

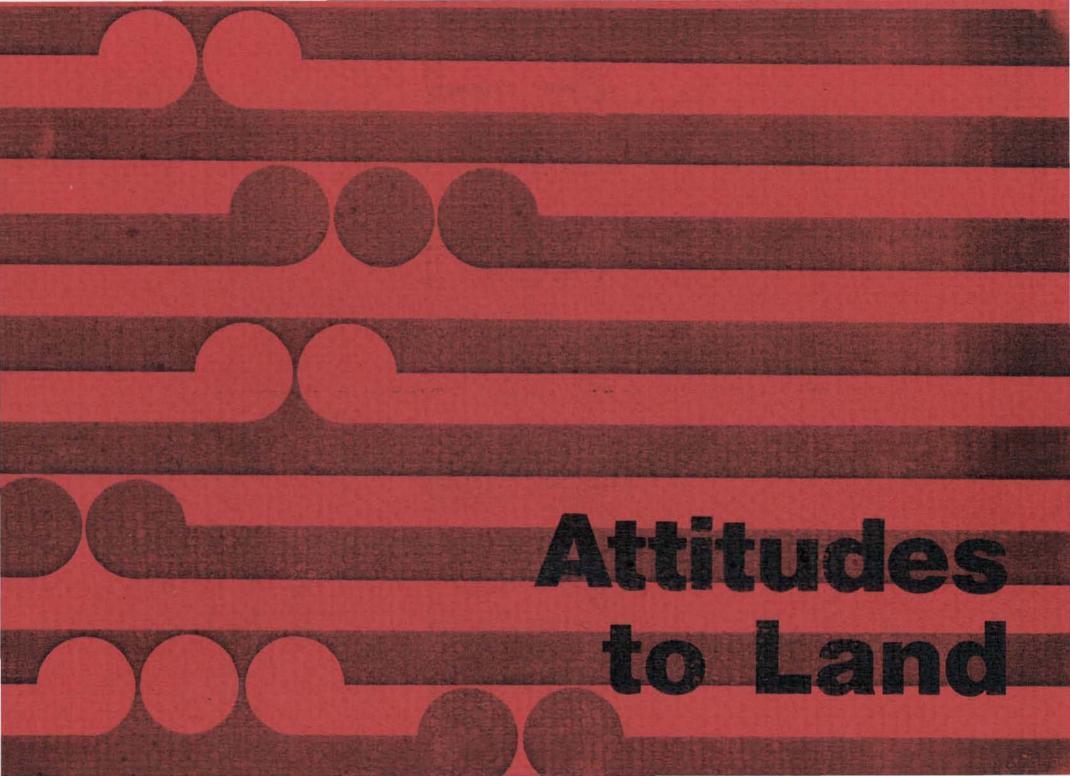
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A COMPARISON OF MAORI AND PAREHA ATTITUDES TO LAND

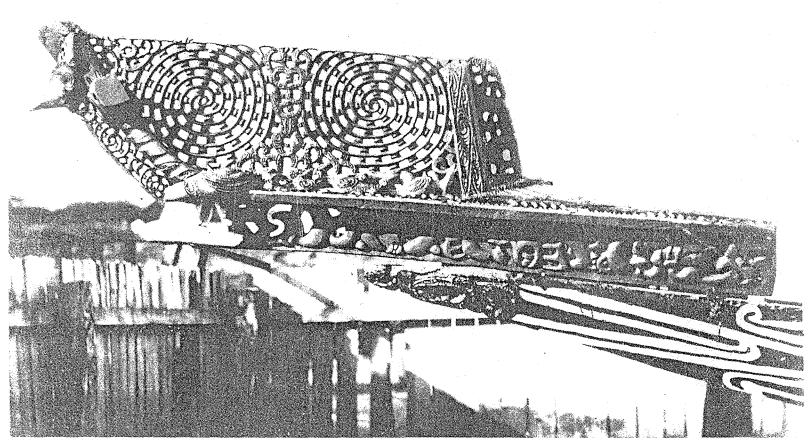
A dissertation submitted in partial completion of the Diploma of Landscape Architecture, Lincoln College 1985

Neil Challenger B.A.

Artwork on the title page and the division pages is based upon a work by Gordon Watters.

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Figurehead of the canoe Te-Toki-A-Tapiri now

(Rev. John Kinder photo, Kinder Album,

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particular would like Ι acknowledge my debt to Ata Te Awa, Keni Johanni, Bill Nepia, Anihera Bowan and K.W. who prefers to remain anonymous. All of these people willingly shared their knowledge with me and contributed significantly to this Additionally, the landscape paper. section of the Forest Service, NFAC, the Commission for the Environment and the Centre for Maori Studies and Research at Waikato University were all most generous in giving me their For this I thank time and resources. them. As well, I take this opportunity to thank my supervisor Mary Ann Robinson, for encouraging and quiding me in my work.

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No reira, He mihi nui kia koutou E hoa ma.

Introduction

New Zealand is becoming increasingly marked by disputes over land use; the Motunui outfall, the Clyde Manakau Harbour and the Waimairi landfill, are all disputes over what is the most appropriate use of land. conflicts These all stem from differing perceptions of land and of wise land use. Ultimately therefore, the way land is used is a product of the way it is thought about.

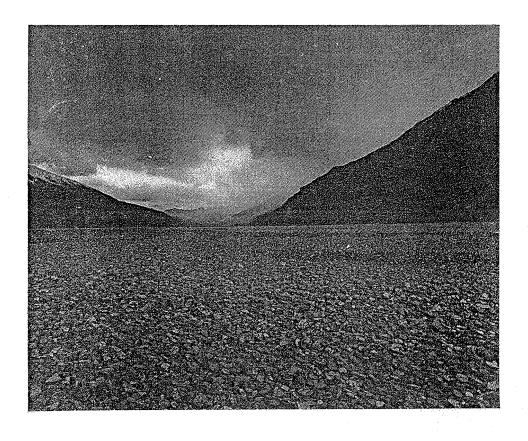
This is the very heartland of landscape architecture.

Although many of these disputes are between Maori and Pakeha, there is not, so far as I know, any source of information of the different attitudes to land of these two groups. deficiency is particularly significant for landscape architects, for land is their business. It is the intention of this dissertation to begin to fill this gap and more particularly, to pull Maori values, which are nearly always ignored, into focus alongside those of the Pakeha. At the same time it is intended to draw out the similarities and differences between the two groups

by way of highlighting the real issues on the ground.

In carrying this out I have gone through five steps. Firstly I consider why people think differently about land, then I review Maori and Pakeha attitudes to land, both separately and as they work in parallel. I close by seeking some tentative solutions to the problems of conflicting land use.

In writing this dissertation I have been acutely aware that I am representing values frequently different from my own. It is my hope that I have done so in a way that is fair and just, and that in the longrun this paper might assist the journey to a more equitable system of land use.

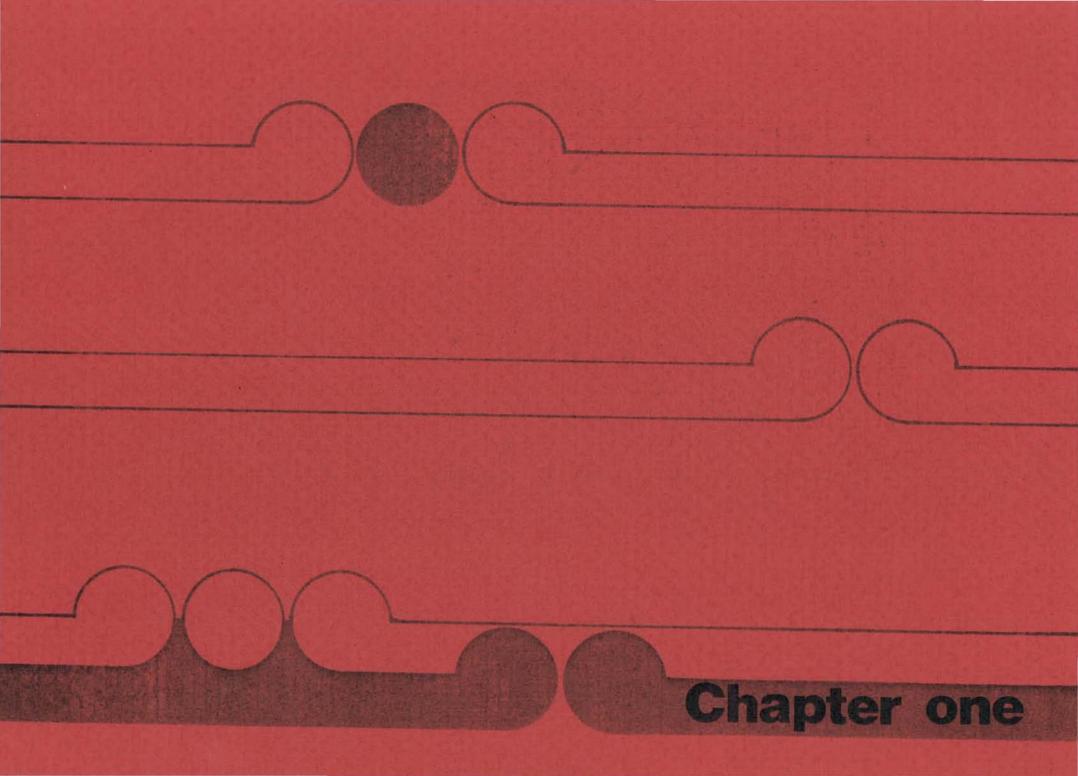


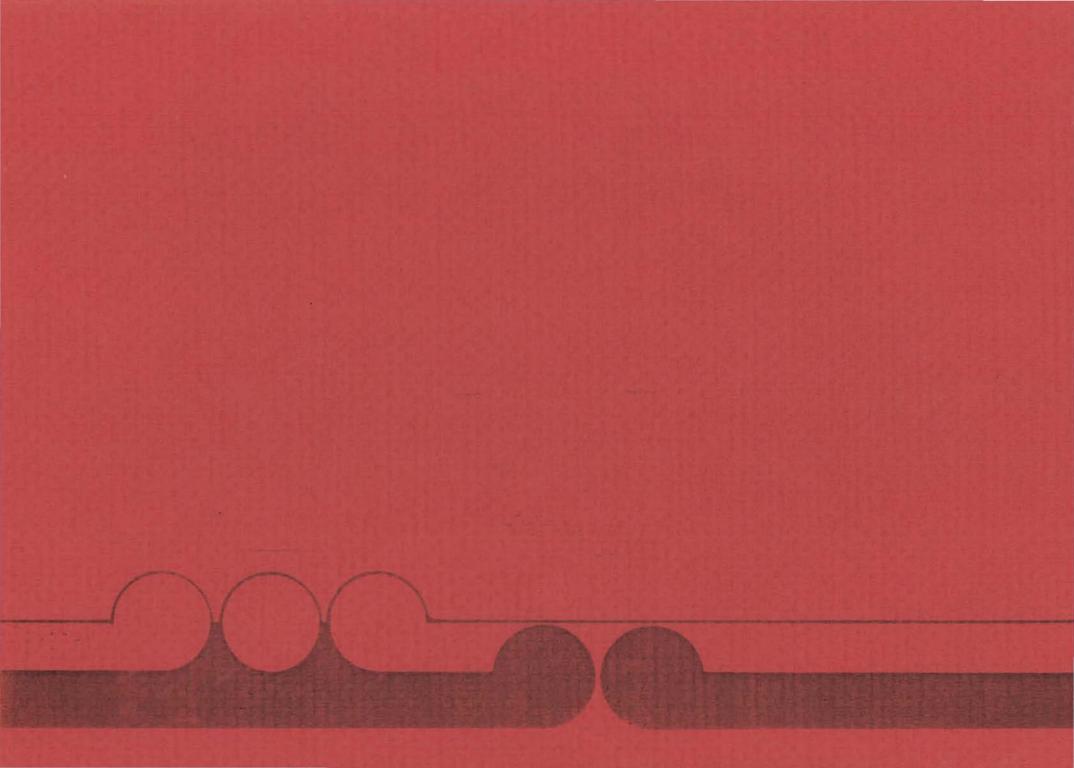
"After the parting of Rangi and Papa,"
Rangi wept with love undiminished
And the heavens rained upon the earth and the waters covered the earth

So did Rangi mourn So did Rangi sorrow"

Although the rain abated,
the heartache of Rangi and Papa remains;
and is seen in the morning dew, in the mist and in the rain.
When the sky and the earth are united in mist it is Rangi and Papa reaching out to

each other.





