Koiwi.aspx.

The conservation management of places is an important role of archaeologists and other heritage practitioners, particularly those working for DoC or NZHPT. Otatara Pā Historic Reserve is an example of the official management of archaeological sites and places of significance to Māori. It is the only example of an attempt at bicultural management in Hawke's Bay. Even so, Western conservation tenets and development opportunities on the associated areas outside the reserve prevail and parts of the cultural landscape have been destroyed by houses and roads that may have been saved with better communication between DoC, NZHPT and tangata whenua. Despite this comment the dedication of DoC staff assisted by one or two NZHPT staff later resulted in a very large portion of the land being purchased by DoC for inclusion in the reserve.



Fig. 7: Otatara Pā Historic Reserve. Otatara Pā is quarried area *bottom left*.⁶²

An archaeologist, L.M. Groube described Otatara Pā, when advocating for its protection in 1971, as “of outstanding prehistoric significance, not only because of its size ... but because of the unique form of the site.” He noted that as “120 acre villages are extremely rare in pre-history the international significance of the site is obvious.” He appealed to “particularly the Ngati Kahungunu who will lose more than any if this site is to disappear,” remarking that Otatara symbolises the “vitality and resourcefulness of the earliest agricultural settlers of

⁶² Photographer unknown; probably Kevin Jones.

Hawke's Bay, the ancestors of Ngāti Kahungunu. It must not be allowed to disappear beneath the blades of a bulldozer.”⁶³

Otatara is a monument to all the people of Heretaunga, both the original inhabitants and Ngāti Kahungunu. The traditional history of Otatara is complex and it is not possible to determine the actual course of events, although attempts have been made to provide a chronological history, but the significance of the events is not destroyed by this difficulty.⁶⁴ The crucial event is that Taraia and his Ngāti Kahungunu followers arrived in Heretaunga and Otatara is the place that commemorates that arrival. The stories relate how everyone is linked to Otatara — through occupation, conquest, marriage and mana — and whakapapa binds them all together. Taraia's arrival has been described as a bloodless conquest, a truce, a conquest of Otatara. He is said to have established his mana over Heretaunga by peaceful means, judicious political marriages and/or by fighting and pushing out the original inhabitants. A well-known proverb often quoted in the Māori Land Court during the nineteenth century indicates the coalition between tangata whenua and the infiltrating Ngāti Kahungunu that appears to have been achieved through Taraia's diplomatic, rather than military skills: “The land is Turauwha's, but the mana is Taraia's.”⁶⁵

The move to reserve this site began in 1969 when Napier City Council, Hawke's Bay County Council, members of the Māori community and NZHPT became interested in its preservation. The motion to purchase it was put by the Bishop of Aotearoa, the Right Reverend Māui Bennett at a meeting, and Sir Turi Carroll also urged his fellow Māori to forget the past, join together and build for the future, calling it a colossal opportunity: “For God's sake don't let us miss this chance. Let us build together and provide somewhere where Maori and Pakeha can meet together.”⁶⁶ In June 1971 the owners of Otatara Pa, offered sixty-eight acres of Redcliffe Station to the Lands and Survey Department for purchase as a

⁶³ Elizabeth Pishief, with Waiohiki Marae, and Kevin Jones, *Assessment of Significance: Otatara Pa Historic Reserve*, Napier: Department of Conservation East Coast/Hawke's Bay Conservancy, 1997, 51, citing L. M. Groube, in *Herald Tribune* 17 July, 1971, in Hawke's Bay Museum scrapbook (“HB Marae”).

⁶⁴ Patrick Parsons, “Wai 400: The Ahuriri Block Maori Customary Interests,” in *Waitangi Tribunal Reports* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1997).; Mark Wilson Allen, “Warfare and Economic Power in Simple Chiefdoms: The Development of Fortified Villages and Politics in Mid-Hawke's Bay, New Zealand” (University of California, 1994).

⁶⁵ J. D. H Buchanan, *The Maori History & Place Names of Hawke's Bay*, ed. D. R. Simmonds (Wellington: A H & A W Reed, 1973). 9-10.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Pishief, Waiohiki Marae, and Kevin Jones, “Assessment of Significance: Otatara Pa Historic Reserve,” (Napier: Department of Conservation, 1997). 42.

historic reserve on terms that were considerably less than the market value.⁶⁷ More was transferred to the Crown in 1975, with the remainder being transferred in 1979, so that by 1996 the Crown owned approximately thirty hectares of the total complex.⁶⁸

Otatara was reserved with the support of many groups in the community including Māori, local government, central government, archaeologists and the landowners. This positive and proactive approach to the place indicates how significant it is, yet after it was reserved for historic purposes, quarrying of Otatara Pā (one of the two pā within the reserved landscape), which had been quarried for road metal since at least the 1930s, continued for a further fifteen years. Additionally, although the reserve does not cover the full extent of the archaeological landscape and recommendations were made to purchase areas as they came on the market, this was not done. Instead, after the land was purchased by developers NZHPT signed off the development proposals without considering the historic reserve status of the land adjacent or consulting DoC. Subsequently, different NZHPT staff members realised the significance of the landscape and considerable reactionary consultation and negotiations were required before some of the land was purchased. In spite of this ‘heritage crisis’ further recent NZHPT actions have resulted in other areas being signed off inappropriately.⁶⁹

Heipipi Pā Historic Reserve is also managed by DoC and equally important in the history of the arrival of Ngāti Kahungunu into Heretaunga, but it has not received the degree of public protection that Otatara Pā has, perhaps because there is not a marae close by. DoC bought the land soon after the department was establishment in 1987, although preliminary negotiations, initiated and led by Mary Jeal, had begun earlier. Jeal was disturbed by the landowner’s proposal to subdivide the land for housing. Kevin Jones recalled the background:

I think it was purchased at the instigation of Piri Sciascia⁷⁰ ... I think DoC purchased it at the insistence of Piri and because Piri is at least part Kahungunu that had something to do with it. When he heard the name he thought “Oops we’ve got to have that” ... I was opposed to it actually. ... As an archaeological site. I thought there were much better archaeological sites to go purchasing in Hawke’s Bay. ... Because it was substantially ploughed over so the surface features were not in particularly good condition. Having said that, it has obviously traditional significance ... Yes, I think the words were: “Ah Heipipi, yes we’ve got to have it.”

⁶⁷ An area of 27.6 hectares was purchased for \$10,000 by the Crown, Napier City Council and the Hawke’s Bay County Council.

⁶⁸ Pishief, 1997, 44-45; 7, 30 hectares is 74.13 acres.

⁶⁹ Pers. comm.: Pam Bain, Department of Conservation, Gisborne.

⁷⁰ Victoria University of Wellington, “Piri Sciascia: Te Toiahurei (Māori) Pro Vice-Chancellor (Māori),” <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/facschools/toihuarewa/profiles.aspx#piri-sciascia>.

This passage shows the significance attached to places from the two perspectives in the management of Māori heritage places: the archaeological stance and the traditional Māori view. Jones did not think the place was worth purchasing “because the features were not in good condition,” therefore they could not be seen, except by ‘experts’ so the site was not useful for interpretation for visitors. On the other hand, Piri Sciascia recognised the name and said on those grounds alone: “We’ve got to have it.” Jones considered Sciascia’s personal standing in the government was sufficient to finalise the purchase of the land. In response to my inquiry about his side of this story Sciascia replied:

I was Assistant Director General (ADG) Maori at the time, one of the senior management team, like being PVC Maori here at Victoria — i.e., with oversight of Maori interests for the department.

Yes, I did lead the purchase of the site. It came up on a list that the senior management group made decisions on, i.e., how the available fund (which had a name that escapes me) was to be spent. (With advice from the regions and Head Office where Kevin was, I think).

Anyway, the property was purchased with my advocacy and the agreement of my senior management colleagues.

I visited the site and fell in love; so glad that I had expressed my views strongly (i.e., that it ought to be purchased) in the first place.

On the one hand there was the Act and policy supporting purchase of “archaeological sites”, and then there was “nga mahi a nga tipuna,” which is where I was coming from — as a section 4 (of the Conservation Act) spin, which is “in administering the Act, to give effect to the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.”

Vindicated in today’s environment, I think. Still.⁷¹

Both Otatara Pā and Heipipi Pā are places of importance to DoC and conservation plans have been commissioned as management tools. Conservation plans are prepared by professional heritage managers often being commissioned prior to the change in the use of a building or place to ensure that the most significant value (fabric) is identified and retained. However, because the preparation of a conservation plan is considered to be a ‘best-practice’ management tool, plans are prepared for places such as historic reserves as a method of identifying the best way to care for the place, although no changes of use are foreseen.

In 2008, a conservation plan for Heipipi Pā Historic Reserve was prepared by a heritage consultancy In-Situ Heritage Ltd, which had been commissioned to do the work funded mainly by the Bay View Community Charitable Trust (BVCCT). The key stakeholders were

⁷¹ Piri Sciascia, 6 September 2010.

DoC, the hapū, particularly Ngāti Matepu, BVCCT and NZHPT.⁷² The community group wanted to replant the reserve, because its values are mainly about natural history and recreation, although it does appreciate the historic values, but it has a more European focus on indigenous vegetation and recreation.

Greig explained the conservation plan process and role of iwi in the production of one for a place like a historic reserve. She said the way the conservation plan process “tends to work in New Zealand is that the focus is on the physical fabric,” which means, “to some degree the aims are to do with the fabric and the values which are associated with it (with the archaeological fabric) as opposed to the place in general.” For this reason “it is not necessary to go with iwi into great detail about the Māori cultural values.” She remarked that it is not “appropriate to make them, or expect that they are going to share everything about the place,” because the process is mainly about protecting the place in a physical sense, so consultation undertaken for a conservation plan is really, “about exchanging views with people and making sure they feel comfortable with what you are doing and having them share what they feel able to share about the place.” Greig said the involvement of iwi “enriches my understanding of the place and personalises the experience, but in terms of writing conservation plans it’s not crucial.” She added that “the idea is that if the place is maintained, then the Māori values will be able to be maintained as well.”

This concept, that if the fabric is maintained, then automatically the Māori values are retained is problematic, because it does not take into account the spiritual damage (noted by Ngoro and Pwiti) that occurs both to the place and the people when the people are alienated from the place. It emphasises that the fabric is really the *only* value that matters, everything else is subsumed within that value. Greig demonstrates the role of the ‘expert’ when she says the purpose of consultation is “about exchanging views with people and making sure they feel comfortable with what *you are doing*.”⁷³ This usual, and professional, way of preparing a conservation plan relegates tangata whenua to a passive rather than active part in the conservation of their heritage.

However, another conservation plan that Greig worked on had a completely different outcome. This was an innovative conservation plan prepared by her consultancy for Hakapurere, a large sand dune complex on the Southland coast. The plan was commissioned

⁷² Karen Greig and Lynda Walter, “Heipipi Pa Historic Reserve Conservation Plan (Draft),” (Napier: Department of Conservation, 2008).

⁷³ My italics.

by DoC in partnership with the rūnanga and “it was a good plan to be involved in because the rūnanga had strong ideas about what they wanted and they were very much driving the process.” Greig explained:

One of the challenges there is that it is a mobile dune and there is archaeological faunal material all over the dunes and when the rūnanga, the hapū go there it is important to be able to see the archaeology (sic) and to think about the activities that were going on there, gathering pāua and fishing and all that sort of thing, so the conservation of that place isn’t just about covering up (covering up and preserving) it’s not appropriate, so it needs to be managed so that people can go there and have the experience of being there and seeing what went on in the past. ... So they can go there and look at things that remind them of the people and activities that took place there.

I suggested that the usual method of conserving a place like this, which is to put sand all over it and plant marram grass (or something similar) to preserve what is underneath, stopped people from seeing the archaeological residues, or remembering the activities that took place there, or interacting with the material, thus conservation policies and procedures affect their activities and memories. Greig replied: “connections.” She emphasised this idea of connections, saying, “I think the connections were very important. Not just to the place, but to what was happening there, and why people were there, and the environment, the sea — the sea was part of the landscape — the whole connection with the sea and with their ancestors.” Greig found the preparation of this conservation plan very rewarding because it went beyond simply caring for earthworks and actually took the concept a bit further.

It recognised that the material was very fragile so walking around on top of it was not a good thing so people had to be aware of what they were doing there. It also recognised that it will in the long run erode away because that is the nature of it. It’s a mobile environment and that’s ok as well. And the other thing we looked at — it’s quite isolated — so there’s the possibility of making a video with the members of the rūnanga talking and the archaeologists talking about what the place was and what the things meant so that people who couldn’t get into this isolated location could also have a chance to experience it. So that was really cool as well. That was preserving the place — in a virtual way. ... And what it meant — in a virtual way and that was really exciting, too.

This more plastic, adaptable method of conservation planning acknowledges that this is a living landscape with living people who want to keep on interacting with it as they need to. It is a ‘turning away’ from the idea of *preserving* the place — freezing the place and removing it from circulation. Instead it is a conservation plan that responded to the need of the people to make connections with the place, rather than insisting on maintaining the fabric. And while it acknowledges the importance of that fabric, it recognises that all fabric disintegrates and

becomes ‘dust to dust, ashes to ashes’. Greig noted that there were personal benefits, for her. “I think working with iwi on conservation plans is great because it brings the places alive in ways.” It enabled her to “understand people’s connections to the place and the stories that have been [told] about events that have taken place in the past. It peoples the landscape. ... It makes the places more personal [to me].”

As well, a new management method is being investigated by DoC in response to changes in the ownership of many historic reserves as a result of the Waitangi claim settlements. Many reserves will be jointly owned by tangata whenua and DoC, consequently it is essential to develop new ways of managing these heritage places that equitably consider the aspirations of both partners. I am undertaking a research project at Pukerangiora Pā Historic Reserve in collaboration with the hapū to identify what *they* consider the values of the place and what *their* vision for it is. This project is inclusive and involves tangata whenua in the research, which has been undertaken so far with the hapū approving every step and determining who in the hapū will undertake the oral history research, what questions to ask the kaumātua, what will happen to the material obtained and the protocols around its use. Such projects are lengthy and require considerable relationship-building before they can even begin. I am fortunate in that I worked in this conservancy, with people from this hapū, ten years ago and I also know the DoC staff member, who spent a great deal of time discussing the proposal (and me) over ‘cups of tea and lunches’ in order to prepare the way for the project. It is hoped that this project will enable an iwi perspective of the heritage place, (rising out of the Iwi Heritage Discourse) to drive the management decisions. These developments indicate that New Zealand heritage management is beginning to change in response to the developments in society created by, among other things, the Waitangi claims and the elevation of Māori culture by government.

Another theme that has emerged in New Zealand heritage management in the past decade is the concept of cultural landscapes as a management tool. It is realised that the history and meanings of an individual place are better understood when viewed in context. A report from UNESCO explains: “The ethnography of built landscapes shows how the physical and social landscape of a region is more than a palimpsest of long-term settlement features; it is an imprint of community action, structure and power on places.” This report makes the important point that “the significance of place in the landscape is related to place-value

created by individuals and groups through associations with deeds of the past, whether heroic and transient, or commonplace and repeated.”⁷⁴

The landscape perspective is a useful heritage management tool in New Zealand, but without an understanding that heritage is about place-value created by people now, so much “preservation is avowedly antiquarian; the valued past is merely museumised, not integrated with the present.”⁷⁵ These issues over three decades later are still relevant, because of the power of the AHD. Unless all perspectives are considered, the landscape perspective can be reminiscent of the structure of an archaeological excavation, which is made up of artefacts and other data recorded and mapped in their various positions to show the connections and relationships with one another and the different layers of stratigraphy that represent the times of occupation. This provides a version of history, but overlooks the understanding that heritage is about diverse present-day people’s connections with the landscape, not just archaeologists’ connections. Introducing ‘experts’ to the mix can have a ‘distancing and totalising’ effect on the landscape because the professionalisation of heritage management leads experts to “use the landscape perspective to frame the issue of place, place-making and sense of place,” remarks Gray. Experts, through the power bestowed on them because of their expertise, construct a landscape to fit their image of the world. Gray adds, quoting Cosgrove, “landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world.”⁷⁶

Greig discusses Heipipi Pā from an archaeological landscape perspective, saying, “Heipipi itself in the reserve is really important because although it is only a portion or a part of a former landscape, it is continuous — the bits that are there are continuous.” But the authorities that have been granted for the subdivisions have resulted in the landscape being “broken up into little pieces.” Now there is very little left of the original extensive

⁷⁴ UNESCO, “Cultural Heritage in South-East Europe: Macedonia (Former Yugoslavia Republic of) Mission Report 14-23 November 2004,” (2004), http://portal.unesco.org/en/files/33770/11598085459Report_Macedonia_1-24_.pdf/Report%2BMacedonia%2B1-24%2B.pdf, citing Chapman, J. (1994) “Destruction of a common heritage: the archaeology of war in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Antiquity* 68: 120-26., mentioned in Brown, K. S.: “Contests of heritage and the politics of preservation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in: *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (1998) Lynn Meskell, ed.: Routledge, London: 75.

⁷⁵ David Lowenthal, “The Place of the Past in the American Landscape,” in *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy*, ed. David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 110.

⁷⁶ John Gray, “Open Places and Dwelling Places: Being at Home on Hill Farms in the Scottish Borders,” in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2003). 225-6.

archaeological landscape except kūmara pit features, which are important as markers representing former occupation and land use, but it is difficult to read these pit features as a landscape because “their relationship to other types of features such as terraces, shell middens, burials even, is gone and it’s kind of meaningless really.” She considers the value of the archaeology in terms of the potential to recover information about the past is very limited.

The problem with looking at a place as a landscape based on archaeological qualities alone is that when the archaeological sites in that landscape become fragmented and isolated from one another — meaningless *archaeologically*, there is little reason to protect it. The incentive to retain anything at all becomes more and more unlikely and finally the whole place becomes altered and built over and myths develop. It becomes possible to say Māori were not here, they have never been here, as if Europeans were the first inhabitants of the land. Napier Hill is a good example of this development. People think Māori did not live there, but it is inconceivable that Māori did not use the only large ‘island’ feature in an extensive geographic landscape of rivers and lagoons. There are numerous indications in the gardens and under the roads that Māori were living on Napier Hill.

The archaeological evidence for this former occupation exists in the form of ‘features’ — those recorded in NZAA’s SRF include middens, artefact find-spots, buried living floors, and urupa. An example is a large midden underneath the front lawn of a house in Hukarere Road, (V21/212) and hangi stones, shell, and obsidian regularly appear throughout the garden. This midden may be a remnant of the famous pā, Hukarere, mentioned in the account of Taraia’s arrival in Heretaunga. A nineteenth century photograph showing terracing and other earthwork features, since destroyed, provides visual evidence of this conjecture.⁷⁷ Additional strong support is that the name remains. Hukarere is the street name and the name of the Māori Girls’ school built by Bishop William Williams on a portion of his land on the hill where his house ‘Hukarere’ was located. Names preserve fragments of past history in the same way as single features do. However as Greig noted, there is another aspect of the retention of single ‘unrelated’ features, (called ‘evidential’ value in the United Kingdom), which is that those places mark where activity occurred. Archaeological qualities alone are insufficient to determine a ‘landscape: the other qualities are essential if a robust and well-considered decision about a landscape is to be made.

⁷⁷ “Photograph No. 1158 Showing Shakespeare Road,” (Napier Hawke’s Bay Museum & Art Gallery, c. 1865).

Archaeologists are not concerned with the original name for a place, but instead give the place or site a number, such as V21/7 (pits), which stands in for a name and provides a neat sense of objectivity and scientific order. However, by using their skills they are able to reveal places that ‘were not there’, that did not exist in any way because their physical features were buried and the former names were lost both by time and because the original people had been displaced. But if the place has a well-documented name the archaeological attitude to the place does alter. It is more clearly identified as a place where people once lived or had important connections, and the place is no longer just a source of archaeological data. Further investigation of places with names is possible and once the history is associated with the place it takes on another dimension. It is understood as a place where people lived (who can sometimes be identified), which adds to the importance of place as a contributing element in the formation of individual as well as group identity.

Three recorded sites on the edge of the former Te Whanganui ā Orotu (the Napier Inner Harbour) show how this combination of ‘site’, place-name, and history can provide information that enables a more balanced understanding of the meanings of a heritage place to disparate groups in the community. The first one is V21/210, which is described as a very large midden of mainly cockle shell extending along the top of a ridge for at least 100 metres and spilling down sides of the ridge. The documented history provides more information about this particular place.

Patrick Parsons said that Tiheruheru enjoyed a long tradition as a canoe landing and kāinga being “established in the days of Te Orotu after whom Te Whanganui ā Orotu was named.” It is possible to use whakapapa to estimate the age of Tiheruheru, for example, the ancestor Turauwha, who was attacked at Otatara pā in the 1500s, was seven generations in direct descent below Te Orotu. A much more recent ancestor, Tareahi, “lived at Te Whanganui ā Orotu. Tiheruheru and Tuteranuku were the names of the kaingas of Rotu [Te Orotu], Whatumamoa’s father.”⁷⁸ Tiheruheru belonged to the Ngāti Hinepare ancestors, Manawa and Toheriri: “Toheriri and Manawa went to Tiheruheru near Whanga because their mother Huarirangi came from there.”⁷⁹ “She cut off a piece of land from Tiheruheru for Manawa and Toheriri.”⁸⁰ Tareahi was a descendant of these ancestors; his son Pāora Kaiwhata said that “Te Whanga was a settlement of my father. Tuteranuku was too. Tiheruheru was his

⁷⁸ Patrick Parsons, “Ahuriri Estuary and Surrounds: Places of Spiritual Significance to the Maori,” (Napier: Napier City Council, 1995). Blake manuscripts 17/7/1889: 8.

⁷⁹ “Napier Minute Book”, ed. Maori Land Court., 17:182

⁸⁰ “Napier Minute Book,” ed. Maori Land Court (Hastings)., 52: 92.

settlement and so it was mine. My father lived there permanently.”⁸¹ On a historical map of Te Whanganui a Orotu, the name Tiheruheru is marked in the vicinity of the ridge and, as the history indicates, that is also the name of a kāinga. The vast midden (V21/210) is not only the physical manifestation of that kāinga, but tangible proof of its former existence.

Another site, V21/211, is named Te Rere ā Tuwhaki Urupā. It was the urupā for Poraiti Pā,⁸² (also called Pā Poto: V21/9), and one of the corner points of the Wharerangi Reserve, which was excluded from the Ahuriri purchase by Donald McLean in 1851. Parsons says that a local resident, Mr R. Lemon, recalled the end of the cliff collapsing during the 1931 earthquake, exposing bones, which were reinterred at Wharerangi by Tau Te Hoata, a Wharerangi kaumatua. Tareahi (mentioned earlier) died in 1855 and is buried here. His son, Pāora Kaiwhata said “Tareahi was buried at Te Rere a Tawhaki. On the point of death he asked me and Poroporu to bury him where he was so as to hear the sea on the beach.”⁸³

Another place that shows how history enriches archaeological evidence is Poraiti Pā (mentioned above), a small pā on a headland overlooking Te Whanganui a Orotu and adjacent to Tiheruheru. This was recorded in 1977 by Lady Fox and Mary Jeal. The information in the SRF is limited to:

Defences: — double line of close-set transverse banks and ditches on landward side, continuing for 4 m round S. side, towards a large Karaka tree. The inner bank continued here by a scarp 3m high. A central gap is probably recent, made for stock. The outer ditch on N. side of ridge has two scooped hollows. ?later pits or unfinished — Defences — 15 paces overall, banks 0.75m. high and 2m + above the ditch bottom. The far E. end of the pa is sheer cliff, the sides slope steeply to flanking valleys.

Interior: Three small scale terracing on margins (see plan). One raised-rim pit 6.6 x 5.6m close behind the inner bank, with its entrance E. side. Two other pits on terrace on N. side, 4 x 2 paces, and one outside defence up the spur, flat

Midden exposed in inner bank, on external slopes on S., and beneath Karaka tree⁸⁴

Parsons, too, mentions the “ancient and spiritually significant karaka tree.” He explains that Ngāti Hinepare re-occupied their ancestral lands at Wharerangi and Te Poraiti when they returned from exile at Nukutaurua (in the early 1840s). Colenso visited Te Poraiti on 23 June 1847, recording in his diary that “a short two miles took us to Te Poraiti (another village

⁸¹ “Napier Minute Book,” 17: 222.

⁸² Patrick Parsons, 2010.

⁸³ Parsons, “Wai 400: The Ahuriri Block Maori Customary Interests,” citing Napier Minute Book 31:170-1.

⁸⁴ NZAA SRF: V21/9.

belonging to this tribe, on the inner shores of the harbour) where we found old Mapu, the principal man of the tribe, but utterly careless as to religion.” Mapu was Poroporu Mapu, the eldest son of Tareahi and the brother of Pāora Kaiwhata; together they had buried Tareahi. Colenso also met the aged Tareahi, whom he had previously baptised Rawiri or David, at Te Poraiti on 16 January 1850. His comments provide insight into the composition of the hapū and the everyday activities of an elderly chief, “we soon reached Te Poraiti, where were the two chiefs Mapu and the venerable old David, whose children and grandchildren compose the majority of this tribe.” Being unable to cross the harbour because the sea was too rough for a small canoe, “I sat and talked with the old man, who was busily employed in making ropes for his fishing nets.”⁸⁵

Poraiti Pā sits on the neighbouring ridge to Te Rere a Tawhaki. Poraiti Pā, Tiheruheru and Te Rere a Tawhaki are all areas within the landscape associated with Tareahi and Ngāti Hinepare. This brief example shows that a cultural landscape framework combined with a little historic research and consultation with the hapū increases the understandings of the place, helps people appreciate it and confirms the connections and sense of belonging that are essential attributes of heritage places. This additional information also highlights the weaknesses in an archaeology that professes to be scientific and objective: it is history without people.

The need to include history and people in archaeological research has resulted in a strong movement in Australian archaeological practice termed ‘social archaeology’. David, Barker and McNiven note that the most important proponent of this new way of researching Aboriginal history was Harry Lourandas, who advocated a historical materialist (neo-Marxist) approach and showed the way towards a socially-oriented archaeology for Australian Aboriginals’ past, which he labelled ‘intensification’. David et al. say Lourandas’ key plea was for archaeologists to “analyse and represent the Aboriginal past as socially dynamic, Aboriginal environments as socially constructed and Aboriginal landscapes as socially inscribed and Aboriginal history as social agency.” They continue, “For Lourandos the land was inscribed with social relations.”⁸⁶ He saw the environmental focus as representing a ‘static’ view of society and history and considered the view to have had its origin in nineteenth century social evolution and colonial representation of Indigenous people. David et al, identify that a key contribution of “a social archaeology approach is the

⁸⁵ Parsons, “Wai 400: The Ahuriri Block Maori Customary Interests,” citing Colenso diaries.

⁸⁶ David, Barker, and McNiven, eds., *The Social Archaeology of Australian Indigenous Societies*. 8.

tracing of ethnography — the observed cultural practices of a lived people — through archaeology to create a history that extends seamlessly from the present into the past.”⁸⁷

Witter was influenced by the development of a social archaeology approach in Australia, so he recommended, in his research strategy for the archaeological excavation of Pegasus Town that tangata whenua participate in the monitoring and have the opportunity to be trained in archaeology. He explained that in the 1970s Sharon Sullivan was the archaeologist for National Parks and worked to get Aboriginal sites’ officers with the system. These were members of the Aboriginal community who assisted the archaeologists to liaise with their communities. Witter was partnered with an Aboriginal person and learnt about the value of places and objects to them. He commented “it was this putting academic archaeologists in the same office and the same vehicle with an Aboriginal person that was the big education.” He added that it was National Parks practice, and ‘trouble’ would occur, if anyone went out without an Aboriginal person. When I asked whether it worked well, he replied, “Oh no, of course not.” He continued:

[But] it was the process. It was difficult and it was hard. It was hard for us, it was hard for them ... but everyone could see that that was what you had to do. ... And so they learned stuff, we learned stuff. And all of the consultants learned about it. Learned how to go and talk to Aborigines. You know as scary as it was at the outset ... in fact it can be quite scary anyway. So it was getting that going ... So when I came over here I wasn’t sure exactly what the situation was going to be. Usually it meant that you got in touch with the rūnanga and if you were going to do a job somewhere they were likely to have a representative go out and see you there, to talk about what you were going to do. It wasn’t usual for the proponent to fund their field work or to fund them to work with the archaeologist.

In Australia, the proponents fund the field work and they fund the indigenous people to work with the archaeologist, “even sometimes for ridiculously small jobs it was still the rule.”

Although this is not usual New Zealand archaeological practice, Witter used local people as field ‘crew’, which accommodated Tuahiwi’s aspirations for hapū members to be trained in archaeology. He added: “If anyone wants to know where it came from, the practice was Australian.” In Witter’s opinion, this process works:

pretty much like in Australia... First of all you get outrageous nepotism. And sometimes that’s good and that’s bad — trying to get these people to work — and some were seriously interested and really wanted to acquire knowledge and get skills and all that sort of thing. And so those are the ones you want and getting a few of those means you just sort of live with the others. And so Pegasus was the same. Some people that came through were really, really, good. ... Developed great skills! Terrific skills! When the University of Otago students came up for emergency jobs they were every bit as good at excavating, filling out the square sheets, sometimes better than some and along with

⁸⁷ Ibid. 12-13.

all their monitoring skills, which most students were ... Certainly as a field crew better than a student crew ... so anyway that worked well in essence.

As this extensive series of quotations from Witter's interview indicates, Australian-style social archaeology has had a major influence on his field practices. He acknowledges the difficulties associated with forcing archaeologists and indigenous peoples into the same office and vehicle but, despite the enormous cultural and social differences, recognised that "they learned stuff, we learned stuff." And that this was the way it should be done. He also recognises the advantages of using the local community as field crew, and the benefits to the individuals, remarking that one of his field crew had used the training as a "stepping stone to a job working for Ngāi Tahu."

David et al. explain that in Australia, archaeological sites and objects are now no longer so distant from the "indigenous present and presence." They contend that it is through "such rapprochements that new doors are opened towards archaeologies of experience" — where sites are no longer abstract archaeological places, but locations of social and personal experience, where the past is engaged in the present, where the ancestors live and breathe — not yesterday, but today and on to tomorrow. They note that Tamisari and Wallace⁸⁸ have developed a new sense of archaeological place where archaeology itself is extended, newly overlapping with Aboriginal meaningfulness as it reaches to ancestral pasts through the notion of 'place'.⁸⁹ In their opinion, present-day archaeology of indigenous peoples should understand three critical dimensions: the social interactions in the past; the contemporary social contexts of researching indigenous pasts; and contemporary social impacts of archaeological representations of indigenous pasts. Two of these elements are actually about people in the present. They emphasise the need for archaeologists to concern themselves with *people*, — particularly people now, but also people in the past and warn that archaeologists' 'representations' might affect people in the future, too.

Despite these critical dimensions, I think David et al. need to distinguish between the theoretical research framework and the theoretical framework of archaeological practice. There definitely is a need to look at the social interactions in the past, for instance, to recognise that all change is not produced by environmental factors with the people being

⁸⁸ Franca Tamisari and James Wallace, "Towards an Experiential Archaeology of Place: From Location to Situation through the Body" in *The Social Archaeology of Australian Indigenous Societies*, ed. Bruno David, Bryce Barker, and Ian J McNiven (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2006).

⁸⁹ David, Barker, and McNiven, eds., *The Social Archaeology of Australian Indigenous Societies*.16.

passive recipients forced to adapt, but people actively altering their environment for social and cultural reasons, and to move on from a colonial, passive, hunter-gatherer, evolutionary model. That is a change in archaeological research theory, but the introduction of the need to understand “the contemporary social contexts of researching Indigenous pasts; and contemporary social impacts of archaeological representations of Indigenous pasts” is different, *that* is a change in practice and the theory of practice, the informal ideas, concepts and frameworks through which people, in this case archaeologists, make sense of their environment.⁹⁰ The two are closely inter-related, but they are separate sub-sets of the discipline of archaeology.

The distinction quite neatly shows that archaeology itself is a tool of heritage. If the purpose of heritage is ‘identity making’ then practising archaeology with an awareness of the contemporary social contexts of researching indigenous pasts and contemporary social impacts of archaeological representations of indigenous pasts is a recognition that archaeology contributes to identity making, therefore it must involve the people whose pasts are being researched. “The landscape of heritage ... is formed through the intertwining threads of economy, society, culture and politics,” writes Moles, “reformed and reconstituted through the shifting interactions of these constitutive parts.”⁹¹

An early example of the changes in New Zealand archaeology from being determinedly processual, to employing a more social archaeology can be seen in Mark Allen’s doctoral thesis. The field work for this research was done in Hawke’s Bay during 1989-90. This was a rare, although not the only academic enquiry, that attempted to relate archaeological information about settlement patterns and chronology with the traditional history of Ngāti Kahungunu and, most significantly, to actively involve tangata whenua in the work. Allen used archaeological, traditional and ethno-historical data to demonstrate his conclusion that “pā were built during a restricted period of competition, and that their development was tied to the formation of regional polities.”⁹² In his interview he described his theoretical influences at the time:

Well, my PhD was mostly a processual approach to the origin of cultural complexity. The key variables that I looked at were economic power and warfare.

⁹⁰ Conal McCarthy, *Museums and Maori* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2011). 18-19.

⁹¹ Kate Moles, “A Landscape of Memories: Layers of Meaning in a Dublin Park,” in *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*, ed. Marta Anico and Elsa Peralta (London & New York: Routledge, 2009)., 130.

⁹² Allen, “Warfare and Economic Power in Simple Chiefdoms: The Development of Fortified Villages and Polities in Mid-Hawke’s Bay, New Zealand.” xxiii.

The theories I was employing were based on the research on social power by Michael Mann, the theories (mixes of cultural ecology, cultural materialism, and Marxism) of the origins of complex societies by Tim Earle (and Johnson and Earle), and the theories of the Polynesian chiefdom by Pat Kirch (who was my keynote speaker last year at our conference during my Presidency... I welcomed him in Māori!). But ... there were post-processual elements to my work as well as I was employing a Marxist perspective focused on internal conflict over economic resources. In addition, I employed an historical perspective and used Māori oral tradition extensively ... not typical for processual projects in those days. Also, working with the tangata whenua was also novel at the time and certainly influenced my work a great deal.⁹³

The use of ethno-history is still not common practice. Jill Hamel's discussion of the use of ethno-historic material in *The Archaeology of Otago* reveals the endemic reluctance of many archaeologists to using ethno-historic sources to illuminate archaeological findings. While commenting that archaeology and ethnography belong to a completely different intellectual system from Māori traditions, she points out that:

Anderson (1980b) has shown the value to archaeology of exploring ethnographic and traditional evidence, and has produced a detailed ethnohistory of Ngai Tahu (1998). His discussion, for instance, of Maori traditions about moa extinction show up the real problems of interpreting ethnographic material (Anderson 1989: 176). Much remains to be explored in the traditions of southern New Zealand, in order to relate archaeological sites to the spiritual and cultural world of Ngai Tahu.⁹⁴

Although oral history is now becoming more widely accepted as an interpretive tool, there remains a shying away from the cosmological and spiritual understandings of 'place' that will be discussed more fully in the next chapter. This may be because of the distinction maintained by many archaeologists between archaeological research and Māori history and culture mentioned by Barr earlier. But Māori do influence archaeologists in a variety of ways, depending on their receptiveness to new ideas, personal experiences, and personalities.

A new understanding of archaeology is beginning to emerge from the experiences of conservation archaeologists. This is because conservation takes place in reserved areas, on land which is protected from the struggle for economic development consequently the dissonance between the groups is quieter and more easily resolved than when the archaeology is being used as mitigation for development. This archaeology is different from the scientific archaeology of most archaeological training, which suggests the emergence of a new 'social archaeology' as a sub-discipline of heritage management in New Zealand. This social

⁹³ Mark W Allen, 25 March 2010.

⁹⁴ Jill Hamel, *The Archaeology of Otago* Science & Technical (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2001). x.

archaeology is developing through heritage practitioners' experiences of working with people and their heritage. A grounded theorisation resulting from practice is emerging from active interaction between practitioners, people and their heritage places. But this more inclusive practice is still a contingent 'management' practice, without an overarching theoretical framework to direct and ensure the new ideas are becoming more widespread.

Development archaeology, on the other hand, remains firmly within the expert-driven model espoused by the processual archaeologists from the 1960s, as indicated by NZAA's recent paper. Protection is not the aim of NZAA, which, although it includes people with diverse perspectives, background, and understandings, is dominated by consultant archaeologists and archaeologists whose careers depend upon the continuation of the availability of the resource, that is, archaeological sites. Research is not the motivation for many of these consultant archaeologists, although interesting data does stimulate a latent enthusiasm for the discipline, particularly if it is from a supposedly sterile site or contributes to the elevation of the archaeologist's status. NZAA still espouses the environmental impact, subsistence economies, scientific research models that are largely bereft of people. This is despite the insistence of many archaeologists that archaeology is about the history, stories and life ways of people in the past. But the people in this model are satisfactorily silent and if they emerge at all, they still remain pieces of data, not story-tellers.

The findings from this research show that archaeological identity is created through the union of training, bodily practices and cognition; it is dependent on the data elevated to science; but is gathered from, and includes places for its expression. The conflation of archaeological values — the interchangeable use of the term 'values' when discussing methods, fabric/features, or the discipline — reveals the emotional identity work of the performances. Archaeologists are bound up with the discipline and the methods of acquiring the data. Archaeologists may not think they are emotionally involved with the individual places, that they are 'empirical scientists' removed from 'emotion', but without places, heritage places, they cannot be archaeologists. Professionally, academically, they are involved with place; involvement is an emotional response. It is the connections developed through the bodily practice, or performance, of archaeology — excavation, surveying, monitoring — at a place that creates a place as heritage, or in archaeological terms, an archaeological site. It is the connections and the consequent effect they have on archaeologists and the archaeological discourse that enable archaeologists to construct places as archaeological sites, thereby constructing their identities as archaeologists. However, another finding suggests that

archaeological involvement with Māori and the social and cultural changes that are occurring in New Zealand itself are coming together to produce a new form of archaeology in New Zealand similar to the Social Archaeology that has emerged in Australia. The next chapter will discuss the other study undertaken for this research, which is concerned with the discourse and heritage practices of Māori. The findings from the interviews with selected Māori interviewees and my observations during my professional experience working as a heritage practitioner are the core material used to identify the ways these particular Māori view their heritage places and the ways in which they practice heritage.

Chapter three

Te Ao Māori: the Māori discourse

This chapter will examine Māori heritage discourse and practices observed in the field in order to compare an ‘Indigenous’ perspective with the ‘Western scientific’ perspective that was explored in the previous chapter. It begins with a brief exploration of key concepts in Māori culture, in essence, the influence of cosmology, whakapapa and tikanga as the background to understanding Māori schema and associated practices around heritage places. This is the briefest introduction to some Māori customary concepts from the perspective of a Pākehā outsider obtained from documentary sources and is provided only to contextualise and provide a contrast to the contemporary Māori and archaeological perspectives articulated in the research, not to represent Māori culture itself. This is followed by a discussion of the influences on Māori since the arrival of Europeans in the early nineteenth century and the way colonisation with its consequent need for land for settlement resulted in massive land alienation and the subsequent disconnection of Māori from the places of their past. The related, and equally significant, effect of the loss of language on the Māori cosmological understandings that are core cultural concepts have combined to aggravate the sense of alienation from place that is problematic for Māori identity formation. The historical background to the methods and consequences of colonisation has been discussed in chapter one; it is the *effect* on Māori schema and discourse that is the topic of this section. The overlay of outside influence has added to the original concepts and practices that made up the schema of Māori before the arrival of Europeans, but the concepts remain fundamental to Māori identity, although modified by the normal patterns of change and adaptation that are vital elements of all living cultures. The persuasive and dominating influence of ‘experts’ within ‘archaeological site management’ and the Waitangi Tribunal claims process is discussed in relation to Māori understanding of the need for, and the role of, experts and the way Māori have utilised them.

The main body of the chapter is concerned with Māori understandings of heritage and archaeology and the connections they have with heritage places. This section is based on the data from interviews with selected people, information from my participant observation at hui and in the field during my routine work as a heritage practitioner. I will conclude with a recapitulation of the various findings from this fieldwork as preparation for the final chapter,

which will integrate the conclusions from chapters two and three, and propose methods and solutions for improving the governance of heritage places in New Zealand.

Māori cultural concepts: cosmology and whakapapa

Sir Hugh Kawharu cautioned that Māori culture “is at once superficially familiar yet in its essence and in its rationale, by no means familiar.”¹ He identified two of the essential verities of Māori life in his foreword to Cleve Barlow’s book on key concepts of Māori culture: one is the dependence on the cosmologynic myths and their relevance to the contemporary world of the Māori, especially in its spiritual aspects; and the “other ... the ethic of kinship: an ethic of reciprocity, an ethic offering constraints and opportunities, rewards and penalties now, as ever in the past.”² Māori see people, nature and the land as inextricably intertwined. Their view of history and heritage is based on a shared whakapapa in which “all things are from the same origin and the welfare of any part of the environment determines the welfare of the people.”³ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal explains the three core concepts of Māori cosmological thought:

Mana refers to an extraordinary power, essence or presence. This applies to the energies and presences of the natural world. There are degrees of mana and our experiences of it, and life seems to reach its fullness when mana comes into the world. The most important mana comes from Te Kore — the realm beyond the world we can see, and sometimes thought to be the ‘ultimate reality’. Certain restrictions, disciplines and commitments have to take place if mana is to be expressed in physical form, such as in a person or object. The concepts of sacredness, restriction and disciplines fall under the term tapu. For example, mountains that were important to particular tribal groups were often tapu, and the activities that took place on these mountains were restricted. ... Mauri is an energy which binds and animates all things in the physical world. Without mauri, mana cannot flow into a person or object. ... The idea that mana can flow into the world through tapu and mauri, underpinned most of Māori daily life.⁴

Mana originates with god, or the gods, it does not have a separate existence as an impersonal force. Mana is acquired first by descent from key ancestors, mana tupuna/tipuna, and is hierarchical, thus those who descend from more senior lines, and the firstborn, have more

¹ I. H. Kawharu in Cleve Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Maori Culture* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991).

² Ibid., Foreword.

³ Alexander Trapeznik, ed. *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000), 17, citing T. Tau, A. Goodall, D. Palmer, and R. Rau *Te Whakatau Kaupāpā: Ngai Tahu Resource Management Strategy for the Canterbury Region*, Wellington, 1990, 3-4.

⁴ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, “Te Ao Mārama – the Natural World: Mana, Tapu and Mauri,” in *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (Wellington: Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009).

inherited mana, which is increased or decreased depending on personal performance.⁵ Tapu is closely associated with mana and at times used interchangeably by Māori. Although tapu has been translated into English as sacred, or holy, it can be malign, as well as benign. Shirres defines it as “being with the potentiality for power,” and discusses tapu from a faith-based understanding as “the mana of the spiritual powers/atua.” Shirres also provides lengthy “discussion of a primary or ‘intrinsic tapu’ and ‘extended tapu’.”⁶ Joan Metge describes tapu as:

the condition or state of being affecting people, places, things and actions that results from association with the spiritual realm, especially the in-dwelling of mana; involves being set apart from ordinary life under ritual restriction; is dangerous unless treated respectfully according to prescribed rules; and exists in a complementary relationship with the state of noa, which provides relief and freedom from the restrictions of tapu.⁷

It is the energy of mauri that (according to some) is the power of the supreme god, which makes it possible for everything to move and live in accordance with the conditions and limits of its own existence. The gods bind the two parts of body and spirit together when a person is born. Barlow, a Christian, describes mauri through the lens of Christianity and introduces Io: “Only the mauri, or power, of Io can join them together.”⁸ There is debate however whether the concept of Io is part of the original pantheon of Māori gods, or whether it evolved from missionary teachings.⁹ Metge, writing in 1976, identifies three basic elements in Māori understandings of the physical and spiritual dimensions of reality:

First, most Maori acknowledge the existence of One Supreme God and lesser spiritual beings of varying degrees of power and beneficence. ... Secondly, Maoris (sic) do not accept the idea that the universe is limited to the world in which men live and die. Instead they see the World of Men as existing in relation to two other realms, Te Po and Te Rangi. ... Finally most Maoris see things in the World of Men as having a physical and a spiritual aspect. Above all man himself is a union of body (tinana) and wairua (spirit or soul). Many older Maori also maintain a belief in the mauri, the essence which gives a thing its specific natural character.¹⁰

⁵ Joan Metge, *Tuamaka: The Challenge of Difference in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010), 63.

⁶ Conal McCarthy, *Museums and Maori* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2011), 268, citing Michael P. Shirres (1982 & 1997).

⁷ Metge, *Tuamaka: The Challenge of Difference in Aotearoa New Zealand*, 65.

⁸ Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Maori Culture*, 83.

⁹ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Like Them That Dream: The Maori and the Old Testament* (Tauranga: Moana Press, 1985), “Historic Heritage Management Review Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee,” (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 1998).

¹⁰ Joan Metge, *The Maoris of New Zealand* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), 54-57.

She adds that Māori continue to “believe in a spiritual reality that transcends the limitations of time, space and the human senses, and at the same time pervades and operates in the world of human experience,” despite living in a society which often misunderstands and devalues such views.

The Te Urewera pre-publication report, which was released in parts in 2009 at the request of the Crown and the claimants to assist them with their Waitangi settlements, states that the core values of the claimant groups, Ngāi Tūhoe, “are mana (authority), whānaungatanga (kinship), and utu (reciprocity).” These are “the values by which they live, and have always lived.”¹¹ Anne Salmond explains Māori philosophy describes the world through whakapapa and “sought to influence it through means of ancestral power.” Genealogical networks joined people to one another and other forms of being by relations such as utu, tapu, mana, mate and ora. She writes:

According to the cosmological accounts of Māori kin groups, the universe had emerged in genealogical stages, from a surge of energy to states of potential pattern, including thought, memory, the mind-heart and desire. Once earth and sky were formed, ancestor gods generated various forms of life, including plants, animals and people. Ancestors could collapse space-time to become co-present with their descendants, moving from an invisible dimension of experience variously described (as Hawaiki, Po, Tawhiti, etc.) into the being of their descendants. A contemporary self as the ‘living face’ of their ancestor could share their experiences, or act with them in Te Ao Marama (The World of Light).¹²

These ethnographic descriptions of historical Māori values can be supplemented by work by Māori scholars who have examined contemporary expressions of the Māori world view. Charles Royal, for example explains that “the arrival of European, literacy, technology, the Bible and so on, brought a new ‘story’, a new narrative.” Many of the pre-contact concepts of mātauranga Māori were intermingled with new concepts, which represented a change in world view and experience. He provides a sociological definition of mātauranga Māori saying it “is a modern term for a body of knowledge that was brought to these islands by Polynesian ancestors of present day Māori,” affected by the new lifestyles that developed in Aotearoa and Te Wai Pounamu and evolved into a unique culture. Europeans endangered the “life of this knowledge” in many substantial ways. But new knowledge was created through contact with Europeans, and important fragments, such as the Māori language, remain and are

¹¹ “Te Urewera Pre-Publication Part 1, Wai 894 Waitangi Tribunal Report,” (2009), <http://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/scripts/reports/reports/894/84B63F06-41BF-4B53-A974-32F3BE8C2D01.pdf>, 17.

¹² Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans: 1773-1815* (Auckland: Viking, 1997), 33.

“catalysing a new creative period in Māori history and culture and in the life of the New Zealand nation.”¹³

Western cultures separate the two categories of knowledge into technical or empirical knowledge, and sacred knowledge, and understand the two as ‘virtually incompatible’. They are taught in separate institutions — schools and churches — set apart from everyday life, while within tribal cultures the epistemological system does not distinguish between the two bodies of knowledge.¹⁴ Salmond notes the differences between the two world views of Māori and European philosophically and politically, and identifies these as the cause of problems in the encounters between the two groups. The exploration that led to these encounters was based on science. The European cosmos was framed in standard grids and measured, processes made visible in the instruments, tables, charts and logs of the explorer. The things, such as plants, animal and people, which could not be measured in the same way were measured in other ways by standardised descriptions, for example, the languages of taxonomy. Associated with this was the concept of the Great Chain of Being made material in museums, zoos, herbaria and botanical gardens that were “the Renaissance ‘theatres of memory’— imagined spaces where knowledge was stored in amphitheatres whose tiers corresponded to levels of being (from base to divine).”¹⁵ Emerging from this understanding of the world was the European notion of ‘progress’ and the superiority of transforming the wild ‘neglected’ landscape into a state of civilisation and ‘usefulness’. This powerful discourse was to dominate the relationships between Europeans and Māori throughout the colonial period and beyond.

However, Sir Edward Durie notes this discourse is altering, for example, in 2006 the New Zealand Law Commission undertook a study on custom, human rights and state law in the Pacific looking at how customary law, which is based on inherited wisdom, can be incorporated into or used to strengthen the legal systems in the Pacific. He wrote “the Commission’s study is not about which system of law is best, but how can the two be harmonised.” He said the most “sustainable value” underpinning customary law is “respect for the inherent dignity of all people,” a value termed ‘mana’ in Maori that applies throughout the Pacific:

¹³ Royal, “Te Ao Mārama – the Natural World: Mana, Tapu and Mauri.”

¹⁴ R. K Harker and K. R McConnochie, *Education as Cultural Artifact: Studies in Maori and Aboriginal Education* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1985)., 69-70.

¹⁵ Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans: 1773-1815.*, 32.

This concept is deeply spiritual and carries intense theology. All persons have divine essence as descendants of primeval beings. Associated with that is the large number of “respect” protocols — managing relationships between people, tribes, villages and communities. The principle of aroha, love, applies throughout the Pacific — aroha, manaakitanga, obligations of sharing and caring. Sympathy and forgiveness, gift exchange...¹⁶

Perhaps the most significant difference in world view for the purposes of this study is the emphasis Māori place on land. Māori value land for its contribution to tribal identity and security for the next generation, while settler New Zealanders value it for its market and employment potential. Māori land is owned collectively and the occupants are part owners or trustees, while settler land is in individual title and the occupants are owners or tenants. Land is shown to belong to Māori through their occupation, or use of it, (ahi kā), while the settler method of proving ownership is by a deed of sale. Māori land was transferred by conquest, abandonment, or succession; settler land is transferred by sale, or lease, or Crown directive. As Mason Durie puts it: “Customary land title included: take tipu (ancestral land passed down according to Māori custom); take raupatu (land acquired by conquest and followed by occupation); take ōhākī (land allocated through the wish of a dying chief); and take tuku (gifted land).”¹⁷

European land, however, is classed as freehold, leasehold, or wasteland/arable land. It has economic status and is used for agriculture, mining, horticulture and settlement. Māori land too, has economic significance, but it also has spiritual significance. Generally post-settler New Zealanders consider land in pragmatic, economic terms, but it would be inaccurate to say land does not have important emotional meaning to many Pākehā, particularly if they have owned it for a long time, or over several generations. This is another source of dissonance associated with heritage places in New Zealand. Nevertheless from the beginning of European settlement and (generally) still, the way the land is viewed economically is an obvious source of difference. “Land transfers ... were often poorly understood and reflected fundamental differences in values and philosophies concerning land,” comments Durie. “Māori contracts were not about transferring property but about defining relationships

¹⁶ Edward Taihakurei Durie, “Presentation: Symposium, Indigenous Knowledge: Rights and Responsibilities,”(2006), <http://www.hrc.co.nz/hrc/worddocs/Presentation%20-%20Eddie%20Durie.doc>.

¹⁷ Mason H. Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), 116, citing Douglas Smith, (1975), ‘Land: Maori View and European Response’, in Michael King ed., *Te Aohurihuri: The World Moves On*, Hicks Smith, Wellington, 118-121.

between people.”¹⁸ Māori were not selling the land, but “observing *tuku whenua*”, a form of leasing, not alienation and more a social contract than a property sale as it was to the settlers.

The process of colonisation and the last two centuries or more of contact with the outside world have modified, but not destroyed, the original ideas identified by Salmond and others. Of particular relevance are matters such as the political structure and legal structure of a former British colony; land alienation; language loss and associated with that, the education system; urbanisation and its consequent socio-economic effects; and the Treaty of Waitangi and all the activities around it that have occurred in New Zealand since its re-recognition as the ‘founding document’. These matters affect Māori understanding of heritage places, especially those with archaeological qualities.

Language is a key symbol of personal and political identity that encodes everyday memories. It ranks with food and bodily practices as emotionally evocative person-centred (endogenous) triumvirate of memory sites.¹⁹ The loss of language has affected Māori cosmological understandings and intensified the sense of disconnection with place that affects Māori place-based identity formation. The underlying aim of the settler government was for peaceful amalgamation of the cultures into one English-speaking nation. Education was one of the tools used to achieve this objective and remained a tool in the process of assimilation of Māori. And, although some Māori attempted to recreate traditional institutions such as urban *marae* within the cities, urbanisation and inter-marriage brought major changes to Maori culture and lifestyles and intensified language loss.²⁰

The Treaty of Waitangi, from a legal perspective, is constitutionally *not* a legal foundation document of New Zealand, which is still governed by a British, now New Zealand constitutional construction.²¹ But Māori constitutionalists position the Treaty at the centre of the constitution. Ani Mikaere, for example, “seeks to develop a contemporary understanding

¹⁸ Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination*, 1988, 116, citing Waitangi Tribunal, (1988), *Muriwhenua Fishing Report*, 239.

¹⁹ Jacob J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell, eds., *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2002), 18.

²⁰ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, “Maori - Urbanisation and Renaissance,” in *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (2009).

²¹ Andrew Sharp, “The Treaty in the Real Life of the Constitution,” in *Waitangi Revisited: Perspectives on the Treaty of Waitangi*, ed. Michael Belgrave, Merata Kawharu, and David Williams (Oxford, New York, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2005), 310-1.

of tikanga Māori ... [which] acknowledges tikanga as the first law of Aotearoa.”²² In their opinion the Treaty is the foundation of the New Zealand constitution. This perspective is no more concerned than the legal perspective about the understandings of the past, but with the current legal force of the Treaty. Andrew Sharp argues that “it is still the ‘logic of authority’ that it expounds rather than the ‘logic of history,’ and it tends towards a constitutional orthodoxy in its own narrative.”²³

Concrete proposals from Māori constitutionalists are co-opted into the legal system by statute and judicial decisions. It is likely this movement will continue in a similar way to the incorporation of Roman law into English Common law. In 1984, Whatarangi Winiata claimed that because two people had signed the Treaty they should be separately represented on legislative bodies on matters that were their concerns and equally on Treaty matters. Winiata promoted his case successfully within the Anglican Church, which has influenced governance arrangements in some museums. However, whakapapa constitutionalism based on the ‘fundamental’ social group within Māori society, the ‘iwi’, challenges the development of a pan-Māori constitutionalism. Each iwi, which organises the continued existence of the ancestors’ descendants, protecting them, acting for them and revering them when “they... leave the world of light and join their ancestors,” possesses its own sovereignty. Sharp explains:

Each fundamental group claims to be able to ‘whakapapa back’ to certain ancestors; each claims a unique attachment to a certain portion of land; each refers in general to tikanga or custom, and to their own unique ways of proceeding in ceremony and deliberation (kawa) that point to their exclusive rights to govern themselves and control their takiwā, or territories.²⁴

This is of considerable importance for the management of Maori heritage places.

Centralisation and a general bicultural model of management are unlikely to be methods that will adequately protect Māori heritage places because the relationships between the places and the people are unique and complex, and need to be determined within the communities they are located in. Ranginui Walker explains: “Māori land ... is the basis of identity as tangata whenua.” He identifies the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 that was based on the Pritchard-Waetford Report, which recommended “the commodification of land, facilitating

²² Ani Mikaere, “The Treaty of Waitangi and Recognition of Tikanga Maori,” in *Waitangi Revisited: Perspectives on the Treaty of Waitangi*, ed. Michael Belgrave, Merata Kawharu, and David Williams (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2005), 330.

²³ Sharp, “The Treaty in the Real Life of the Constitution.” 314-5.

²⁴ Ibid. 320.

its acquisition for sale to others who would make it productive, and assimilation,” as the trigger in the Māori lands right movement in the following decade.²⁵ But this must also be considered in the context of Rob Stevens’ contention that land is the key to New Zealand identity and, “lies at the heart of who New Zealanders really are and it also, though more indirectly, shapes our ideologies of who we think we are. There are of course influences other than land, but these do not leave as deep or as distinctive a mark on us.”²⁶

This is an important point in the context of land-based heritage in a post-settler nation — that land is fundamental to *all* New Zealanders’ understandings of who they are. It is the relationship that people have with their pieces of land — their connections with land — that create the emotions and memories that underpin identity, but which also may create dissonance, or the struggle between identities. The land does not have to be personally owned by people to be the source of identity, but a person, or a group of people must have a connection with it in some way; the connections can include historical, traditional, professional, social or economic connections.

In 1976, when Joan Metge was writing about the situation regarding Māori land and the consequences of the multiple ownership (which affects the ability to economically develop the land, or for any shareholder to get a worthwhile return on it), she said the logical solution would be to sell to the large shareholders or the occupiers of the land, but the Māori who held the land, and who were generally ‘older folk’, were reluctant to do that. She remarked “for their shares, no matter how small, are part of their ancestral heritage and visible evidence of their descent. At least some of them feel them to be the basis of their ‘belonging’.”²⁷ Michael Belgrave’s work supports this view. He says, in regard to the Ngāi Tahu claim, (which was comprised of nine major injustices that led to Māori impoverishment, but also numerous smaller ones), that it was the claims about small pieces of land and other grievances associated with their own whānau that were most important to the majority of Ngāi Tahu:

The histories of these little plots of land had an immediacy to the Ngāti Kuri claimants that was hard to generate for the events surrounding the [Kaikoura] purchase itself ... their experience of deprivation was explained in their family histories of losing these tiny reserves that were left to them after 1859, and in the

²⁵ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle without End* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), 207.

²⁶ Rob Steven, “Land and White Settler Colonialism: The Case of Aotearoa,” in *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, ed. David Novitz and Bill Willmott (Wellington: GP Books, 1989), 30.

²⁷ Metge, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, 114.

constant undermining of their access to fish, shellfish and birds that had been so important not only in their diet but in their overall economy and mana.²⁸

Consequently, the loss of land has affected more than the economic and social well-being of many Māori; it has adversely affected their world view, their sense of mana and the basis of their belonging. Maori alienation from their land is more than the economic loss, but a fundamentally spiritual alienation and disconnection from the source of their identity. Te Awekotuku and Nikora explain that “most people move between and within a limited and localised array of places that are important in their lives.”²⁹ From a heritage management perspective these points about mana, identity, connection and belonging, are crucial to establishing methods of protecting Māori heritage places.

Since the passing of the Māori Language Act in 1987, Te Reo Māori has been one of New Zealand’s official languages and there has been a concerted effort on the part of Māori and the government to increase the number of Māori speakers. This has had the added benefit of sprinkling more Māori words throughout New Zealand English, but generally the words chosen tend to reflect the Pākehā world view, which emphasises the practical and the tangible. The cosmological meanings of the words or words that are concerned with intangible meanings are generally avoided or ignored. The words that Metge notes as being widely used in the New Zealand media and speech are mainly those connected with the physical world — the social and political world. Although these words: whakapapa, whānaungatanga, iwi, hapū, whānau, ariki, rangatira, kaumatua, marae, hui, pōwhiri, tikanga, kaupapa, utu, koha and taonga; are underpinned with cosmological meaning in Māori understanding, very little of that meaning is recognised or appreciated by most Pākehā New Zealanders who use them. Metge also mentions that the four words: mana, tapu, utu and aroha; which chiefly “have important meanings in the Māori conceptual system ... are largely, if not wholly, overlooked in the context of New Zealand English.” Their primary spiritual or cosmological meanings are “played down or glossed over in dictionaries and glossaries,” yet for Māori in touch with their heritage the supernatural meaning of mana, for instance, remains its primary meaning. Likewise tapu, which is so closely associated with mana that it is sometimes used interchangeably by Māori, contains ideas of danger and pollution, (as well

²⁸ Michael Belgrave, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005), 136-7.

²⁹ Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and Linda Waimarie Nikora, “Nga Taonga a Te Urewera,” (2003), <http://hdl.handle.net/10289/784>, Ngahuia Te Awakotuku and Linda Waimarie Nikora, “Nga Taonga a Te Urewera,” (2003), 12.

as the more usually understood ones of sacred or not to be touched), that are overlooked in mainstream New Zealand usage. Many New Zealanders use the word mana in their everyday speech.

According to Metge, tapu is less commonly used than mana and seems to be more and more restricted to the phrase wāhi tapu, which is consistently glossed as a ‘sacred place’.³⁰ The phrase is also used to translate historic place including archaeological site, but while all (Māori) archaeological sites are wāhi tapu, not all wāhi tapu are archaeological sites. This concept and its origins, understandings and uses will be discussed later. Despite the limited understanding of the full meaning of many of these Māori words, the use of them is an indication of the cross-fertilisation that is and has been occurring in New Zealand since the arrival of Europeans.

Māori understandings of heritage and place

Here I introduce the concept of ‘the Connect,’ identified by Māori informant and elder Robert Macdonald of Hakikino. It is often used by Europeans who call it ‘connection.’ However, I have retained Macdonald’s use of the Connect in order to emphasise the importance of this concept in comprehending contemporary Maori understandings of heritage and to mark it as a core element in place-based identity making. I think it is likely that the idea of the Connect is related to the old cosmological world of Māori and is a continuation of traditional ideas. As previously mentioned, Māori see people, nature and the land as inextricably intertwined. The Māori view of history and heritage is based on a shared whakapapa in which “all things are from the same origin and the welfare of any part of the environment determines the welfare of the people.”³¹ Paul Tapsell, for example, mentions the customary concept of ‘hono’ or connection for example in expressions such as ‘te hono ki Hawaiiki’ and in Māori responses to taonga in museums.³²

³⁰ Metge, *Tuamaka: The Challenge of Difference in Aotearoa New Zealand.*, 66; 66.

³¹ Trapeznik, ed. *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand.*, 17, citing T. Tau, A. Goodall, D. Palmer, and R. Rau *Te Whakatau Kaupāpā: Ngai Tahu Resource Management Strategy for the Canterbury Region*, Wellington, 1990, 3-4.

³² Conal McCarthy, pers comm.



Fig. 8: Hakikino Pā, Waimarama.³³

My informant, Robert Macdonald, is a kaumatua and trustee of the Gillies' family farm, Pouhokio Station, Waimarama, where Hakikino Pā is located. For many years he was chairperson of the marae at Waimarama, deeply involved in community work and aware of the need for economic regeneration for the people of the area. In the early 1990s, an archaeological survey indicated that Ruben's Spur, as it was called, also had the name 'Hakikino.' Macdonald had been brought up immersed in Māori history, culture and traditions. "Like everyone else," he recalled, "I had no idea of Hakikino except from the stories." But when he connected the name with the place he realised that this was a very special place and began taking the hapū to visit it. Then visitors began to arrive and appreciated the place deeply, which Robert had not expected, but he realised that this too was important. He developed the idea of Māori cultural tourism as a method of creating viable local employment opportunities. There were cultural difficulties with commercialising Māori heritage or putting it on display, but Robert argued: "The more people we tell about this, the safer it's going to be. If we get far enough along this track, Hakikino will remain a heritage

³³ Photographer: Elizabeth Pishief, 21 July 2009.

site, instead of falling back into paddocks. We could develop tourism and we could all win.”³⁴

Macdonald explained that archaeological expertise was useful to him because it was through archaeology when he was walking around the land with people such as George Thomson and other historians and archaeologists that he began to realise the connection between the paddocks and his history. “It was a really wonderful thing for me to start to make a connection between what I’d been told and what I was now standing on and walking around upon and so you have a view of heritage.” He commented “I think that I grew up with half a view.” In Macdonald’s mind the physical is the other half of the oral. Knowing who lived there when he walks around means that he “can make a spiritual connection.” He said that happens with the children too: “We can tell them as much as we can about who they are and where they come from, but you bring them here and stand them up here and they get a real appreciation that it’s [true].”³⁵

Macdonald explained his “very personal view, but I think not, not an uncommon view,” of heritage prior to the discovery of Hakikino Pā was “that heritage for me had everything to do with what I was told as a child, so it was very much an oral thing. So heritage ... did not have any physical base. Do you understand?” I commented: “It’s intangible.” To which he replied:

Yes and that’s been the journey, and it’s been a journey in terms of discovery for me personally, was the ability to take that oral history and match it with some of the physical things that I’ve discovered since. That’s been the journey in terms of heritage. I’ve been able to put the two parts together. That’s come about through, ... there’s been a lot of archaeological work and certainly they’ve [the archaeologists] been able to make a physical connection to what I termed heritage — being my oral traditions, and heritage being the actual physical places where a lot of these things took place.

Macdonald said that he had an aunt who came up to Hakikino, she was ninety eight, and she cried because she had never been there before although she knew the name Hakikino. It was very much part of her growing up, and who she was:

So there was a very real disconnect and these are for all sorts of reasons, land sales, land alienation, all that sort of thing. But they held tight to the part that couldn’t be taken away and, very much like my own parents, what they were telling me was the bits that they could still retain, which is the oral intangible stuff.

³⁴ Tom Belford, “Brooks Belford — Making History,” Bay Buzz, <http://www.baybuzz.co.nz/archives/1678>.