The Broader Context

By and large people are equipped with the same sensory organs: we all have eyes for seeing and ears for listening and, via our skin and nose, can taste, touch and smell the environment that surrounds us. Ostensibly then we should all have the same attitude towards the same piece of land. It is obvious that this is not the case. If a group of people are presented with a common scene they will be able to agree about what they see, but more than likely will disagree about what they perceive. Quite simply things have different meanings for different people - as the old saying goes, one man's treasure is another man's rubbish.

This is neatly illustrated by the American philosopher William James, in his description of pioneer farms in North Carolina:

"Because to me the clearing spoke of nought but denudation, I thought that to those whose sturdy arms and obedient axes had made them they could tell no other story. But when they looked at

the hideous stumps, what they thought of was personal victory. The chips, the girdled trees, the vile split rails spoke of persistant toil and final reward. The cabin was a warrant for safety for self and wife and babe. In short, the clearing which to me was a mere ugly picture on the retina was to them a symbol redolent with memories and sang a very paean of duty, struggle and success."

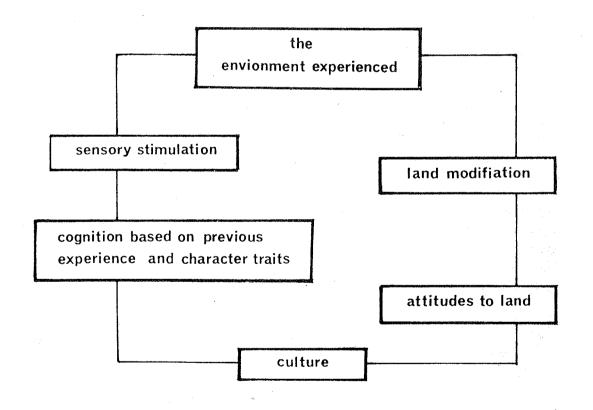
Meinig goes further than this in his article, 'The Beholding Eye' 2. in which he proposes ten rather narrow views of the same scene. These range from seeing the landscape as wealth, to seeing it as aesthetic: and from landscape as habitat, for man, to landscape as the domain of nature. Most people view the world from several of these perspectives, but nonetheless the point is well made; different people see the same thing differently.

What then is the basis of these

1. James, W. 'A certain Blindness in
Human Beings' in Bucham, S.L. A
Discussion of Environmental Attitudes and
Values p 10.

2. Meinig, D.W. The Beholding Eye

differing attitudes to land? Essentially it is the product of action and interaction between environment, culture and individually and culturally determined experience. This can be represented in simplistic terms by the following model.



It is clear, however, that this does not contain the whole basis for attitudes to land. I do not want to branch into a discussion on the philosophy religion, but it is apparent that culture, and hence attitudes to land, contains a considerable metaphysical component. This spiritual component of environmental attitudes can, broadly speaking, be divided into three major streams of thought. The first. humanism, argues that ... "mankind has authority and power over the physical environment and is answerable to no-one as to how he exercises that power. Such limits as he places on himself are purely voluntary and self imposed". The second approach may be called managerial and says that "...mankind has freedom of action over the physical universe but is answerable to a higher power, the creator, for the manner in which he exercises that power". The third approach animism, argues that "...the physical world has a life or spirit of its own which must respected by mankind and which places limits on man's actions."

For the most part, the West follows

3. Turner, A.R. 'The Changing Basis of
Decision Making'. p 21.

this humanist line of thought, allowing man's resultant capacity for unbridled logic to reshape the world in new ways. Ways that many would argue have created a world low in the values of aesthetics. ethics and even livability. However. hand in hand with this spiritual degradation has come an increase in material comfort and physical wellbeing to a level unheard of by our ancestors. It is finding a balance between these two forces that is the role of the landscape architect and forms the quest of many of the alternative. counter-culture groups in the West.

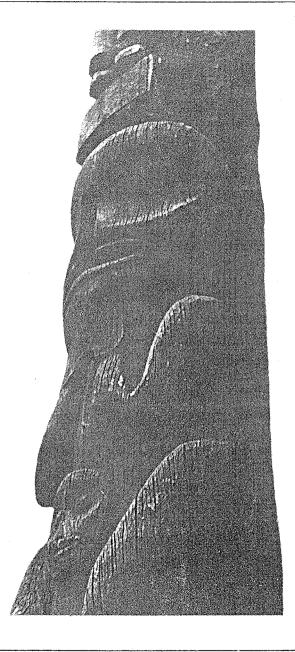
Humanism is, however, marked by additional characteristic diversity of acceptable action that it allows. The humanist is all but unrestrained and can more or less do what he or she thinks is desirable, content in the security provided by the old catch-cry that it is either 'for the good of the community' or 'in the national interest'. Thus it is that Meiniq 4. was able to describe ten such diverse views of the same scene, for humanism is by its very nature marked by the diversity of thought amongst its adherents.

Counterbalancing this anthropocentric world view is that of animism which is held by many of the world's aboriginal peoples. They see the world and its occupants, animate and inanimate, as sacred and as possessing a unique spirituality. This spirituality is seen to be just as valid as that of humans, and this places a very real constraint on human action, since in an ideal world these spirits are in harmony.

This has often resulted in a very close relationship between mankind and the environment in which he lives; a relationship beautifully expressed by Chief Seattle in 1854:

"This we know:
the earth does not belong to man:
man belongs to the earth.
This we know.
All things are connected,
like the blood that unites
one family.
All things are connected.

4. Meinig, D.W. op cit.



Whatever befalls the earth, befalls the sons of the earth. Man did not weave the web of life, he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web he does to himself."

This line of thinking is not restricted to the North American Indian. Australian aborigines also view the world as a sacred place, providing a unique continuity with the past. An attitude that is reflected in the following poem.

"We belong to the Ground

It is our power and we must stay

Close to it or maybe

We will get lost." 6.

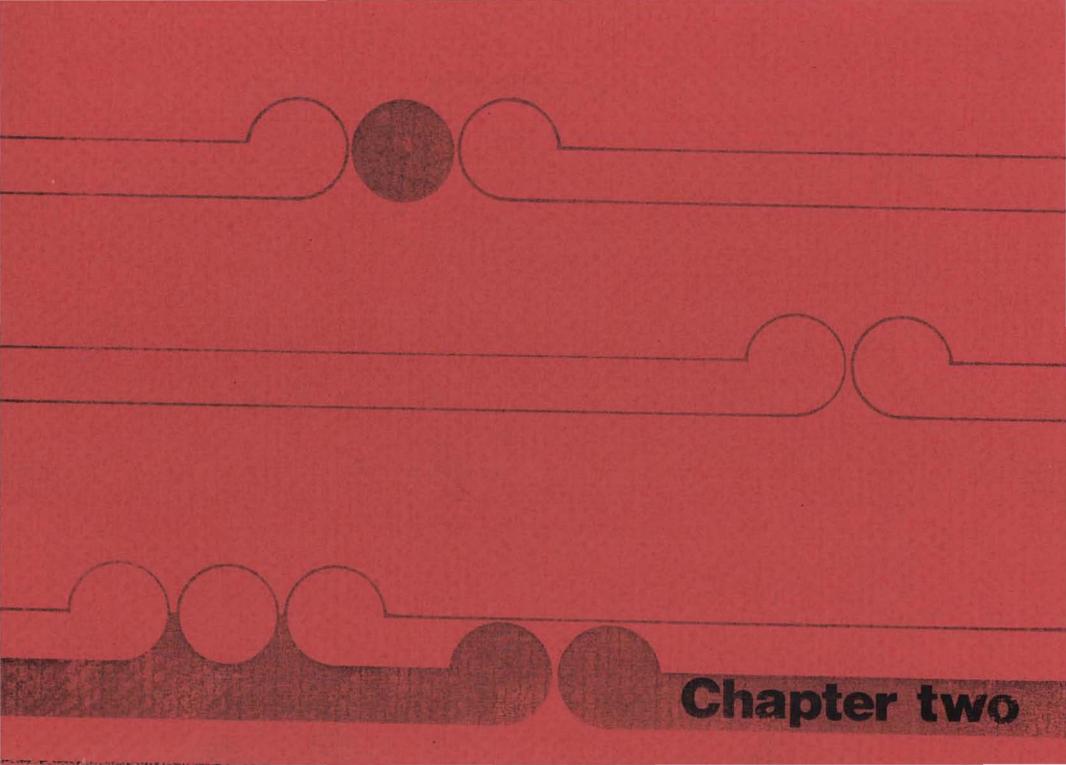
Narritjin Maymuru, Yirrkala

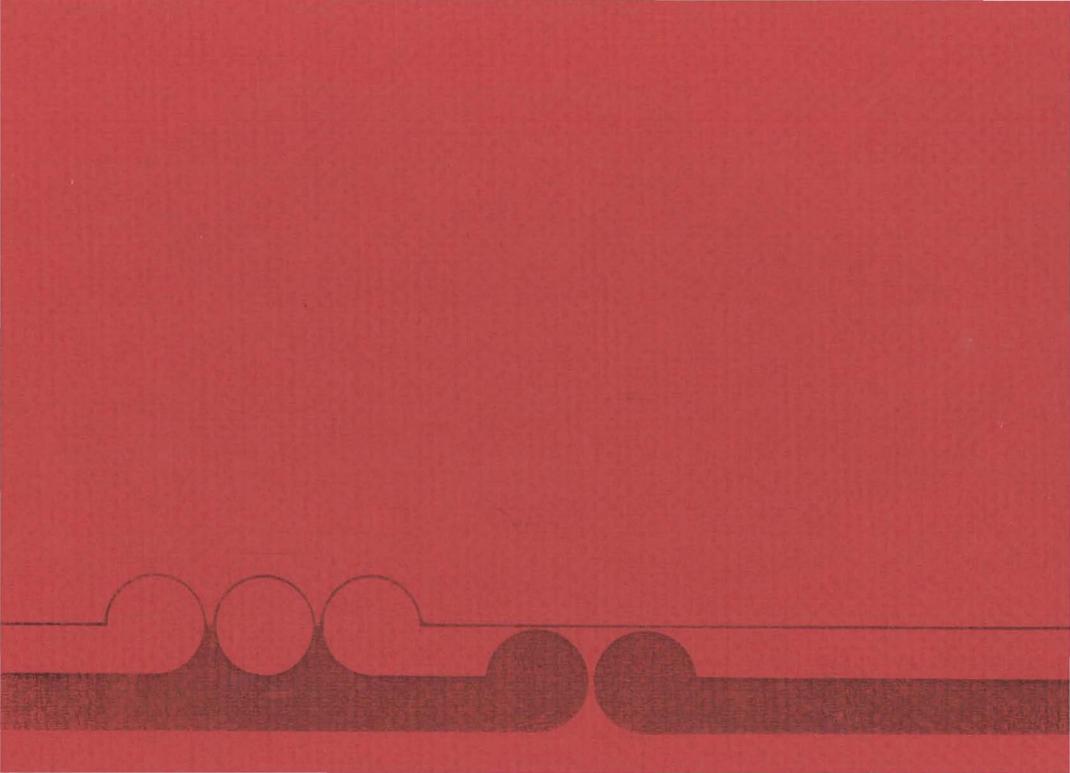
The attitude to land of the Maori people is part of this animist global continuity and forms a major component

- 5. Chief Seattle in Bucham, S.L., op cit, p
 13.
- 6. Isaacs, J. (ed). <u>Australian Dreaming</u>, p 99.

of this study. In contrast is the Aborigine and Indian - the Maori people form a significant proportion of the New Zealand population and their culture is alive and currently enjoying a remarkable renaissance. This elevates the study of Maori attitudes to land from being an academic exercise destined to gather dust in a library, to being an essential component to forging a bicultural New Zealand identity.

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Maori Attitudes to Land

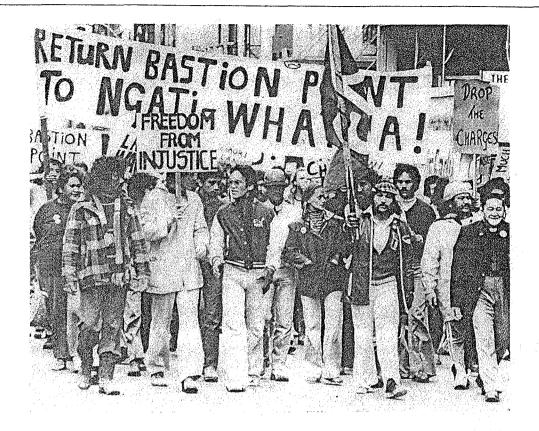
There are just under 300,000 Maoris in New Zealand, making up about 10% of the population. That is, 300,000 people who identify themselves as being Maori and as such identify with the Maori culture, to a greater or lesser extent. However, just because these people identify with the Maori culture does not mean they all share the same view and the same attitude to land. Rather, as might be expected in the light of the preceding chapter, they hold a plethora of attitudes between them.