³⁵ Robert McDonald, 24 November 2009.

Macdonald continued with this idea of disconnection in relation to his aunt, and others, but also the idea of strong emotion when the reconnection is made — revealed in this instance by the tears — saying “the fact that she came here and just cried because she hadn’t, in a hundred years almost, she had never had a physical connect with the stories she had been told. And that was why places like these are heritage.” He explained that “for a lot of our people there has always been just one side, they’ve never been able ... time has not been kind in terms of keeping the Connect, the physical connect in place.”

Macdonald’s mother also didn’t have the Connect, as Macdonald terms it. She knew the name Hakikino and why it was important, but she “didn’t even know where it was.” The land had been alienated for only a generation, during which time the people who knew the land well, such as Morehu (an ancestress) had died, consequently, although his mother lived nearby, she had lost her own connection with the land itself “so that was the beginning of the actual divide” Macdonald noted. Another informant Rose Mohi explained that it is the Māori way that when “something is lost like land or whatever they then stop talking about it.”³⁶ I commented that I had been told the same thing years ago when I was talking to people about Otatara and the stories there. The people had said that once it was gone they stopped talking about it because what was the point, it had gone.

One of my key informants is Darren Botica, a matakite or ‘seer’, who was raised in Wairoa. I met him when he and I were working in a team identifying sites of significance on selected areas of DoC land for a Waitangi claim settlement. Botica supported the idea of connection with the land with a comment about his understanding of heritage being multifaceted. He said “two things for me: heritage in regards to people and relating to identity, and then heritage in terms of reconnecting to the very land that we reside in.” He continued with the observation that “Māori ... understood that they were only guardians of it for a period of time and it is all about time and being able to connect for identity.”³⁷

I found that this view was supported by statements by elders in another region captured in a museum exhibition. The kaumātua of Ngāti Mutunga in the *Te Ahi Ka Roa Te Ahi Katoro Taranaki War 1860-2010* exhibition (Puke Ariki, New Plymouth) emphasised the same idea of connection explaining that “wāhi tapu are the connections with the important landmarks,”

³⁶ Rose Mohi, 24 November 2009.

³⁷ Darren Botica, 2009.

not the tangible place itself as Pākehā usually interpret it, but the *connections* between the place and people:

Some people have a perspective that wāhi tapu, or some wāhi tapu have archaeological features, but certainly from Ngāti Mutunga's perspective wāhi tapu is the connection that we have with important landmarks, places and the like and so usually wāhi tapu is characterised by not only physical features but cultural values and characteristics, which may sit with a particular place or site and this can be referenced by an event that occurred and it is usually an event, or the place that a wāhi tapu or pā has, in terms of our tribal history and identity.³⁸

There are elements of the tangible, but only as far as the physical world is tangible “from the Rangi to the Pāpā and everything in between all that is the wāhi tapu and it's a psychological, a mental and a spiritual thing that we are talking about here. We are not just talking about it being a sacred site,” continued this kaumatua. Another kaumatua made the same point:

When we talk about wāhi tapu we are not just talking about the physical layout of the pā, we are not just talking about what you can see, we are also talking about those relationships, we are talking about the spiritual side, we are talking about the events that happened here, so all those, all those concepts we see as the wāhi tapu.³⁹

One of the kuia from Taranaki explained that it is the inter-relationship between stories, place and kin that is important. “The wāhi tapu to me is the histories, it holds the histories of the past and I think without it, without the knowledge of having wāhi tapu for us it's to be able to give that history to our whānau.”⁴⁰ There is further evidence of this concept in Māori reports to the Waitangi Tribunal. A comment in the Te Urewera report says that although eighty-five percent of Tūhoe live outside the area for historical and economic reasons:

Yet, if history and circumstance have seen so many leave home, they remain in close contact with those who keep the home fires burning, and resolutely refuse to disconnect from the source of their culture. They regularly return with their families for tangihanga, holidays, and special occasions, such as the two-yearly Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe cultural festivals.⁴¹

These people explicitly state that the source of their identity is the place where they meet for events, holidays and other occasions, and that it is the process of going there and interacting with that place, and those people that is the source of their culture, which is located in the land, the places, the people and the connections between them, and that land. Ngawini Keelen agrees saying although most wāhi tapu claims before the Waitangi Tribunal relate to burial

³⁸ Kaumatua (3), in video “Video in Te Ahi Ka Roa Te Ahi Katoro Taranaki War 1860-2010,” (New Zealand: Puke Ariki 2010).

³⁹ Kaumatua (3), Ibid.

⁴⁰ Kuia (1), Ibid.

⁴¹ “Te Urewera Pre-Publication Part 1, Wai 894 Waitangi Tribunal Report.” 8.

places, mountain peaks and shrines “the concept of wāhi tapu can be extended to cover all aspects of the environment, or Papatūānuku, from which Māori base their descent.” Māori consider the earth to be a living being, and have to cope with the continual desecration of wāhi tapu, because of the “unwillingness of power structures to recognize Māori sovereignty over Māori resources.”⁴²

Place attachment is an integrating concept comprised of inter-related and inseparable aspects with varied and complex origins which contributes to individual, group and cultural self-definition and integrity.⁴³ The original cosmological understandings of whakapapa networks and connections between people, things, time and space are deeply embedded in these descriptions of the meaning of wāhi tapu, which is used in quite a different way by many heritage managers who think of it in terms of tangible ‘place,’ the place alone, not spiritual ‘space-time’ and the connection between people and place. Te Awakotuku and Nikora explain this idea of connection with another word ‘betweenness’ saying: “People make places just as much as places make people. People and places derive their identities from each other to a significant extent. It is the betweenness that is important — the relationship that is created and sustained.”⁴⁴

But in heritage management wāhi tapu is often used almost as a synonym for a heritage place; one understanding is that all archaeological sites are wāhi tapu, although not all wāhi tapu are archaeological sites. The use of the term ‘wāhi tapu’ is a new concept in heritage management. It was not used in the Historic Places Act 1980. A traditional site was defined as “a place or site that is important by reason of its historical significance or spiritual or emotional association with the Maori people or to any group or section thereof.” A ‘historic place’ was:

A place (including a site, building, or natural object) which is historic by reason of an association with the past and which demonstrates or provides evidence of any cultural, traditional, aesthetic, or other value of the past; and includes: (a) Archaeological sites: (b) Traditional sites.⁴⁵

The Victoria University Faculty of Law’s on-line Legal Lexicon gives two meanings for wāhi tapu. The first is the customary Māori legal term meaning an “area, taonga, or resource that is

⁴² Ngawini Keelan, “Maori Heritage Visitor Management and Interpretation,” in *Heritage Management in New Zealand and Australia: Visitor Management, Interpretation and Marketing*, ed. Michael Hall and Simon McArthur (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993). 98-9.

⁴³ Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low, eds., *Place Attachment*, vol. 12, Human Behaviour and Environment: Advances in Theory and Research (New York & London: Plenum Press, 1992), 4.

⁴⁴ Te Awakotuku and Nikora, “Nga Taonga a Te Urewera.” 11.

⁴⁵ *Historic Places Act 1980*.

sacred to Māori,” the second meaning is from current or recent legislation and means “historic heritage.” A closely related term is wāhi tipuna/wāhi tupuna, which is a customary Māori legal term relating to an “area that is sacred due to ancestral significance.”⁴⁶ Another definition of wāhi tapu is: “(in Māori contexts) a sacred place, e.g. a burial ground [ORIGIN: Māori wāhi tapu].”⁴⁷

There are a number of customary Māori concepts in the RMA including kaitiakitanga, wāhi tapu, taonga and tauranga waka. Kaitiakitanga was redefined in 1997 as “the exercise of guardianship by the tangata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Māori in relation to natural and physical resources; and includes the ethic of stewardship.”⁴⁸ David Williams explains the two streams of law (settler and Māori) are “becoming enmeshed in an intricate weave of concepts.” Williams discusses a joint development between Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and the Whakatāne District Council in 2002, which resulted in a court case because some members of two hapū were unable to agree with the development proposal. They asserted that all the land is their ancestral land and is wāhi tapu. However, the court decided that the development area was ancestral land, but not within the wāhi tapu, although it did stress that it was not determining what was, or was not, wāhi tapu. Williams explains:

The Court agreed that the majority culture of New Zealand tended to take a dualistic view that distinguished between physical and spiritual things whereas the Māori view of relationships incorporated into the Resource Management Act was ‘monadic’ and made ‘no rigid distinction between physical beings tipuna (ancestors), atua (spirits), and taniwha.’ In the court’s view there could be a meeting of the two worlds. The ‘relativist’ notion that cultural norms like wāhi tapu could only be explained in their own terms was rejected. Two value-laden systems of belief were given prominence in the Act — the ‘legal-economic’ and Māori.⁴⁹

One of the earliest uses of the term is found in the *Illustrated London News*’ mention of Angus’ description of a wāhi tapu: “Within the enclosure of the pah also stand the wahi tapu, or burial-places of the chiefs, which, being coloured red and ornamented with rich carving and a profusion of feathers, are attractive objects to a stranger.”⁵⁰ Nearly all Angus’s

⁴⁶ “The Legal Māori Lexicon,” (Faculty of Law, Victoria University of Wellington, 2010).

⁴⁷ New Zealand Dictionary Centre, “Wahi Tapu,” in *The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary*, ed. Tony Deverson and Graeme Kennedy (Victoria, Australia: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁴⁸ David V. Williams, “Unique Treaty-Based Relationships Remain Elusive,” in *Waitangi Revisited: Perspectives on the Treaty of Waitangi*, ed. Michael Belgrave, Merata Kawharu, and David V. Williams (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2005), 382, citing RMA 1991, s. 2 and Merata Kawharu (ed) Whenua: Managing our Resources, Reed: Auckland 2002.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 382, citing RMA 1991, s. 2 and Merata Kawharu (ed) Whenua: Managing our Resources, Reed: Auckland 2002.

⁵⁰ Anonymous, *The Illustrated London News* 011, no. XI (c.1847). 293.

references to wāhi tapu are associated with the deaths of chiefs, but he does describe another use of the term, related to tapu, but does not appear to be associated with death:

On the brow of a steep hill overlooking this pah stood a singular erection of sticks, almost resembling basket work, elevated on four upright posts and having a semicircular top. Within this cage-like building was placed a variety of different articles: household utensils, skins, calabashes, and dried fish; and several garments and baskets were suspended from the sticks underneath. This proved to be a “wahi tapu” or sacred place, of a peculiar kind, serving as a receptacle for goods and property that had become subject to the right (sic) of “tapu” for a certain length of time.⁵¹

Despite this documented use of the term wāhi tapu, it does not appear in the seventh edition of the Williams’ dictionary of Māori, neither does it appear in Joan Metge’s *Maoris of New Zealand*. One of the kaumātua from Taranaki explained many Māori use the term as a synonym for historic heritage:

We need to view this notion today of wāhi tapu in its context and that they are the physical, tangible reminders of the way in which our ancestors lived and their footsteps remain in those areas and they left us, you could say from an archaeological perspective, the foods the way they lived but from another perspective, a cultural perspective, it’s a reminder of the footprints of our ancestors on our landscape and so it could be a midden or it could be an entire cultural landscape.⁵²

In contrast the concept of wāhi tapu identified by kaumātua as being the spiritual connection located in the place is similar to the concept of *genius loci*, so that the common use of the term almost as the Māori equivalent for a heritage place, admittedly with or without tangible heritage fabric, means the spirituality and mana of a place as well as the idea of connection, become debased, or at the very least, the cosmological significance and the importance of connection are isolated from the place.

There is some evidence of this usage being employed in current heritage management. The Hastings District Council is beginning to divide Māori heritage places into separate places under the general heading of ‘waahi tapu’. The section of Hastings District Council’s district plan dealing with heritage matters notes that the RMA contains specific obligations in relation to tangata whenua, and identifies, as a matter of national importance, the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wāhi tapu, and other taonga:

⁵¹ George French Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand: Being an Artist's Impressions of Countries and Peoples at the Antipodes*, facsimile ed., vol. 1 & 2 (Wellington & New York: A.H. & A.W. Reed in conjunction with Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1847)., 262.

⁵² Kaumatua (2), “Video in Te Ahi Ka Roa Te Ahi Katoro Taranaki War 1860-2010.”

Traditional Maori culture and values are closely linked to the environment. Land confers dignity and rank, is the resting place for the dead, a spiritual base for traditional beliefs and a heritage for future generations. Tangata Whenua have expressed concern for the quality and condition of resources of significance to them and these are identified in the District Plan. It is these areas that are Waahi Tapu. Tangata Whenua and Council have endeavoured to identify Waahi Tapu in the District, though there is a reluctance by Tangata Whenua to identify the exact location of some Waahi Tapu sites because of the need to protect their sacredness.⁵³

This council uses the term wāhi tapu to mean Māori ‘historic heritage’, and then subdivides wāhi tapu into sub-groups allocating each an appropriate Māori term. Sites classified as wāhi tapu include:

- Old pa sites, excavations and middens (pā tawhito)
- Old burial grounds and caves (ana tūpāpaku)
- Current cemeteries (urupā)
- Battlefields (waahi pakanga)
- Sacred rocks, trees or springs (ngā toka, rākau tapu)
- Water courses, swamps, lakes and their edges (waipuna, awa, roto)

Interestingly, when the council decided to identify the wāhi tapu in the district for planning purposes it hired an archaeological consultancy company from outside the region, led by Matthew Campbell, to undertake the work.⁵⁴ There are sixty seven wāhi tapu scheduled in the Hastings District Plan resulting from this work. While a few have ‘archaeological’ values, most do not and include such places as pito trees, mahinga kai, swamps, lake edges, urupā and battle grounds.⁵⁵

Places develop or evolve into wāhi tapu over time and as people begin to attach importance to them for various reasons. Macdonald talked about the designation of his marae as wāhi tapu. A marae, or marae ātea, is the area in front of the wharehau used for formally welcoming visitors, and other official events. It is also the complex of buildings and land, which is how Macdonald is using the word.⁵⁶ Crozet, who visited New Zealand in 1771, described the marae as the area in the centre of a village or pā:

⁵³ Council Hastings District, “Section 12.4: Waahi Tapu Resource Management Unit,” (Hastings: Hastings District Council, 2010).

⁵⁴ Matthew Campbell, “Stage 1 Review of the Wahi Tapu Section of the Hastings District Plan: Final Report,” (Auckland: CFG Heritage, 2006).

⁵⁵ “Hastings District Plan: Appendix 12.4-1 Waahi Tapu Sites,” (Hastings: Hastings District Council 2010).

⁵⁶ “Ngata Dictionary,” <http://www.learningmedia.co.nz/ngata/>.

The space which divides the two rows of houses, and which is more or less roomy, according to the lay of the ground serves as a sort of parade ground and extends the whole length of the village. This parade ground is raised about a foot higher than the surrounding ground on which the houses stand. It is raised by means of soil brought there and beaten down; no grass is to be seen on it and the whole place is kept extremely tidy. The whole space between the two rows of houses is only occupied by three public buildings.⁵⁷

Macdonald recalled that the previous weekend he had been down at the marae at a wānanga and there were a lot of people talking “very, very fervently about the marae as a wāhi tapu and why we have to preserve it and all these sorts of things,” and he was sitting there thinking:

Why is the marae such a sacred place? Why is it a historic place? And all I could think of was it is only sacred because it’s our reality, it’s what we grew up with. But if you go back three generations and say to them “What is the most sacred place? ... The marae just wouldn’t even be, so is it because...? Have marae become so important because it’s the only reality we have left? ... I thought — you know my great grandparents wouldn’t even consider this to be a wāhi tapu. And yet we ... and I began to realise that the importance of marae is inflated because of the fact that it’s the *only* reality for some of our kids.”⁵⁸

I interjected, “Because they haven’t got Hakikino?” and Macdonald continued:

That’s exactly what I am saying. ... It’s the only place for them and so it’s, I’m saying ‘wāhi tapu’ in terms of wāhi tapu if you were to apply this and say any place whether it’s in Paki Paki or Te Hauke and say: “What is the area? Which is the most wāhi tapu place, in terms of how you would view it and if you adopt the view that it’s maybe the oldest site. ... [or] but this is wāhi tapu because of what happened here.” In contrast you’d have to say why is the marae at Waimarama wāhi tapu? What has happened there?

He considers that the memorialising of the marae as a wāhi tapu, as an important place for many of the young people, is because it is the only place they have left. This formulation recalls the *lieux de mémoire* of Pierre Nora, who said:

We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left. ... Our interest in *lieux de memoire* where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn — but torn in such a way as to pose the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical

⁵⁷ Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772* (Auckland: Viking, 1991), 416, citing Crozet in Ling Roth (ed.) 1891: 44.

⁵⁸ McDonald.

continuity persists. These are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory.⁵⁹

Discussion with Macdonald then explored the difference between an important place and a wāhi tapu. I explained that the idea of ‘place’ interests me because “we call things wāhi tapu but we are really talking about a place that is not necessarily sacred.” I continued: “But it’s important because it’s ‘the place’, which is what you are saying, I think?” Macdonald agreed, and then I said: “It’s important to those people because it’s ‘the place’ and I keep thinking there’s an idea, a concept, a kind of floating thing that’s above the place that’s important too. They call it the spirit of place, *genius loci*, in Europe, but I don’t know if that’s what we mean when we are talking about an important place?” Rose Mohi queried: “You mean something not wāhi tapu?” I answered: “It’s not wāhi tapu, but it’s still a physical manifestation of people’s connection, I think that is what it is, because it isn’t necessarily sacred, but it is still important.” Robert agreed and then when I asked him how he would say it in Māori he replied he did not know, “but I don’t know, but I could make a very strong distinction. I could look at something like the rock which is the Takitimu waka and I could think my view of that as a wāhi tapu is because it is a wāhi tapu. ... I can’t make the same connection if I’m looking at the marae as a place where people go.” I asked whether this is because the marae is a place where people live all the time, a meeting place but not spiritual. Macdonald agreed that the marae was not spiritual and then described the views of the kaumātua:

I can give you a much better example of a view and this is using a kaumātua view. We were interviewing ... Rose was part of this. Remember Rose that interview we had at your house? One of the things was to actually interview kaumātua as to the importance of marae, so we had a group. Rose was in the academics you know they’ve got weird ideas — so they were all floating around in the ether somewhere. But then I spoke to people at the marae and so on, these were young mothers with kids and they had to go to the marae each week to meet their parents and so on, so I’m talking to them and they all had the same sort of idea that marae were special places every time they go there.

[But] what really got to me was when I interviewed kaumātua and asked them: How do you feel about marae? And they had no view at all about spirituality. They just viewed it as “I had to go there all my life.” They grew up there on the marae. ... There was a familiarity with marae that they grew up with and that was just a place that they grew up on. They actually grew up on the marae. ... They didn’t have that same view that all of us keen ... They never had the view that they were going into church. It was just a place that they had lived all their lives and they treated it, because they were told you know: “When you come inside, take your shoes off”. So they did. So that was a thing that was also very revealing that my view that kaumātua

⁵⁹ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire,” *Representations* 26, no. Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, (1989). 7.

viewed marae as the most sacred place in the world wasn't reflected in what they were saying.

Mohi responded to this by saying that “the academics all went right off into: ‘It’s most sacred’.” Macdonald said the kaumatua viewed the marae as a very practical, real place that they went to and did the things that they had to, in contrast to younger people who think that if it is special to them then it must be much more important to the old people. People are beginning to give the marae more importance. But when he talks about heritage he views it as places like Hakikino. Hakikino is “where your heritage is in.” While being on a marae is just practical and where “we’ve ended up because we’ve had so much taken away from us.” He remarked they are important” because they just give us a place to do the things that we can’t do anywhere else.” However, he continued:

Now we can come onto places like this and do all the things we want to do. We can care for the sites and know why it’s important to ensure that our past is looked after because we are actually looking after the physical past. Before we could just run it through our minds and say: Well, this is who I am, but we can actually stand here and say, “Yes, see this place....

Pishief: That is really interesting because you see the people who lived here probably felt about this place the way the kaumatua feel about the marae. But you are now so far distant from it too — do you think — can you see the same sort of development of sacredness?

Macdonald: Yes. That is what I am saying. And very often we start to give — development, can actually be — I wouldn’t say made up, but what I’m saying is it can develop in a funny, insidious sort of way I suppose. We are sort of creeping things into the way we feel about things....

Pishief: Because it’s what we need, we do need these places for ourselves. Don’t we?

Macdonald: Yes we do.⁶⁰

As this extended discussion with Māori informants has shown, wāhi tapu is a concept that is used in a variety of ways. It is a way of talking about place, but also the connections with place and the idea of place and the past, and the imaginative reconstruction of the past. The past is peopled at these places by the ancestors who during that time were then leading their lives — whether eventfully, or quietly, or pragmatically. They had no more conception than the present kaumatua of the marae at Waimarama that in the future their actions would be reconstructed, they themselves would be reconstructed and their places would be reconstructed from everyday living places into heritage places, places of spiritual significance. To Macdonald, Hakikino, not the Waimarama marae, is ‘heritage’ and a wāhi tapu, but still ...

⁶⁰ McDonald.; Rose Mohi, 24 November 2009.

it is not quite a wāhi tapu like the Takitimu rock. So there are evidently degrees of the Connect.

The marae is an important place because it is the *only* place that people can go to — to do the things they need to do — hui, tangi, wānanga; but it is not yet a ‘heritage place.’

Nevertheless, Macdonald can see the sacredness developing in a way that is not exactly made-up, but in a “funny sort of way” is creeping into the place. However, as the comparison with the attitudes towards Waimarama marae and Hakikino show, time is an essential element in heritage creation. The distance between the kaumātua who remember the place as the home of their childhoods and the grandchildren or great grandchildren who visit it to meet their parents, is sufficient for the marae to be starting to take on the qualities of a heritage place, but because of its use as a place where the rituals of everyday living are carried out, it cannot become a wāhi tapu in its entirety because it must retain its everyday elements and cannot be ‘set aside’. It appears there needs to be an element of abandonment or restriction before somewhere can be refigured as a wāhi tapu. It must be put aside, separated from the real world, time must pass and the place must be glossed with nostalgia and imaginatively recreated.

Hakikino has these qualities: it was the place of the ancestors, but then it was put aside, prohibited because it was sold, thereby becoming a place of memories alone. By being put aside, and prohibited, it became a wāhi tapu. As Harry Allen says a wāhi tapu is a sacred place, or a restricted place.⁶¹ Hakikino was ‘lost’ (sold). While it was lost it was the subject of stories, nostalgia, longings for the past; the shadows of mystery hung over it. Now that it has been rediscovered, its physicality seems to corroborate the intangibility of the stories, the longings and the nostalgia. It has become a place where the imaginative reconstruction of the past is made real by its tangibility and the connections with the people in the past can be made physically. For, as Macdonald said: “Before, we could just run it through our minds and say: ‘This is who I am’.” Now, the bodily action of standing on the actual place enables identity construction to be solid and ‘grounded,’ rather than fragile and fleeting.

As has already been explained, whakapapa is foundational to Māori cosmology and understandings of who they are, which is confirmed by the people whose opinions I have gathered for this research, for example the kaumatua who commented that “in Māoridom we

⁶¹ H Allen, “The Crisis in 21st Century Archaeological Heritage Management,” in *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 21st Century*, ed. Caroline Phillips and Harry Allen, *One World Archaeology* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010), 167.

also look back into the past to find our significance to know who we are and who they were and what were their meanings in a place like that. We should say this is where our grass roots began and we think upon our elders as the ones who guide us in the future.⁶² In the interview Macdonald explained the importance of Hakikino during the years that it was disconnected from the hapū was because it was where “the old people lived.”

The oral history is that Mōrehu’s old people, her parents, lived here. ... So my mum would always refer to this place as that’s where the old people lived. She wasn’t talking about Mōrehu, she was actually talking about her parents — these are people — we are going back to in the 1800s before the land was sold. So there was a view that that’s where the old people lived. And you’d find that Mōrehu actually lived here but she lived here because her parents were here. So there was always that knowledge round about that this was a significant site because the old people lived here.⁶³

Hakikino had been sold to the government in 1918 for ‘rehab’ farms, for soldier resettlement. Although it was not a compulsory purchase, the vendors were pressured by government agents. Macdonald said his mother had told him that her mother had told her that “they were told that they had to do this for the War Effort.” It was their contribution during World War 1, yet Māori soldiers were not eligible for these farms. He also remarked that his mother “had always felt a little bit aggrieved because she said my uncle actually died in the First World War.” The government repaid this sacrifice by acquiring land that belonged to his whānau, yet if Macdonald’s uncle had returned, he would not have been eligible for a farm either. The land was re-acquired because it was uneconomic as a separate farm — soldier resettlement blocks “were usually too small.” The reconnection with the land occurred when the block came up for sale and the Trust purchased it. Macdonald said that he likes to think that the land was purchased for the reasons that are now important to the owners, but it may have been because it was a good block that adjoined the land they farm. “But I like to think it was because of the old people,” he added.

The old understandings of whakapapa and the cosmological connections between people and the world remain a constant theme in the discourse of many Māori, regardless of the overlay of Western education. Mauri is one of the key cosmological concepts interwoven through modern Māori thought, which is revealed in different and sometimes unexpected ways. Many Māori are concerned about the names of places and want European names changed back to Māori ones. Māori heritage discourse contains the idea that the restoration of the original

⁶² Kaumatua (1), “Video in Te Ahi Ka Roa Te Ahi Katoro Taranaki War 1860-2010.”

⁶³ McDonald.

Māori name for a place will reconnect them with the spiritual dimensions of identity by reconnecting the mauri to the land. For example, Darren Botica said when we were talking about Bluegum Flat at Mohaka, that the restoration of the Māori name to the area “will put the mauri back in the place.”⁶⁴ But renaming is also a response to the colonising process as Sissons explains:

Indigenous place-names have been retained in all post-settler states, for example, since to erase them completely from the territorial slate would have been to proclaim complete conquest, profoundly contradicting the settlers’ self-understanding of their colonial project. Naming and renaming the land was, for the colonist, a civilising process. For colonized peoples, however, it symbolised invasion, and for this reason reassertions of indigenous place names have been fundamental to indigenous politics in many countries....⁶⁵

However, it is more than a response to the process of colonisation, as naming is, as Gray says, “a powerful act. By naming landscape features, butterflies, persons, we in part possess them and simultaneously exorcise their chthonic magical powers.”⁶⁶ By renaming and thus putting the mauri back into the place the Māori spiritual understanding is restored and the place is given back its own mana, and the process of self-determination is re-established. On this point David Butts quotes from an interview with Apirana Mahuika, Ngāti Porou in 2001: “The name also provides a sense of governance ... If you get the name right you get the whakapapa right.”⁶⁷ Renaming is another way of assisting with the re-establishment, or retention and enhancement of mana, so that “nobody rides slipshod over one another’s mana,” which Mahuika considers, is the key to governance.

As well, places without names are somehow not real — a place without a name is a nonentity — it lacks life, it is dehumanised. Naming places is crucial. For example, there is a proposal with NZHPT to register the swamp pa at Kaiapoi as a wāhi tapu. The name chosen for the registration is Te Kohanga o Kaikai-a-Waro after a historical name for the area.⁶⁸ However, as Habberfield-Short says “there was no cultural knowledge of the place except for what Waitaha claim.” During the excavation it was called Tairutu Gully Pā because it sits on the edge of the

⁶⁴ Botica.

⁶⁵ Jeffrey Sissons, *First Peoples Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures* (London: Reaktion 2005), 14.

⁶⁶ John Gray, “Open Places and Dwelling Places: Being at Home on Hill Farms in the Scottish Borders,” in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2003), 236, citing Porteous, 1972, 72.

⁶⁷ David Butts, “Maori Museums and the Treaty of Waitangi: The Changing Politics of Representation and Control,” in *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed*, ed. Simon J. Knell, Suzanne MacLeod, and Sheila Watson (London & New York: Routledge, 2007).; Butts, “Maori Museums and the Treaty of Waitangi: The Changing Politics of Representation and Control.”

⁶⁸ Sam Sachedeva, “Sacred Status Considered for Historic Pa Site,” *The Press*, 15 May 2010.

Tairutu gully where associated burials were found. He would have thought the name Tairutu was the local one.

The earliest reference to Te Kohunga o Kaikai-a-Waro is a Ngāi Tahu reference that mentions it as a small village which would have been about 200 years or so after it had burned down and abandoned. Witter said “we have no idea what the inhabitants would have called it and the idea of the locality name is surmise.” Witter suspects that ‘Te Kohunga’ was the correct name for what Duff called ‘Hohoupounamu’.⁶⁹ Habberfield-Short said he wondered what the Waitaha group call it and added that Waitaha claim ancestral knowledge of the place. “They said we would find a canoe launching platform and we found something that could be interpreted as a landing area where canoes were pulled up over thin logs. Ngāi Tahu officially deny their claims and we were told not to have anything to do with them.”⁷⁰

Ngāi Tahu originated in the North Island, but then over several generations moved south from the East Coast to the Wellington region and on to the South Island where they spread out and intermarried with other groups such as Ngāti Mamoe (also from the North Island) and the original inhabitants, the Waitaha. By the early eighteenth century Turakautahi, a chief of the sub-tribe Ngāi Tuhaitara, built Kaiapoi Pā, which was on the site of a former Waitaha settlement.

For Ngāi Tahu, conquest had never been a preferred means of claiming territory. During the early period of occupying and settling the South Island, besides deliberately marrying into the earliest resident tribes such as Waitaha, Ngāi Tahu also learned the traditions and customs of these tribes. Among Māori the real basis to any claim on the land was genealogy — the blood ties that go back through the generations. It had been Waitaha who, in tribal traditions, imposed their genealogy on the land.⁷¹

Te Marino Lenihan said the pā is believed to be about 500 years old, which is well before Ngāi Tahu arrived in the area.⁷² This would account for the loss of knowledge of the place itself and its name. This story indicates a universal colonising practice, or process occurring: newcomers rename places both to remind themselves of their former homes, but also to provide the authority of ownership and to erase former occupants. If people have a name for a place it gives their connection to it more authority; it validates their connection to it and their interest in it.

⁶⁹ Dan Witter, 21 May 2010.

⁷⁰ Jeremy Habberfield-Short, 21 May 2010.

⁷¹ Te Maire Tau, “Ngāi Tahu - Ngāi Tahu and Waitaha,” *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*(2009), <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/ngai-tahu/4>.

⁷² Sachedeva, “Sacred Status Considered for Historic Pa Site.”

Names can be written and in that way may become tangible representations of the *mauri*, perhaps similar to the old *mauri* stones of the past. Best explains that there were “two kinds of *mauri*, one material and the other spiritual. ... The *mauri* of a *pa* was a talismanic object that held the power of preserving the fort and its inhabitants from harm; it was the very soul, life and heart of the place, and represented its prosperity and well-being.” He then goes on to explain that the material object was a stone whose, “purpose was to preserve or retain the *ora* or *mana* (welfare and prestige, etc.) of the place. It was, of course, necessary that the stone be endowed with such powers by means of certain rituals, which ensured the welfare of the place.”⁷³ However, it is unlikely that this separation of the physical and the spiritual was occurring as Best maintains. It is more probable that the *mauri* was being transferred to the stone to provide a physical expression of the intangible: spiritual *to* physical, with *to* being the transfer, the Connect. The *mauri* stone indicates the duality of the cosmological world of Māori: the rituals that Best mentions may be ‘performances of connecting the duality,’ bodily manifestations or expressions of the links, of what goes on ‘between,’ those dual aspects of the world. Salmond elaborates:

Order began with thought ... the characteristic pattern was ... nets of interactive links, spoken in a genealogical language, spiralling the cosmos. The world began with a surge of primal energy, generating thought and memory, darkness, nothingness and the hau, or wind of life, which brought different kinds of life together. Out of these conjunctions new forms of life were created. In this form of order the focus was not on binary divisions (the characteristic act of analytic thinking), but on dual aspects of the world and what went on between them. Categories for describing relationships were complementary and relative (former/after, dark/light, male/female, up/down, inside/outside).⁷⁴

One result of the era of ‘Treaty Settlements’ is that cultural confidence among Māori is reviving as information about their history and new understandings about their culture, are better known and accepted. Many of the old ideas are becoming more publicly visible, for example, using *matakite* to assist with heritage management tasks. The use of *matakite* is also a way of bringing a Māori form of expertise to heritage assessments and is a personification (literally) of Māori cosmological concepts that are generally not included in archaeological assessments. It seems to be a response to the tangibility of archaeology, an assertion that Māori too, have experts who can identify the physical remains of the past, but within their own cultural framework. The use of *matakite* as ‘consultants’ is a response to Western

⁷³ Elsdon Best, *The Pa Maori: An Account of the Fortified Villages of the Maori in the Pre-European and Modern Times; Illustrating Methods of Defence by Means of Ramparts, Fosses, Scarps and Stockades*, 2005 ed., Dominion Museum Bulletin 6 (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 1927), 148.