Some of these are distinctly Maori and some distinctly Pakeha; many more fall into the middle - a combination of the two, some leaning towards the Maori side and some to the Pakeha. To study such a wide range of attitudes would be difficult, not only from a methodological perspective, but also because of the length of time it would take to carry out this work. Accordingly, in discussing Maori attitudes to land I have limited my study to the attitudes of those people who still believe in and support Maori tradition and culture in its fullest sense.

It would therefore be wrong to assume that all Maoris have this attitude to land - they do not. The attitude that I present is a traditional one and people hold it to varying degrees. However, it would be equally wrong to assume that this view is not held to any real extent and that traditional values no longer hold sway.

The Maori culture, to which land is central, is currently enjoying a renaissance that is seeing it exposed to the broader public more than ever before, while attracting more and more people to its banner.

powers-that-be are making efforts in this direction. We now hear Maori on radio and television. albeit briefly. Kohanga Reo is now seeing 2000 children a year leave pre-school bilingual. The effect of this is seen in bilingual schools and in increased Maori content in general schools. All universities and Teacher's Colleges now offer Maori courses. As well as this, official support for the Maori culture is being



given by the Waitangi Tribunal and slight, but increasing efforts are being made to incorporate Maori values into legislation.

These small advances can only be seen as reflecting the energies of the Maori people. The 1970's and '80's have been marked by increasing Maori political activity. Whina Cooper led the land march from Te Hapua to Wellington, and Eva Rickard led Te Hikoi Ki Waitangi from Auckland to Waitangi. The Nga Tamatoa and Te Reo Maori organisations have consistently pushed for increased recognition of, and support for, the Maori culture. The re have been disputes over land all over the country; Raglan golf course and Bastion Point most catching the public Protests have consistently eye. marked Waitangi celebrations; Day Maori secondary last year school students boycotted school for a day, in protest at insufficient Maori content. The list goes on, and is growing daily.

Additionally the Maori population is growing significantly faster than the

1. The Centre for Maori Studies and Research is currently (July, 1985), reviewing two pieces of legislation as to their acceptability to the Maori culture, Nottingham, I. pers. comm.

Pakehas. By the year 2050, half the population will be Maori. ². Thus the number of potential adherents to the Maori culture stands to grow significantly in the years ahead. The Maori culture is both alive and growing.

The preliminaries aside, let us now turn to the Maori attitude to land.

Land is the basis of the Maori culture. It is the stage upon which the play of life is performed, without it there be no play, only players. would Everything is derived from land and everything goes back to land. Land represents the source, the expression and the continuance of the Maori culture. So intertwined are the land and the people that it is said "Mana whenua, Madi Tangata" - the prestige of the land is the life force of the people. 3. Thus "... to the Maori, land confers dignity and rank, provides the mana of hospitality, is the resting place of the dead and the heritage of future generations. It is a giver of personal identity, a symbol of social stability and a source of emotional and spiritual strength". 4.

The Maori attitude to land can be seen as springing from four different but

intimately linked aspects of their relationship with land - spirituality, identity, social structure and economic resource. In continuing this discussion I will consider each of these in turn and then conclude by discussing the place of land in the spectrum of Maori values.

Spirituality

The four components of the Maori attitudes to land are intimately linked. Of them all, however, spirituality is

- 2. The Maori population is currently 297,000 and increasing at a rate of 3.4% p.a., the pakeha population is 2,790,000 and is increasing at a rate of 0.9% p.a. (Department of Statistics). There is some dispute over the long term implication of this, some commentators such as McTagget in her article 'Treasures of Nature' suggest half the population will be Maori by 2050, while others such as O'Regan, in his paper in 'Land and Maori Identity in Contemporary New Zealand', gives the year as 2200. Whichever is correct, it is clear that the Maori population stands to become a significant part of the whole in the future.
- 3. Douglas, M.K. 'Land and Maori Identity in Contemporary N.Z., p 76.
- 4. Anderson, R. <u>Planning for Maori Needs</u> p 63.

A protest march in support of the occupation of Bastion Point by the Ngati Whatua. The point was occupied for 506 days before the protesters were forcibly removed in a combined police and army operation.

the most pervasive, touching every aspect of the Maori relationship with land; this spiritual dimension impinging on and often dominating the other aspects of the Maori attitude to land. Spirituality is a powerful force in the Maori world view.

The Maori spiritual relationship with land has its roots in the very beginning of the world; in the formation of the earth and the creation of man and all other creatures. The Maori view of creation is a comprehensive and sophisticated version, which goes back to the time when there was nothing, and comes forward to the point when people came to live on earth.

It begins with Te Kore - the void. From this arose Te Po Nui the long night, and out of this came the first parents Rangi and Papa.

"My Mother was the Earth
My Father was the Sky
They were Rangitane and
Papatuanuku, the first parents,
who clasped each other so
tightly that there was no day.
Their children were born into
darkness...."

5. Rarawa Kerohoma in Ihimaira W. Tangi.

Their children grew tired of this endless night, they separated their parents, pushing Rangitane into the heavens to become the sky and leaving their mother, the earth, below them. Such was his heartache at being rent from Papa that Rangi wept, and his tears became the sea and the lakes and the other waters that cover Papatuanuku's body.

The children of Rangi and Papa now made busy on the earth. Tane clothed Papa with the forest and Rangi with the stars and the sun. Tangaroa, god of the sea, became lord of its water and its inhabitants. Rongomatane became aod οf cultivated foods and Haumiatiketike, god of uncultivated food. Tawhirimatea is the god of the wind and bad weather and the god of war is Tumatauenga. Finally there is Ruaumoko, as yet unborn, the creator of earthquakes and volcanos as he kicks against his mother's body.

In this world of light Tane now made the first woman Hineahuone out of clay, and he took her as his wife. 6. They had a child Hinetitama and Tane took

6. Maori women claim a closer tie to earth on account of this and see themselves as the earth's direct descendent.

The gods, people and the earth are part of a whole, acting and interacting with each other, secure between Rangitane above and Papatuanuku below.

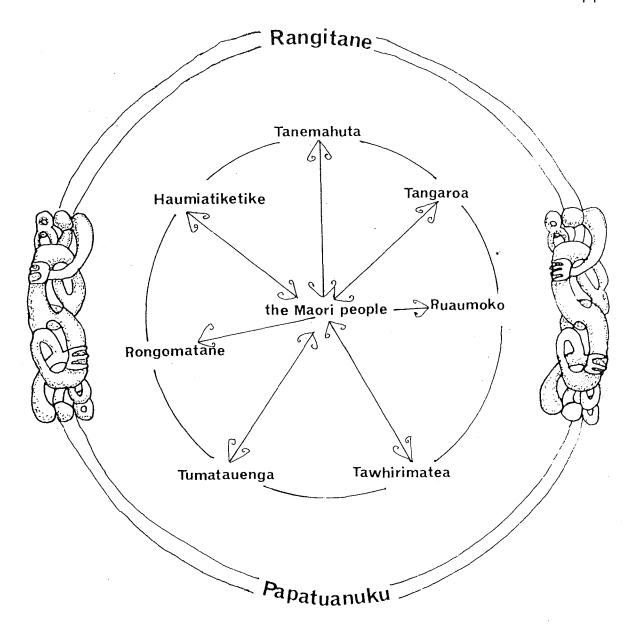
her as his wife also. Thus was begun the human kind.

beginning From this Maoris themselves as having a direct link with They are its descendants the earth. and the gods are their ancestors. All creatures are from this same beginning. Life is seen as a complex web where everythng interacts and at some point unites. Each is dependent on the other for the continuity of land, nature and man, and each contributes Mauri (the life force) to the other elements of life.

Thus many Maori people feel so close to the earth that they can 'hear its heart beat'. They feel they are the earth.

"...you know I have other special feelings. It's for greenstone I know that greenstone (pounamu). represents my land and its mana. feel personally connected to every pounamu, every mere (hand club) I've I guess it symbolises the land seen. lost, lost but not forgotten. All green-stone comes from Tе Wahi Pounamu, all greenstone is Te Wahi pounamu, all green-stone is me." 7.

7. Douglas, M.K. op cit, p 78.



"Awakening, Tane found his mother, Papa, and his father Rangi unclothed, unadorned unbeautiful.
So Tane clothed them his mother and his father.

Papa, with towering trees. the sweet throated tui. the drifting butterfly, the fragrant piripiri, the white petalled clematis. the soft weeping rimu. Rangi, with coloured rainbows. shimmering stars, blazing comets, the glowing sun."

It is from this common beginning that all things, including water, are seen as having their own wairua (spirit) and Mauri. This animist view widespread and articulated. At a tangi (funeral) held recently at Wanganui, a group of people went to the marae to pay their last respects. They arrived before dawn, and so were obliged to wait until it was light before they could go onto the marae. In the darkness one of their number stepped forward, he called out that he didn't believe it was his friend who lay unseen on the paepae before him. He challenged the sun to prove him right. Again he challenged the sun, and as he did so the first rays of light came over the horizon. 8. To the Pakeha this is merely a poetic coincidence, but to those attending the tandi it was confirmation of the sun's spiritual being. This same wairua is in the trees, the birds and all of the For many Maori the physical land. world isn't just physical matter, it also has a spiritual being - a tree is a tree, a tree is Tane, Tane is a person; the sea is wet - the sea is Tangaroa. This wairua has the power to act. Ιt shows itself in appropriate acts at So in the Maori appropriate times. world it always rains at a tangi, for Rangitane is sorry for the people's loss.

Thus the world of the Maori is united and holistic. Life is seen as a circle coming from, turning to, and being of the earth. In this circle both death and life are but parts of a continuing journey. All the parts add up to the whole. Rangi feeds Papa with his tears. Tane clothes Papa with his forests. Ruaumoko forms mountains. Tangaroa wears them down. In this world man is just a part of this circle, just one of the elements that compose it. For "...the land is Papatuanuku our earth mother, we love her as a mother is loved. It is through her the portal of Hineahuone that we entered this world. We will return to the bosom of Papatuanuku through the portal of Hine-nui-te-po." 9.

The final aspect of spirituality significant in determining Maori attitudes to land is tapu. This is a concept of sacredness: a sacredness, in the case of land at least, arising from the Wairua associated with the land and derived from either Papatuanuku or from man.

- 8. Takao, N. pers. comm.
- 9. Douglas, M.K. op cit, p 75. Hine-nui-te-po is the mistress of the underworld.



Failure to observe the tapu or to respect the wairua is viewed This is seen in tapu dangerous. lifting ceremonies associated with the removal of trees from the forest; in the respect given to sacred sites (wahi tapu) and in the widespread belief that people who break the tapu may be killed or beset with disaster. The Mangere built over an urupa bridge was (cemetery) and suffered construction problems. A bulldozer driver in Akaroa drove over an urupa and was killed. and most recently mysterious deaths of three children in a house in Mangere was attributed to the house being built on a wahitapu. 10. To the Pakeha these events coincidental, but to many Maori they represent the cause and effect of violating the tapu of land.

Identity

To find identity you need to answer three questions - where you've come from, where you are and where you are going. The past, the present and the future. For the Maori, land provides the continuity that allows this sequence 10. Maxwell, A., Bowen, A. and K.W. pers. comm.

- land houses the past, provides the present and will allow the future. Thus to a large extent the identity of the Maori people on an individual, hapu and iwi basis is provided by land.

Land represents the past, what has happened to it and at whose hand. This is especially true for the Maori, who in years gone by were in intimate physical contact with the land they used. This relationship between land, people and events is typified by the following quote from William Satchell.

"...league on league over hill and valley and plain, stretched the ancient territories of the tribe, their fisheries and hunting grounds, their cultivations, villages and their battlefields and burial places, and there was not a hill or gulley, a ridge or creek scarce even a stone or a mighty tree that was not named and consecrated . in the poetry, romance, legends or history of the Tainui voyagers." 11.

To some extent this intimate knowledge of the land has diminished as people have moved to the cities. However, at an emotional level at least it lives on.

It should not be assumed from the large urban Maori population that these links are lost. A survey conducted by the Tai Tokerau Maori council has shown that 75% of those Maori's questioned in cities wanted to return to their tribal areas 12. — the spirit is willing, the opportunities do not allow.

If the specifics of the links between land and events have in some cases been lost, the relationship between the land and the dead has not. Countless generations of people have been buried in the security of mother earth, with whom, for the living at least, they have become all but synomynous. Many people consider the land to be their tipuna (ancestor) in every sense of the So strong is this link that it word. is common in asking someone where they are from to enquire 'Where are your bones'? referring to where their tipuna are buried. The land is then a source book of the ancestry of the Maori people.

In part it is this relationship between

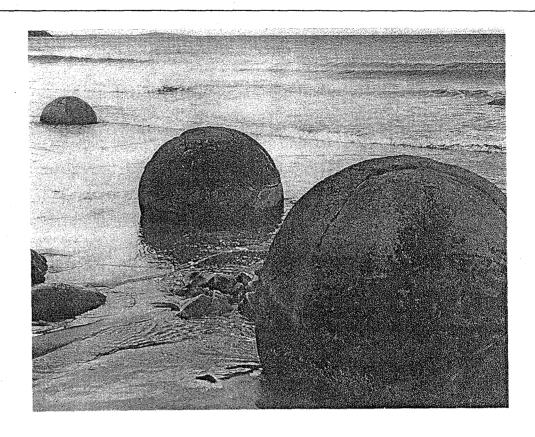
- 11. Satchwell, W. in Bucham, S. A Discussion of Environmental Attitudes and Values p 16. The Tainui people are the descendents of the Tainui canoe and traditionally occupied almost the entire area north of Hamilton.
 - 12. Maori land in Northland.

These large round boulders at Moeraki are said to be the kumara, calabashes and eel pots carried on the Araiteuru canoe which was wrecked here.

the dead and the land that gives rise to Wahitapu. Upon being buried the wairua that people possessed when alive is passed onto the land, making it tapu. The tapuness of the land is a product of the individual and the cumulative mana of the people buried there.

In some instances physical objects are seen as being the same as some exalted tipuna. When confronted with this, Pakehas have extreme difficulty in reconciling the apparent contradiction between form and being. However, to Maoris there is no contradiction. Form and being are the same and are a reality that is tangible, and to some plausible.

"Many years ago I was walking on the bank of the Waikato river near the village of Te Whetu. The native chief said to me "I will show you something no white man has ever seen, I will show vou our ancestor Raukawa". This Maori belonged to the tribe of We left the riverside Ngati-Raukawa. and proceeded up a narrow valley. Turning a sharp angle in it we came across a huge conical stone. It was s about thirty feet in height, if my memory serves me. About 20 ft. up



was a bright patch of red ochre. The Maori said "Do you see the Kura (red mark)?" I answered "Yes, what is it?" He replied. "That is the blood that flowed from the land when he was killed. That is my ancestor Raukawa. He was a giant, he leapt across the Waikato river at the place where Cambridge now stands." I said "I

"When I go back home, all of these things, the hills, the river flats, the bush, are still there to remind me, to evoke feelings and recall the past. It is really an emotive response. It is nothing to do with commonsense or logic, or what I am going to get out of it."

Maori woman talking of her tribal lands.

should like to understand exactly what Do you want me to know you mean. that this stone was set up in memory of your ancestor, and made sacred for him?" He answered "No, that is my ancestor himself". I then said "You must know you are talking nonsense. stone cannot give life to a race of men, nor could it leap across the Waikato. You mean that stone has been named Raukawa, or else, perhaps your giant forefather was turned into stone by the gods and the petrified hero stands in No he replied dogged, this spot". "that is Roukawa, and the red mark is the place where he was mortally wounded". I shook my head in despair. I could not follow his thought, but I felt sure that he believed in some queer idea of personality in the stone." 13. To the Maori chief the stone was his to the Pakeha commentator ancestor. however, such a notion was quite impossible.

From the past let us now turn to the present, considering firstly the relationship between personal identity and the land.

Through its historic and prehistoric past the land provides a source of inner identity to Maoris that re-enforces

By physical or their Maoriness. visual association with elements significant in Maori terms. the cultural links essential to self identitv can be secured. Tn. Christchurch, for example, the ideal place to live for a Maori is by the Avon, with a view of the Port Hills and the Southern Alps. 14. The Avon was used to wash the bones of their tipuna by the Kaitahu 15. and so to them is of particular significance. The Port Hills were the ο£ scene numerous 'mythological' and historic events. while the Southern Alps provide a link with Mount Cook, the Kaitahu's sacred mountain. If they are from another region, these links are a substitute for those 'back home' but a sort of Pan Maori spiritualism means that although second best these things can provide some succour as a Maori in a Pakeha world.

Within the Maori community land gives

- 13. Tregear, E., politician and poet 1897, in Orbell, M. 'The Maori Tradition of Kupe'. pp 123-4.
- 14. Johanni, K. pers. comm.
- 15. The Kaitahu are the main South Island tribe traditionally living in a broad band running across the South Island between Marlborough and North Otago.

identity to an individual that transcends that gained by simple occupancy. On tribal lands the living represent a continuity with the past. The tribes tipuna are buried in tribal lands, the whenua ¹⁶. of the living have been buried with their tipuna, they themselves will be buried with their tipuna, and in time, their children and grandchildren will lie with them also. The living may not yet be part of the earth but in time it will embrace them also. As "land is the beginning, so it s is the end, and being buried on tribal land is the last expression of sanctity and identity with the ancestors". 17. It makes the circle complete.

Thus the living are the tangata whenua - the people of the land, and the land provides the people with their turangawaewae, literally their place to stand. The place where they belong - their source and their destiny.

"...the concept of Turangawaewae is that the land becomes an actual and visible sign of something that is deeply spiritual. It is a source of nourishment to the inner man rather than to his physical needs. His identity belongs there, his sense of self awareness begins there, his sense of mana and self importance originate there".

With no Turangawaewae a person is incomplete.

On a broader scale land is significant as a source of identity on a hapu and iwi basis. Maori society is tribal and in the past at least was relatively stable, so that each tribe was able to develop strong links with the land it used and occupied.

The Kaitahu have lived in Canterbury for three to four hundred years, the Ngati Porou have lived on the East Coast for seven or eight hundred years, and the Te Aupouri of Northland have been living in the same area since the Tainui canoe landed. These long relationships with the land give it a spiritual, historical and social

- 16. It is customary among Maoris to bury the whenua (placenta) in a wahitapu, now usually an urupa. This is seen as uniting the child with the land (also called the whenua), and with his or her tipuna at the beginning of its life. It may also be a response to the similar roles played by both whenuas the one nurturing the unborn while the other nourishes and embraces the living.
- 17. Douglas, M.K. op cit. p 79.
- 18. Bennet, M. in N.Z. Planning Council, He Matapuna pp 78-79.



Mt. Egmont, (Taranaki Maunga) sacred mountain to the tribes of the Taranaki area.

The circle continues. Te Mania Korohina Wikaitaia of the Ngati Porou stands with his ancestor Paraurangi at Rehua Marae.

significance that Pakehas find difficult to fathom.

"We proclaim a unique relationship with the land as 'tangata whenua'. Our forebears discovered it claimed it by right of discovery, settled the land and marked out its tribal boundaries. Each tribe held the land as a corporate group and was responsible for its collective defence... The forests, mountains, rivers and lakes of this land are sacred to the memory of our people and they stand to-day as the enduring symbols of the tribe".

This tribal relationship with land is seen most markedly in whaikorero - speech making on the marae. The orators don't introduce themselves as individuals, but introduce themselves and the people they represent, on the basis of their tribe. A Kaitahu might thus begin his whaikorero by proclaiming:

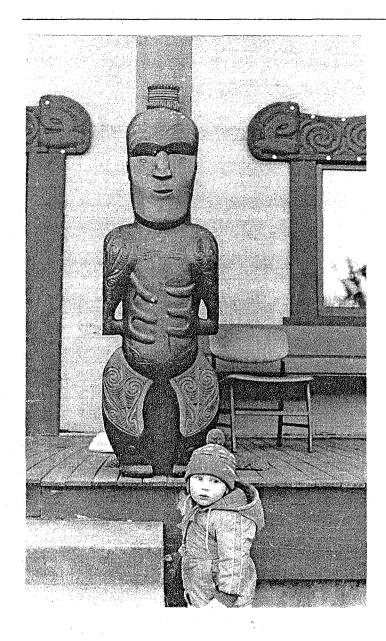
"Aoraki te mauka Waimakariri te awa Ko Kaitahu te iwi"

Mount Cook is the mountain, the river is the Waimakariri, (therefore) the people are the Kaitahu.

It is clear from this that the land provides a source of identity that is derived from a much wider base than the scattered remnants of land that remain in Maori hands. The mana of the land may be encapsulated on the marae, but it springs from the entire area that was traditionally occupied by the tribe.

Within this it is also clear that some features are much more significant than others as a source of tribal identity, Mount Cook and the Waimakariri being prime examples in the Canterbury 19. Douglas, M.K. op cit, p.75.

20. K.W., pers. comm.



region. For some these are the only source of land based identity they have left.

"I look at this land, it has been a hundred years or more in our hands. Apart from that I look to the river itself. I see Taupiri the mountain and Waikato the river the symbols of our identity as Waikato. 21. They are the only things that I have left to hold onto because they took the land." 22.

In some instances the bond between the Wahi tapu and the tribe is so intense that damage to one is tantamount to damage to the other. On the West Coast the mauri of the Arahura river, the mauri of the greenstone it contains and the mauri of the Kaitahu inextricably linked. Hence the distress among the Kai Tahu T.N.L's plans to dump sewage into the river, for to do so would not only damage the mauri of the river but would damage their mauri as well.

Finally the future. To the Maori the future is the continuum of the present. The continuum is made possible by the

- 21. The Waikato are the tribe traditionally resident in the Waikato.
- 22. Douglas, M.K. op cit, p 79.

This is home here beneath Taranaki Maunga here is your motherland here is where Papatuanuku gave breath. Let the shadow of the mountain cast over you, So you may drink of her life giving forces forever. And as she gives out so she will take back her own man, women and child Whom she allowed to live on her breast.

> Kara Puketapu 1979.

existence of the land and their relationship with it. 'Te whenua te waiu whakatipu nga Tamariki' - land is the nourishment which promotes the growth of the next generations. Thus the future is linked with land not only as a source of identity but as the economic and spiritual base to life.

Land is therefore significant in securing Maori identity on account of its links with the past, the present and the future. This totality is summed up by a man in his 70's talking of his father.

"Then dad said to me, never forget that we are Matakore. If we don't recognise our links with him, then the memory of our ancestor will die out and the mana of his person and his land will be diminished and taken over by Maniopoto or Raukawa (other tribes). My father used to explain the way in which the land was used in those days, where all the fights and skirmishes were held, where all the old people lived, where their fishing camps were, all that. He was born beside the Waipa, his wenua was put there and a boulder placed to mark it. When we went out to the Waipa valley, he would always go to the water and moisten his face and hair, and then he'd say a short prayer to the land and the river. He convinced all of us that our mana derived from our land and the river and from our ancestor Matakore." 23.

Social Structure

Land provides a cohesive force in the community, uniting the people around a common resource and a common base.

Land is the source of much of the structure upon which society rests.

Traditionally land was held on a tribal basis. Each tribe acquired its land, either by discovery, conquest or gift and the land was theirs for as long as they could maintain it against the claims of others and as long as they used it. This system of ownership no longer exists. The tribe does not now have custody of all its land. Instead Maori land ²⁴· is either held by tribal trusts, in which case the whole tribe

- 23. Douglas, M.K. op cit, p 77.
- 24. Legally Maori land is land that has not been alienated from Maori ownership, or land which has been set aside for the whole tribe under section 439 of the Maori Affairs Act. This contrasts with traditional land which is the area owned by the tribe when the Pakeha arrived.

stands to benefit from it, or, more commonly it is held on a family or hapu basis.

When the Pakeha came to New Zealand, land was owned communally which made purchase both difficult and tedious. To combat this the 1865 Native Land Act was passed which established that land had to be owned by ten people on behalf of the whole tribe. perverse mix of Maori and European custom these ten people, now the legal 'owners' could pass the land on to their children but in so doing had to divide the land equally between them. result of this has been fragmentary shareholding of land by the few, at the expense of the vast bulk of the population.