⁷⁴ Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans: 1773-1815.*, 172.

practices and provides not only an authority to Maori cultural assessments, but empowers Māori and helps elevate the Māori world view and balance it against that of the Pākehā.

The old ideas have never died out despite, for example, attempts to suppress tohunga, in early last century.⁷⁵ Tohunga and their practices just became clandestine. Mamari Stephens suggests that the secrecy was driven by the fear of prosecution resulting from the accusations of Māori rather than Pākehā and considers that prosecutions under the Tohunga Suppression Act, 1907 “were largely governed by Māori political dynamics.” Overtly, the Act was an attempt to control Rua Kēnana and to improve the health of Māori, neither of which was achieved, but another (covert) intent was symbolic. It enabled the “Pākehā dominated legislature to reassert certainty in the face of uncertain medical technologies and millenarianism, and to exert political dominance over growing Māori autonomy.”⁷⁶

According to W. E. Gudgeon, one of the supernatural powers exclusive to tohunga was the power of Matakite, or second sight. He emphasised the ability to foresee the outcome of events was highly valued by the possessor and his tribe. Generally the visions resulted from dreams during the night, which the tohunga interpreted. However, if the tohunga was particularly anxious about the outcome of a battle for example, he would call on the gods to put him into a deep trance-like state so that he could obtain the requisite information. The warnings were given for the most part through the medium of a song, delivered by the spirit of some departed ancestor.⁷⁷ Margaret Orbell explains that matakite also means a visionary song because seers who had the dreams that foretold the future “often communicated them to others in the form of matakite or visionary songs. The language of these visionary songs was usually metaphorical and often cryptic.”⁷⁸ James Cowan speaks of second sight or matakite saying that “the Maori was, and is, a believer in the faculty, or gift, or whatever it may be called, of second sight,” which is similar to “other people of the mountains and the forests whose minds are a blend of the poetic and mystic.” He also makes an important point that, although “materialists deride such a thing, yet there are many of the *Pakeha* race who cherish an abiding faith in their own species of *matakité*.”⁷⁹

⁷⁵ “Te Aka Maori Dictionary,” <http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/index.cfm?dictionaryKeywords=&n=1>.

⁷⁶ Mamari Stephens, “A Return to the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907,” *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review* (2001).

⁷⁷ W. E. Gudgeon, “On Matakite,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 18, no. 3 (1909), 143-145.

⁷⁸ Margaret Orbell, “Two Manuscripts of Te Rangikaheke,” *Te Ao Hou The New World*, no. 62 (1968), 8.

⁷⁹ James Cowan, *Legends of the Maori Volume 1* (Southern Reprints, 1987), 165.

Ranginui Walker said that Whina Cooper named the organisation that managed the land march to Parliament in 1975, Te Roopu o Te Matakite, because the word matakite, “was carefully chosen for its spiritual meaning. Redolent with the spiritual power of ancestors, it served as an ideology uniting Māori across tribal differences.”⁸⁰ *The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary* defines matakite as a seer, or, second sight.⁸¹ The on-line Māori Dictionary defines it as “to see into the future, to foresee;” or “prophecy, prophet, seer, clairvoyant, special intuition.”⁸²

On one occasion Darren Botica told me about his early experiences with ‘seeing’. He explained that:

It has been a lifetime journey. ... I suppose around five, four years old, I can vividly remember accessing information or seeing things, if you will, that was outside the norm, that wasn’t there physically. I did have many experiences like that over the years predominately to do with dark-skinned spirits, if you will. It seemed like a snap-shot of a time frame, as if you were looking at a movie ... none of it making sense, most of it what I would call a lower vibration, which basically means that the entities or the people that I was seeing were definitely in pain. It was traumatic, very traumatic.

Pishief: So do you think that is partly why you could access them because they were suffering, maybe their spirits were stronger because they were suffering?

Botica: I think looking back on it now it does seem to have some relevance, in regards to my journey, and as I’ve learnt, the more we think we know the more there is to know.⁸³

Botica understood that this subject is definitely not main stream, but he thinks “it is becoming more and more acknowledged.” The use of matakite appears to be a method or way of reaffirming the Maori cosmological world, but also of providing an alternative voice in heritage management and, of acquiring some recognition of that voice and perspective. Additional confirmation for this interpretation is a recent incident that occurred during the planning for the construction of the expressway south of Hastings.

A matakite, or two matakite, were asked as part of the cultural assessment to look at the proposed route.⁸⁴ One, or both of them, identified twelve bodies lying under the route. According to spokesperson, Ngahiwi Tomoana, the matakite could “see the dead. They rise

⁸⁰ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle without End.*, 214.

⁸¹ New Zealand Dictionary Centre, “The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary,” ed. Tony Deverson and Graeme Kennedy (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2005), 693.

⁸² Te Whanake, “Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index”.

⁸³ Darren Botica, 30 June 2010.

⁸⁴ Heitia Hiha, 2010.

out of the ground and tell them they're there. They can see them just hanging there. It happens very often.”⁸⁵ In response, NZTA contracted experts in ground penetrating radar technology to examine the sub-surface. Thirty-three images of ground disturbance consistent with graves were identified. According to the matakite the burials were of Europeans, because they were lying down in coffins, although the expressway extension is close to a former pā. Two archaeological investigations discovered only tree roots. Nevertheless such physical results do not concern to Māori who consider that the wrong place was investigated.⁸⁶ The fact that Māori have not been dissuaded from their adherence to using matakite to assist with cultural assessments of place suggests that not only is this a political tool that enables them to maintain or rather *have* an influence on, or some power over, development in their rohe, but that it is an important element of their modern cosmological world that is able to re-emerge publicly because of the greater acceptance by Pākehā of Māori cultural perspectives since the beginning of the Waitangi Treaty settlement claims. It also indicates the parallel world that exists in Aotearoa New Zealand, the strength and continuation of the Māori cosmological world despite the dominance of Western culture in most aspects of society.

In chapter two, I discussed the importance of combining several forms of knowledge to reach a better assessment of a place and used Te Poraiti Pā (V21/9) as an example. However, a twist to my understanding of this place was provided by a kaumatua who said that the hapū had asked John Hovell, a well-known matakite from the East Coast to undertake some cultural work for them. When he was taken to Poraiti Pā he said that Tareahi was actually buried on the pā (and showed hapū members where), which was not, in the area known as Tiheruheru, but on the side of Poraiti Pā itself, even closer to the sea that Tareahi had wished to be buried beside. This understanding is embraced by those hapū members who are privy to it rather than the older understanding that comes from the evidence given by kaumātua in the nineteenth century and recorded in the Māori Land Court minute books. The preference for this perspective indicates that the use of matakite is a significant cultural practice that is more important than historical ‘accuracy’: it is about ownership and empowerment and is deeply political. It also indicates that Māori have their own ways of practising heritage within their own framework, which although less visible and harder to identify because it is less

⁸⁵ Tom Fitzsimons, “Search for Graves Digs up Tree Roots,” *Dominion Post*, 1 May 2009.

⁸⁶ Rose Mohi and Patrick Parsons: pers. comm. 20 December 2011.

structured and more intangible is no less relevant than archaeological practice. I have termed this the Iwi Heritage Discourse (IHD).

Heritage management within a Māori framework

After describing Māori customary concepts and their application to heritage, in this section I review the ways in which places are being managed within a Māori framework. In an interview, Pam Bain related how in August 2007 earthworks for a new art block at Tolaga Bay Area School uncovered an urupā associated with a mission station that had been established in 1843 by the Rev. Charles Baker. He came to the area to build on the work of Wiremu Hekepo, a local chief who converted to Christianity in 1841. Many of the burials were children and young adults who probably died from the effects of the epidemics of measles and influenza that decimated Maori populations during the first decades of contact with Europeans.⁸⁷ Bain discussed the way Māori and archaeologists interacted during the investigations that were undertaken as a result of this discovery. The decisions regarding these burials were made by the community, not by the archaeologists. This meant that the wishes of the people were followed and the kōiwi tangata were reburied with only limited scientific investigation by Judith Littleton who limited her investigation to only recording basic physical traits. Pam explained:

I think Tolaga Bay is a bit of an exception for the country in terms of its association with archaeologists. They always had quite an association with archaeology for a number of years and then two years ago there was the whole issue of the excavation of the urupā and fifty-plus bodies. An excavation where the whole town and the whole iwi became involved about whether to leave the bodies, whether to remove the bodies and where archaeologists from all over the country came there and worked there for over six weeks or maybe longer. So that was a really close relationship between the archaeologists and the community. ... We hired a house and they [the archaeologists] all stayed there together, but the night before all the kōiwi were buried they stayed in the school and the archaeologists stayed with them on the marae. So I think the interaction was definitely two ways — there were some archaeologists who had never been involved with archaeology in that way before.⁸⁸

Bain explained the Māori community was receptive to the involvement of archaeologists with the urupā because prior to that there had been lengthy discussions about an excavation at Cook's Cove of an early 'Archaic' site, which was being badly eroded by the sea. In addition, archaeology and the information gained from the archaeological excavations contributed to the heritage activity of that community: She said the iwi are doing "some fantastic things around there with their history and their whakapapa," for example "they have a little museum

⁸⁷ "Excavation Uncovers Burial Site in Poverty Bay," *The Dominion Post*, 30 August 2007.

⁸⁸ Pam Bain, 21 October 2009.

at the school and they run a big cultural weekend and have lectures and so on. So they are doing a whole heap of things around their heritage.” Bain thinks archaeology “can contribute really well when it comes together with the names and the history and stories and you can actually place those in the landscape, physically in the land with the archaeology, then it’s a fantastic package. Exciting!”

Eleven hundred people of the seven marae of Te Aitanga-a Hauiti live in the community of Ūawa or Tolaga Bay. They are represented by the Hauiti Charitable Trust, which has a working party, Toi Hauiti, led by Hera Ngata-Gibson who organises the “impressive range of arts activities that have toured around New Zealand and the world.” McCarthy identifies three reasons for these remarkable achievements: first history, which has given the people a vision of “the future based on a profoundly historical sense of this tradition of education.” Second, an openness to the world demonstrated by their “curiosity and aptitude for technology,” and ability to “reconcile customary traditions and new media,” and third, “perhaps the most important reason, is talent and hard work.”⁸⁹ For these reasons, under the guidance of Hera Ngata-Gibson, Toi Hauiti are the driving force in the development of a number of cultural initiatives including arts exhibitions, concerts, a database of all their provenanced taonga from museums in New Zealand, “and a long-term research collaboration on Pacific voyaging with Cambridge University called the Kiwa Project.” These initiatives aim to “re-establish the arts traditions of Hingangaroa as a foundation for iwi and community development.”⁹⁰

It is easy to undermine a good relationship if care is not taken. Another perspective into the dynamics of Tolaga Bay’s relationship with archaeologists was obtained at a farewell lunch for Bain held in Gisborne. Anne McGuire, a member of the Tolaga Bay hapū said Bain had imparted a huge amount of knowledge to the iwi over the years enabling them to become “expert archaeologists” and to identify the places in the landscape themselves. Consequently they can use the archaeological information and collate it with the place names and associated ancestors from Maori Land Court survey maps and histories, which is empowering. Likewise the information and experiences the iwi gained from the Cook’s Cove excavation in November 2007 made the places real. However, McGuire commented, they were still waiting for the report from Richard [Walter] and Rick [McGovern Wilson], which was to be presented to the iwi before being disseminated publicly.⁹¹ A copy of the final report is

⁸⁹ McCarthy, *Museums and Maori.*, 225-7.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 225-7, citing ‘Toi Hauiti Strategic Plan 2005-9,’ 2005.

⁹¹ Anne McGuire, 1 April 2011.

accessible on the web, which increases the dissonance associated with this lack of tikanga and undermines the relationship that was built up.⁹²

It is essential for heritage practitioners to ensure effective communication, to follow tikanga, and to be aware of their own lack of knowledge of places compared with the expertise of hapū or iwi they are working with. In 2009, I undertook documentary historic research into Māori historic fishing practices along the Hawke Bay coast for NIWA and Tangoio Marae. The following story is from my work on that project and an example of the importance of recognising one's own limited 'expertise'. The name of the sentinel Pā on the north side of the river mouth at Arapaoanui is Puku o Te Wheki.⁹³ Marama Brown had told me the name years before when I was recording some places for her behind their house, which is further up the valley from where my family has had a bach (holiday cottage) for over forty years. During the course of my research Patrick Parsons (a Pākehā, expert in traditional history) told me the myth about Uwha the taniwha of the river — Uwha is an octopus who keeps guard over the stream and coast of Arapaoanui.⁹⁴ This story jolted me and made me aware of the enormous amount of information, stories, ideas and concepts that Māori associate with places that is unknown to most Pākehā. I realised that there is a whole (to me) subaltern culture underlying or running parallel with my concepts of the place and pā, which I was only vaguely aware of, despite talking to and interacting with the neighbours over many years.

Another aspect of 'best-practice' heritage management is creating and maintaining good relationships. It takes time, effort, patience and good will to build strong and enduring relationships, particularly in rural New Zealand. Consequently being part of the community where one works and socialises contributes to effective heritage practice and management, and, as I mentioned in my methodology, it is a valuable research tool also. In February 2009 I went with people of Tangoio Marae on a wānanga expedition, one of a series Tangoio Marae was holding to connect the hapū to the stories and places of their ancestors, led by Parsons and Bevan Taylor from the marae. We visited the sacred rock called Purahatangihe at Kaiwaka. The rock is where parts of Purahatangihe (her teke) were left by a raiding party that attacked the women who had remained behind while the men went fishing at Lake Tutira.

⁹² Richard Walter, Chris Jacombe, and Emma Brookes, "Final Report on Archaeological Excavations at Cooks Cove Z17/311, Tolaga Bay, East Coast, North Island," (2010), <http://www.spar.co.nz/Reports/East%20Coast/Final%20Report%20on%20Archaeological%20Excavations%20at%20Cooks%20Cove,%20Tolaga%20Bay.pdf>.

⁹³ Stomach of the octopus.

⁹⁴ Patrick Parsons, 2009.

Parsons had a photograph of a European historic society on an excursion in the 1930s similar to the one we were on, that is, ‘experiencing history’, or ‘performing heritage’, which I liked as an example of Pākehā appropriation of Māori heritage. Taylor was particularly concerned to ensure that the children who were there remembered the ancestors’ names and the stories, and he ‘tested’ them several times. He also said “the place may go but the mountain always remains,” which is a version of “Whatu ngarongaro te tangata, toitū whenua.” “People may go but the land remains.” The companionship, the chatting and stories, taking photographs beside the rock, walking up the same valley as the fishermen and the attackers to the top of the hill to look across at Lake Tutira where the men were when the place was attacked, were all contributing elements in the experience. I wrote in my diary: “Interesting watching heritage performance, which is what these wānanga are actually about — telling the stories, going to the places, having the experiences. Same with archaeology — it is a performance.”⁹⁵

Another episode illustrates this point. On 21 July 2009, I spent the day at Hakikino with Macdonald, Mohi and Parsons. First, we walked around looking at the house pits below Hakikino, and then I understood I had been invited so I could help interpret a stone-lined pit on a terrace near the bottom of the hill that had what appeared to be a stone drain running into it, draining water from the hill slope. I had not seen such a feature before so really had no idea what it was, but suggested it might be a water reservoir. Then we went further around the maunga and looked at a large flat terrace, which I suggested was possibly machine-made, (again demonstrating the power of the expert). We then walked up the valley to the sacred cave where Hinengātira was captured, before going to the small valley where the burial caves are beginning to open up. Macdonald said we could go into the caves, but I declined (having the wrong shoes on to be leaping around rocks.) We also fed the eels and looked at the new plantings of flaxes from the nursery at Havelock North. It was a beautiful day in mid-winter and there were new lambs. We returned to Macdonald’s house at Waimarama for lunch at four o’clock where we talked about people, history, events and made connections — we were weaving together fragments to add to our understandings of the place. This day added to those experiences and recollections. I recognised my privileged position and also noted in my diary: “Wonderful example of performance of heritage, stories, experiences, interacting, and exchanging ideas and stories about places and things.”⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Elizabeth Pishief, “Diary,” (2009)., 14 February 2009.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 21 July 2009.



Fig. 9: Patrick Parsons and Robert Macdonald at Hakikino.⁹⁷

I have an ongoing relationship with Hakikino and Robert Macdonald and it is one of the places I take visitors to, or recommend the experience of taking a cultural tour.⁹⁸ I was asked to arrange the field trip for NZAA when it had its annual conference in Havelock North and decided to use Taraia's arrival in Heretaunga as the theme for the places we visited. We visited Heipipi Pā Historic Reserve, Otatara Pā Historic Reserve and Hakikino Pā. On the day of the field trip it rained heavily so that everything was very wet and muddy. I arranged for kaumātua to meet us and introduce us to Heipipi and Otatara and for DoC staff to explain some of the management issues and successes. Both kaumātua told us the history as well as their own stories and connections with the places, but also introduced the politics associated with these heritage places. Heipipi and Otatara are extremely significant in the history of Ngāti Kahungunu, who at present, are enmeshed in their Waitangi claim settlements. Consequently, the political element was strongly expressed as well as the personal, cultural and historical stories.

⁹⁷ Photograph: Elizabeth Pishief, 21 July 2009.

⁹⁸ "Waimarama Maori Tours at Hakikino," <http://www.waimaramamaori.com/>.

Coastal Central Hawke's Bay experienced a severe storm around Easter 2011, which caused considerable damage to the land, fences, roads, bridges and coastal heritage places particularly the pā and consequently, I was concerned to see the damage to Hakikino itself. The damage to the fences has been so great that Macdonald had to sell all the stock. When we arrived at Hakikino the farm track was very slippery and the bus became stuck. We walked up the pā, were formally greeted onto the 'marae', fed the eels and watched a flute blowing demonstration, then went for a walk around the base of Hakikino, which has been badly damaged with enormous slips exposing midden and kōiwi tangata, (which had been reburied). Some unsolicited authoritative archaeological advice on ways to repair the damage to Hakikino was politely ignored by Macdonald who carefully selects the advice he takes. Before leaving we were shown an unusual skull that had been discovered, and, because no-one was sure what it was I was given it to take back to ask a faunal expert who was not on the trip, on the understanding I would return it the following week. During the field trip I took the opportunity to introduce Macdonald to Hans Dieter Bader, an archaeologist who specializes in geophysical surveys, because I thought he would be of interest to Macdonald who immediately arranged to meet Bader the following Monday. The field trip was enjoyed by everyone, who appreciated the connections with the people, the stories, and the archaeological features. They also had experienced a demonstration of the political narratives associated with many heritage places, especially those that are at present subject to settlement claims.

I returned the fur seal skull as arranged and had lunch with the hapū and we discussed ways of getting funding to enable Bader to undertake a geophysical survey of the cultural landscape within the Te Apiti valley. I saw the aerial photograph with the sketch/plan of Hakikino overlaid onto it by biologists from Massey University who have been working with Macdonald to determine the original vegetation in the area. Then I was invited to go up to the pā to have a look in the 'slumps'. While we were talking beside a slip I picked up several artefacts (a small tool, a piece of chert and a piece of obsidian) then Macdonald went off to deal with some fence posts and I climbed to the top of the pā for the first time in all the years I have been there. The view is remarkable; it is an excellent vantage point, which showed that Hakikino is the centre of a cultural landscape. I could see north east to Waimarama, on to the island at the end of Cape Kidnappers and the northern coastline of Hawke Bay itself. It was a view which explicitly demonstrated the cultural landscape and confirmed the importance of seeking research funding. My visit to Hakikino ended with Macdonald leading the way back to Waimarama so that he could stop and point out to me various places associated with

Hakikino, one of which he hoped Mark Allen and his group of students would survey for him during their visit to Hakikino.

Allen took a group of students from his college in California to stay at Waimarama to experience Māori life and culture; they were overwhelmed by the hospitality of the people of Waimarama and other Ngāti Kahungunu they spent time with. Allen's aim was to ensure they got a taste of the culture so that they understand archaeology cannot be done in a cultural vacuum, dissociated from, and unmindful of the beliefs and aspirations of the people whose heritage the places and objects are. This visit also demonstrates Allen's continual renewing of his links with Hawke's Bay which he has maintained for over twenty years.

These stories indicate several things: the cultural distances between different groups of people despite their physical proximity; the necessity for building and maintaining long-term relationships; the value of 'actually being there'; the importance of talking and listening to people while they carry out or perform the practices of heritage making — walking over the land and connecting with places; and the richness of experiences that combine different discourses. They also indicate some of the ways Māori use archaeology for their own purposes and according to their own aspirations, priorities and customs. Māori like Macdonald, keenly appreciate the value of Western research and the insights into their places that can be gained from the skills of experts such as the Massey biologists and archaeologists like Bader, but on their terms.

Other ways Māori use archaeological information, or aspects of that information, may be seen during the Waitangi Tribunal claim settlement processes. These are rarely linked with the activities of NZHPT and many archaeologists, but tend to be conducted parallel to, rather than in association with them. Belgrave has noted the Waitangi Tribunal hearings are one of a long line of legal investigations of Māori grievance claims and that examining the past is a method of attempting to deal with the persistent and ongoing problematic relations between Māori and Pākehā since colonisation. Although these attempts have never solved the problems of Māori marginalisation and resource loss, and have at times made the problems greater, they have reduced tensions and assisted Māori by providing minor compensation for the vast losses in the past. This way of dealing with dissonance is a positive aspect of New Zealand's constitutional make-up and preferable to many other methods of solving the frictions between different peoples. Belgrave argues that "claims are more than just grievances against the Crown; they represent the way that kinship groups assert their identity and mana as Māori, and their

relationships with land and other resources.”⁹⁹ The investigations and re-interpretations of the past can create bitterness and contestation between Māori and Māori as much as between Māori and Pākehā. A settlement that favours one group can lead to future grievances, and the impact of the Tribunal’s findings and the subsequent settlements can have major unintended consequences on inter-Māori relationships.

Belgrave also notes that historical research and historians have dominated the process of presenting evidence to the Tribunal and this dependence on historical research means that “much of the immediacy found in the contemporary resource management claims, where the evidence was based largely on the lived experience of the claimants themselves was lost.” And even more importantly, although claimants began to need and rely on the work of historians, there was “a subtle shift in authority before the tribunal from tribal witnesses to professional and mostly Pākehā experts.”¹⁰⁰ But, as McCarthy notes, “the work of the Waitangi Tribunal has gone some way to healing the historical legacy of colonisation in both symbolic and economic terms. Apologies, names, land, natural resources, management rights, cultural redress, and compensation amounting to one billion dollars have been transferred to iwi in about 30 claims since 1992.”¹⁰¹ Yet, despite these opportunities to build an economic base to fund social development, and a “flowering of post-settlement arts and culture,” constitutional change has not been achieved and Māori aspirations for tino rangatiratanga and self-determination — political recognition as a sovereign people — remains only a longing.

As part of the settlement process heritage places that are historically, culturally or traditionally significant to claimants, and located on Crown land, are identified so that they can be used for reparations. Historians have taken the lead in the development of most of these sites of significance projects; archaeologists are rarely involved, despite their greater understanding of the physicality of place, ability to identify places on the land, understanding of the archaeological discourse, and familiarity with the type of information recorded in the NZAA SRF. Peter Addis, Head of School for Te Kawa a Māui, the School of Māori Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, commented on the absence of archaeologists in the Waitangi claims in his public lecture to NZAA annual conference in June 2009. He said this non-engagement of archaeologists in the process has allowed distortions in the archaeological evidence, mainly because the historians who have used the information have failed to

⁹⁹ Belgrave, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories.*, 3-4.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 13-14.

¹⁰¹ McCarthy, *Museums and Maori.*, 208-9.

understand the intricacies of archaeological evidence. In some cases these inaccuracies have had a negative effect on Māori communities, as well. It is important that all experts accept the limitations of their expertise. Archaeologists need to recognise that archaeology only provides one perspective of a place, and the expertise of kaumātua and other knowledgeable traditional historians is necessary to provide a fuller understanding of it. For without links between the place, history, whakapapa and the descendants, the physical evidence of the ‘archaeological site’ indicates nothing more than occupation, nothing about the people who connect to the place, or any other social, historical or cultural value.

Māori use experts, to assist with the identification of ‘sites of significance’ for their Waitangi claim settlements. There are various ways sites of significance are identified and the methods used also depend on the stage that a settlement is at. The major method chosen relies on the historic research and often the locations of the places are unknown or based on estimates. The locations may be obtained from survey maps, early drawings of areas, (which are often not very exact) or the land-block being heard in the Māori Land Court, which may be very large. The interface between archaeology and the claims process is demonstrated by looking at the experiences of two claimant groups Ngāti Pahauwera and Mana Ahuriri from the Mohaka Ki Ahuriri area.

The report on this series of twenty claims was released in 2004 and covers the “district bounded by the Tutaekuri River to the south, Hawke Bay to the east, the Waiau River to the north, and the inland ranges and the old Hawke's Bay provincial boundary to the west.”¹⁰² The claimants are predominantly Ngāti Kahungunu, although some identify more, or equally, with Ngāti Tuwharetoa. The Mohaka ki Ahuriri claims concern Māori land in two broad ways. First, they relate to the loss of land through pre-1865 Crown purchases, such as the purchase of the Ahuriri Block and the Mohaka Block in 1851; the operation from 1865 of the Native Land Court; the 1867 Mohaka-Waikare confiscation; and later Crown purchasing (mainly conducted from 1910 to 1930). Secondly, the claims related to the barriers to the use and enjoyment of lands retained in Māori ownership, including title disruption, lack of development opportunities and the fragmentation and inter-related issue of multiple owners of tiny parcels of land.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Waitangi Tribunal, “Mohaka Ki Ahuriri Report,” (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2004).

¹⁰³ “Mohaka Ki Ahuriri Report,” (2004),

<http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/view.asp?reportid=d6d0c6a3-efe6-4507-b4b3-6dd4bf5c5552>.

The sites of significance are mapped in various ways including using sophisticated computer technology, or geographic information system (GIS) and overlays onto Google maps, which was the method chosen for the Mana Ahuriri project. Numerous layers can be added to create an interactive and visually explicit map. The layers may include heritage places, rivers, roads, Māori trails, historic maps, Māori land blocks and Crown land; all can be turned off or on, depending on the information being sought. This is an effective way of showing the relationship of the sites of significance to the Crown land. It is also a very useful management tool because it can integrate all sorts of information such as the history of the place, the cultural values, names and biographies of ancestors, associated hapū, all the archaeological information and bibliographic material, in addition to the different and innumerable overlays of visual information.

The Pahauwera claim was an innovative project that used archaeological expertise to add further weight to a request for more extensive areas of conservation land (which is not often included in settlement packages because of its ‘nationally’ significant conservation values). Ngāti Pahauwera had been offered very small areas of a few areas of conservation land within their rohe, for example a 0.5 ha portion of 358.6468 ha.¹⁰⁴ This proffered portion was economically and culturally insignificant, being merely a ‘toehold’ on the edge of a roadside cliff. Ngāti Pahauwera responded by requesting the services of archaeologists to back up their claims that the reserves in question had high cultural values. By introducing a new element of expertise and interweaving the physical evidence with additional information found in the relevant Māori Land Court hearings that supported the place names (generally found on old maps, but sometimes still current), this claimant group was able to provide sufficient tangible evidence to prove their connections with the land and receive further much larger areas of conservation land. We used a heritage management tool, the concept of a ‘cultural landscape,’ to integrate the physical with the historic in a politically useful way, writing:

The research on the significance of the twelve places discussed in each section below indicates that these places are remnants of a much larger cultural landscape that made up Ngāti Pahauwera Incorporated’s rohe in the period prior to the alienation of land from the mid nineteenth century onwards. The integration of the history and places with the place names and archaeology enables us to demonstrate this cultural landscape and to show how each of the different places selected by Ngāti Pahauwera Incorporated as places of cultural significance to them is related to this wider landscape.

¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth Pishief and Pam Bain, “Ngati Pahauwera: Places of Significance Supplementary Report,” (Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2009), 8.

Although the history, including the stories and whakapapa, can at times be difficult to tease out, it indicates the importance of this cultural landscape to the people now known collectively as Ngāti Pahauwera. The place names and the archaeology add extra information about this cultural landscape and indicate the richness and significance of the area to the people. The place names indicate the variety of activities that occurred in the land, and the knowledge the people had of its resources and geographic features, such as ridges, streams, tracks, boundaries, lakes and mountains, as well as where food could be hunted, fished or gathered, and the best places for flax, gardening or settlements. The archaeology provides physical links with the places, people and history — showing in tangible form the living places of the people who lived in this cultural landscape. The archaeological evidence extends across the Ngāti Pahauwera rohe from the mountains of Te Heru o Tureia to the coast. Within that area there are groups of discrete archaeological settlements which are linked by tracks, traditional history and whakapapa. The archaeological evidence suggests intensive and long term settlement, and many of the stories and place names of Ngāti Pahauwera can be identified in the landscape as archaeological sites. These pieces of information all combine to describe the cultural landscape of the rohe of Ngāti Pahauwera.¹⁰⁵

The beneficial outcome was achieved because the leader in this claim, Toro Waaka, has been involved with it for twenty years and has a thorough understanding of government processes. He had good working relationships with the archaeologists he selected, and he appreciated the political benefits of involving an archaeological perspective in arguing the case for greater compensation. By matching archaeology, history and place names, and integrating them into a well-recognised heritage management system — a cultural landscape — Māori were able to use the expertise of archaeologists to further their cultural and political aims.

Darren Botica, the matakite for this project, is strongly influenced by his spiritual understandings and believes there is a need, from a cultural perspective, to get a balance between science and accepted time-frames, saying “for Māori, and I’ll say indigenous peoples of the land, have different ways of utilising the land, but they also understand that they are only guardians of it for a period of time and it is all about time and being able to connect — for identity.” However, Botica also recognises the advantages and uses of archaeology, which was at times able to validate some of his visions. During the Ngāti Pahauwera project Bain, Botica and I visited a piece of land called Maulder’s Conservation Area, located in northern Hawke’s Bay, west of the Napier–Wairoa Road up Waihua Valley Road. The history of this area speaks of the burial places where ancestors of Ngāti Pahauwera’s now lie, especially Tuhemata, an important ancestor of Ngāti Pahauwera, as well as other ancestors, including Tio. Whitinga Marama was Rumene’s pā on a hill and is

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

near Te Ruatio where Tio was buried which is near Tio's grave. The numerous pā, kāinga, mahinga kai, pā tuna and other places of economic, political and spiritual significance to Pahauwera's ancestors, indicate the importance of the Waihua River to the hapū. Some of the names and stories have been correlated with recorded archaeological sites within and around the Conservation Area: Rutanga (W19/270) a kāinga; Whakatorokoau (W19/271) a pa; Te Waka (W19/281) a kāinga; and Te Weta and Ngakoauau (W19/280) a kāinga and urupā, where a lot of people, including Hineiarua, the mokopuna of Puraro and Maraea Patuomu were buried. These places are tangible evidence of this history.¹⁰⁶

Botica told us an interesting story regarding Pā Rekereke, a name given by Toro Waaka, which we recorded as W19/282 on the basis of the slight indentations and Botica's story. This site is on a small spur facing east to the Waihua Valley Road and stream and consists of small round pits on the top and north-facing slope and terraces further down the slope towards the road. Botica said that he had seen people burying kūmara in small holes, or pits, on the top of the ridge. He said his vision was of people actually hiding or preserving the kūmara in these holes, which were dug to store seed kūmara. The kūmara were either individually wrapped in ti kouka leaves or put in baskets that lined the pits. These were then covered and protected. The flats below were used for gardening.¹⁰⁷

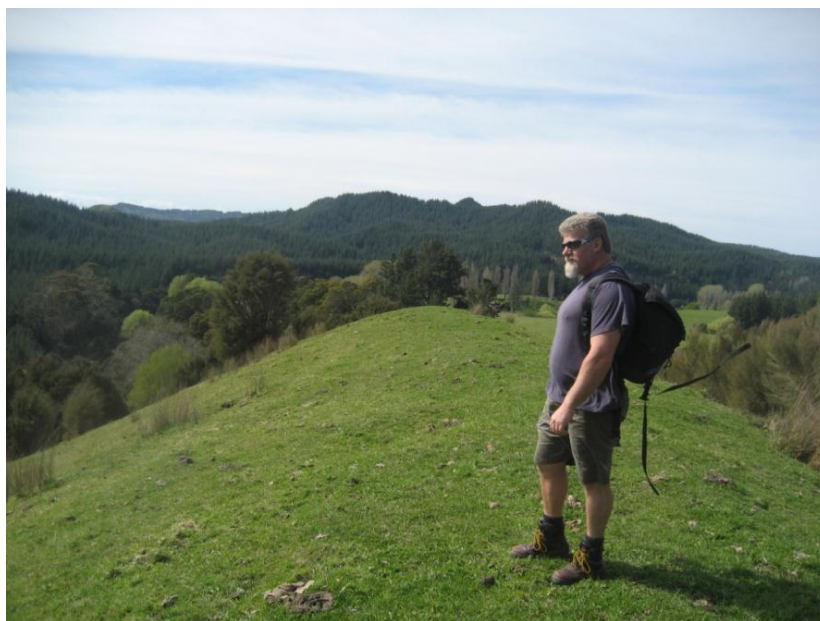


Fig. 10: Darren Botica standing on the ridge 'pā rekereke', recorded as W19/282. The kūmara 'pits' can be seen as one or two small indentations along the top of the ridge.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Pam Bain and Elizabeth Pishief, "W19/282," in *Archsite* (New Zealand Archaeological Association, 2009).