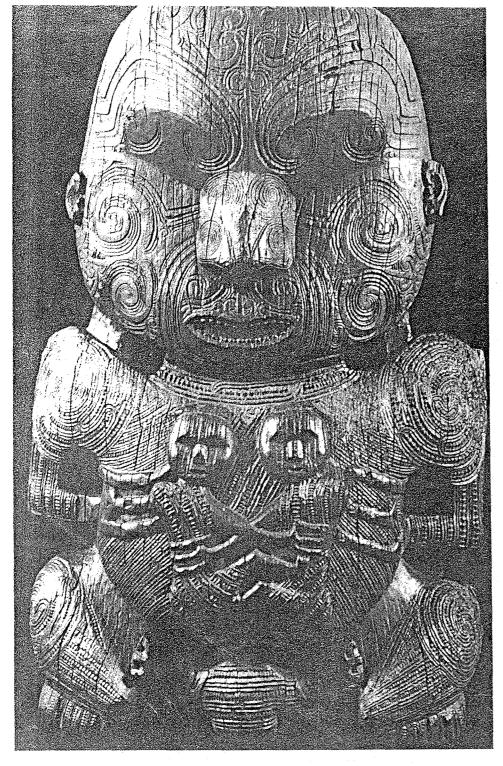
In simplistic terms, Maori social structure has as its smallest unit the family; families are united in hapu, who are in turn attached to iwi. At the top of the pyramid, tribes are affiliated to the canoe group from which they are descended. As a source of social structure land is significant at family, hapu and iwi level. This was recognised in 1865 when the Native Land Act was passed. Aside from the motive of easy land alienation, the act



had another insidious aim - "The detribalization of the Maori, to destroy ... the principle of communism upon which ... their social system was (sic) based; and which stood (sic) as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Maori into our social and political systems." Despite these high handed hopes land remains a

25. Henry Sewell, Minister of Justice 1870, in Williams, W.B: <u>The Passage of Maori</u> Land into Pakeha Ownership p 5. "A modern canute and the tide of settlement" Maoris have no concept of waste lands, yet have found themselves under continuous pressure from Pakeha settlers to dispose of their lands.

(Taihoa means wait or stop).



significant force in providing unity to-day.

"Without land we are cut adrift and although we may survive as individuals, and our group identity may survive in the memory of our old people, as time passes we are obliterated.... If we want to survive as Maoris, we can only do so as a group, united by our land." 26.

For many Maoris this unity is centred around tribal lands, administered for the tribe as a whole by trust boards. The lucky ten percent who own land on a hapu or family basis are able to find unity around these lands also. Obviously then these hapu and families are twice blessed; they have the strength of the tribe and the strength of their own lands. Their turangawaewae is more secure stronger and this is reflected in the strength of their social structure. Thus there is considerable sympathy among those with land, for those without, especially for those who lost land through confiscation.

- 26. Douglas, M.K. op cit. p 76.
- 27. Following the land wars of the 1860's around 1.5 million acres of land was confiscated usually from those who fought against the Pakeha but sometimes

Economic Resource

The reality of life is that land is the primary economic resource, and this applies to Maoris as much as to anyone else. However, the way in which Maoris seek to use this resource is strongly influenced by the significance attached to land as a spiritual base, as a source of identity and social structure, and within this as the means to the future. The way the land is used is a product of the way the land is thought of.

Maori land is not owned in the way Pakeha land is; instead it is held in trust to be used by the present generation and passed on to the generations that are to come. This type of ownership demands a duty of care on the part of the trustees that enters into the spiritual dimension - 'Whatu ngarongaro he tangata, he toitu he whenua', "people disappear but land remains". As Walker put it, "the Maori

from those who fought alongside him. The confiscation of this land, some of the most productive dairying and horticultural land in New Zealand, remains a major grievance among Maoris.

sense of proprietorship is a spiritual matter that transcends the act of physical possession. It is steeped in mythology and hallowed by the blood of ancestors spilt in its defence." 28.

This duty of care extends beyond the physical into the spiritual realm. There is a need to maintain and enhance the land's wairua by caring for it - once the land is despoiled its wairua is lost. Land, therefore, needs to be nurtured and cared for. Ultimately, the way you treat the land determines how it treats you. ²⁹

The need to maintain the land's wairua is felt so strongly by many people that if it's wairua is damaged so is that of the people. This is summed up with tragic eloquence by Nganeko Mihinnick, who in describing the effect of the New Zealand Steel proposal to discharge water from the Waikato into Manakau harbour.

"The moment you let that water go out into the Manakau, you can come over to our marae Tahuna Kaitoto and bring a machine gun to mow us down - because

- 28. Walker, (1982) in Suggate, R. Maori Fisheries Legislative Control p 5.
- 29. Te Awa A., pers. comm.

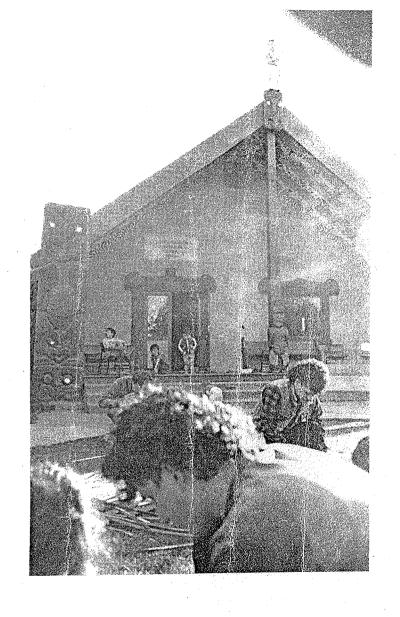
Gateway figure, the chief Pukaki of Ngati Whakaue of Rotorua. He symbolises the themes of survival, whakapapa (geneology), turangawaewae and social identity. Pukaki represents the fundamental hopes of mankind.

once you do that there is nothing for us to live for. Once you do that, you've destroyed everything else, and now you really want to take away our ancestral lives. That is what you do by mixing the river water and the harbour waters. We have tried so hard to tell you in your language and we have tried so hard to tell you on paper [but you won't understand]..." 30.

Thus Maori custom decrees that care be taken in using the earth's bounty. A care to maintain the sanctity of its wairua and, looking to the future, requiring that the exploitation of its resources is carefully controlled. "The evidence clearly demonstrates that the Maori both in the past and to-day has shown an impressive ecological insight. He is conscious of the need to conserve and preserve what is there and this is exemplified by his teaching the growing generation his ancient customs, priorities and procedures of fishing". 31.

There is a very strong feeling among Maoris that the products of the land, the gifts of Tane, are free to be taken

- 30. Douglas, M.K. <u>Waiora</u>, <u>Waimaori</u>, <u>Waikino</u>, <u>Waimate</u>, <u>Waitai</u>. p 32.
- 31. Waitangi Tribunal, 1978 in Suggate R., ibid, p 1.



Flax-work being taught at Rehua Marae.
Although flax is no longer essential to the material culture of the Maori, it is still important, and is used to make piupiu, kete, headbands, etc.

so long as they are taken judiciously. No more should be taken than is needed for the immediate requirements of family and friends and the resources that are taken should be taken in such a way as to ensure a supply into the future.

'Unuhia te rito o te harakeke, kei hea te Komako e ko?' - if you take the heart of the flaxbush where will the bellbird go (for sustenance)?

Kuka

Maoris see themselves as exercising guardianship over the natural resources they use. As Aila Taylor put it "the way I look at these remaining resources, nga kawa o Taranaki, it is a person, it is a living being. It is up to humanity, in whatever form that takes, to protect it at all times and also to share its bounty." 32.

In the past this guardianship role was enforced by a cohesive system of conservation 'myths', customary users and traditions. It would be wrong to suggest that this pattern continues to-day, but a number of its components are still practiced in an effort to ensure the purity and the continuity of

32. Taylor, A., in Douglas, M.K. Waiora. Waimaoru. Waikino, Waimate, Waitai p 24.



Food is a community resource taken as needed and frequently shared among the community at large. In this photo a catch of eels is being divided between the families of Koriniti on the Wanganui River.

J.M. McDonald Collection, Wanganui Museum. supply of the food resource. The first of the catch is given 'back' as a sign of gratitude to Tane and Tangaroa. Food is taken in accordance with the seasons and by careful selection. In some areas rahui is still practiced, by which closed seasons are declared for certain resources.

In Maori terms the food resource needs to be kept spiritually and physically "A complex Maori spiritual pure. conception of life and life-forces compels them to insist on a much higher standard of maintenance of clean water and the preservation of natural states than that to which we are accustomed". 33. Thus custom dictates that menstruating women are neither to cultivate nor to gather food. should not be gathered or cultivated within three days of a tangi. someone is killed while collecting food the place in which they are killed becomes tapu and cannot be used until the tapu is lifted. Of broader significance there is a requirement that food sources remain free of pollutants, would either which harm them spiritually or physically.

Most of these things apply to water resources, largely because this is the

major resource that is left. It is partly for this reason that so much concern was generated by the Motunui For the Te Ati Awa people 34. outfall. long famous for the quality of their sea food. this the final represented onslaught, The mana of their lands had been taken from them confiscation. The mana of their table was now threatened by this challenge to their remaining fishing reefs - the only resource they had left. Considerable mana is derived from the ability to supply delicacies of the region at hui, and in the case of the Te Ati Awa this meant supplying sea food. Without this ability not only would their tables be poorer but their mana and tribal identity would suffer as well.

It is easy to look at this framework for resource management and see apparent contradictions between philosophy and practice. A prime example of this is the proposal to mill the Waitutu forest in Southland. Tn part these contradictions can be explained by remembering that not all

- 33. Waitangi Tribunal, 1983, in Suggate, R., op cit, p 4.
- 34. The Te Atiawa are the tribe that traditionally lives around Waitara.

Maoris hold traditional values and to some extent it can be seen as a response to the economic position in which the Maori people find themselves. As well as this though, the answer lies in Aila Taylor's comment on resource use referred to above - "it is up to humanity ... to protect it at all times and also to share its bounty." 35.

What he seems to be talking about is multiuse, sustainable resource use.

Land is the primary economic resource and as such Maoris have to use it in a way that best allows them to advance their position. There can be no denying that the economic and social position of the Maori is very poor. This must give considerable impetus to those who seek to use the resources in Maori land. However, even if Maoris were not economically and socially disadvantaged, economic survival seems to decree that at some stage resources have to be used.

Such a notion is a bitter pill to many Maoris. In the case of Waitutu forest there is considerable opposition among segments of the Kati Mamoe ³⁶ to the forest being felled. It is interested to note that despite the economic pressures to use their forest resources Maoris still own by far the largest

area of indigenous forest in private ownership.

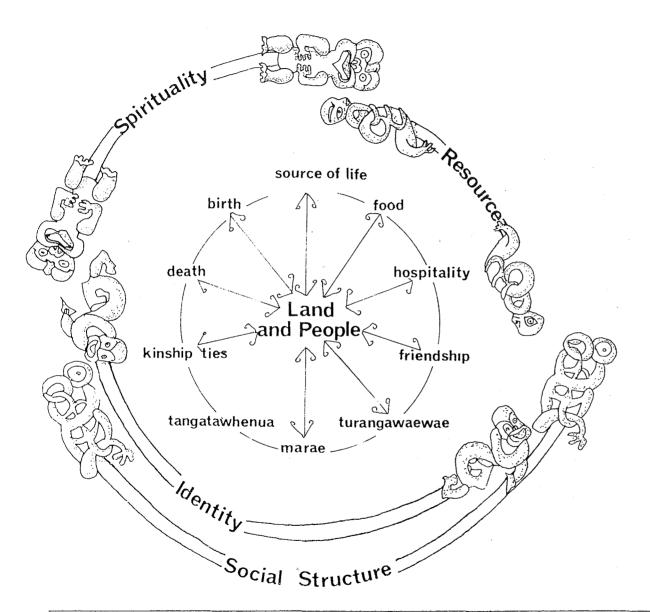
Paralleling economic necessity is the notion of multi-use. sustainable resource use, alluded to above. This ideal is conservationist not preservationist. It recognises that not all land can be used for all things, but that in the long term damage can be In the case of Waitutu. made good. careful selective logging and subsequent replanting could see the re-established; the wounds healed and the damage made good in a a way that doesn't prevent resource use. Resource use is seen as part of a long term relationship with the land.

It is apparent that in terms of large scale resource use there are several threads of thought in Maori attitudes, some of which come to the fore at different times depending on the prevailing situation.

It would be naive to assume that land is the only factor important in Maori culture. As in all cultures a multiplicity of factors support each

- 35. Taylor, A. ibid.
- 36. The Kati Mama are the tribe living in Southland and in South Otago.