¹⁰⁸ Photographer: Elizabeth Pishief, 18 September 2009.

Another incident this same day occurred when we came to a flat, grassed area above the streams and edged by regenerating bush — manuka and kanuka. Bain and I noticed a pit on a raised area and we set off to check for other features. When I returned to where Botica was I noticed him standing very still, but holding a stone in his hands and talking, or praying, to himself, very quietly. Soon after, he became aware of my presence and commented that he was unable to make a connection. He could raise no vision, or feeling, or identify any prior connections with the place. Yet there was sufficient evidence from an archaeological perspective for us to record it and then later to discover that it was near a place on an old map called Te Waka. A short while later, when on the edge of the cliff above the stream which forms one side of the same flats, Botica said he knew there was an urupā at that point and moved away, so did we.¹⁰⁹

Some local authorities and large development projects employ cultural advisors to assist with liaising between Māori, and institutional, or developers', concerns regarding the management of the environment, including heritage places. When I interviewed Te Marino Lenihan, who has this role in the Pegasus Town development near Kaiapoi Pā, he introduced himself by saying that he was invited to take on the position because he belongs to the area, his family, the Ruben family, is descended from Te Muru who called one of his sons Rupene (Ruben). Te Muru was on his death 100 years old, and said to be the last of his generation of pre-European Māori in the Kaiapoi district. In recognition of that he was the last to be buried at Kaiapoi Pā. Te Marino is the sixth generation from Te Muru. He and his family descend from a number of lines of Waitaha, Ngāti Mamoe and Ngāi Tahu people including Tu Takautahi, who is the chief said to have built Kaiapoi Pā with his brother Moki. He said: "So we are the descendants of the people who built the pā, lived in the pā, defended the pā, and of the final person to be buried in the pā."¹¹⁰

In addition to his whakapapa links, he has a law degree from Auckland University and prior to starting the job at Pegasus Town, about 2005, had had five years' experience in the Auckland Regional Council (ARC) working in the Iwi Relations Unit liaising with hapū and iwi representatives of Auckland region. He was born in Whangārei in Northland and lived most of his youth in the North Island, although he spent many summer holidays with his grandparents in Kaiapoi. He thinks the three qualities that made him suitable for the job were: "Family, number one, is from here and I've outlined those connections to Kaiapoi Pā and the

¹⁰⁹ Observation of Elizabeth Pishief, 18 September 2009.

¹¹⁰ Te Marino Lenihan, 2 November 2009.

local area. Number two, professional background and number three, somewhat divorced from internal politics.” Consequently, it was the combination of Māori cultural values, whakapapa, and Pākehā cultural values — professional expertise, that made Te Marino acceptable to both parties — tangata whenua and developers. An added advantage was that although he belongs at Kaiapoi and spent time there as a child, most of his life was spent in the North Island, so he is not enmeshed in the minutiae of local life and politics.

I interviewed three cultural monitors, or archaeological field assistants, for the Pegasus Town excavation as a group: Billy, who preferred to remain anonymous, but gave his tribal affiliation (Waitaha), Frankie Williams and Cherie Williams. Te Marina Lenihan was also present as a facilitator. The three said originally they all opposed the development, but eventually after being told that they “could not stop progress,” they realised that “at least we are out here able to keep an eye on things to make sure it’s done right.” Billy added, “now that we are doing the archaeology we know it’s being done right and all our heritage that is being found out there it’s all being documented, catalogued, analysed, looked after and later it shall be on display for people to see what happened out there.”¹¹¹ None of the group had had much connection with the area until the excavation. Cherie Williams explained that she had not been allowed to go there as a child, (although occasionally her father took her) because of the terrible things that had happened there. Initially, those childhood experiences made her reluctant to go there as a cultural monitor, but once she was working there, the connection with the place became much more intense.¹¹²

Billy spent twenty-four years in Australia, and when he returned he “wandered around like a lost sheep in my own country for two years.” It wasn’t until he got “a job out here that I really began to know who I was again.” Asked if it was because of the connection with his ancestors, he replied: “Definitely I can feel them. We can all feel them out there.” The archaeology helped them reconnect with their ancestors’ lifestyles better and gave them new insights into the economy of the people. For example, the discovery of kūmara pits indicated that kūmara were grown in the area, although previously it had been thought Kaiapoi was too far south for such a tender plant. When a tool was uncovered they would ask Dan [Witter] what it was used for and he would tell them, then they would experiment with similar tools. Billy said now he can go to the beach and skin and gut a fish with a pipi shell because it doesn’t matter if he has forgotten his knife.

¹¹¹ Billy (Waitaha), 2 November 2009.

¹¹² (Ngai Tahu) Cherie Williams, 2 November 2009.

The experience of working as archaeological field assistants enabled these people, who had to be Ngāi Tahu to work on the project, to understand that there had been many happy times at this place prior to the terrible events that led to its becoming the tapu place of their childhoods. Cherie Williams remarked that the middens indicated that there had been “some wonderful gatherings there.” But the archaeological training also changed their lives; they became much more skilled in identifying artefacts, began to understand where they would find things, and their interests in history deepened. Although Frankie Williams, the only one previously interested in history and archaeology, has become devoted to the History Channel on television, now they are all fascinated by these disciplines. Witter also told me at NZAA conference that Frankie is now permanently employed as a cultural monitor/field assistant.¹¹³

Billy said one of the best things for him was hearing the girls. “Tui and Cherie were sitting over there and they started giggling away, and I thought, ‘Isn’t that the best thing, women giggling on this land again?’ And that wouldn’t have happened for ages and ages.” Cherie said, “I had some beautiful times out there. It changed my life lots.” Billy concurred, saying:

I think it done all of us. I mean cousin ... went on to a higher status job. ... And personally within myself I quietened down the angry man ... I met a lovely lady ... and people say it’s tapu, well maybe, but it wasn’t for us. ... It is therapeutic. ... And what happened out there ... well we’ve lifted that tapu out there and now it’s just ka pai.

Cherie responded by saying she would like to live out there and the others all agreed with her. Later when a discussion took place about the development and how the group felt Pegasus Town impacted on Kaiapoi Pā everyone was very positive about it. Cherie hoped that since the beautiful town had been made out there it would encourage people to look after Kaiapoi Pā better, because it is neglected and it should be cared for.

But Frankie said he thought many people who had not been involved the way they had been would have a different point of view about Pegasus Town. Lots of people still say: “No, you shouldn’t have been working there! What did you even work down there for?” Lenihan pointed out that Tui, for example, had difficulty “matching up her tikanga with what was happening around her.” Frankie commented that their group has a completely different view because: “We were ‘down there’,” compared with those who were not ‘down there.’ Cherie said that interacting with the place “did change my view and did strengthen it.” These interviews demonstrate that there was a strong feeling that everyone had grown in confidence

¹¹³ Dan Witter, 8 June 2011.

and self-esteem from working on the place and by interacting with it and with its history. There was also an acknowledgement that the ancestors had contributed to this as well — that some of the things that had happened there were because the ancestors were looking out for them.

Māori who are politically and archaeologically aware also use the provisions of the HPA in their fight for mana whenua and involvement, not marginalisation, in the protection of their heritage places. In June 2008 a development at Awhea near Tora on the Wairarapa coast was halted when it was discovered that the developers were failing to meet their consent conditions of drawing up an archaeological plan and having an archaeologist on site while work was proceeding to ensure that any unknown sites uncovered would be protected. Māori historian and Ngāti Hinewaka hapū chairman Haami Te Whaiti explained the importance of Māori middens from historical and cultural perspectives: “These are sites that contain a lot of information about the people who lived there,” he said. “It's just like our tips I suppose — you can learn so much about people's lives. They contain important cultural material associated with the past and are mostly found in and around a kāinga or village.”¹¹⁴ Te Whaiti wanted somebody made accountable for this failure to comply with the resource consent, which is a very explicit document, because otherwise other developers will think that they “can ignore these things and nothing will happen even if they destroy these heritage sites.”

The first section of this chapter considered Māori cultural concepts, especially Māori cosmology and whakapapa, which are entwined in a holistic understanding of the world. I have discussed the important influences on Māori society and culture that are relevant to understanding heritage places. The most influential influences are the law and the role of the Treaty of Waitangi within the New Zealand constitution; the loss of land; the loss of language and the influence of Western education which increased with urbanisation. I have mentioned that the influences are not only in one direction and not only on archaeologists, but other people and disciplines such as historians and lawyers involved with Māori heritage management.

Through this exploration of Māori understandings of heritage in my fieldwork, I have demonstrated that many of the traditional concepts and cosmological understandings remain core concepts in Māori discourse, but reinterpreted in new ways because of, or as a result of, Māori association with Western ideas. I have identified the importance of the Connect, in the

¹¹⁴ Piers Fuller, “Iwi Angry after Archaeological Site Damaged,” *Wairarapa News*, 27 September 2008.

understanding of heritage places. The importance of the Connect, or betweenness, is that it unites person and place in intangible networks of emotion and meaning — from physical to spiritual and back again. It appears to be an old concept that has not been discarded and contributes to a strong unbroken discourse that I have termed the IHD, which is only becoming apparent to Pākehā heritage practitioners. This continuity is shown by the demonstration of the many different ways in which the same word is used, for example, wāhi tapu has been used to convey the connection between people and place, the spiritual or forbidden aspect of the place, or as a synonym for a heritage place or an archaeological site. Often these different understandings are not appreciated by Pākehā. Talking past one other is endemic in New Zealand society.

The Waitangi Tribunal claims process has revitalised Māori culture and society and created new opportunities for Māori to make connections with places of significance to them. Archaeologists have not often been involved in the process, instead the influential role that they generally have in Māori heritage management has been superseded within the Waitangi Tribunal claims process by historians and lawyers. This is principally because of the need to provide for strong legal arguments, which rely on the documentary research of historians rather than the oral history of present-day Māori whose relationships with particular lands are now often tenuous. Just as Māori use history politically, for mana, land, economic and social objectives and empowerment, they also use archaeology for their own purposes, but in a much more fragmented and disenfranchised way. Until Māori have more representation in decision-making, the decisions about Māori cultural heritage, especially Māori heritage with archaeological qualities, will remain in the hands of non-Māori managers and archaeologists.

Chapter four, “Place, performance, person, and ‘the Connect’,” will discuss and draw some conclusions from the evidence presented in this chapter on Māori heritage discourse and practice, and the preceding chapter on archaeologists’ discourse and practice. This next chapter will explore how the different discourses intersect, what common understandings about heritage have been identified, the meaning and idea of heritage, and propose a revised model of heritage that emerges from the data and explicates more clearly what heritage is in twenty-first century Aotearoa New Zealand. This understanding of heritage and the recognition of the importance of heritage practice to different groups will be used to suggest other models for the governance and ‘management’ of Māori land-based heritage that are more reflective of what heritage actually is and its ultimate purpose.

Chapter four

Place, performance, person and ‘the Connect’

The last two chapters compiled diverse and rich research findings that were collected from the interviews with archaeologists and Māori, and participant observation of both groups as they practiced heritage. These findings were complemented by documentary research. The research used a diverse theoretical framework developed from literature on governmentality, phenomenology, performance and discourse to analyse the data gathered from these interviews and the participant observation which formed the basis of my research methodology. This framework and methodology has enabled me to conduct research which illuminates issues to do with heritage, place and practice that are fundamental to the questions examined in this study. The broad topic of this research is the practice of heritage in Aotearoa New Zealand, where heritage management is dominated by a model of ‘heritage’ that is unquestioned, despite the emergence of dissonant voices challenging the Western discourse, particularly the management of archaeological sites. Unless we explore the meaning of heritage as understood by people at heritage places it is not possible to develop a theory of heritage practice that enables the effective translation of peoples’ heritage aspirations into a workable model of heritage management.

This chapter discusses the common themes emerging from the research in the previous chapters and draws conclusions from this data. Chapter two explored archaeological understandings of heritage and indicated that interaction with Māori is altering the way many practitioners are working. Chapter three explored Māori understanding of heritage and demonstrated that many traditional concepts and cosmological understandings remain core to Māori discourse, but are being reinterpreted in new ways because of associations with Western ideas. A major theme that runs through the two discourses is the idea of connections with place. Based on my interviews I have developed a concept that I call ‘the Connect,’ articulated by Māori informants, which unites person and place in intangible networks of emotion and meaning — from physical to spiritual and back again. This element of heritage empowers by creating place-based identity and a sense of belonging. It is a core concept in the IHD, expressed in various ways — wāhi tapu, hono, mauri, matemateone, connect, betweenness — but not recognised in the AHD. Yet both archaeologists and Māori are influenced by their physical experiences with places and create

their identities through these encounters. They also construct the identities of the places by their discourses around them. Consequently the power of the discourse affects not only the legitimisation of the place but the way it is managed — for often people's 'strategic games' result in attempts to dominate others. This chapter explores the way the identity of place is constructed through the performances, which individuals and groups have at places, and leads into a discussion of themes in current heritage management before proposing a new model for heritage management situated within communities.

The strands of heritage

As indicated in the literature review, my understanding of heritage is based on Laurajane Smith's conception of it as a cultural and historical practice or performance that is concerned with memory, social and cultural values and the production and negotiation of identity.¹ However, I go further and say that the cultural process or performance is the visible sign of the need for people to physically connect with place as part of their production and negotiation of cultural identity. The emergence of the class of intangible heritage within the UNESCO model of heritage recognises the importance of performances in the production of identity — cultural, group or individual. These performances express memories and produce new ones, (shared or individual), and determine or confirm social and cultural values, but they are always related to body and place (or object). There is tension between body and place, spiritual and physical, imagination and fabric, past and present. I also re-theorise the idea of place and rehabilitate the concept that place itself is an essential element in the performative discourse of heritage. I argue that what is important is the physicality of place that matches the physicality of the body.

The performances of the body and the reality of the place give people a sense of 'Being-in-the-world', to know who they are, where they belong, and by these means to create their identity. The key is the indefinable, fragile, elusive, emotional response to a place from the past that arises with the *physical* connection with it. I have termed this response the Connect to emphasise its physicality and its cognitive attributes. Although the past and the people who inhabited it are no longer there, the physical presence of the place provides the tangibility that helps to make the past seem real. The Connect is elusive but bridges the distance between: person and place, Being and Being-in-the-world, 'self and that which is beyond'. It needs to

¹ Laurajane Smith, ed. *History and Concepts*, vol. 1, *Cultural Heritage Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies* (London & New York: Routledge, 2007). 2.

be made and remade by various means to be kept alive, or as Tilley puts it “through perception (seeing, hearing, touching), bodily action and movements, intentionality, emotion and awareness residing in systems of belief and decision-making: remembrance and evaluation.”²

The need for physical connections with the places of the past is essential, inherent and human. Heritage is expressed in many different ways, but is ultimately about the connection people have with places (or things) of the past. It is associated with the very important questions about identity: Who am I? Where do I come from? Where do I belong? The Connect is the emotional, yet physical, connection between the spiritual and the physical: performance (embodied intangibility) and place (tangible imagination). The Connect is the third dimension of heritage, the union between the two worlds. There the dissonance that is a fundamental element of heritage is created; dissonance resulting from tension between the Connect of one identity and that of another expressed through a discourse that constructs the place as, for example, either an archaeological site, or a wāhi tapu.

The Connect is an intangible entity floating over the physical/material world between places and people that emerges through the physical presence of people at places. It is the result of physical action and is the binding between people and place. People die, fabric decays, but people are born, places are remade and the land remains. The following pepeha illustrates this point: “Whatungarongaro he tangata, toitu he whenua hoki.” “People disappear, the land remains.”³ The Connect links people to places of the past and people to places now, formed by the use of intangible heritage (emotions, senses, ideas, stories and art, mediated through performances, agency and culture). What I call the Connect, Te Awekotuku and Nikora refer to as ‘the betweenness’, the relationship between people and places, commenting that “People make places just as much as places make people. People and places derive their identities from each other to a significant extent. It is the betweenness that is important — the relationship that is created and sustained.”⁴ They elaborate on this idea when explaining the unique Tūhoe conceptual framework of *matemateone*. *Matemateone* has metaphysical origins and is about the essential frailty of humankind and people’s need for one another, but it is

² Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, ed. Barbara Bender, John Gledhill, and Bruce Kapferer, *Explorations in Anthropology* (Oxford/Providence: Berg, 1994). 12.

³ H. M. Mead and N. Grove, eds., *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tipuna, the Sayings of the Ancestors* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001), 425.

⁴ Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and Linda Waimarie Nikora, “Nga Taonga a Te Urewera,” (2003), <http://hdl.handle.net/10289/784>, 22.

also about their values and the way they live those values. A crucial element is the role of kinship between people and people and place. Nikora elaborates on this concept:

Matemateaone has a number of facets but is essentially a feeling of genuine relationship and behaviour between people, place and property that engenders and demonstrates “whanaungatanga”— a sense of relatedness, commonality, and group belonging. Matemateaone is the product of group membership and participation, as evidenced in the number of people who claim membership in an iwi called Tūhoe.⁵

This sense of kinship is interwoven with the sense of place, expressed by Rangimarie Rose Pere as: “The bush clad ranges, the mist, the smell of the undergrowth, the company of birds and insects, Panekire — the majestic bluff that stands sentinel over the tranquil or sometimes turbulent waters of Waikaremoana — all give me a strong sense of identity and purpose to life.”⁶

I would argue that ‘heritage performance’ is the means by which these memory links, or emotions, in other words the Connect, are forged and maintained. This may be as simple as walking around the place; but it may be excavating a site, attending a tangi, rebuilding a temple, researching archives or thatching a cottage. It may also be creative: singing a waiata, developing a tourism venture, telling stories. The physical connection of people at places is a way of strengthening individual and group identity and has political as well as personal implications. This realisation is not new. It was apparent to Tamahau Mahupuku in 1901 when he wrote to Sir James Carroll about the latter’s cultural preservation campaign. Mahupuku called for the preservation of Maori heritage objects (taonga tuku iho) inasmuch as “he saw them as being alive rather than dead because the past was vitally linked to the present.”⁷ Heritage recycled the past as a regenerative resource.⁸ The English translation of Mahupuku’s letter is:

That is a step that will cause the minds of the people to reflect on the past, and to cherish, preserve, and venerate the science of their ancestors who are now sleeping in the bosom of their mother Papa-tu-a-Nuku (Mother Earth, wife of Rangi the sky). Such a sentiment stirs the soul, and causes even the eyes that are blind to see, strengthens the muscles that have become benumbed, gives strength to arms and fingers; and the dormant mind is awakened so that it may act with determination, caution, and discrimination, bringing back old time recollections to the heart that had

⁵ Ngahuia Te Awakotuku and Linda Waimarie Nikora, “Nga Taonga a Te Urewera,” (2003), 22, citing Tamara Raymond Nikora, personal communication, 8 May 2003, Rotorua.

⁶ Ibid., 24, citing Rangimarie Rose Pere in “Taku Taha Maori: My Maoriness,” 23-25.

⁷ Conal McCarthy, “Before ‘Te Maori’: A Revolution Deconstructed,” in *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed*, ed. Simon J. Knell, Sheila Watson, and Suzanne MacLeod (London & New York: Routledge, 2007), 127.

⁸ Ibid. 127, citing Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:149-50.

almost forgotten the history of the voyaging hither of the floating vessels of our ancestors....⁹

Conal McCarthy comments: “The people will be *physically* reinvigorated, they will literally gain the power of sight through a renewed sense of connection to their ancestral heritage, which will fortify them as they struggle to adapt to modern society.”¹⁰

The primary idea flowing through the narratives of my interviewees is that of the Connect. The intangible heritage represented by the performative ‘things’ such as dance, the arts of war, carving, stories, karakia, archaeological excavation, research, conservation planning or ‘heritage assessments’ are one side of heritage; the place and the physical features are its other side. The crucial connecting element is the Connect, the bodily relationship with place that Low terms ‘place attachment.’ But place attachment needs the physicality of kinaesthesia and the personal relationships with place that that creates to ignite the spark of ‘belonging’ that constitutes what my informant calls the Connect. The Connect is a noun from the verb to connect, which alerts us to the concept of action or performance, which is the way the Connect is demonstrated. Place, person and the past are the elements of heritage, but the Connect, the emotional attachment, is the unifying intangible that is heritage. It is reminiscent of the traditional rituals that Elsdon Best records were associated with the transfer of the mauri to a stone to make tangible the intangible: spiritual *to* physical, with *to* being the transfer or the *putting in* of the mauri to the stone through the ritual performance of people. The mauri stone indicates the duality of the cosmological world of Māori. The rituals that Best mentions are performances of connecting the duality, bodily manifestations or expressions of the links, of what goes on ‘between’ those dual aspects of the world. The Connect is intangible, yet, paradoxically, dependent on physicality. The Connect is both intangible and physical: it is the betweenness, hono, matemateone wāhi tapu. It cannot *be* without physicality. It is a ‘thing’ in the heuristic sense in that it is both tangible and physical.¹¹

⁹ Tamahau Mahupuku, “Extracts from a Letter from Tamahau Mahupuku to the Hon. Mr Carroll, Presenting Carved House,” (Wellington: National Archives, 1901). *AJHR* G8: 3-4. See also *Colonial Museum Bulletin*, No. 1, 1906, 16-18. The original letter in English, dated Oct. 9, 1901, can be found in the files of the Office of Native Affairs: ANZ MA 1, 1906/1413.

¹⁰ McCarthy, “Before ‘Te Maori’: A Revolution Deconstructed.” 127.

¹¹ Henare, Amiria, Martin Holbraad, and Sari Wastell. “Introduction.” In *Thinking through Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically*, edited by Amiria Henare, Martin Holbraad and Sari Wastell. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007. 5-6.

It is this emotional, or spiritual, (yet concrete and physical) connection that is the identity-building element of heritage. This is how place-based identity is formed — through the disparate emotional connections of people to past and place. Archaeologists may not think they are emotionally involved with the individual places, that they are ‘empirical scientists’ removed from ‘emotion’, but without heritage places, they cannot be archaeologists. Professionally, academically, they are involved with place; involvement is an emotional response. It is the *connection* between body and place that is what makes a place heritage and it is this connection with a real place that assists with the formation of personal and group identity, but identity that creates dissonance. To quote Harvey, “heritage is a process or a verb related to human action and agency and an instrument of cultural power.”¹²

The opposite, the ‘disconnect’, has serious psychological and social effects, so understanding place-based heritage is socially and politically important. The disconnect, that is alienation from place, is well-known in New Zealand, where the Waitangi Tribunal claims process is restoring some places of significance to Māori, thus enabling re-connections to begin to be made. These re-connections are not always historically accurate, but they are attempts to use the vestiges of the past and a spiritual, cosmological world view to reconnect with the land. The Connect is about belonging; disconnect may create a sense of deep rupture from the place and a longing for the physical place, or it may affect people with a mild sense of unease. Robert Macdonald’s description of his aunt’s emotional response to finally being at Hakikino, the place of the old people, emphasises the importance of the Connect in assisting with healing feelings of disconnection and alienation. The act of going there created the personal Connect with that place and formed the bond of belonging.

The main strands that are woven together to form heritage places are considered here individually before I rework them into a holistic understanding of heritage places in New Zealand. The elements of heritage that will be discussed in this chapter are: the person (including memory, body and emotion), the place, agency and time, and performance. All are united by the Connect. The discussion has been broken into three sections (person, place and performance) but the three attributes are inextricably linked, without one there is no heritage — there is no way to create the Connect.

¹² David C. Harvey, “Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies,” in *Cultural Heritage Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, ed. Laurajane Smith (London & New York: Routledge, 2007). 31.

Heritage is not possible without bodily responses to place. The body includes the senses, cognition and the corporeal body itself. The body holds inside itself the cognitive functions including songs, stories, ideas, sensations and emotions of intangible heritage, but it is the body that enables performances to be made at places, creating the connections that are the core of heritage. People use different senses to create their connections with place. Leora Auslander comments that “people have always used all of their five senses in their intellectual, affective, expressive and communicative practices.”¹³ But she adds each sense produces “certain kinds of information and people create unique (and non-interchangeable) forms in each of these sensorial domains.” Archaeologists, for example, elevate sight, ‘having a good eye’, is a skill they admire. However, no sensual response has greater importance than another. The points are that the senses indicate the importance of our bodies in making heritage and that different understandings are created by using different senses. But regardless of the differences, it is the Connect, which is stimulated by senses (emotion and intellect) tempered by memory (the past) and politics (the present) from our bodies to places that creates the concept of heritage, which in turn strengthens the emotions and identity formation.

Memory is integrated with the senses and bodily performances. It creates and is created by human experience and connections with places and people at those places. It is our metaphysical expression of who we are, but grounded in our very physicality. Memory forgets, revises, recreates, remembers; it is fleeting, elusive and intangible, but held, discovered and created in places, objects and people, consequently made real by their tangibility. So it is the Connect, which produces and is produced by memory that links and creates our identities, which in turn construct the identities of places. “Memory is the foundation of self and society,” write Climo and Cattell, “we are always ‘steeped in memory’ and without it there can be no self, no identity.”¹⁴

Archaeologists struggle to subdue their emotional responses; ‘being objective’ and uninvolved emotionally are the sophisticated rituals of the Western scientific model, but it is impossible for people to have no emotion, for emotion is sensations and imagination bound together by memory. Archaeologists re-form their emotions into an adherence to the rituals of archaeology, the notions of objectivity and pragmatism exemplified by statements such as “I

¹³ Leora Auslander, “Beyond Words,” *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (2005). 49-51.

¹⁴ Jacob J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell, eds., *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2002), 1, citing Casey 1987: ix.

do not have an emotional response to the place. I dig my holes I analyse the data. I am an empirical archaeologist.”¹⁵ But, “objective judgements are widely shared subjective judgements.”¹⁶ Although they consider themselves free from the cant of traditions and emotion, archaeologists *are* emotionally involved in the need for place — places from the past that can be used to forge and re-forge their personal and professional identity. Through their practices and discourse they construct places called ‘archaeological sites’.

This discourse, expressed in the performances of excavation, monitoring, surveying and legislation, is often in tension with the discourse of Māori, who have only stories left. This physical disconnect from the place means the people cannot perform the rituals that enable the Connect — even simple ones such as walking on the land and seeing the place. Their physical inability to be a bodily presence on the land is a source of disconnect — and dislocation of identity. Knowing the stories is insufficient because it is only part of the heritage; the place, and making the Connect by ‘being there’, are the other elements. The bodily experience of a place is essential otherwise the heritage place does not provide the physical dimension that is necessary for the creation and stabilisation of identity. Thomas explains that “People discover their world in the process of understanding it and Tuan lays much stress on the role of the human body in this process.”¹⁷

One thing that distinguishes place attachment from ‘heritage’ is that heritage *must* have a physical dimension. Heritage is tangible, because there is fabric associated with it. The fabric may be minimal — merely the land or the location itself — or the place may be more complex containing tangible evidence of past occupation such as a colonial building or a shell midden. The elements of place are: it must be a *physical* entity it must be *identified*; it must be associated with *time*; it must be *special, rare or important* in some way to some group or person (including ‘experts’, e.g., an archaeological site, vernacular architecture); and finally, but essentially, it must be associated in some way with *people*, ancestors, spirits or gods. For heritage to contribute to identity-making, people must be able to make the Connect physically. It follows that heritage places are imaginative reconstructions created by the connections of living people with the physical places of people from the past.

¹⁵ Rick McGovern-Wilson, 26 May 2010.

¹⁶ Jorge Otero-Pailos, Jason Gaiger, and Susie West, “Heritage Values,” in *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, ed. Susie West (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press/The Open University, 2010). Citing Mitchell, 2005, 366.

¹⁷ Julian Thomas, “Phenomenology and Material Culture,” in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, et al. (London: Sage, 2006). 49.

Place attachment is part of heritage, but attachment to a heritage place requires a physical connection to the past — performances around the place. It is not sufficient to have genealogical links or ties through story-telling; that is place attachment, but for the place to be a heritage place it must be identified as such, and time, memories and activities must be associated with it. As Macdonald pointed out, there are degrees of place attachment and the further back in time the associations go between the ancestors and the people of the present, then the more the place becomes *heritage* for those people. So to the kaumātua now the marae was not a wāhi tapu — it was just home, but to the mokopuna of those kaumātua who visit the marae, it is a place from the past, their grandparents' past, so it is becoming a heritage place. Those grandchildren have not been brought up there, they only know the marae as a place they visit, but a *special* place because it was the home of their grandparents, a place of other times, a place known from stories of the life and people from the past. This knowing is in their imaginations, they can never be back there in those days, but they can visit the marae, hear the stories and by juxtaposing stories, the place, themselves and their imaginations, they not only create a heritage place but they know where they come from, who they are, and where they belong.

As we saw in the last chapter, Hakikino featured in the stories of the hapū, but for many years it was a mythical place, remembered, but not known. Only after it was bought back by the trustees for farming purposes was it identified. When Macdonald discovered that there were remains of settlements, physical evidence of remembered stories and people, the place took on another dimension, becoming more important as he found out more about it. Thomas considers “a place is not just a region of space, but is experienced by people as having meaning, [which] is culturally specific and needs to be understood from an insider's point of view.”¹⁸ Having the ability to stand on the land was enough for Macdonald's aunt, knowing that this was the place where the old people had lived. She, too, could finally stand there; she made the Connect with the past and the people of the past by being at that particular place and by seeing the features that her ancestors had seen, feeling the breezes her old people had felt, hearing the sounds and knowing the stories about them. She then created her own memories of the place and was able to mingle them with the stories of the past, both strengthening the connection with the past and remaking the past in her own way, in her imagination, ultimately adding to her own identity. The tears shed as part of the experience of being there indicated the ‘disconnect’ that the aunt had felt was a very real and painful

¹⁸ Ibid., 49, citing Tuan 1974:213; Relph 1976:15; Lynch 1972:29.

experience. The disconnection was made tangible by the ritual of tears and by the very act of being there.

Hakikino is now, not a forgotten place, neither has it been frozen in time since its rediscovery. It is the centre of a vibrant eco-tourism business, where people from all over the world are welcomed and introduced to Māori people, ancestors, culture, history, the environment, and the inter-connectedness of all things, through their experiences (performances) at this place. Developments have been undertaken to facilitate this business, but also as part of the kaitiakitanga (stewardship) of the hapū, visitors and the environment (the land, trees, water, eels). Consequently the hapū are growing seedlings in the nursery, planting native trees and flaxes, perhaps learning to play nose flutes or to use the taiaha. The people themselves are reinvigorated and strengthened through their various performances at the place and their connections with the land and all those who have gone before. Hakikino is a *living* heritage place, ahi kā is being maintained, the people are practising heritage and creating Hakikino at the same time.

The archaeological field assistants at Pegasus talked of the healing that resulted from being on the land, from physically connecting with the place of their ancestors and of the individual benefit that each gained from experiencing the Connect. The place to them ceased being a wāhi tapu because the tapu had been lifted “by the women laughing on the land again.” The archaeology, and their involvement with it, let them make the Connect and enabled the tapu on the place to be lifted and the agency of the land to become positive. In contrast, people who had not made the Connect by working on the excavation remained antagonistic to the archaeology and fearful of the place. They did not get the deeper understanding about the place’s history and were not able to disassociate their responses to it from the dreadful events of the war with Te Rauparaha. The people who worked on the archaeological investigations, on the other hand, became aware of the lengthy period of peaceful occupation prior to that tragic episode, placing the fighting in a broader context.

Macdonald emphasises the importance of the remains of the settlements of his ancestors in his description of heritage. Hakikino is ‘the place’ where the old people lived, but the great pā Hakikino and all the surrounding features of the settlements, gardens and Hinengātira’s cave are the ‘other half of heritage’. The place is vitally important, but the remains of the fabric also contribute a depth and a reality that adds richness to its tangibility. The palimpsest of the past is tangible, concrete, real, therefore the people themselves are more real, the links are

stronger and the Connect between the real living people now and the people of the past who made the places is strengthened. Time is concertinaed, memory is more plausible — the place has a *face*. The place itself can give geographic context to the past but as many of the things, such as the bush, the swamps, the smoke of fires, or the birds, have dissolved away, the foundations, the remnants of the arrangements of the settlements can assist with the reconstruction of the past.

This imaginative reconstruction of the past is part of the Connect. People need ‘clues’ such as features, fabric, stories and place names to help them to reconstruct the past. The clues do not lead to the reality, but they assist in the formation of an idea of the past that can be used to reconstruct an imaginary world that seems to be a real place to which our real, solid breathing bodies can connect. Our senses are an integral part of who we are — we feel breathe, see, hear, move — and therefore live in a seemingly solid world and require the past to be solid and concrete so that the figments of our imagination can be captured and reworked as we need to confirm our very Being-in-the-world.

The concept of the agency of places is an important element in understanding heritage. Christopher Tilley argues landscapes should be regarded “as agents which actively produce ... identity,” not “primarily as systems of signs, or as texts or discourse which encode meaning and reflect social identities in various ways.”¹⁹ Buildings, archaeological features, and other places in the landscape including roads, monuments, and natural features are like material objects in that they are embodied, that is they occupy space, can only be in one place at a time and are finite, or have a lifespan. People understand these places to have special attributes because of these characteristics, which are similar to those of human existence, and because of their contact with the human body.

¹⁹ Sharon Macdonald, “Words in Stone? Agency and Identity in a Nazi Landscape,” *Journal of Material Culture* 11 (2006)., citing Tilley, 2004, 105.



Fig. 11: The agency of place — un-named coastal pā at Moeangiāngi, Hawke's Bay.

The idea of the inherent value of individual bricks or even the soil of a defensive bank is not the same as the agency of a place — they are, after all, only bricks or earth. But they have been created, shaped by people into objects. Individually they exist, but also collectively they are fashioned into larger objects, a wall or, a pa. The loss of parts of these pieces — a chimney, a bank— disturbs the agency of the place by the modification or damage, but may equally contribute to the agency by suggesting the passing of time and accentuating its former beauty. The independence of a place arises from its own embodiment — its use of space, its own form, size, colour, texture, position in the landscape and relationship to other objects and things in that landscape, its past history and connections with people including different uses and purposes. Consequently, land-based heritage places, like material objects, have their own agency, which produces responses in individuals that emerge from their senses in addition to other frameworks such as cultural, social or intellectual understandings. As the agency is culturally constructed the experiences of individuals or cultural groups will differ.

A place has agency, but that agency is socially constructed; the effect of the place on a person — the mauri/value/significance/agency attributed to it — is social, so the agency of a place alters personally, culturally and over time. Sillar defines agency as “a quality of the relationship between us and the object.”²⁰ Agency is not the same as a place having an

²⁰ Bill Sillar, “The Social Agency of Things? Animism and Materiality in the Andes.,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009).

inherent characteristic. That is a Western scientific concept associated with the belief that it is possible to be objective and that the meaning of a place will not change through time and should be evident regardless of the perspective/biases of the observer. An archaeologist may look at the landscape of Moeangiāngi and see an archaeological landscape — physical sites dotted over the land representing former kāinga, pā, or middens. Māori may recognise the Māori reserve and understand the place as belonging to a certain hapū; or the place may be filled with wahi tapu and ancestral presences according to a cosmological world in which all things are interconnected through whakapapa, mana, tapu and mauri.

Added to the agency of the particular heritage place, there is also the agency of its setting and the effects of that setting on one's senses and understanding while connecting with that place. Sometimes the setting is all that remains at a heritage place. Thus stimuli such as the weather, the shape of the land, the trees and water, smells and sounds unite to help create responses, yet all are independent and have their own form or physical manifestation. This idea of the agency of each of the parts of the setting — sounds, hillsides, views — is helpful when considering the heritage importance of some places with no visible features. Such a place may have only ever been somewhere where two people walked, or it may have decayed, been bulldozed away, or covered by metres of soil like the pits in the forest at Whirinaki, but still it remains important because it is the actual site of an event, and commemorates earlier people.



Fig. 12: The agency of setting — Moeangiāngi, Hawke's Bay. There are two (again unnamed) kāinga in this photograph which are barely visible even when 'there'. But the hapū associated with the place are known and the heritage values of the place are significant to them.

Heritage formation requires *time* to pass for places to take on the qualities that enable places to move from being *noa* to *tapu*. One's house might be *noa*, the marae is a *wāhi tipuna*, Hakikino is a *wāhi tapu*, but the most *tapu* place, a place of considerable cosmological significance, deep sacredness and danger, is somewhere such as the Takitimu rock. As the people and places dissolve into time, the connection, the memory becomes more magical, more imaginary but just as important, because the length of time adds the validity of permanence to the occupation and the identity of the person, group, or society. There is always a longing for knowledge of the people and places of the past. The further back, and more misty these connections are, the more intriguing they become. The length of time legitimises, validates and strengthens the memories that are the imaginative reconstructions of the past, but it also purifies or alters them, so that only the kernel of truth remains. This kernel is sufficient for the work of the Connect; it is enough to answer briefly the questions of origin, belonging and identity, but the reality of the past is impossible to reconstruct. Time distances, thereby simplifies memory, but when it is associated with place, the very tangibility of place enables the mistiness and simplicity of the memory (or imagination) of the past to appear to become concrete. Scholars Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge argue that the concept of time is central to heritage. They write that "heritage is a view from the present either back to the past or forward to the future".²¹ Heritage is about *now*: the Connect can only be between people of the *present* with places from the *past*. As heritage is about the way people use places that they connect with to construct their identities, it is about the present, but it is also about the past and the human hope for the future — what ethnologist Roger Neich refers to as the continuous present with reference to Māori carving. In the same way the past continues in the present-becoming-future through the Connect of one generation with their ancestors and descendants.²²

A public desire to preserve places for future generations reflects this deeply held belief that our need to connect with the people from the past will be shared by our descendents. But it also suggests *our* need to have a future, to feel that the solid places of the past (and our present) will continue. The concrete, tangible places we see offer hope that there will be a future and that, by being preserved, they will preserve something of ourselves. The places we select for 'future generations' are not necessarily the places that they will choose for their

²¹ Brian Graham, G.J. Ashworth, and J.E. Tunbridge, eds., *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy* (London: Arnold, 2000), 2.

²² Roger Neich, *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993), 217.

heritage-making, since we cannot predict what they will want — they are the places that *we* want to preserve as memorials of us.

The concept of rarity is deeply embedded in the idea of preservation. Rarity is associated with loss and change, as well as other qualities such as architectural, scientific, historic or visual merit, but even those qualities are because the place cannot be re-made with the patina of times past. Heritage fabric is not renewable; it can be conserved, but once gone it cannot be re-made. As Macdonald said when he was wondering why the marae was so important, it is because it is the *only* place the people now have. Everything else has gone. Therefore, the idea of rarity is associated with change and time; preserving the place is an attempt to hold on the security of the physical world that also represents the intangible, the spiritual, world. Loss of place is equated with loss of a future. However, the very adaptability of people and their inherent resilience means that when the actual physical fabric decays while it does represent the continuum of life, once it is dead it can be replaced with new fabric, or memorialised, as long as the place remains. People fade away, buildings decay, middens erode, but the land remains and, ultimately, as Bevan Taylor said “the place may go but the mountain always remains.” It is the land that is important: the place where ancestors walked, and where we too can walk and connect with the people of the past: “Ka ngaro reoreo tangata, kiki e manu.” “No human voices, only the twittering of birds.”²³

The idea of representativeness contains elements of the special and rare. The place or feature, which is representative of other places, has often been *selected* as mitigation for destruction, or change, but that selection results with the passing of time, in the feature or building becoming rare and special. Representativeness originates in ideas of retaining examples of a particular building or feature because of their architectural or archaeological significance and is based on the qualities of the fabric or general historic significance, e.g., a state house or a midden. The single item is to represent those that have been lost or will be lost or irrevocably altered. The concept of representativeness is a tool of the AHD, which elevates the fabric of place over the people or process of heritage and often has little meaning for any but Western ‘experts’.

²³ H.M Mead and N Grove, eds., *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tīpuna: The Sayings of the Ancestors* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001), 172.

The term performance covers all the activities that occur on and around heritage places.

Performances include such disparate actions as:

- Singing or repeating songs, poems, waiata about a place or person.
- Dance, haka.
- Recounting stories, either orally or in writing.
- Walking over or through a place.
- Excavating an 'archaeological site'; surveying for 'archaeological sites.
- Visiting a place.
- Writing a conservation plan, assessing the 'significance' of a place, identifying a 'cultural landscape'.
- Conserving or repairing an old building, bridge, or defensive ditch on a pā.
- Naming a place, researching history, looking at old maps.
- Selecting and registering a place.

Performances are the bodily manifestations or expressions of the links, of what goes on 'between' the dual aspects of the world. A heritage place is like a mauri stone; it is the place where the intangible, or spiritual, connections with the past are located, or said to be held. The rituals of performance are repeated, continually reinforcing those links with the past. So something as mundane and practical as the annual maintenance of a place becomes a ritual of reconnection, a physical expression of the spiritual, of the Connect between the living present and the ethereal past for the imagined future. This activity is a reassertion of the importance of the physical place as the locus of the embodiment of the Connect.

This understanding of performances, as rituals of reconnection with the past, de-privileges archaeology (or any other form of expertise), and makes it just one of the many methods of human expression of the Connect with the past. The search for scientific data is the search for a mauri stone. The archaeological rituals around, for example, excavation of a site create the individual identity of the archaeologists. It is the sophisticated rituals of the Academy that connect these individuals and form 'the archaeological community'. Understanding performances as different rituals means the separation of the archaeological performance from the traditional performance is a misunderstanding of the Connect, of the links between the body, the place and the past. But the separation is also a political activity: political performances exhibit both the differences and the possible dissonance between groups.

Identity is formed through the intangible connections that are made physical by the bodily performances between people now with those in the past at, around or through, places. The physical connection of people at places is a way of strengthening individual and group identity and has political as well as personal implications. Identity is formed by a melding of the past, place and performance, although the places may not necessarily be one's *own*. That depends on the identity being created: archaeologists use sites to assist them to create their archaeological identities; genealogists use archives to connect themselves to their ancestors and the places of their ancestors, thereby creating their person/family identity; Māori use whakapapa to describe their land and connections to that land, their Māori or hapū identity. But within each person there are also many memories, many schema, many identities expressed by their discourses and their varying performances at different places.

The old understandings of whakapapa and the cosmological connections between people and the world remain constant themes in the discourse of many Māori, regardless of the overlay of Western education. This combination of whakapapa and a cosmological world view is an essential element in Māori place-based identity formation and is an indication of the continuation and adaptation of the Māori world view to the changing world. The original concepts remain a solid foundation and underlie modern interpretations of place by Māori. In the Māori world, heritage is whakapapa and cosmology and those intangible connections with the places; they are all one. Royal comments: "Humans and the land are seen as one, and people are not superior to nature."²⁴

Māori place attachment and identity formation is therefore created by this enduring concept that the land and people are indissolubly linked, although the identity formation is disrupted by loss of land and site destruction. However, these obstacles to identity creation are to some extent tempered by persistent economic ties (e.g., rents from shares in ancestral lands); religious and secular pilgrimages (e.g., on wananga trips or Waitangi claim expeditions); as part of land management 'consultation'; and the narrative ties from place-naming and storytelling.

Current themes in heritage practice

This thesis has suggested that Māori people view place in terms of their cosmological world-view and ancestral connections with the land. Land is of fundamental importance to Māori; it

²⁴ Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, "Kaitiakitanga – Guardianship and Conservation," in *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (Wellington: Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga, 2009).

is one of the sources of their mana and their identity and it is integrated with people and the gods. Traditionally Māori believe there is a fundamental kinship connection between people and the environment, which is expressed through kaitiakitanga or a way of managing the environment. The common theme that runs through Māori understanding of place is the importance of the Connect — being physically on the land of their ancestors and the power that this connection releases. The Māori Heritage Council define it as: “Māori heritage is a living spirituality, a living mana moving through generations. It comes to life through relationships between people and place.”²⁵

Archaeology is viewed as a useful tool to enable greater understanding of the life ways of their ancestors, but it can also be used as a political tool; its presence can enable Māori to have an involvement with a place during decision-making that might otherwise be difficult; and it is other half of the oral heritage. Macdonald pointed out that knowing who lived there when he walks around Hakikino means that he “can make a spiritual connection.” He said that happens with the children too: “We can tell them as much as we can about who they are and where they come from, but you bring them here and stand them up here and they get a real appreciation that it’s [true].”²⁶ Macdonald’s comments about alienation and the healing that can occur from reconnection with the physical heritage are of particular relevance when considering the stories about the Waitangi settlement claims. The people may not know where the places are, but they have stories and traditions associated with these places that, once rediscovered and ‘kept warm’ by the performances of connection, can then do the important identity work that is the purpose of heritage.

Many archaeologists are empowered by their discipline, which is reliant upon the physical excavation of places. This physical connection with places is the core attribute of archaeology and from it springs the discipline and the identity of archaeologists and their power to persuade. Archaeology is defined as a science and the importance of the data and associated scientific research is emphasised. Julian Thomas reminds us that: “Since the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century Western thought had relied on the notion that science had privileged access to the fundamental nature of the universe.”²⁷ Archaeologists identify themselves as discoverers and experts in the science of interpreting the cultural history of the land. This expertise and the respect Western societies have for professional people have

²⁵ Maori Heritage Council, “Tapuwae,” NZHPT, <http://www.historic.org.nz/en/Publications/Tapuwae.aspx>.

²⁶ Robert McDonald, 24 November 2009.

²⁷ Thomas, “Phenomenology and Material Culture.” 56.

enabled archaeologists in New Zealand to be very influential in the development of legislation concerning heritage places with archaeological qualities. Steve Brown concurs with this. “Archaeology as an expert science gave it an authoritative position,” he writes, “for example in the realm of cultural ‘resource’ management.”²⁸

The influence of archaeologists in the archaeological legislation was discussed in chapter one and is further expanded on here. The discourse of archaeologists was revealed by the two papers promoting archaeological legislation, which have similar approaches.²⁹ Western notions of progress and development are accepted unequivocally and mitigation for this loss is ‘rescue’ archaeology. Although professional standards, “international best practice standards,” are now considered essential, they were not an issue in 1963 when many excavations were undertaken by enthusiastic amateurs at their own expense. This is a reflection of, and support for, the contention that there has been world-wide trend towards professionalisation in the heritage field in recent decades. Some sites are to be protected for their visual qualities, but more crucially, in order to “retain important scientific information for future study.” It is important to remember that research is not a pure, impartial activity, but, as Smith points out “one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realised. It is regulated through the formal rules of individual scholarly disciplines and scientific paradigms, and the institutions that support them (including the state).”³⁰ NZAA’s paper acknowledged that Māori should be involved with archaeological sites that have Māori cultural associations to ensure that cultural, spiritual and traditional values are identified, recognised and provided for, but this is a political necessity when addressing a New Zealand ministry. Nevertheless the places remain firmly classified as archaeological sites, which is a supposedly objective method of categorising Māori heritage places. The alteration in nomination from ‘prehistoric remains’ to ‘archaeological sites’ shows the movement from a rather Victorian conception of archaeology (the relics of a pre-historic age) to the development and naturalisation of a scientific research-based processual archaeology, but still maintains the settler distinction between the colonial/scientific and the cultural ‘Other.’

²⁸ Steve Brown, “Mute or Mutable? Archaeological Significance, Research and Cultural Heritage Management in Australia,” *Australian Archaeology* 67 (December 2008). 19-30.

²⁹ Roger Green, “Prehistory in New Zealand: The Need for Action to Preserve Archaeological Sites,” in *Conference of Regional Committees* (Christchurch: National Historic Places Trust, 1963), “Position Paper on Government Review of Archaeological Provisions under the Historic Places Act 1993 and Resource Management Act 1991,” (Dunedin: New Zealand Archaeological Association, 2010).

³⁰ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York/Dunedin: Zed Books Ltd/University of Otago Press, 1999)., 6-7.

This naturalised discourse about heritage places with archaeological qualities is embedded in the legislation and clearly separates heritage places from the people whose heritage they are. By having special provisions for archaeological sites within the legislation the sites become *only* associated with archaeology and archaeology becomes a ‘thing’ or ‘object’ itself rather than a quality or attribute of a heritage place. This naturalisation of ‘archaeological site’ within the legislation has contributed to the distancing of the people who link to the places and continues the emphasis on the places as scientific objects to be investigated. With the objectification of the archaeological qualities implicit in labelling the places ‘archaeological sites’, the archaeological qualities have assumed paramount importance and the cultural and historic qualities have been sidelined and demoted. As Kate Moles puts it:

When spaces are allocated significance according to one understanding, they can be important markers of identity, inclusive and affording a sense of belonging, but at the same time they become exclusionary and closed to alternate readings and understandings associated with the place.³¹

Both the naturalisation of an archaeological site as a specific object and the response of the government (with the assistance of MCH) to NZAA’s position paper indicate the power of the expert and fundamental misunderstandings about heritage both in the heritage sector and, through its advocacy, the government. The RMA empowers local government to develop methods and rules to protect historic heritage. This important role in heritage protection is recognised by NZAA, which considers it vital that the powers of local authorities to schedule sites are retained because “this level of protection cannot be achieved under the HPA.” Despite this, NZAA lobbied for the archaeological provisions to be retained in the HPA because “it is the most cost-effective way of retaining current levels of site protection at relatively little cost in terms of legislative and administrative changes and compliance.”³² Maintenance of the *status quo* also ensures that archaeologists retain their present working conditions and their status as professional experts. Zimmerman comments that the first concern of archaeologists is “about protecting our own turf, our concern for those we study is minimal and persists as long as it does not interfere with what we do. We use every tactic to protect archaeological data.”³³

³¹ Kate Moles, “A Landscape of Memories: Layers of Meaning in a Dublin Park,” in *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*, ed. Marta Anico and Elsa Peralta (London & New York: Routledge, 2009), 131.

³² “Position Paper on Government Review of Archaeological Provisions under the Historic Places Act 1993 and Resource Management Act 1991.”, 5.

³³ Larry J Zimmerman, “Made Radical by My Own : An Archaeologist Learns to Accept Reburial “ in *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*, ed. R Layton (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989). 63-4.

Archaeology is bound up with memory and the senses create emotions, which are extrapolated into ideas and judgements. The senses create emotion, imagination and understanding, but the emotional and spiritual connections with place, which are of such importance to Māori, are demoted by archaeologists who separate the intangible values from the scientific values, not recognising that they too, through the very physicality of archaeology are emotionally bound to places by their discipline. This is a major contributing factor to the problem of archaeological site destruction: the place attachment of different groups creates dissonance, which is mitigated in New Zealand by the elevation of one group's place attachment or sense of connection above and over another group's. It is the sense of 'ownership' that emerges from place attachment that is the result of the physical experience of the Connect at and with a place that creates that tension, and enables one person or group to make decisions about a place, and to incapacitate the views or needs of another group.

As mentioned in the introduction, Rodney Harrison has argued that heritage management takes two forms: official heritage (top-down) and unofficial or community heritage (bottom up).³⁴ This examination of heritage practice in New Zealand from the perspective of understanding the discourse and schema of two quite different communities — archaeologists and Maori interested in heritage — has identified what heritage means to them and how they in turn influence official understandings of heritage, the legislation. This study has shown the complexity of communities and the diversity of understandings that people have of heritage and heritage practices including what appear to be simple concepts or even management tools. But despite the apparent complexity there are fundamental veracities, which have emerged from this research: heritage is about identity, and identity is created by people's interactions — termed performances — with places, objects and people. And although these tangible things (places, objects and people) are used (performed around) in a multitude of ways, it is the Connect — the intangible essence formed with those places by individuals at those places — that creates identity. Heritage is essentially about connections between bodies and things. Those connections are deeply cultural, indisputably intangible, but manifest themselves in physical ways by the performances that people have at those tangible places.

And it is the very physicality of the places or objects which symbolise people's identity that causes dissonance when different identities attempt to assert authority over the places. Māori archaeologist Gerard O'Regan realises Māori cannot meaningfully assert an authority over

³⁴ Rodney Harrison, "What Is Heritage?," in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, ed. Rodney Harrison, *Understanding Global Heritage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press/The Open University, 2010). 5-6.

their treasures, without knowing what and where those treasures are, and without actually experiencing them. If they do not have that knowledge, any claim of authority is hollow, particularly compared with that of the archaeologists, landowners, and developers who do have experiences of these treasures and places.³⁵ A museum may be a “space where different cultures and communities intersect, interact and are mutually influenced by the encounter.”³⁶ Likewise Māori heritage places are also spaces where there is intersection, interaction and mutual influence, but it is the official heritage managers through the legislation who have the authority over these places.

This is the crux of the problem about the destruction of Māori heritage places. Heritage, represented by places, objects and people, is about individual and group identity. Official heritage is about national identity (the group collective), which is about authority or sovereignty over the whole of the people and place — New Zealand and its Exclusive Economic Zone, but also its extended continental shelf seabed confirmed by the United Nations in 2010.³⁷ Official heritage is not the topic of this research. The focus here is on community heritage, in effect — when compared with the continental shelf seabed — the minutiae of heritage, the heritage places of Māori, and the tensions between the different understandings of that heritage and how they impact on the places and people, and influence, or otherwise, the actions of the government.

There is a major inconsistency in official heritage in New Zealand. It is accepted for the purposes of this discussion that one of the roles of official heritage is to create a national identity, an identity that can be used in the forum of international relations and another role is to assert the authority or sovereignty of parliament within New Zealand by using certain heritage objects (the flag, Te Papa) and performances at selected places (ANZAC day services at war memorials, or rugby games) to create a unified version of New Zealand (one nation of two peoples). It is also understood that land-based historic heritage is a matter of national importance,³⁸ but that government is happy to devolve the responsibility for those places and areas to regional and local authorities. But the problem is: why are there separate laws for archaeological sites? Why does government persist in retaining and centralising the

³⁵ Gerard O'Regan, “Working for My Own,” in *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists*, ed. George Nicholas (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2010). 235-45.

³⁶ Conal McCarthy, *Museums and Maori* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2011). 8.

³⁷ “UN Confirms NZ’s Extended Seabed Claim,” New Zealand Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade, <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/Media-and-publications/Features/990-NZ-extended-seabed-claim.php>.

³⁸ *Resource Management Act 1991*.

management of the damage, destruction and modification of only one element of historic heritage, those places — primarily Māori — that have archaeological qualities?

The answer appears to lie in two things: the first and major one being sovereignty and the second, or enabling factor, being the role of Western experts. The Treaty of Waitangi 1840, the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004, and the proposed amendments to the Historic Places Act 2010, are about sovereignty, authority and who makes the ultimate decisions for New Zealand and its citizens. In New Zealand Parliament is the ultimate authority, the elected representative of the people and responds (generally quite slowly) to the will and needs of the people, but it also relies on advice from a variety of sources including its ministries and departments, and experts on legal, educational, scientific, economic, or other matters, when it is making decisions. Consequently the influence of experts on Parliament also affects community heritage, which in turn influences Parliament, (but not necessarily in the same domain, as the divisions between the heritage concepts underlying the HPA and those of the Waitangi Tribunal indicate).

The continuing struggle over the Seabed and Foreshore Act is symptomatic of the desire for tino rangatiratanga. As McCarthy points out Maori are aiming for sovereignty, not as secession or separation, but as internal self-government:

The central plank of the Māori case for self-determination is the recognition of political rights, so that tangata whenua are seen as a sovereign people and not just another minority in need of help. The politics of indigeneity, and the symbolic acknowledgement of status, language, flag and other national emblems that go with it, is an important strand of contemporary discourse, especially in the realm of museums and heritage.³⁹

There is a tendency by heritage practitioners, revealed in this research, to confuse the methods of ‘managing’ places, with ‘heritage’ itself. I have argued that the methods are an aspect of ‘doing’ heritage, but they are *not* heritage. Mending the fabric of a building, excavating a site, writing a conservation plan is a technique, yet at the same time it is also a physical expression of a person’s connection with a place. Method or practice (performance) is one of the strands that make up the thing called heritage. The emphasis on the fabric is also an indication of the distance between the ‘managers’ of heritage places such as conservation architects, bureaucrats and archaeologists, and the communities who perform their different rituals of connection at these places.

³⁹ McCarthy, *Museums and Maori*. 209.

The AHD's emphasis on the tangibility of the fabric makes it possible to avoid understanding the meaning of the places to the people who connect with them. Fabric can more easily be assessed from a distance, but the Connect cannot. Emphasising the fabric is also a method of managing communities, an element of the process whereby the techniques and knowledge of a discipline are used to manage populations, but also to advance the discipline — one must be educated to understand the importance of the 'fabric' and it is only 'experts' who can truly understand the importance of the fabric, whether architectural or archaeological. Trapeznik notes: "Rather than seeking to understand our past we seek to possess it. A veritable crusade has been launched by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust to preserve our built environment and material culture. The past enriches our lives — increasingly, however, it also enriches those who possess it."⁴⁰ This results often in the portrayal of the past as an artefact. Thus the purpose and work of heritage is completely overlooked and misunderstood in the relentless desire to protect the fabric, but also to protect the identity of the experts who manage that fabric. Many heritage professionals equate heritage conservation management and the associated techniques with 'heritage', because of the naturalisation of the AHD and the emphasis on fabric. As explained above, this is indeed a form of the Connect; one form of the relationship between people and place.

However, the problem is that these sites are 'borrowed' by those people with the training and 'expertise' for their personal and professional identity-making use. With that identity-making, comes a sense of 'ownership', which is reinforced by the present heritage legislation with regard to archaeological sites. That 'ownership' enriches and empowers those who possess it.

Most recorded archaeological sites in New Zealand are remnants of the past occupation of a people who have been colonised: the Māori, although any place prior to 1900 is within the statutory definition. Only archaeological sites of all the categories of historic place that are defined in the RMA and the HPA are subject to specific legislation to manage their destruction, which indicates that they represent a highly sensitive political situation. Their categorisation as 'archaeological' sites indicates that the European view dominates; 'archaeology' is shorthand for the Western scientific way of knowing, but it is also entangled with colonisation and political dominance. The legislation indicates that the heritage places represented by the physical fabric of the archaeological features are clearly sites of identity contestation because they are evidence of the prior occupation. Consequently, it is useful to

⁴⁰ Alexander Trapeznik, ed. *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000). 15; 17.

manage the places by using the clinical techniques of archaeology to create or produce a semblance that it is only the ‘science’ that matters, that recovering the data will mitigate the destruction of the place. This is a fudging of the contestation and dissonance that is underlying the legislation. These sites may be tangible evidence of that contestation, but their destruction will not make the dissonance go away because ultimately the contestation is about the land and the identities of the different groups who inhabit this land. I concur with Smith that considering dissonance in a site specific way is a trap, because it overlooks what is actually going on, namely that the specific sites are where the social, cultural and political identities are worked out: destroying individual sites will not make the contestation between identities go away.

In New Zealand, the management of heritage places with archaeological qualities is dominated by archaeologists whose role is authorised by the HPA. This legislation has not been altered significantly since the archaeological provisions were added in 1975. In the meantime New Zealand society and culture has altered considerably with attempts (that are particularly noticeable in the museum sector) to incorporate a bicultural model into management practices throughout many government institutions. But land-based heritage management remains suspended in an adherence to a mid-twentieth century model based on the archaeological qualities of heritage places and ignores or even denigrates other values, other meanings, other connections with these places.

The major problem with the present archaeological provisions of the HPA is that archaeology is separated out from the other qualities of heritage and only the archaeological values are considered. This is because the present legislation was enacted in the 1970s when archaeological theory was dominated by the New Archaeology, which was attempting to enshrine archaeology as a ‘pure science’ not a material/scientific arm of history and the humanities, and this discourse has become naturalised within the legislation. Too often, rigid reliance on the legislation takes precedence in decision-making. The slightest hint that there may be “cause to suspect” archaeological features near a development enables the Trust’s archaeologists to use the authority of their position to maintain their control over the activities of communities. In the lower North Island — from Taranaki/Hawke’s Bay southwards — this decision making is done from Wellington. The centralised regulation is undermining the public appreciation of the value of archaeological understandings of place, which is particularly noticeable in the Waitangi Tribunal claims settlement processes.

There are many uses and benefits from engaging with the skills and insights provided by the discipline of archaeology. It can significantly assist with forming deep bonds with the land that were otherwise damaged or non-existent. The hapū members who worked at the Pegasus Town excavation clearly demonstrate this. Archaeology is important as a research methodology and theoretical framework and it can contribute to a fuller understanding of the past and knowledge of prior human existence and activity on the land. Archaeology can contribute information about places that no other knowledge system can provide.

Archaeology well managed, archaeology that recognises the social, cultural and economic needs of people associated with a place can in fact be a useful tool in rehabilitating a group, in assisting individuals to regain their personal connect with a place and to grow in self esteem and confidence — to be empowered as people, to regain mana. Archaeology can contribute to the wider world, to the greater knowledge and understanding of the history of humankind. It can be thought of as one of the tools in the heritage tool box and like other tools contributes to building social, cultural, economic, and community well-being.

The emotions that archaeologists feel and project towards places with archaeological features result from the symbolic aspects of space, what Setha Low defines as the ‘social construction’ of space, that is, “the experience of space through which ‘peoples’ social exchanges, memories, images and daily use of the material setting transform it and give it meaning.” The physical aspects of space, termed ‘social production’ by Low, are “the processes responsible for the material creation of space as they combine social, economic, ideological and technological factors.”⁴¹ This is the way places are defined physically as archaeological sites.

Some of the confusion and dissonance that seems to arise with regard to archaeological sites is associated with the interplay between social construction and social production — the tension between the symbolic and the physical aspects of place. Some archaeologists admit that they feel emotion, that is they respond symbolically to place, but the problem is that the management of these places is dependent on the physicality of the places — the features, the data and the legislation — some of the elements of social production; meanwhile the difficult aspects of place, their symbolic meanings to people *including* archaeologists, are often overlooked and demoted. It is easy for archaeologists to materialise their bodily experience and perception by transforming “experience to symbol and then remak[ing] experience into

⁴¹ Setha M Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, vol. 4, Blackwell Readers in Anthropology (Malden, MA: Blackwell 2003). 20.

an object” (such as an archaeological site, stratigraphy, an artefact, or midden).⁴² The legislation and the features produce the archaeological site (social production) while the memories, social exchanges and uses (performances) are the social construction that gives places meaning, in this case archaeological meaning. Archaeologists’ socially constructed concept of place has been used to define these places with the result that the social construction of Māori — their memories, inter-relationships and uses of places, are side-lined by the archaeological understanding of place in the law because the physical evidence has been so clearly constructed, defined and elevated by the archaeologically constructed ‘world’.

Alongside the issues of sovereignty and the dominance of a Western scientific discourse there is a tendency in heritage management to separate the various activities or performances that occur around heritage places into segments such as traditional stories, conservation, excavation, tourism, Māori culture, or archaeology. This fragmentation creates complex difficulties and tensions that appear to be irreconcilable. But by understanding each of these activities as part of heritage performance a deeper awareness of the purpose of heritage and what heritage *is* becomes possible and solutions therefore become evident. Performances are expressive, they are often categorised as intangible heritage, the other side of heritage, but they are not intangible, they are the Connect made flesh. The Connect can only be seen in performance, but the performance itself affects, or influences, the type of Connect that is made; the performance itself has agency. Thomas explains that: “A keystone of the phenomenological approach is the understanding that the ‘subjective’ aspects of experience are not superficial elements constructed in the bedrock of an invariant materiality but are the means through which the material world reveals itself to us.”⁴³

The separation of the tangible and intangible into fabric (an archaeological site) and spiritual (Māori culture) also completely overlooks the understanding that heritage is, itself, intangible. It is the concept, the understanding, the connection with place that makes a place heritage. For example, a rough, lumpy paddock grazed by sheep is not heritage unless, or until, *somebody* has a *connection* with it. The somebody might be a woman whose grandmother told her that was where her ‘old people’ had lived; it might be an historian trying to identify from maps and archives where a village had been; it might be an archaeologist undertaking a survey for a local farmer who wants to subdivide a few acres, and

⁴² Low and Lawrence-Zuniga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 5.

⁴³ Thomas, “Phenomenology and Material Culture.” 56.

who recognises the surface features ('lumps and bumps') as possible archaeological features; but until that connection is made the place is not a heritage place — it is a paddock.

Although heritage is the intangible Connect between the place and the body, both the place and the body are also essential elements of heritage. It is the very tangibility of both that enables the heritage work to occur, for the Connect to be made, which in turn enables the identity to come into being. The crucial 'management' issue is to not lose sight of this 'bigger picture' and return to a few simple practices of management that revolve around the fabric of the place but always to be acutely aware that the management, conservation or interpretation is to enable people to connect with the place in the many different ways that they need to. The common thread in all this heritage making is that people are 'connecting' with places, *chosen* places from the past. Places without connections with people in the past are not heritage places. Heritage is in effect the performative connections between the people of the past with the people of the present at certain places. Places without performers lose their purpose as heritage, that is, they are no longer relevant and become unable to do their identity-making work. Likewise performers without place are equally constricted — they are left with nowhere to embody their Connect.