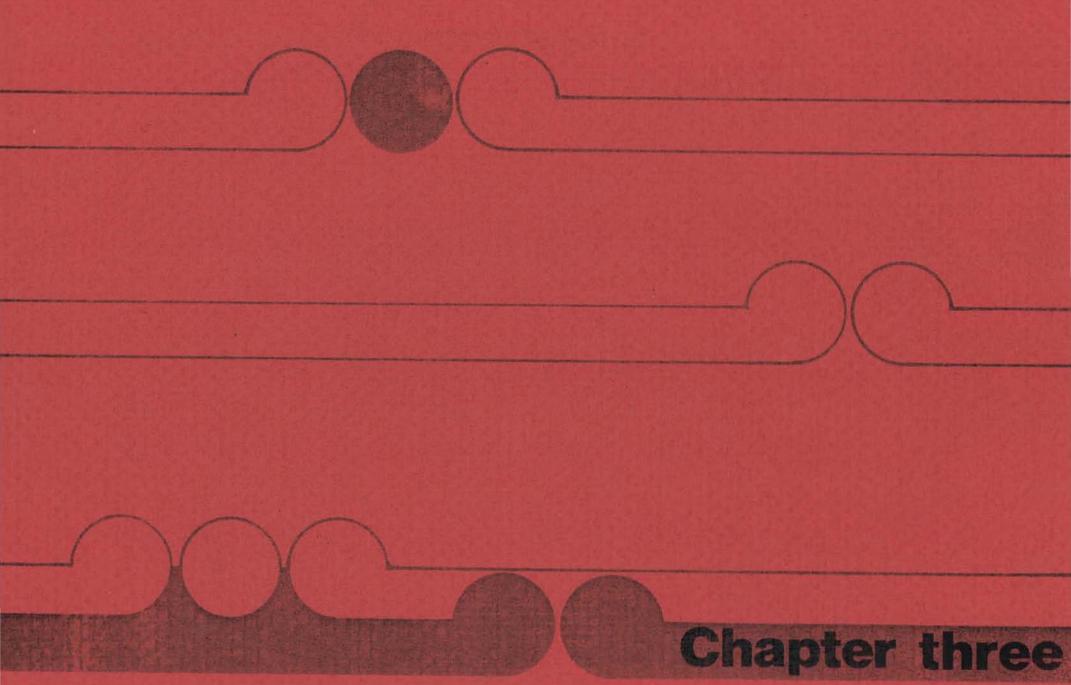
Land and people are central to the Maori world. Around them all the elements of importance to the Maori culture revolve. All these elements relate to land in one or more of its capacities as spiritual base, source of identity and social structure, and the economic base.

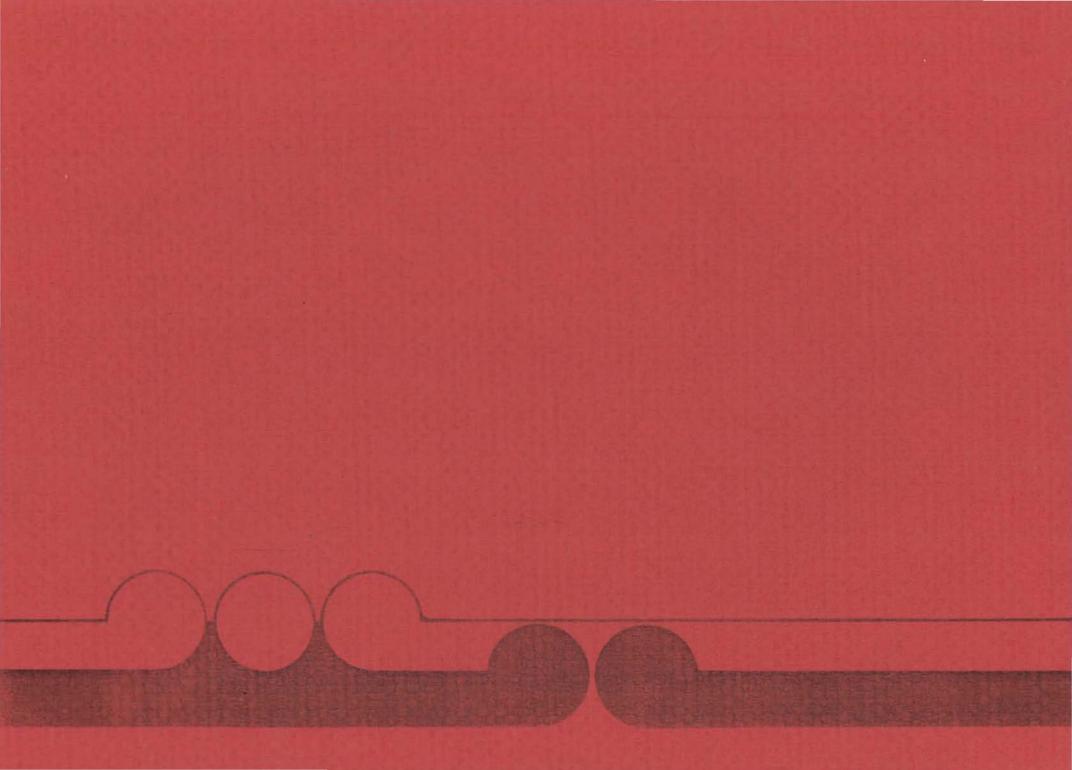


other to define the culture as a whole. However, it is clear that to a greater or lesser extent many of these factors have their source in and derive much support from land. There can be no denying the saying 'Mana whenua, mauri tangata', - the prestige of the land is the life force of the people.

The Maori attitude to land is complex and encompassing, reflecting the important role land plays in Maori culture as the major source of identity, spirituality, social structure and resources.

In the final analysis, for Maoris at least, 'Ko Papatuanuku te Matuao te Tangata'- the earth is the parent of man.





Pakeha Attitudes to Land

It is obvious, now, that the Maori attitude to land is profoundly different from that of the Pakeha. Although Pakeha culture allows and contains a wide diversity of opinion, none of this spectrum of thought matches that of the Maori. How can it? Pakehas come from a completely different spiritual, historical and economic base from the Maori and as such are bound to have different attitudes to land.

By and large, in relating to land the Pakeha is concerned with prospect. one extreme the prospect of economic return, and at the other the prospect of scenic beauty. Although in many cases these are competing land uses, both are concerned with advancing condition - the one physically the other psychologically. There is an element of neo-animism inherent in Pakeha thinking, but generally this is ill defined, erratically held and frequently more subconscious than conscious.

In expanding these ideas I will consider two things. Firstly the spiritual and historical background of Pakeha attitudes to land; and secondly, given the difficulty that Pakehas have in expressing their attitudes — the manifestation of these both within and outside the system.

Spiritual and Historical Background

The European spiritual background, from which Pakehas are clearly descended, is completely different from that of the Maori. Religiously, Europeans are managers, and stemming from this they are philosophically humanists.

It is these twin threads of manageralism, and humanism that have given rise to many of the ecological crises that currently face the earth. Lynn White summed this up, saying that "Western attitudes to nature are infected with arrogance — we tend to think of nature as a captive to be raped, rather than as a partner to be cherished." 1

Of course this is not the whole story. Paralleling these blatantly exploitative views is a body of thought that sees the world largely with humanist eyes, as offering more potential than mere physical exploitation. This view sees

1. White, L. 'The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis'.

"The axe bites deep. The rushing fire streams bright; Swift, beautiful and fierce it speeds for man: Natures rough-handed foeman, keen to smite and mar the loveliness of ages. Scan the blackened forest ruined in a niaht. The sylvan Parthenon that God will plan, But builds not twice. Ah, bitter price to pay For Man's dominion beauty swept away!"

William Pember Reeves the world as able to fulfil additional human needs to physical ones and in some cases, sees the world as having inherent rights of its own. In so doing, however, these people are still seeing nature as something that is 'over there' rather than as something of which they are a part.

Although people consider many themselves to be of part the post-Christian age, Christianty is still a significant force in determining western relationships with nature; albeit that for many the source of this relationship is no longer viewed as relevant.

The European religious background is distinctly managerial. God created the earth and made man in his image. "And God said let us make man in our image after our likeness and let them have domain over the fish in the sea and the fowl in the air, and over the cattle and over all the earth and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth". 2 Thus, in contrast to Maori religion, Christianity establishes mankind as not only being separate from nature, but also as being the legitimate exploiters of the earth.

The bible goes beyond this however, to

suggest that there is no need for "Wherefore, if God so conservation. clothe the grass of the field shall he not much more clothe you. Oh, ye of little faith Take therefore no thought for to-morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself - sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof". Therefore man does not have to look after the earth, God will do it for him. There is no denving that this 'no care' attitude finds ready expression within our market based economy.

Overlying, and in many ways dominating this 'God given right' to use the earth's resources, are the principles of humanism. The conviction that "men and women can best improve the circumstances of their lives by thinking and acting for themselves. especially by exercising their capacity to reason".4 This ideal grew out of the Enlightenment of the Renaissance, and has resulted in the pattern of towns, cities and landscapes throughout

- 2. The Holy Bible, Genesis 1, 26.
- 3. Ibid, Matthew 6, 30 & 34.
- 4. Relph, E.C., <u>Rational Landscapes and Humanist Geography</u> preface.

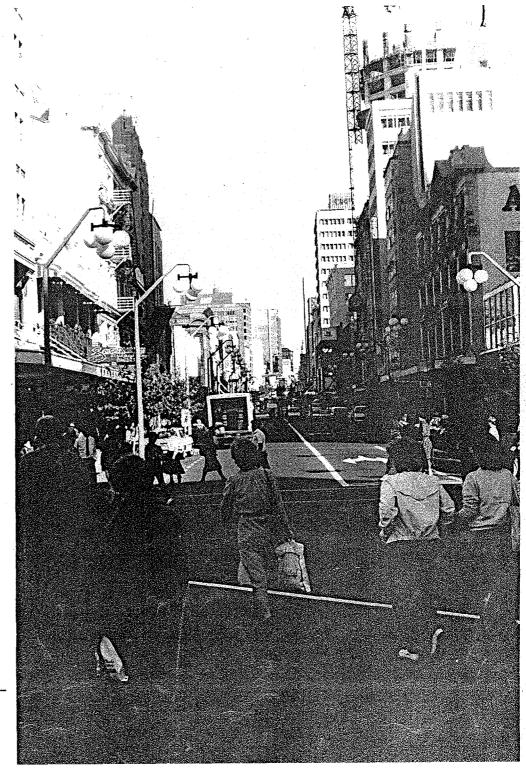
Queen Street, Auckland. Eightv percent of New Zealand's population live in cities where nature is so hidden that it comes as a surprise to see soil come out of the trenches dua for road-works. Howcan people have a strong tie to land in a situation like this, where they hardly know what land is.

the western world. By its precepts mankind is able to do with the world what he or she think best in the light of prevailing human attitudes and values.

Inherent in this is a requirement to be able to analyse quantify, measure and compare. It is an ideal that emphasises the scientific process, at the expense of intangible values, or values that don't relate to the needs of mankind. When Gandhi was asked what worried him most, he replied "the hardness of heart of the educated". For Gandhi, objectivity and scientific reason were insufficient in themselves to guide the world's course.

In the western world land is largely viewed pecuniary with eyes: a commodity to be owned and a resource to be used. So when the Pakeha consider land, they are considering its surface If they own the land, and its cover. they are also considering its ability to fulfill their requirements. concept of ownership is so intertwined with the notion of land that it has been suggested that without ownership land is

5. Ibid





Forest clearing.
Would-be farmers had
an immense task to
fell the forests that
taunted them. In this
photo the size of the
trees can be gauged by

comparing them with the people, middle right and the cottage middle left. (National Museum, Wellington) a meaningless concept. 6 Indeed, a whole body of law has grown around the notion that the owners of land can do with it what they choose.

There is little depth inherent in such a relationship; something that is bourne out by the paucity of material on Pakeha attitudes to land. Pakehas seem unable to express what they think about land, which is in marked contrast with Maoris. Indeed one could almost be forgiven for thinking that Pakehas don't have an attitude to land. However. just because Pakehas can't say what they feel does not mean they lack feelings. They certainly have feelings, but generally they find it difficult to express them.

To borrow from Bill Pearson, "[When] the man in the pub speaks of his feelings he reduces them to a common denominator; he avoids distinction and definition in expression; tragedy is 'tough luck', disappointment 'a bit of a bastard', another person's anger is '...took a dim view', or 'did his scone...'. It is only natural,

- 6. Radcliff, J. Land Policy and Exploration of the Nature of Land in Society, p 21.
- 7. Pearson, B., 'Fretful Sleepers', p 10.

therefore, in an environment where emotion is seldom expressed and often distrusted, that it is difficult to find Pakeha attitudes to land expressly stated. It is interesting to note, however, that these attitudes are now finding some expression, in the fields of art, drama, music and literature.

Historically the Pakeha has not established strong links with the land. Pakehas have not been in New Zealand long enough, nor have they worked closely enough with the land, to develop a deep and harmonious relationship with it.

It is commonly thought that New Zealand is, and always has been, a country of farmers, out of which one could reasonably expect strong links with the land. A review of the nature of settlers and of their employment reveals a totally different picture.

Between 1850 and 1853, the beginning of Canterbury's settlement, 816 workers landed in Lyttelton. Of these, 434, a little over half, were agricultural workers.

By 1878 the number of farm workers had dropped to 35%, by 1901 it was 32%, by 1921 it was 25% and

by 1945 only 17% of the population were employed in agricultural pursuits. As a whole, agricultural workers have never made up more than 15% of the entire population. Thus, although New Zealand has always depended on agricultural exports for its livelihood, only a small part of the population has ever been employed on the land. Contr a r y to the popular myth, therefore, the vast

- 8. Hight, J., Strawbel, C.R., eds. A History of Canterbury, vol. 1. appendix VII.
- 9. Scotter, W.A., A History of Canterbury Vol. 3, Appendix XI.