The Scenery Preservation Board began purchasing 'historical monuments' for the nation from 1903, but heritage protection was generally undertaken by the community. Museum ethnologists and local historical societies recorded and preserved evidence of Māori sites until the passing of the amendment to the Historic Places Act in 1975, which gave the Trust its first real statutory powers with regard to 'archaeological sites'. But in all other aspects of New Zealand heritage management the government has generally responded to requests to conserve local heritage by referring them to local government. This consistent message suggests that local heritage is just that, *local* heritage, and that the passing of the first archaeological provisions was an aberrant action on the part of Parliament that was fuelled by a powerful lobby group, which has maintained its unchanging approach for more than forty years. The effect of this immutable attitude has naturalised this form of managing Māori heritage places and resulted in tangata whenua effectively being alienated from their heritage places, while all other community groups have been encouraged to undertake protection and conservation of their particular forms of heritage themselves. The segregation of the activities of the Māori Heritage Council and NZHPT archaeologists is an indication that the present model is maintaining the mono-cultural vision of the past, supported by archaeologists.

The isolation of archaeology from the other qualities of historic heritage, the power of the archaeological discourse, and bureaucratic practices, has created major governance and management issues for heritage. Current legislative arrangements that separate decisions about archaeological sites from all other heritage places are preventing New Zealand heritage management from reflecting the new more democratic, community-inspired heritage that is emerging elsewhere. Yet the legislation, the RMA, is already in place to support a revised model of heritage management in New Zealand. At present the decision-making about places with archaeological qualities is made by NZHPT, while decisions about places with other qualities are made by local government. This anomalous situation is effectively barring people from the places of their past and preventing communities from managing their own heritage. The Heritage Council (of Ireland) through its County Heritage Service remarks that: “Heritage can only prosper when it has the support of local communities and local authorities.”⁴⁴

The RMA enables local communities and local authorities to take control of their heritage places and to make decisions about those places in an integrated and holistic way. Local government has the powers to develop methods and rules to achieve these objectives. The only efficient method of ensuring that all the values of a place are adequately considered when making decisions about heritage places is to integrate the management of places with archaeological qualities fully into the RMA. Archaeological sites are *not* archaeological sites — they are heritage places with archaeological qualities. Renaming is a powerful act and changes not only the name of a place but attitudes towards it and understandings about it. Unfortunately, the RMA maintains the separation of archaeological sites as a category of place, even though it does not distinguish architectural or technological sites. Unless the descriptor ‘archaeological sites’ is removed from the definition, the old Cartesian ideas will continue to predominate, places with archaeological heritage will be circumscribed, and it will be difficult to develop community-based, flexible methods of governance and management. The heritage community has yet to come to terms with the social, cultural and political injustices in the present management policies that privilege one quality (the fabric) over all other aspects of heritage. Because heritage is complex and multidimensional, continuing to privilege archaeological values is problematic. The problem is not the

⁴⁴ TÁras na hOidhreacht The Heritage Council, “Heritage Services,” The Heritage Council Ireland, http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/county_heritage_services/.

archaeology, but the privileging of one discipline over other understandings of place within a limited, unreflective concept of heritage.

There are developments in archaeological theory resulting from the experiences and practices of archaeologists which are leading to new forms of archaeological practice. Some of the names given to these evolving practices are: community archaeology, social archaeology, indigenous archaeology, conservation management archaeology, public archaeology. Some positive developments have occurred in New Zealand because of Māori involvement with archaeologists through their role (now often a statutory requirement) as kaitiaki of places and the environment. This interaction has enabled understandings between the two groups to be expanded and there have often been valuable two-way exchanges of ideas and creative cross-fertilisation that has benefitted both communities and the places they are associated with. Nevertheless, however positive and worthwhile these new developments are, they still are forms of archaeology. Archaeology may be a valuable and vital tool in our understandings of the past and prior uses of the landscape, but the archaeological qualities of a place are only one aspect of that place. While archaeology remains isolated from the other strands of heritage by the legislation and the profession — no amount of careful integration of Māori perspectives will enable Māori or community voices to be heard. The very word itself which is consistently attached to new forms of place management by archaeologists: social archaeology, community archaeology, indigenous archaeology suggests the dominance of archaeology within these new developments. I repeat Apirana Mahuika's comment that, "the name also provides a sense of governance ... If you get the name right you get the whakapapa right."⁴⁵

A new model for heritage management

In this thesis I have argued that a new model for heritage management in New Zealand should be based on a revised understanding of heritage as being about the connections people have with certain places that are made evident by their performances at and around those place; by the overarching principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the concepts of biculturalism (evolving into 'trans-cultural bi-nationalism'); kaitiakitanga and shared governance; and a community-based cultural landscape framework. The new model should incorporate a number of fundamental shifts in attitudes towards these places and the management structure must therefore reflect and give expression to these transformations.

⁴⁵ David Butts, "Maori Museums and the Treaty of Waitangi: The Changing Politics of Representation and Control," in *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed*, ed. Simon J. Knell, Suzanne MacLeod, and Sheila Watson (London & New York: Routledge, 2007). 292.

For Māori to be able to effectively contribute to decision-making about their own heritage, the legislation and management should be reviewed. In this section I outline the methods by which these changes may be implemented. They include: legislative changes, governance/kaitiakitanga and changes in heritage management philosophy and practice.

A wider concept of heritage is required in heritage policies and practice in New Zealand. Although a number of practitioners are evolving more integrated, bicultural methods of managing places and collaborating with Māori in the development of planning documents, archaeological research and other innovative ways of providing heritage assistance, all this is *ad hoc* and a result of the experiences of reflective practitioners. These innovations have developed from personal practice and are not official heritage policy. The RMA provides opportunities (and even direction) for the management of historic heritage to be integrated with Māori relationship with their taonga and the protection of customary, activities because these things are matters of national importance:

- (e) the relationship of Maori 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;
- (g) the protection of recognised customary activities.⁴⁶

By ‘integrated’ I do not mean assimilated, but ‘de-segregated’, that is for Māori heritage places to be considered as places within the land that Māori govern, not thought of as archaeological sites managed by archaeologists or heritage managers separately from Māori ancestral places. These ancestral places, water, sites, wāhi tapu and other entities are primarily taonga — Māori heritage places, cultural treasures or objects. Consequently a management system that enables Māori to, at the very least, govern and have kaitiakitanga over their own heritage is a fundamental Treaty obligation as well as a democratic right. *Maori and the Environment: Kaitiaki*, demonstrates the relationship that Māori have with the environment and promotes their taking a “lead role as active kaitiaki” encouraging sound environmental principles to benefit all New Zealanders.⁴⁷

Museums in New Zealand have altered radically in the past thirty years since the development of bicultural policies that brought about the exercise of mātauranga Māori,

⁴⁶ *Resource Management Act 1991*.

⁴⁷ Rachael Selby, Pataka Moore, and Malcolm Mulholland, eds., *Maori and the Environment: Kaitiaki* (Wellington: Huia, 2010). 9.

kaitiakitanga, and fuller Maori involvement in institutions. McCarthy says a key development in the national museum was the mana taonga policy composed by Ngāti Porou elder and board member Api Mahuika, which “was a declaration of Māori control of Māori taonga and consequently a new way of thinking about the relationships of museums and source communities in which anyone who has collections in a museum has the right to participate in their management.”⁴⁸ This included all cultures with taonga in Te Papa. The mana taonga policy had a major effect on museum professionals’ work and profoundly affected their understanding of matters to do with ownership, authority and identity.

This has not been the case in archaeology. Although some excellent work has been carried out in a thoughtful way by some archaeologists practising in New Zealand, these have been individual responses outside the rigidly applied statutory framework. A more inclusive ‘social archaeology’ is developing, but it, too, still remains fixed within an archaeological, not a heritage model. Mainstream archaeologists and NZHPT need to begin the journey towards understanding that archaeology is a branch of heritage and that heritage is about peoples’ connections with place. Māori and Pākehā are Treaty partners and Article two of the Treaty confirms Māori rights to, at the very least, connect with their own heritage. Biculturalism is now becoming thought of as an interim stage in the evolution of a bi-national New Zealand eventually emerging as two nations in one country, with Māori being a self-determining, sovereign nation *within* New Zealand.⁴⁹

In my view, if archaeologists and heritage management organisations do not come out from their mono-cultural isolation and dependence on the AHD they will become increasingly irrelevant to New Zealand society. This has already happened within the Waitangi claims settlement process, which rarely uses the expertise of archaeologists to assist with sites of significance work despite the valuable contribution they can make and their obvious skills in understanding, and providing insight into, past patterns of occupation on the land. It is anticipated that after the settlement process social and political life in New Zealand may increasingly become more innovative and adaptable as Māori pursue their goal of tino rangatiratanga. However, Pākehā remain the dominant culture in New Zealand and intolerant racism has been replaced by a tolerant (and more cryptic) racism despite the major legal and political changes in central government.

⁴⁸ McCarthy, *Museums and Maori*. 97.

⁴⁹ Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1999). 252-3.

The Pākehā community is a powerful force and consequently must be included in any new form of heritage management. Without the full involvement of Pākehā New Zealand in the new heritage governance process as well as an appreciation of the AHD as a *management tool* a new heritage practice based entirely on an IHD will not be effective or viable. The three discourses are complementary, but also nourish and strengthen one another. The heritage discourse of Pākehā New Zealand is unexplored in this research, but Pākehā New Zealand is defined as the groups of communities of post-settlers who too have an affinity and relationship with land-based heritage and make up the bulk of New Zealanders who are ‘not Māori’. Consequently they have a powerful political voice and must be considered for this reason, but also for ethical, social, and cultural reasons.

The present HPA is a pragmatic, political tool for a nation contending with social, cultural and political issues around land, development and sovereignty. The mono-cultural attitude of the lead heritage agency, the subordinate position of the Māori Heritage Council, the failure of NZHPT to integrate bicultural policies and practices into the institution, and more particularly, into its administration of the law relating to Māori heritage places with archaeological qualities, supports this interpretation of the HPA. It can only be concluded that while historic heritage with archaeological qualities continues to be managed separately from all other historic heritage sites, the HPA and its administration by the NZHPT is a breach of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. It also indicates the significant absence of a discourse of ethics in New Zealand heritage management. Janet Marstine asserts that museum ethics are increasingly founded on the concept that institutions themselves have moral agency. She defines: “three major strands of theory and practice through which museums can assert their moral agency: social inclusion, radical transparency and shared guardianship of heritage.”⁵⁰ These ideas can equally be applied to heritage management institutions.

It is important that, despite heritage being managed through institutional bureaucracies, and accustomed to submitting to the demands of funding sources, as well as allegiances to common practice, New Zealand heritage organisations reconsider the effects of the AHD on the diverse communities whose heritage they control. Marstine argues that “holistic rethinking is required to instil the values of shared authority and of social understanding

⁵⁰ Janet Marstine, “The Contingent Nature of the New Museum Ethics,” in *Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics: Redefining Ethics for the 21st Century*, ed. Janet Marstine (London & New York: Routledge, 2011). *Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics: Redefining Ethics for the Twenty-First Century Museum*, ed. Janet Marstine, (London & New York: Routledge, 2011), citing R. R. Janes, *Museums in a Troubled World: Renewal, Irrelevance or Collapse?* (London & New York: Routledge, 2009).

among diverse communities.”⁵¹ A new heritage management should be grounded in an understanding of the moral agency of institutions and the realisation that heritage management is not done within an ethical vacuum. It is not based on a prescribed set of ideas anchored in consensus, or rules designed to control behaviour, or a set of codes that define individual professional behaviour. It should be based on a re-conceptualisation of heritage ethics as a contingent discourse that changes and must be adaptable and also to emphasise the way the discourse depends on social, political, technological and economic factors .

There are three pillars of this new ethics that should lay the foundation for good heritage management governance in New Zealand within a framework of human rights and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Christina Kreps cautions that “the challenge is to reconcile our respect and need for cultural diversity with the need to acknowledge and respect the principles of human rights and cultural democracy.”⁵² The three underlying principles are first, the importance of a social responsibility that focuses on collaboration and inclusion. Second, the centrality of a radical transparency in policies and practices, which emphasises the process over the product — living, ever-changing methods of communication, and guidelines about what can and cannot be shared— reviewed regularly and widely. The third principle is the ethics of guardianship, adopted by Haidy Geismar from the Māori principle of kaitiakitanga.⁵³ The concept of guardianship “enables collaborative relationships with multiple stakeholders including source communities.” Heritage management in New Zealand should be situated within an adaptable, reflexive and transparent policy framework underpinned by contingent ethics that enable inclusiveness, collaboration and kaitiakitanga.

Although Māori are being reconnected with places of cultural importance as part of the Waitangi Tribunal claims settlement process many places of significance to Māori will not be returned to them because only areas of Crown land are eligible for redress. Land in private title is not included and neither are significant areas of Conservation land. The concept of governance, which fits with the Māori concept of kaitiakitanga, may assist with the reconnections, the re-establishment of mana with its connotations of self-respect and leadership and ultimate self-determination. Butts points out that indigenous people in Australia and North America have consistently maintained that in order to participate

⁵¹ Marstine, “The Contingent Nature of the New Museum Ethics.”

⁵² Marstine, “The Contingent Nature of the New Museum Ethics.” Citing C. Kreps, “Non-Western Models of Museums,” in Macdonald, *A Companion to Museum Studies*, 470.

⁵³ Marstine, “The Contingent Nature of the New Museum Ethics,” citing H. Geismar, “Cultural Property, Museums and the Pacific,” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 15: 2, 2008 (June), 114-15.

effectively in museums and to care appropriately for their taonga they must be part of the museum's governance, which is where funding, policy and monitoring of the director takes place. Without effective participation tangata whenua are unable to influence the strategic direction of the museum or the way it is organised and managed. This can only be achieved "when tangata whenua have the right to negotiate the nature of their participation through a process of mutual recognition" which consists of "equality, co-existence and self-government."⁵⁴ Governance goes well beyond 'consultation' or an advisory role and should be based on the principles of mutual recognition, continuity, consent and recognition of the status of tangata whenua and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The negotiation of a governance agreement provides the "basis for creating a common ground within which the principles of tikanga-a-rua (two peoples' development) and partnership can operate."⁵⁵

Governance is "the way in which a governing board fulfils its leadership and stewardship responsibilities by setting direction, policies, priorities, performance expectations and monitoring, and ensuring achievement consistent with these in order to exercise its accountability to key stakeholders."⁵⁶ Good governance creates a strong future for an organisation because it is about leadership that ensures the management is always focused on the organisation's vision and goals. Governance is about trusteeship so it is very important that there is a clear distinction between the role of the board to govern and the role of the chief executive or director to manage the operations of the organisation.

The concept of cultural landscapes may provide an integrating structure for a new model of heritage governance. It is already used in the Waitangi Claims settlement process as well as theoretically by NZHPT. Ellen Lee explains that the idea of a cultural landscape, which is widely used in a variety of ways, is a useful method of "integrating the cultural and natural values of a place and for conveying the wholeness of a place."⁵⁷ She says an integrated methodology for assessing cultural landscapes encourages the involvement of local communities in managing the landscape, but must include the cultural understandings of that landscape as part of the approach to identifying, evaluating and managing protected areas. The entire landscape as a whole should be looked at rather than just focussing on the

⁵⁴ David Butts, "Maori and Museums: The Politics of Indigenous Recognition" (Massey University, 2003). 117.

⁵⁵ Butts, "Maori and Museums: The Politics of Indigenous Recognition," 113; 118.

⁵⁶ Graeme Nahkies, "Getting on Board: A Governance Resource Guide for Arts Organisations," (Wellington: Creative New Zealand Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa, 2008).

⁵⁷ Ellen Lee, "Cultural Connections to the Land: A Canadian Example," in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough, et al. (London & New York: Routledge, 2008). 373.

individual places within it. The idea of a cultural landscape, the inter-relatedness of places within a wider landscape and over time, is an emergent management methodology in New Zealand heritage practice that is promoted by the NZHPT.

There are a number of possible locations for the administration or the management of heritage places:

- NZHPT.
- A government department such as DoC, MfE, or TPK.
- Regional councils/city and district councils/unitary authorities.
- Taiwhenua/tribal authorities.
- A hybrid organisation, e.g., taiwhenua/local authority.

NZHPT and the options regarding local government or hybrid taiwhenua/local authority locations will be discussed in greater detail than either of the options of a central government department or a tribal authority having operational responsibility for heritage management. These two options will be considered briefly before I move on to discuss the other possibilities. Government departments do have a presence in the regions and relationships with their communities, but little operational infrastructure to draw upon. DoC, however, does, but most of its offices are staffed by rangers and administrative staff with limited consideration for historic heritage and a determined focus on the conservation of the indigenous flora and fauna. This is despite the purpose of DoC being the conservation of the natural and *historic* resources on land it manages and its role as an advocate for natural and historic resources generally.

DoC manages about one third of the land of New Zealand and within that land there is a very large percentage of New Zealand's historic resources, including archaeological sites. Nevertheless the department has no policies about identifying or researching the historic heritage on its land and actively manages only a very limited amount of the heritage places. In addition it has been incrementally decamping from in-house historic heritage expertise as well as advocacy for historic heritage either within the department or outside of it. This movement will increase with the proposed centralisation of technical expertise across all the disciplines in the department. Other government departments are even more unable to provide widespread regional offices and, or historic heritage management assistance.

Another possibility is to locate heritage management in iwi authorities, or taiwhenua, which are smaller units under an iwi authority or similar iwi organisation. In Hawke's Bay, for

example, the iwi authority is Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi incorporated, which is an incorporated society representing the third largest iwi in New Zealand. This iwi authority is divided into six taiwhenua including Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga (Hastings region) and Te Taiwhenua o Whanganui a Orotu (Napier area).⁵⁸ The advantages of structuring a governance system around a cultural landscape model emerging from the rohe of a taiwhenua, or similar Māori organisation, such as one of the confederations of hapū established for the Waitangi claims settlement process (e.g., Mana Ahuriri) is that the “larger the board the more unwieldy it is likely to be and the more likely it is to split into factions”⁵⁹ Taiwhenua are smaller units of the larger iwi organisation and consequently more manageable. However, iwi authorities or their representatives do not have the statutory authority to manage historic heritage under the RMA — that is the responsibility of local government.

While NZHPT remains the ‘lead heritage agency in New Zealand’ it is essential that the Māori Heritage Council becomes an integral part of the NZHPT Board. At present it is not part of the governance structure of NZHPT, although it often attends the Board meetings in an advisory capacity.⁶⁰ As it is not necessary to give effect to an advisory capacity, the Māori Heritage Council has limited influence on changes in vision, policy or leadership. It is possible NZHPT could begin to develop, in partnership with the Māori Heritage Council, a cultural landscape model that integrates Māori and archaeological understandings of the landscape and leads to a new mechanism of heritage management based on shared governance. However, there are difficulties with this suggestion because NZHPT is moving away from community involvement in heritage as indicated by the recent dis-establishment of the regional branch committees and further centralisation of heritage decisions. NZHPT is further constrained from active community involvement by its absence from most of the regions in New Zealand: there are only offices in Northland, Auckland, Tauranga, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. From a Māori perspective, however, these changes in membership are irrelevant because my casual observation suggests that the 22,000 members are almost exclusively older middle-class Pākehā.

If an integrated methodology for assessing cultural landscapes encourages the involvement of local communities in managing the landscape, as Lee asserts, then the likelihood that NZHPT will be able to prepare cultural landscape plans that involve and reflect the various

⁵⁸ Ngati Kahungunu, “Ngati Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated,” <http://www.kahungunu.iwi.nz/index2.html>.

⁵⁹ Nahkies, “Getting on Board: A Governance Resource Guide for Arts Organisations.”

⁶⁰ , New Zealand Historic Places Trust, <http://www.historic.org.nz/>.

communities who live in those areas seems remote. A further difficulty associated with the centralisation of heritage management in New Zealand is that each community and group has its own agency, customs, inter-relationships and ways of doing things that a centralised bureaucracy will not be privy to.⁶¹ Consequently the centralised bureaucracy will be dependent on the advice of experts such as archaeologists, architects and historians who will be able to identify the traditions, but not the customs of the area. The use of experts will continue the dependence on the AHD and hinder community heritage self-determination. It is useful at this point to remember the comment made by Wei and Aass quoted by Byrne “that in the West the emphasis is on authenticity to the original and historical legibility, in China it is on the spirit of the place, the ‘genius loci’,” and, “although the physical form may change, the spirit and purpose of the original is not only preserved as a continuity, but can be enhanced through the contributions of succeeding generations.”⁶²

The idea of territoriality equips us to understand Western ideas about place-based heritage, but also cautions against too great a dependence on an inflexible concept of cultural landscapes. Sack defines territoriality as: “the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence or control people, phenomena and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area. This area will be called the territory.”⁶³ Place-based heritage is often highly political and “territoriality is intimately related to how people use the land, how they organise themselves in space and how they give meaning to place. Its use depends on who is influencing and controlling whom and on the geographical contexts of place, space and time.”⁶⁴ It is also essential to remember that the *place* is always there and it is not until it is demarcated as an area of control, e.g., an archaeological site, that it becomes territory, or in New Zealand’s case ‘heritage’.

The concept of a cultural landscape — the inter-relatedness of places within a wider landscape and over time — fits well with Māori understandings of land and the cosmological

⁶¹ An example of the often intense parochialism is the debate between Napier and Hastings about whether to amalgamate the two cities, and Napier’s rejection of the proposal because, according to the Mayor, “Hawke’s Bay has a unique advantage [in New Zealand] with the twin, vibrant cities of Napier and Hastings, which both enjoy distinct and different identities.” Bernard Carpinter, “Napier Council Slaps Down Amalgamation Campaign,” *Dominion Post* 7 July 2011.

⁶² Denis Byrne, “Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management,” in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson Jnr., John Schofield, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008). 8.

⁶³ Robert David Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, ed. Alan R. H. Baker, J.B. Harley, and Alan Ward, vol. 7, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). 19.

⁶⁴ Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, 2.

world as well as their duty of kaitiakitanga over their ancestral places. In this way the concept of a cultural landscape augments the concept of governance. But the landscape idea if used by planners and heritage managers in a totalising Western way, distances and freezes places, unless the living communities are involved with the places, using, changing and enlivening the landscape with their presences. Gray reminds us of the constructedness of landscape writing: “Cosgrove notes that ‘landscape is not merely the world as we see it, it is a composition, a construction of the world’.”⁶⁵ This idea is interesting because when I spoke to Toro Waaka, one of the claimants in the Mohaka ki Ahuriri claim, about a landscape framework for his hapū collective Ngāti Pahauwera, he looked confused and appeared not to be able to see the text that I was composing. The Western expert reads meanings, gathered from the history alone, as being embedded or concretised in that landscape, thereby creating a static, traditional place; Māori, though, are *in* the landscape, not apart, but inextricably intertwined — a continuum — they are their ancestors.

In the Western model once something is traditional and ‘authentic’ there is a heritage desire to protect it, which petrifies and enshrines the place, and actually hinders identity making because protection stops the place being changed. Olwig discusses the differences between the tyranny of traditions and the adaptability of customs when discussing heritage saying that:

Custom gives a community possession of its past because it is based on the idea of ‘time out of mind’ which, in practice, means that aspects of the past can conveniently be forgotten and reinterpreted according to the contemporary situation, Tradition, by contrast, creates a situation in which people become, as it were, possessed by a given past.⁶⁶

Whereas traditions are invariable, customs are ever changing and have considerable validity because they are the foundation of most laws in contemporary Western societies as well as those of traditional societies. These ideas about the adaptability of custom “as a source of ever changing practices, rooted in a vital sense of the past” are particularly pertinent when considering the need for flexibility and movement away from the rigidity imposed by the AHD and never changing traditions of ‘management’, which have dominated much heritage management practice.

⁶⁵ John Gray, “Open Places and Dwelling Places: Being at Home on Hill Farms in the Scottish Borders,” in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2003). 226.

⁶⁶ Kenneth Robert Olwig, “‘Time out of Mind’ - ‘Mind out of Time’ Custom Versus Tradition in Environmental Heritage Research and Interpretation,” in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. Graham Fairclough, et al. (London & New York: Routledge, 2008). 250.

Places must change as the needs of the present generation change. As another Ngāti Pahauwera claimant said, emphasising the concept of ‘ahi kā’ (keeping the home fires burning) “places must be used, we must go there, garden, grow vegetables, take our mokos there.”⁶⁷ The desire to retain a place as traditional is a new Western way of stopping change over large areas, not just sites — a method of controlling the relentless march of development — and of returning to an imaginary, utopian past. But this way of looking at landscape takes the people out. People are the other element of heritage and place making is the physical embodied performance — praxis — that enlivens places and makes the past not only real to them, but enables the places to become their *own* places. Through the cultural process of performance, which invests places with significance, people connect to the land and create their identities as people *of* those places.

Despite these concerns about the tendencies of certain management methods to entrench the past in fossilised forms or inhibit change, the concept of a cultural landscape is a significant advance on the old single site methodology and potentially an innovative, collaborative, community management tool that provides a more realistic context for understanding heritage places. The cultural landscape model is a method which — in the right hands — can enable communities to participate, cooperate and have control over their heritage. But that does not mean the land is to be locked up and protected from change. What is necessary is that *all* the relevant stakeholders are involved and able to contribute to decision-making through a strong governance structure that represents those people and drives the management decisions. No heritage management method is viable, and all are meaningless, if the people whose heritage is being ‘managed’ are absent from the process.

Good landscape studies are a vital tool that enables much better decisions to be made about relationships between places on the land, between the land and communities, and provides information about research potential, management needs and development requirements. Moylan et al consider that “the mapping and management of cultural landscape information is of particular importance to the international community as the ‘cultural landscapes’ concept gains an increasing profile” because of the requirement for management plans to be developed for these areas. The development of a Cultural Landscape Atlas using spatial mapping of landscapes “improves conceptualisation and management” but in addition enables the incorporation of the ‘shared landscape’ approach, which demonstrates the often entangled

⁶⁷ Kuki Green, 2010.

histories of indigenous and settler peoples as well as their individual “connections to the landscape.”⁶⁸ Information from research enables good management because it allows people to confidently do things that would not be possible without the basic information that good documentation provides.⁶⁹



Fig. 13: A cultural landscape: view looking north from the top of Hakikino Pā showing terraces running down the slope *foreground*. At the base of the pā there is evidence of extensive settlement; in the centre around the small lake is another settlement – further settlements are scattered across the valley including on the knoll on left of wetland and the knoll behind the ‘lake kainga’. Rock formations on the ridge *top left* are said to be ancestors.⁷⁰

Consequently, understanding the landscape in all its complexity is an essential tool. Greig defines the three elements that make up a research framework. The first is an assessment of the resource which sets out the current state of knowledge and a description of the heritage resources. The second element is an agenda which lists gaps in knowledge of both the work that could be done and the potential for the resource to answer questions. The third element is the development of a strategy that prescribes priorities and methods to achieve the desired outcomes.⁷¹ Any heritage management organisation must understand not only the heritage

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Moylan, Steve Brown, and Chris Kelly, “Toward a Cultural Landscape Atlas: Representing All the Landscape as Cultural,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no. 5 (2009). 447.

⁶⁹ McCarthy, *Museums and Maori*. 172.

⁷⁰ Mark Allen, 6 July 2011.

⁷¹ Karen Greig, “NZHPT National Research Framework: Discussion Paper,” ed. New Zealand Historic Places Trust (Wellington: New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 2007).

items within their landscape but also the communities and how those different communities use and interact with the cultural landscape. Tim Winter suggests that: “A site needs to be considered not as a monumental landscape of the ancient past but a form of living heritage pivotal in the articulation of cultural, ethnic and national identities.”⁷²

Cultural landscapes can be identified and mapped in various ways, but one promising interactive and *collaborative* method is a GIS system overlaid over Google maps, which is currently used by CFRT. This method can have numerous layers added, which creates a visually dramatic map. It is an effective way of showing the relationship of the ‘sites of significance’ to Crown land, local body land and Māori land. GIS is also a management tool being used by iwi and hapū, for example the Ngāi Tahu Cultural Heritage Mapping Project and the Ahi Kā Roa Cultural Landscape Assessment of Te Iwi o Ngāti Tūkorehe Trust, for the specific purpose of identifying sites and areas of importance to them for environmental management purposes.⁷³ However, it would also be a useful management tool for local bodies and heritage organisations because it can integrate all sorts of information into one computer data base such as the history, archaeology, land ownership, and which hapū/whānau has kaitiakitanga over a certain area.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of this system is that while it integrates the information and the different elements of heritage, it also requires the various stakeholders in the heritage places to be part of the process of developing the database and of adding to it as new information or new understandings become available. By providing a forum where the different understandings of the place may be expressed, where everybody’s world view is equally valid, people are able to maintain their mana, whether it is the mana of Māori, archaeologist, or property owner. This is another way of creating a wider and more sustainable approach to the land and the heritage places within it. By meeting, discussing and viewing the place(s) together, new memories are created, new understandings are formed and new bonds of connection are made. A tolerance of difference, openness to new ideas, and most importantly, the mingling of bodies at a place creates a new Connect with that place and

⁷² Tim Winter, “Landscapes in the Living Memory: New Year Festivities at Angkor, Cambodia,” in *Heritage Memory and the Politics of Identity*, ed. Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). 135

⁷³ “Ngai Tahu Cultural Heritage Mapping Project,” Ngai Tahu, <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/Events/2009/GIS-Maori-Conference/Presentations/Takarei-Norton-Ngai-Tahu-Cultural-Heritage-Mapping-Project.pdf>. and Huhana Smith, “Ma Te Whakaaro, Ma Te Kotahitanga, Ka Whai Oranga Te Taiao,” in *Maori and the Environment: Kaitiaki*, ed. Rachael Selby, Pataka Moore, and Malcolm Mulholland (Wellington: Huia, 2010). 313.

may lead to further ‘trans-cultural’ connections, which are already evident in the heritage practices of both Māori and archaeologists in New Zealand.

Community-based heritage, as distinct from official heritage, should be managed within and by the communities who connect with those places. Interestingly, Gentry comments that the original idea behind the planning of a national trust in the early 1950s was that it was to be “an umbrella organisation to direct and support local effort.” Local committees would do the work, undertaking surveys and making recommendations to the Trust, as its agents. The basic contradiction was that the Trust sought to preserve a ‘national’ heritage that transcended regional attitudes, through local efforts, but state and local interest are quite different because “Government interest was either fundamentally commercially-driven, or conceived in crude nationalistic terms. Local preservation was more organic, direct, and ultimately, meaningful” — because historic sites and buildings are part of everyday life.⁷⁴

It appears that NZHPT does not have the resources to be fully cognisant of the needs and understandings of all the diverse communities, within New Zealand. Additionally the development of professionalisation and its further expansion as a government-funded agency have distanced it from the communities (Māori and Pākehā) and the regional enthusiasm that motivated its establishment. If the archaeological provisions are removed from the HPA and the RMA becomes the major heritage legislation, then local government will become responsible for implementing policies and practices to protect archaeological sites in their areas.

A major anxiety highlighted by NZAA in its position paper was the lack of expertise in archaeological site management among local authorities. This is a concern, but it is to some extent a red herring. Few local authorities have in-house expertise in historic conservation, earthquake strengthening, architecture, history or any other of the disciplines associated with managing built heritage. When necessary they employ consultants to provide the necessary advice, or staff to assist with decision-making and resource consents. There are a number of advantages for communities if heritage is managed by local government. These include: local decision making; intimate understanding of local conditions, issues and objectives; greater community involvement; the formation and maintenance of closer relationships and networks and the development and maintenance of local and regional identity.

⁷⁴ Kynan Kynan Harley Gentry, “Associations Make Identities: The Origins and Evolution of Historic Preservation in New Zealand” (Melbourne, 2009). 333.

Problems associated with local authorities managing heritage, particularly heritage with archaeological qualities, include wide inconsistencies in practice that are in part caused by the lack of professional skills and experience among staff in the smaller provincial local authorities; isolation; insufficient funding; and a tendency towards mono-cultural world views despite the changes in New Zealand society in the past thirty years. Developing community-based heritage management systems within local government may not be the preferred or most appropriate option. This is especially true if the present heritage management practices are merely transferred from NZHPT to underfunded, inexperienced local authorities, which will cling closely to the AHD and a prescriptive way of making decisions about heritage. Most archaeological heritage management remains firmly entrenched in Western heritage practices and has not yet begun the journey towards bi-cultural management practices. Replication of the AHD is not the solution, but a probable outcome if bicultural management that incorporates other world views is not the cornerstone of the new structure. Consequently, a national heritage policy that incorporates a strong bicultural and community-based ideology and clarifies the distinction between national and local identity is an essential component of change.