Forest cleared, the land won. Farm house on land cleared by bush burn 1905. Notice the security fence around the house. Since man, and more importantly since the European man arrived in New Zealand, over 90% of New Zealand's wetlands have been drained and 85% of the lowland forests have been logged. (McAllister Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library)



bulk of New Zealand's population has never been closely associated with the land, and as such has been deprived of the opportunity to develop strong links with it.

Further, although large runholders pass their land from one generation to the next, most farms change hands much more frequently. On average, farms change hands every 14 years, and in the Waikato, dairy farms change hands every seven years. Thus even where people are in a position to develop strong links with the land there is scant opportunity to strength these ties from one generation to the next.

Perhaps more importantly, New Zealand has a history of exploiting the land which goes back to the first European contacts. Exploitation began with seals and whales, went on to kauri and the other forests and continued with kauri gum, coal and gold. People came to New Zealand, took what they wanted and then left. Only one quarter of the nineteenth century immigrants to New Zealand stayed to die here. 11 If on e didn't plan to stay in New Zealand, there was little incentive to use the land with care, and exploitation thus became a much more viable option.

New Zealand was seen as a land ripe for the picking and full of prospect. This attitude is clearly shown in Julius Von Haast's description of the potential of the Grey Valley "...instead of wilderness we shall have the dwellings 10. Pryde, J. pers. comm.

11. Phillip, J., 'Fear and Loathing in the New Zealand Landscape', p.12.

of men: instead of a few birds, now its only inhabitants, we shall have a busy population of miners enlivening the country, the shriek of the locomotive will resound through its valleys and busy life and animation will everywhere be seen. The harbour will be the resort of many colliers." 12 Out of this attitude grew the extractive industries of the West Coast and the expansion of pastoralism, between 1870 and 1920, that saw most of New Zealand's forest cover destroyed. From the 1920's there has been a steady process of land use intensification. The screws have been tightened to squeeze that last dollar from the land.

Instead of Pakehas having developed an easy equilibrium with the land, they have established an exploitative stance that sees land as a means to an end and as something from which they are distanced. To quote from Pearson again, Pakehas "haven't made friends with the land. We use it as a convenience, an expedient; no farmer I know draws breath with a change of light on the foothills, sieves the earth through friendly fingers ... ambition is to retire to a seaside or surburban house like anyone else's where his wife can buy cakes instead of making them". 13

Attitudes in Action

Because Pakehas have such difficulty in expressing their attitude to land the easiest way to determine these is by considering the way that land is used, or the way Pakehas would like to use it.

It must be recognised that Pakehas hold the reins of power in New Zealand. They own 95.4% of the land 14, better paid, enjoy better health, are less likely to be unemployed and are less likely to go to goal. In fact on every count Pakehas are advantaged in comparison with Maoris. 15 Given the economic power, political clout follows and the system can only be seen as reflecting Pakeha culture and values. Thus, in considering the attitudes to land of the system, one is considering the attitudes to land of mainstream Pakeha thought. Not everyone, however, is content to fall within the

- 12. May, P.R, The West Coast Gold Rushes, p 59.
- 13. Pearson, B., op cit, p 28.
- 14. Williams, W.B. The Passage of Maori Land into Pakeha Ownership p 7. In 1979 out of a total of 26.8 million ha of land, 1.2 million ha of land was owned by Maoris in traditional tenure.
- 15. Awatere, D. Maori Sovereignty.

Agriculture is now so regular, angular and organised that it is almost an industry. Farmers have won the land, but they have lost the landscape.

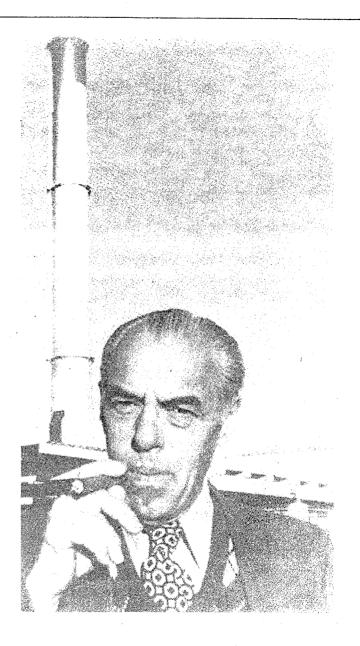
system. Many people feel constrained to reject the system's values, either in part or in total. In an effort to change the majority view, they form pressure groups.

In considering Pakeha attitudes to land, as manifest in actions, I will consider each of these groups, dealing first with the system and then with those who oppose it.

the system

Probably the most single-minded, and one of the most powerful bodies within the system is the industrial sector. For them land is economic prospect. This takes many forms, from being an extractable resource like coal or timber, to being a repository for their wastes. Thus Amax Prospecting Company felt free to remove 30,000 tons of material from a hill near Waihi 16 in an exercise known as bulk sampling, that removed half the hill. Ivon Watkins-Dow felt free to use land to bury toxic wastes, and Mobil dumped waste ammonia urea into the sea.

16. This is an American company and so, like so many before it, presumably feels free to smash and grab from the environment.



Many other industries foul and pollute the environment with their waste products, both water and air borne, and with their unsightly and insensitively located buildings.

An example of this exploitative view is seen in the recent proposal, by the Triune Corporation, to take water from the Manapouri tailpipe and ship it overseas. From an economists perspective this is the only thing to as they see it, a river that reaches the sea. untouched is a resource gone to waste. Although scientifically this water is as pure as any other clean water, it is also spiritually pure, which makes it a more desirable product. Indeed it is this spiritual purity which is the reason they wanted to take the water. However, in a typically schizophrenic move, the removal of this water would have necessitated erecting facilities for shipping etc. inside the national park, threatening the very purity they wanted to sell.

More powerful, but much more schizophrenic in its attitudes towards land, is the Government. In reviewing this I have not attempted a blockbuster cover of all Government departments

and quango's. Instead I have attempted to describe the range of opinion held by Government and to clarify the Jeckyll and Hyde nature of its opinion as to what is appropriate land use, which results in disputes both within and between departments.

I suspect that the more specialised the job of the Government department, the more unified it is in its attitude to One such is the Department of To them the land is a giant Mines. store cupboard, just waiting to be opened for the benefit of the human race. To be sure, they are no longer the brazen despoilers of the environment that they were, but nonetheless, land to them is but a means to an end. Mining Act emphasises this. It gives the crown pre-emptive rights to all minerals beneath the earth's surface, and in so doing, reduces the land to something that is only skin deep.

Not all specialized departments are as openly exploitative as this. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, for example, adopts a conservation stance that is essentially an expression of material self interest. To use their own words "New Zealand's export markets demand that our red meat, fish

and horticultural products are of the possible standard. highest Anv reduction in the quality of our water supply could affect our export markets. resulting in a loss of income to New Zealand as a whole and to individual farmers and fishermen. For these reasons the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries takes an active role in protecting the environment". To MAF, land represents economic prospect, it simply needs careful control to ensure its long term exploitability.

Most government departments are not single minded however, but are schizophrenic.

The Lands and Survey department, for example, is generally thought of as the conservationist in government. But in reality it is split between its developmental and its conservationist roles.

The Department leases 5.3 million ha of land to farmers ¹⁸ and sees itself as having a vital role in increasing the nation's productive capacity through land development. ¹⁹ It sees itself as a significant source of land to would be farmers and, through the agency of the Land Settlement Board, releases at

least sixty farms per annum settlers. 20 The Marginal Lands Board, for which it also acts as an agent, is concerned solely with increasing the area of land production. By its very nature this must attack the areas of land that the other side of the department seeks to preserve.

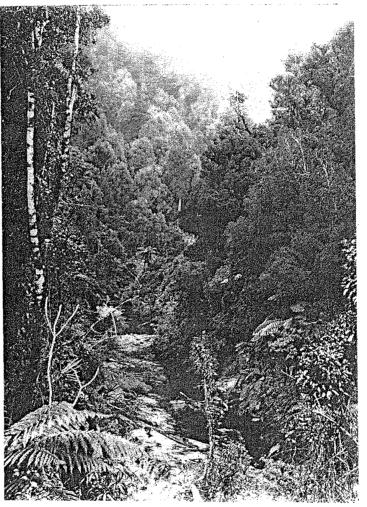
While wearing its conservation hat the department assumes a completely different role. It administers 2.8 million hectares of land in National Parks and Reserves throughout the country, representing over 10% of New Zealand's land area. 21 Superficially, this appears a very generous allocation of land. However, the vast bulk of

- 17. MAF and Conservation New Zealand, <u>Water</u> <u>Means Life</u>.
- 18. Lucus, B., 'Report of the Department of Lands and Survey', p 32.
- 19. Ibid, p 4.
- 20. Coats, N.S. and Lucus, B., 'Report of the Department of Lands and Survey', 1978, 80, 82 and 1984. The use of the word settler is perhaps indicative of the rather colonial view of land held by this section of the Department.
- 21. Lucus, B., 'Report of the Department of Lands and Survey' 1984, p 32.

this land is mountainous, inaccessible and unsuited to agriculture. reservation was due not to its intrinsic value, but to its worthlessness for agriculture. 22 In an effort to ameliorate this situation the department recently become involved with protected natural areas programme which is an attempt to secure those additional of landscape or biological areas significance needing protection. It is inevitable, therefore, that the two arms of the department conflict over what use should be made of our lands. They both want the same land but for different purposes.

It is tempting to consider the conservation arms of the department as animist, given that it administers New Zealand's national parks and reserves and its continuing efforts to expand the area under its protection. However, although some individuals in the department are undoubtedly influenced by concerns beyond the realm of human aspirations, this is not the case with the department as a whole. Officially

22. Originally 57% of the North Island was covered with lowland forest, only 0.2% (13,900 ha) of this is reserved which is hardly a reflection of the country's biological and landscape diversity. (Molloy, B. Land Alone Endures p 66).



CON OF CONSERVATION

We have just finished conservation week yet again; the time of the year when we are exhorted to conserve those endangered birds, plants or habitats. There has even been the encouragement of lollies to write songs or stories that tell of our adoration of nature.

Really, what is the point?

Most of us have had drummed into us from childhood — radio feeds our ears, television repeats it in technicolour, and there must be a million books — that every living thing is here over the bodies of countless others that were not fit to survive. For goodness sake, if some organism is about to become extinct, why preserve it? Why not push it over the edge? If it is not surviving, obviously it is unfit. So why on earth spend untold amounts of scarce money, resources and effort on it?

Evolution has done a stupendous job up to the present, according to David Attenborough, and all without any interfering finger. Who do these conservation people think human beings are that they should feel some crushing responsibility to preserve what evolution may be in the process of taking away?

Renton Maclachlan (Porirua)

NZ LISTENER,

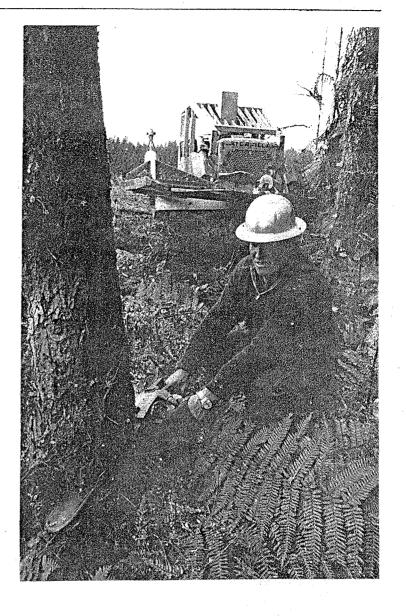
at least, its endeavours are a response to perceived human needs, albeit that these needs are seen as springing from a wider base than simple economic necessity. This is illustrated by the department's attitude to wilderness which "is now recognised as a cultural and recreational concept rather than as one designed for the preservation of nature ... The wilderness experience is at one end of a recreation spectrum ranging from environments in which human influences predominate, to large natural areas remote from human occupation". 23

Within the Forest Service, tensions similar to those in the Lands Survey Department exist between its production and its conservation arms. At head office level these conflicts have essentially been resolved - the Forest Service having adopted, in the face of considerable public pressure, a more sophisticated and integrated land use policy in the mid 1970's.