As mentioned, iwi authorities do not have the statutory power to become the lead heritage agencies in regions, but there are a number of ways that they could become an essential part of the development of a hybrid local government/iwi authority heritage management institution. By making heritage management the responsibility of local government in association with the iwi authority or local taiwhenua, the beginnings of bicultural management of Māori heritage places would be established. Each taiwhenua has close relationships with all the hapū/marae under their aegis, an understanding of the aspirations of the individual communities and is experienced in the principles of good governance. The core management model might be a cultural landscape based on the taiwhenua's rohe. There are various ways that a governing body might be constructed. It might be made up of members of these hapū or marae groups in equal proportion with people from other stakeholder groups such as landowners, heritage managers and the wider community perhaps similar to the Mihinare model of governance followed by Whanganui Regional Museum. Other structures, such as that developed by Tairāwhiti Museum or the mana whenua model adopted by Te Manawa with Rangitāne may be preferred by different communities or regions. The development of a community-based, trans-cultural organisation would enable heritage

management in New Zealand to move into a more democratic, inclusive and effective era, strengthening people's Connect with places, and contributing to the development of stronger individual and group identity.

The revised concept of heritage that has been developed through this research can play a part in this new framework. I have argued that heritage is the intangible connections people have with places created through the performances they have at those places. People understand their world by constructing it, by objectifying it and distancing it from themselves, then use a variety of performances to bridge the gap, to make the Connect. Archaeological sites are constructed by archaeologists from their understanding of the world, just as wāhi tapu are constructed by Māori from their perspective. Māori heritage with archaeological qualities is shown to be one of the sites of contestation where the struggle for sovereignty is played out, generally in favour of the archaeologists. As *archaeological* sites these places are identified through a post-settler lens, managed by post-settler legislation and Western scientific techniques, and lose other heritage values in the process. Archaeologists have tried to determine the conduct of others with regard to 'archaeological' sites and have successfully negotiated legislation that provides governmental technologies of power.

However, although the power of the archaeological discourse is clearly evident in economic and heritage management activities, that power and the associated mono-cultural attitude have resulted in the skills of archaeologists being effectively side-lined in other areas of New Zealand society, such as the Waitangi claims settlements. The skills of archaeologists, who could contribute considerable value to such activities as 'sites of significance' projects, are rarely exploited. Instead reliance is placed on the skills of historians who do not have a land-based understanding of place and whose reliance on documentary evidence misses the point that many sites of significance are not mentioned in the literature despite their presence on the land. A complete reliance on intangible heritage is as unhelpful as a dependence on the tangible. It is the links between the two (the intangible past and the tangible present) made by people at the places through the elusive Connect that creates 'sites of significance.'

In my view, archaeological sites should be reframed as heritage places to deprivilege one value over another. All values contribute to understanding heritage places and both Māori and archaeologists who work with one another acknowledge and appreciate the discourse of the 'Other', and more importantly, begin to include some of the Other discourse in their own. The changes in New Zealand's social and political structure emerging from Treaty claims

should be addressed by developing a heritage management structure that includes archaeological, historic, iwi values, and understandings of place. This model should be community-based within the RMA.

A regional trans-cultural bi-national governance model for heritage

This research has identified that the reason why archaeological sites are being lost is because the present heritage management structure is no longer appropriate for twenty-first century Aotearoa New Zealand. I have concluded that the archaeological provisions of the HPA should be removed and ‘archaeological’ management should be included in the RMA. Here I suggest a new framework for heritage management in New Zealand. This model is proposed to stimulate discussion rather than as the ideal or single solution. David Butts cautions against using a single governance model as a template for museums saying that it is essential to consider the history and community of the particular museum in question and what will work for their situation.⁷⁵ This caution applies equally to the new land-based heritage governance concept that I present here, which may not be appropriate for all communities, who may prefer to develop another bicultural structure more appropriate to their area.

This proposed governance structure is based on the one adopted by Whanganui Regional Museum, which in turn is drawn from the tricameral structure of the Anglican Church.

The Anglican Church spent the six years prior to 1990 and the sesquicentennial of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi consulting and planning for a new partnership between Māori and Pākehā Anglican Church leaders — the Tikanga Church. This was a “revised treaty based constitution of the church in which Maori, Pakeha and Polynesia would come together as ‘equal partners’.”⁷⁶ The new constitution was celebrated at a special synod in 1990 “without a single dissenting voice.”⁷⁷ The Church of the Province of New Zealand became the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia. The boundaries of the Pākehā dioceses did not change, but Tikanga Māori had five episcopal units with four bishops in the North Island and one in the South Island and Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe as Te Pīhopa o Aotearoa. The constitution was ratified in 1992 and each tikanga was able to “order its affairs in its own

⁷⁵ McCarthy, *Museums and Maori*. 194.

⁷⁶ Philippa Chambers, “A New Kind of Church 1990-2008: Regionalisation and a Bicultural Constitution,” in *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, ed. John Bluck (Christchurch: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009). 186-7.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

way.”⁷⁸ All Anglicans had the freedom to choose their tikanga. Within Aotearoa New Zealand Tikanga Pākehā comprises seven Dioceses; Tikanga Māori comprises five Hui Amorangi, with different boundaries from those of Tikanga Pākehā. Tikanga Pasefika, known as the Diocese of Polynesia, encompasses Fiji, Tonga, Samoa and the Cook Islands.⁷⁹ These alterations meant new ways had to be found to enable the general synod to function and the previous model, the Westminster system, was suspended and it became customary to seek consensus for decisions similar to the pattern for hui on marae.

For a measure to be passed by General Synod it must receive the support of all three orders and all three tikanga. If a matter is contentious, the preferred course is to caucus in tikanga groups and to negotiate mutually acceptable outcomes rather than to force a vote to be taken. The presidency of synod meetings is in the hands of three co-presidents appointed by each tikanga, and the Episcopal leadership of the Primate and Co-presiding Bishops is also recognised by their leading in the facilitation of some parts of synod business. When synod is ‘in committee’ to go through the details of a proposed new canon or regulation there are a number of people responsible for chairing and recording — again selected to represent each of the three tikanga.⁸⁰

There has been a strong movement in the New Zealand museum sector to incorporate the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi into the governance structure of museums. There are two governance models that enable Māori and Pākehā to both be represented more equitably: the regional tangata whenua model and the mana whenua model. The regional tangata whenua model makes provision for all the iwi in the region to be represented, while acknowledging the significance of their relationship with the mana whenua of the land. Two New Zealand museums, Whanganui Regional Museum in Whanganui and Tairāwhiti Museum in Gisborne, provide examples of regional governance models that enable both Māori and Pākehā to contribute to the policies and management of the museum. In the other governance model, the mana whenua model, the primary relationship is between the museum and the iwi on whose land the museum is located. Te Manawa in Palmerston North has this relationship with Rangitāne.⁸¹ The regional tangata whenua model will be discussed in more detail than the mana whenua model because it, and its versions, are more suitable for heritage place management.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 187.

⁷⁹ “Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia Te Hahi Mihinare Ki Aotearoa Ki Niu Tireni, Ki Nga Moutere O Te Moana Nui a Kiwa,” <http://www.anglican.org.nz/About>, G. Ashworth and P. Howard, eds., *European Heritage Planning and Management* (Exeter: Intellect, 1999).

⁸⁰ Chambers, “A New Kind of Church 1990-2008: Regionalisation and a Bicultural Constitution.” Citing www.anglican.org.nz/.

⁸¹ Butts, “Maori and Museums: The Politics of Indigenous Recognition”. 121.

The Trust deed of Tairāwhiti museum contains reference to the Treaty of Waitangi and makes provision for a member from each of the five iwi in the region on the board. In addition four members are appointed by the Friends of the museum and two by the District Council. The Director is an ex officio member.⁸²

Whanganui Regional Museum, on the other hand, is governed by a Joint Council consisting of twelve members, up to six of whom are appointed by the Tikanga Māori House and up to six appointed by the Civic House. The Tikanga Māori House meets monthly and its members consist of mandated members of the iwi and hapū in the region. Any descendant may attend the meetings. The Civic House meets monthly and its membership consists of the six members of the Joint Council appointed by the Civic House Electoral College, which consists of stakeholder representatives from natural heritage, educational and cultural heritage organisations, the business community, territorial authorities, the museum society, art gallery and public library. The constitutional principle is that “the principles of partnership and two cultures development arising from the Treaty of Waitangi will be fully implemented within the Museum.” Eight principles of governance are included in the constitution. The purpose of each house is to bring forward to the Joint Council policy proposals, or other matters, which must be consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi. There must be adequate consultation between the houses before the matter is debated by the Joint Council and a majority of members must agree with a motion before it can be voted on.

These museums provide useful ways to consider governance for Māori heritage places. An essential principle is that “both parties have clearly mandated representatives to negotiate the governance relationship and that each party is able to bring to the negotiations proposals stated in their own language.”⁸³ The model I propose below is designed to enable a bicultural community to be ‘equal partners’ in preparing the policies that govern the management of the heritage places in their regions. Some communities may need to consider more ‘tikanga’ houses.

⁸² Ibid. 131-2.

⁸³ Ibid. 118.

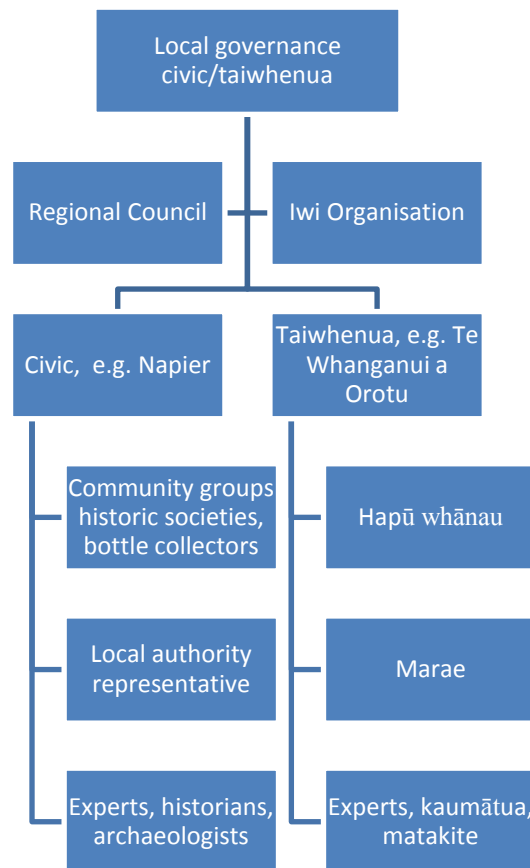


Fig. 14: A proposed model for a trans-cultural bi-national structure for heritage governance

First, I propose the removal of the archaeological provisions from NZHPT. This is necessary because it is more appropriate in Aotearoa New Zealand to manage heritage places with archaeological qualities within the RMA in the same way as all other historic heritage is managed. A distinction is maintained between heritage places with archaeological qualities and historic heritage generally through the archaeological provisions of the HPA 1993. Only places with archaeological qualities cannot be damaged, destroyed or modified without an authority from NZHPT. However it is not the site or place that is protected, but the information that might be within the site and which can only be excavated by archaeologists. The place itself is not protected. However, an amendment to the RMA in 2004 elevated historic heritage to a matter of national which does protect it from inappropriate subdivision, use and development. Historic heritage was defined at this time:

- (a) means those natural and physical resources that contribute to an understanding and appreciation of New Zealand's history and cultures, deriving from any of the following qualities:
 - (i) archaeological; (ii) architectural; (iii) cultural; (iv) historic; (v) scientific; (vi) technological; and

(b) includes:

(i) historic sites, structures, places, and areas; and (ii) archaeological sites; and (iii) sites of significance to Maori, including wahi tapu; and (iv) surroundings associated with the natural and physical resources.⁸⁴

NZHPT should be disestablished as the lead heritage agency for local and regional heritage. Its role in the maintenance of “national identity through place” should be incorporated within MCH, which promotes national identity, and the overlaps between national and local heritage clarified. A completely new bicultural policy and standards development unit should be set up in MfE to provide policy guidance and develop heritage management standards to be disseminated to regional and local authorities. It will be guided by the national policy statement developed by a national heritage governance board (see fig. 15). This national policy statement will ensure that the standards of archaeological research and conservation during economic development are improved and nationally consistent.

The national policy statement will provide bi-cultural governance and planning advice within a framework of heritage ethics, the moral agency of institutions and the three elements of research mentioned earlier. It should be flexible, not prescriptive, but performance-based, that is to say the policy must enable local policies to reflect local heritage needs. It must be consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Such a framework will enable community-based heritage identification, governance and management, national consistency and standards. This may assist with alleviating the concerns about local authorities. The Heritage Unit could have a role similar to National Services at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa which runs the New Zealand Museums Standards Scheme, a voluntary scheme designed to raise the standards of museums across the country.⁸⁵

Meanwhile, an administrative system based on a cultural landscape model would be set up, such as a taiwhenua rohe and/or local authority boundary. It may comprise two houses: e.g., a civic house and a taiwhenua house (see fig. 14). The members of these houses may be elected from a range of people in the community representing various interests, e.g., the Civic house may have members from historical societies, bottle collectors, NZAA, architects, the local authority, and farmers, while the Taiwhenua house may have representatives from hapū, marae, kaumātua, claimant groups, family trusts. An equal number of representatives from

⁸⁴ *Resource Management Act 1991*.

⁸⁵ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, “New Zealand Museums Standards Scheme,” <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/NationalServices/HowWeHelp/pages/nzmuseumsstandardsscheme.aspx>.

each house will be elected to form an over-arching governance board to develop policy and provide heritage leadership for its administrative area, e.g., Napier City Council.

There may be a number of these groups in each Regional Council district and a further regional body consisting of representatives from the governance boards, Regional Council and iwi organisation(s) should be set up to guide and oversee regional policy and planning.

These regional governance boards will then provide members to form a national heritage governance board which will oversee the work of the heritage policy unit in MfE (see fig.15).

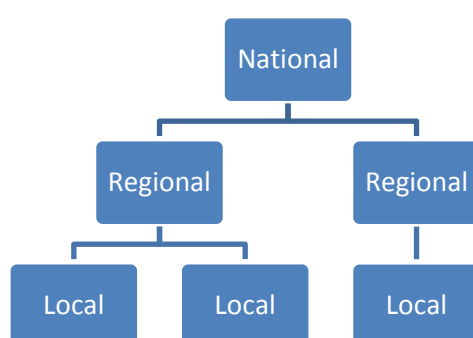


Fig. 15: Chart showing relationship of local to national governance structure.

Many questions and issues will result from this proposal. For example, how does the MCH fit into the structure; how does the work of the Environmental Protection Authority (EPA), which has recently been established to administer applications for major infrastructure projects of national significance, interface with the historic and cultural provisions of the RMA namely, ss. 6(e, f, & g)? These, too, are ‘matters of national importance.’⁸⁶ Also, how are urban Māori authorities and status determined in areas where there are multiple claims to mana whenua?

It is essential that heritage management in New Zealand is situated within an adaptable, reflexive and transparent policy framework underpinned by contingent ethics that enable inclusiveness, collaboration and kaitiakitanga. Heritage should be governed within the regions, by the communities, to enable them to practice and manage their heritage in ways that assist the development of a trans-cultural, bi-national Aotearoa New Zealand. Heritage,

⁸⁶ Environmental Protection Agency Te Mana Rauhi Taiao, “Welcome to the Environmental Protection Authority,” <http://www.epa.govt.nz/Pages/default.aspx>.

particularly in a post-settler nation is, as Carman said, a complex and fluid phenomenon, and moreover, “too important a field of enquiry to be left to ‘experts’ who wish to fix it (and thereby kill it stone dead)!”⁸⁷

⁸⁷ John Carman and Marie Louise Stig Sorenson, “Heritage Studies an Outline,” in *Heritage Studies Methods and Approaches*, ed. Marie Louise Stig Sorensen and John Carman (London & New York: Routledge, 2009). 27.

Conclusion

This thesis began as an investigation into why heritage places with archaeological qualities are managed quite separately from all other historic heritage by the HPA, whereas all other places are managed by local authorities under the provisions of the RMA. In order to understand and explain this paradox my study has examined the present day heritage discourses and practices of archaeologists and Māori in the context of the development of heritage protection legislation. I asked the questions:

What is heritage, how is it practised, and how should it be ‘managed’ in twenty-first century New Zealand? Closely inter-related with these questions is: Why are there separate legal and management systems for ‘archaeological sites’?

Subsidiary questions include: What do heritage places mean to Māori and archaeologists? Can understanding the discourses of these two quite different groups, the relationships between the two groups and how they affect each other, and in turn the places, contribute effectively to improving heritage management practice in New Zealand?

Archaeological heritage is set within what Laurajane Smith calls the AHD and has been naturalised in the legislation so that all debates about Māori involvement with heritage places are reduced to considering different ways to incorporate Māori perspectives into archaeology. The overarching power of the AHD, which reduces heritage to a few simple practices, dominates the thought of both archaeological and wider historic heritage professionals in New Zealand. Consequently, the phenomenon and the practices of heritage are largely unproblematised, and the study of heritage and its practices is unexplored in the New Zealand literature.

This research employed a multi-disciplinary theoretical framework which combined a modern Foucauldian understanding of governmentality with Smith’s theory of the AHD, Cameron’s concept of liquidity, phenomenological understandings of body and place, kinaesthesia and performance, ideas of tangibility/intangibility, and the constructedness of all experiences and ‘things’, in order to examine the discourses of two disparate communities, Māori and archaeologists. This analytical framework enabled me to develop a view of heritage which was inclusive and pragmatic; an understanding that reflects the Māori world,

Te Ao Māori, which is comprised of four elements, the physical, the social, the mental and the spiritual interwoven with a cosmological understanding of the interconnections and interdependence of all things through whakapapa and ethics of kinship. The world is described through whakapapa and whānaungataunga (kinship) influenced by means of ancestral power. Land is valued for its contribution to tribal or hapu identity and for some people land is the basis of their ‘belonging’, because it is visible evidence of their descent and of their links with the ancestors. Genealogical networks join people to one another and other forms of being including the natural world, by relations such as utu, tapu, mana, mate and ora.

The three core concepts of Māori cosmological thought are mana, tapu and mauri. Mana is an extraordinary power or presence, which applies to the natural world and originates from god or the gods but does not have a separate existence as an impersonal force. The most important form of mana comes from Te Kore, the realm beyond the world we can see, thought to be the ‘ultimate reality’. Mana is acquired through descent, and is hierarchical, with certain restrictions and commitments needing to take place if it is to be expressed in physical form such as in a person or object.

Tapu is closely associated with mana and is sometimes used interchangeably with it by Māori. It is translated as sacred or holy, but can be malign as well as benign. It is a condition or state of being resulting from association with the spiritual realm and involves being set apart from ordinary life under restriction. The state of noa provides freedom and relief from the restriction of tapu. Mauri is the energy of life resulting from the supreme god that binds the two parts of a person body and spirit together when he or she is born. A person is a union of body, (tinana), and spirit, (wairua), bound together by the mauri which gives a thing its essence or specific natural character. The supernatural meanings of these words are of primary concern to many Māori, although the spiritual understandings are glossed over in English translations.

The ‘Iwi Heritage Discourse’ (IHD) is based on this cosmological understanding of a spiritual reality which pervades and operates in the world of human experience, but yet transcends the limitations of time, space and the human senses. The idea of the Connect is related to the old cosmological world of Māori and is a continuation of traditional ideas that people, nature and the land are inextricably intertwined. The concept of the Connect unites person and place in intangible networks of emotion and meaning — from physical to spiritual

and back again. This element of heritage empowers by creating place-based identity and a sense of belonging. It is a core concept in the IHD, expressed in various ways — wāhi tapu, hono, mauri, matemateone, connect, betweenness — but not recognised in the AHD. The IHD describes the practice of heritage as ‘ahi kā’, in other words, keeping the home fires burning or keeping a place warm through the many ways of using it: visiting, farming, ‘being there’, making the Connect, caring for the land — kaitiakitanga — whether the land is still ‘owned’ by them or not. This view of heritage also assimilates the discipline and practice of archaeology through the various uses Māori themselves make of archaeology.

Archaeological practice creates the same effects in the performers as Māori practice. The kinaesthetic experiences of excavating or surveying, the sensory experiences of ‘being there’ the emotional effects of “flights of higher thought” (research, writing a report) produce an affective response and create physical connections with place. These are then described as ‘archaeological’ sites and contribute to the construction of the identity of archaeologists. Both archaeologists and Māori are influenced by their physical experiences with places and create their identities through these encounters. They also construct the identities of the places by their discourses around them. However, this thesis has shown that archaeology has assumed an elevated status in the management of Māori heritage places for a number of reasons: first, post-settler governmental structures such as the legislation and education system, legacies of a former colony; second, the dominance of the AHD that elevates expert Western knowledge above indigenous (or local) knowledge; third, the consequent power of archaeologists to influence a government that is grappling with issues of sovereignty and tino rangatiratanga; and finally, a heritage sector that misunderstands the phenomenon of heritage.

This research has demonstrated that heritage is the intangible connections people have with place created through their performances at or with that place. I have argued that the three tangible elements of heritage are person, performance, and place which are bound together by the elusive, fragile, emotional response that Māori respondents call the Connect — a contemporary heritage practice related to customary concepts — appropriated to explain this important concept. The Connect is intangible, yet, paradoxically, dependent on physicality. The Connect is both intangible and physical: it is the betweenness, hono, matemateone wāhi tapu, mauri. It cannot *be* without physicality: it is a ‘thing’ in the heuristic sense, similar to the understanding that an artefact *is* the ancestor; the ancestor is the artefact. The Connect *is* heritage. The physicality of heritage cannot exist without the spiritual or emotional Connect between person and place. Every facet of heritage has intangible elements: a place has

agency, a person has memory, a performance is fleeting. But they are all tangible; all essential attributes of heritage. It is the Connect between these real things — from person flowing through performance to place and back again — that constitutes heritage and enables people to use that understanding and relationship with place to construct their identities. In turn each protagonist constructs the place from his or her perspective through his or her own discursive formations. This understanding of the importance of performances around that place that create that essential attribute of heritage, the Connect, unsettles our familiar reliance on the AHD as the universal model of heritage and opens heritage places up to other ways of interpretation, use and management.

Understanding what heritage means to different groups is vitally important. Places are constructed by the discourses around them, and by their material and spiritual dimensions. Investigating Māori and archaeological discourses about heritage and Māori and archaeological practices of heritage enables the articulation of the core attributes of heritage: place, person, performance and connection. Dissonance is inseparable from heritage because heritage is about the manifold identities emerging from a place and seeking their own independent status. Heritage can be seen as the relationships different people have with places, created by their connections which are strongly emotional and evolve into senses of ‘ownership’ — whether legal, spiritual, scientific or moral — thereby producing dissonance. Although heritage is inherently dissonant, this research has shown that the opportunity for different cultural groups to work together enhances self reflection, adaptability, and innovation.

The model presented in this thesis disentangles Māori heritage places from their identity as archaeological sites and reframes them as heritage places to be governed within the community by Māori, not as archaeological sites administered by a central bureaucracy under post-settler law. Critically, archaeological discourse and archaeologists’ elevation of their connections with place profoundly influenced this law and their discourse is naturalised within it. Māori ancestral places, water, sites, wāhi tapu, and other taonga are primarily taonga — Māori heritage places — and any other qualities they may have are subsumed within that understanding. Consequently, a management system that enables Māori to govern and have kaitiakitanga over their own heritage is a fundamental Treaty obligation and an essential human right.

Recent archaeological work that promotes an inclusive archaeological practice, such as ‘social archaeology’, is nevertheless still a ‘management’ practice focussed on archaeology. Heritage managers have ethical obligations to provide a heritage practice that is socially responsible, radically transparent, and promotes an ethic of guardianship that includes communities and adapts to changing heritage needs. This means archaeology, while retaining its importance as a heritage tool, should be integrated within a broader understanding of heritage practice; becoming an equal, not dominant, partner alongside the other qualities: social, cultural, historic, technological, architectural, which contribute to making a place heritage.

The research has shown the importance of place in the theory of heritage proposed and that it is an essential attribute of heritage. The RMA has elevated historic places (including those with archaeological qualities) to a matter of national importance to be protected from inappropriate subdivision, use and development, but ironically, whenever a place with archaeological qualities is identified under the resource management process this place is referred to the NZHPT and managed by the statutory processes of the HPA which protects the *information*, not the place. Only approved archaeologists are legally able to extract this information. Consequently the protective mechanisms of the RMA are constantly undermined by this subsidiary legislation which elevates the archaeological information over all the other historic heritage qualities that communities might value.

Land-based heritage enables people to connect to real places from the past. It is these connections that provide an enduring sense of continuity that contributes to identity formation and cultural well-being. This research has established the importance of performance in the production of heritage meaning. The present heritage model which equates the AHD with heritage (when it is only a management *tool*) needs to be abandoned and heritage management returned to the communities whose performances at the places create the Connect between person and place. Heritage places and the practices associated with them are where identities are located and where questions of social and cultural concern are worked out. In a nation moving slowly towards a more equitable distribution of power these questions are particularly relevant. The present mono-cultural model that controls Māori heritage places by asserting a Western discourse of heritage is no longer relevant for Aotearoa New Zealand. The structures of heritage management therefore need to be re-negotiated in a way that promotes a trans-cultural, bi-national model of heritage management.

A model for heritage management which promotes an ethic of stewardship (kaitiakitanga) is fundamental to successful heritage practice. A flexible, self reflexive, transparent, socially responsible, community-based, trans-cultural, bi-national governance structure is required. The dynamism of change and the importance of heritage places to very different communities are essential attributes of this model. This governance structure is broad enough to be relevant to the management of all heritage places. It does not envisage separation of heritage governance into Pākehā dealing with Pākehā heritage places, while Māori limit their concern to Māori heritage places, but advocates for reciprocity of ideas and acknowledgement of the strengths of each cultural perspective within the total heritage field. Both Māori and Pākehā world-views contribute to this wider understanding of heritage as being complex, material, spiritual, emotional, and cognitive.

In this model, the very dissonance that is inherent in heritage is its strength: dissonance has to be resolved by discussion, negotiation, and compromise; all qualities promoted in the model. There is no single solution for heritage issues — there cannot be — because dissonance and contestation are fundamental attributes of the heritage process, which is about the assertion of identity through the physicality of things. Consequently, a model which adapts as communities change may provide a more effective way of managing the places that are so important to everyone — whatever their discursive construction of the place might be.

This research has been conducted using a multi-disciplinary practice-based ethnographic methodology, which has enabled the development of a deeper understanding of the process and importance of heritage. It contributes to the developing field of heritage studies by proposing a theory of heritage which identifies heritage as the physical connection people have with place expressed in the performances which construct, and are constructed by, the discourses about them; heritage is not heritage unless people are able to perform and Connect at places. This understanding of heritage reinforces the need for greater community participation in decision-making and the importance of community involvement and activity (performances) with their heritage places.

This research makes a significant contribution to the theorisation of archaeology and heritage studies generally by illustrating that although archaeologists (and by extrapolation other heritage professionals) are defined, and define themselves as emotionally neutral they have a significant emotional investment in the way they engage with heritage places, which they call archaeological sites thus claiming them as their own. This work demonstrates that it is

the AHD and the unquestioning reliance on the AHD that obscures and even denies such an emotional connection. This research, which shows that archaeological practice is not a neutral objective scientific pursuit, but an emotionally-laden, creative, construction that wields considerable power through its use of the AHD, has made an important contribution to the theorisation of both archaeological practice and heritage studies in Aotearoa New Zealand that will have implications for heritage practice nationally and internationally.

Moreover, this research indicates the importance of interdisciplinary research grounded in practice because from this exploration of heritage practices it has been possible to develop a new understanding of heritage collected from two diverse discourses representing Indigenous people and Western traditions. The research has shown the importance of unravelling the meaning of places to people and of observing and analysing people's interactions with place. It has provided a new theoretical framework for understanding the phenomenon of heritage that has emerged from practice. By actually examining what people do and say this research has provided valuable information about the meaning and purpose of heritage in this post-settler nation, which has important implications for the development of a more theoretical practice-based study of heritage and its processes in Aotearoa New Zealand.

While New Zealand heritage management remains an under-theorised management system which attempts to manage all places, especially Māori heritage places, through an uncritical, AHD lens many people will continue to be disenfranchised from their heritage places and unable to perform the actions that create the essential Connect with places that is heritage. The naturalisation of the AHD and oblivion to the assumptions that influence the present heritage management system, (including the power of the heritage professional), and the sidelining of the social and political situation, must be addressed if the practice of heritage in Aotearoa New Zealand is to situate itself credibly in the emerging international heritage studies field. This study contributes to the theorising of the practice of heritage in New Zealand, which is currently under-theorised and overly concerned with techniques of heritage conservation rather than the deeper meanings and purpose of heritage.

The theoretical framework that emerges from this revised understanding of heritage has led to the formulation of a governance model of heritage that is more appropriate for twenty-first century Aotearoa New Zealand, has universal merit, and wide applicability, particularly relevant to other former settler colonies. This governance model would not have been identified if the present day practices around Māori heritage places had not been examined,

analysed and theorised into a revised model of heritage that elevates the Connect as the crucial element in heritage and identity formation.

The significance of this study is that it is one of the first sustained pieces of critical analysis of heritage management in New Zealand and a contribution to critical heritage studies internationally. This study has opened the door to a new understanding of the importance of heritage to all New Zealanders. It advocates for community-based, trans-cultural heritage governance that enables the people of Aotearoa New Zealand to manage and practice their own heritage in a spirit of partnership that honours the Treaty of Waitangi while allowing everyone to enjoy their own mana, identity, connection, and belonging.

Glossary

Ahi kā:	burning fires of occupation — title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time. The group is able, through the use of whakapapa, to trace back to primary ancestors who lived on the land. They held influence over the land through their military strength and defended successfully against challenges, thereby keeping their fires burning
Ariki:	paramount chief
Aroha:	affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy
Atua:	ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost. Many Māori trace their ancestry from atua in their whakapapa and they are regarded as ancestors with influence over particular domains.
Hapū:	kinship group, clan, tribe, sub-tribe — section of a large kinship group
Hui:	meetings
Iwi:	extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race, large group of people descended from a common ancestor
Kaha:	strength
Kainga:	home, address, residence, village, habitation, habitat
Kaitiaki:	trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, keeper
Kaitiakitanga:	guardianship, trusteeship.
Kaumātua:	elderly man, elderly woman,
Ka pai:	good
Kaupapa:	ideology, policy,
Kawa:	marae protocol
Koha:	donation, gift
Kōiwi tangata:	human remains
Koro:	elderly man, grandfather, term of address to an older man
Kuia:	elderly woman, grandmother, female elder

Manaakitanga:	hospitality, kindness
Mana:	prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma — mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. Mana goes hand in hand with tapu, one affecting the other. Mana is the enduring, indestructible power of the atua and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the mana
Mana whenua:	territorial rights, power from the land — power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land.
Marae:	courtyard — the open area in front of the wharenuī, complex of buildings around the marae
Mātauranga	education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill
Mate:	ill-being
Mauri:	life principle, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions
Mihimihi	speech of greeting, tribute
Moko (puna):	grandchild, descendant — child or grandchild of a son, daughter, nephew, niece, etc.
Noa:	be free from the extensions of tapu, ordinary, unrestricted
Ora:	well-being
Pā	fortified village, fort
Pōhiri/pōwhiri	invitation, ritual of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae
Rangatira:	chief
Rohe:	boundary, district, region, territory, area
Rūnanga:	council, tribal council, assembly, board,
Taiwhenua:	permanent home, land, district
Tangata whenua:	local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land — people born of the whenua
Tangihanga:	weeping, funeral, rites for the dead.
Taniwha:	water spirit, monster, chief, guardians. Taniwha take many forms, often associated with water.
Taonga:	property, goods, possessions, treasure, something prized

Tapu:	restriction — a supernatural condition. A person, place or thing is dedicated to an atua and is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. Untouchable
Tauranga waka:	canoe landing
Tikanga:	correct procedure, custom, lore, practice,
Tipuna/tupuna:	ancestors
Tohunga:	skilled person, chosen expert, priest
Urupā:	cemetery, grave
Utu:	revenge, reciprocity — an important concept concerned with the maintenance of balance and harmony in relationships between individuals and groups and order within Māori society, If social relations are disturbed, utu is a means of restoring balance
Wāhi tapu:	sacred place, historic place
Wānanga:	seminar, conference, forum, a tertiary institution that caters for Māori learning needs— established under the Education Act 1990, tribal knowledge, lore
Whakapapa:	genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent
Whanau:	extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people — in the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members
Whanaungatanga:	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection
Wharenuī:	meeting house, large house, main building of a marae where guests are accommodated
Whenua:	land, country, placenta

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