The Forest Service sees its role as

being "the control and management of all state forest lands to ensure the balanced use of such lands, having regard to the production of timber or

23. Lucus, B. ibid, p 18



Forest Industry in 1975 (Alexander Turnbull Library).

other forest produce, the protection of land and vegetation, water and soil the protection of management. indigenous flora and fauna and recreational, educational, historical, cultural. aesthetic, amenity scientific purposes". 24 Ideally the Forest Service would like to achieve all these ends at once in a totally Obviously this is integrated system. not possible and so state forests are zoned according to their predominant use - protection, production or recreation.

The Forest Service has a policy of managing its land "... to perpetuate indigenous forests, both as national forests and as managed stands." As well as this, they have a policy of only clear felling indigenous forests where the social and economic conditions of the area demand it.

Although this works at a head office level, it is apparent that the integration and implementation of these policies within the more active branches of the service is not so easy. Nor do these policies necessarily mean all that conservationists might have hoped for. Hence the fact that 14,000 ha of indigenous forests have been felled by the Service since 1975, 1500 ha of this on the West Coast last year.

Ninety percent of the reserve recommendations received from the Wildlife Division have been rejected, including the Pareora Forest (known for its kokako populations). Finally, the Forest Service continues to perpetuate the myth that if land is not growing something of economic value, it is going to waste.

There is, then, a conflict within the Forest Service between its production and protection sides; be it protection for soil and water, flora and fauna or cultural reasons. However, irrespective of the Forest Service's inability to reconcile these conflicts, it is apparent that it is attempting to manage its lands in a way that provides for a wide range of uses, extending beyond economic return, and in some cases beyond human needs.

Of all the government departments, the only one that acts solely out of concern for nature is the Wildlife Division of the Department of Internal Affairs. The Wildlife Division concerns itself with the preservation of such species as the Chatham Island Robin and the

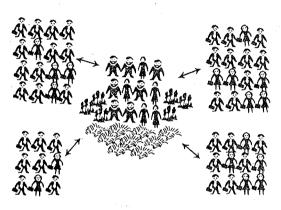
- 24. Conway, M.J., <u>Management Policy for</u>
 New Zealand Indigenous State Forests p 7.
- 25. Hosking, M.R., <u>Forest Management</u>
 Information, p 1.

Kokako, and the maintenance of wildlife sancturies and bird colonies around New Zealand. The human reward to be gained by such endeavours is scant, and as such they must be acting on nature's behalf. Perhaps this is the reason that they are consistently under-staffed and under-funded. As we have seen already, however, this conern with nature brings them into frequent conflict with development orientated departments such as the Forest Service.

It is apparent from this that within the Government there is a wide range of attitudes to land, generally human orientated and reflecting no particular depth of relationship with it. To complicate matters, there are a number of bodies who act solely in an advisory capacity. These bodies are able to take a broader perspective from the active departments, but in so doing they are generally blinkered by their vision of what is appropriate land use.

One such body is the Land Use Advisory Council, which sees land primarily as an economic resource, but in so doing promotes careful land use. They divide New Zealand's land into three categories: committed to, and suitable for production; unavailable for





Above: the existing system of little green dots in each bureaucracy. Below: a Ministrya the Environment that took over these environmental functions would provide a strong base for environmental professionals—and would manage land of its own.

production; and land suitable for change. 26 They are obviously production orientated, but this is tempered by a realisation that "decisions on land use inevitably require choices between economic and environmental benefits, private profits and public interest, or

26. Land Use Advisory Council, Land Use in New Zealand, a National Goal, p 20.

The environmental movement's somewhat hopeful view of the Ministry for the Environment. (Bush Telegraph, May 1985).

between higher levels of personal affluence and higher levels of public expenditure." 27 Although they do not attempt to reconcile this range of opinion they do propose that environmental matters should carrv weight remind people and that sustainability must be a quide to land use.

Holding a deeper ecological view is the Commission for the Environment, the Government's toothless environmental watchdog. As its name suggests, the Commission is the advocate for the environment in the fullest sense of the Unlike other bodies, it has a word. holistic view that sees land and water as part of a whole, and the environment as a total system, "comprising the various physical components of the lands, all the organisms living within it and their ecological and social relationships." 28 As the environment's advocate, the Commission is concerned environmental that integrated management occurs for all resources. Thus it promotes the principles of sustainability, stewardship and social justice in all land use.

The Commission therefore recognises land as the primary economic resource, but sees a need to manage this resource



in a way which allows the needs of the future and the needs of the environment to be accommodated. Although human orientated, the needs of nature are by no means left out of its value system.

27. ibid, p 39

28. Commission for the Environment, Bridging the Gap, p 1.

A tree planting gang in tussock country near Karioi in the 1920's or 30's. Over fifty years later New Zealand Forest Products look upon such work as pioneering the forest industry, which it may well have been, but

It is plain that the Government is then far from unified in its attitude to land, either as a whole or within the various departments that compose it. Effectively it consists of a series of development oriented departments, each containing or influenced by a lesser or greater number of 'green spots'.

effort reconcile an to these contradictions. the Government is forming the Ministry for the Environment. Although fine in theory, the effect of this will be to remove the 'green spots' and create a 'green lump'. This will certainly remove the contradictions over land policies from within departments, but will replace it with inter-departmental conflict.

There is, however, a third alternative, probably best set out by Brian Molloy in 'Land Alone Endures' 29 and undoubtedly supported by the Commission for the Environment. That is, to turn the whole system green, based on the idea that although the land has to supply us with what we need, we have to supply the land with what it needs. These ideals recognise that land use is in ecosystem management, that must ecosystem managing the we

To quote from 'Land Alone Endures', Molloy suggests that in using the land we must -

consider all the effects of our land

stability while allowing the beauty and

character inherent in the land to come

we should aim at

that

and

through.

- "create satisfactory and diverse town and country landscapes, and where beauty has been destroyed take pains to recreate it.
- complement production from the land with protection of the land so that degradation, causal damage and ugliness are not accepted inevitable companions of economic development.
- seek to prevent the development of urban and rural slums, the pollution of our air and water and the despoiling soil of our and landscapes.
- ensure free natural access to landscapes with their mythical, recreational and spiritual values which are essential components of our life.

29. Molloy, B., Land Alone Endures.

they also see such endeavours as using land that had no other productive use. This is, if land is not productive it is no use.

> (Alexander Turnbull Library).

leave a landscape which is better for our having been part of it, by enhancing that which is already pleasing, preserving the best of its natural and unique features and preserving those buildings and places which reflect the heritage of human endeavour." 30

Thus, outside the main circle of Government actors, but still within the Government's realm, there is another attitude to land that sees land as the source of our spirtual, psychological and economic needs. As such, it demands that care be taken with the land. Although largely humanist, inherent in this attitude is a feeling for the subtlety of the relationships that compose the earth and of the need to maintain them.

the pressure groups

All democratic governments steer a path of compromise between the extremes of opinion in the society they govern. There are, therefore, always people who are dissatisfied with government action, on the grounds that it is either too extreme or too moderate. Just such a range of opinion is found among those people who are concerned with land

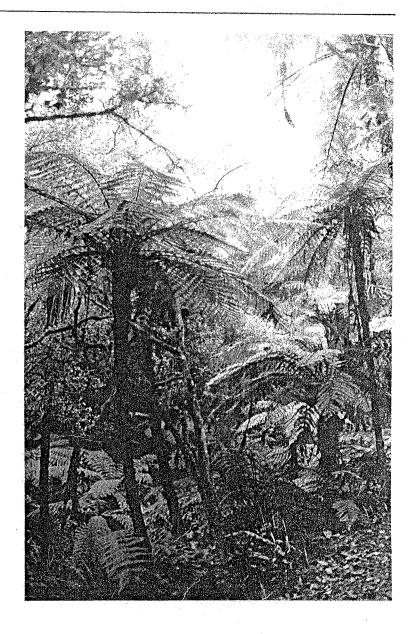
use. Their basic concern is that an inappropriate attitude to land has been expressed in action. Although these groups are diverse in their attitudes, each is more or less united in its aspirations. Thus we have 'Federated Futures' sitting on the extreme right of the spectrum and 'Save our Snails' sitting, rather self-consciously, on the extreme left.

To begin with the reactionary. Federated Futures was formed in 1982 by Des Dalgety, a Wellington Lawyer, with the aim of weakening the power of the conservation movement. Dalgety felt the environmental movements held too much sway, and that this was preventing economic development. The answer, as he saw it, was to fight back. Although initially its future looked secure, it failed to develop to any degree and is now all but a political non-entity.

A much more powerful lobby is seen in Federated Farmers, the united voice of New Zealand's largest export industry, farming. Predictably it sees land first and foremost as an economic resource. Its members make their living from the land and see it as the 30. ibid, p 3.

source of their wealth. As such they take a jaundiced view of changes to the status quo of land use, which they fear might affect their livelihood. By the same token, however, it is recognised among the upper echelons of Federated Farmers at least, that the long term sustainability of farming depends on careful husbandry of the land. Thus, although they see land as an economic resource, in principle at least, they believe in using the land with care.

In the middle ground, but still distinctly humanist in orientation, are the recreation groups. The Federated Mountain Clubs, the Anglers Society and the Acclimatisation Societies - the trampers, hunters and fishermen of New Their attitude to land is Zealand. still within the realm of prospect, but is concerned with a wider range of human values than economic necessity. They are concerned with the maintenance and enhancement of the broader environment as a prerequisite to their being able to enjoy the outdoor pursuits The anglers and they favour. acclimatisation societies fought against the Rakaia River irrigation proposal. This would have completely changed the character of the Rakaia and in the process ruined a significant angling



resource. The Federated Mountain Clubs supports the Native Forest Action Council (NFAC), in its efforts to preserve and enlarge national parks and reserves, again because this is the area of their chosen endeavour, by supporting these efforts they are enhancing their recreational opportunities.

Broadly occupying the left of the spectrum is the conservation movement, more or less united around the ideal that land has more than economic return to offer man and more rights than the few man cares to give it.

The conservation movement has grown out of the environmental awakening initiated bv the Save Manapouri campaign, to become a vocal and powerful political force in New Zealand, albeit that in the eyes of many they are on the fringe of society. Generally the adherents to this broad philosophy have a holistic world view that recognises the world as an entire entity in need of protection. Although the various groups all fight for different causes, they see these causes as stemming from the same source and as going in the same direction. It is common for people to be active in one campaign but to support many others.

NFAC and the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society are the best known conservation groups, but there are many They are fighting on a many more. wide range of issues, from saving snails, to saving the Motu, recycling, and are united under the Environmental umbrella group Conservation Organisations. That they can be united is a measure of the of holistic world view environmentalists that enables them to turn to each other for mutual support.

From this holistic world view have ofthe campaigns sprung many environmentalists now support. Thev recognise that action leads to Stopping mining will lead reactions. to mineral shortages, stopping pollution may mean prohibiting open fires. cope with these stringencies, alternative action is needed. Hence the breadth of environmental concern. Recycling, banning the open fire and establishing cycleways are just different parts of a united attack on the exploitation and misuse of the world.

All these environmental groups espouse caring for the land but their motivations for this vacillates between

animist convictions and a concern for the breadth of human needs. I suspect that both these concerns shape their attitude but that which is expressed depends on the situation. For example, in its West Coast forest campaign NFAC talks in terms of 'ecosystems of international significance', of 'scenery' and of

'recreation opportunity' - all human concerns. But it also talks in terms of 'preservation of species', and of habitats and ecosystems as being important in their own right. In other words, they cover both fields.



need to objectively justify their For example, the Royal decisions. Forest and Bird Protection Society suggest that "to justify conservation as a valid form of land use it is necessary to identify the specific ecological, recreational. educational. scenic. historic or wilderness values inherent in particular areas of land and to evaluate these areas in the regional, national and international context". Obviously, though, spiritual concerns are also important. The Forest and Bird Society went on to describe the remaining area of indigenous forest as "something that we must hold onto for ever as the irreplaceable and wonderful of nature's creation result and evolution on these islands." TO humanists, such emotional outbursts have no place in rational debate, but in the final analysis we use our emotions to judge appropriate land use.

Nonetheless, the environmental lobby is torn between these two rationales. On the one hand they recognise the human need for a spiritual and physical balance that is derived from the land, and on the other they see the world as having the right to exist unimpaired by the hand of man.

If the Earth were only a few feet in diameter, floating a few feet above a field somewhere, people would come from everywhere to marvel at it. People would walk around it, marvelling at its big pools of water, its little pools and the water flowing between the pools. People would marvel at the bumps on it, and the holes in it, and they would marvel at the very thin layer of gas surrounding it and the water suspended in the gas. The people would marvel at all the creatures walking around the surface of the ball, and at the creatures in the water. The people would declare it as sacred because it was the only one, and they would protect it so that it would not be hurt. The ball would be the greatest wonder known, and people would come to pray to it, to be healed, to gain knowledge, to know beauty and to wonder how it could be. People would love it, and defend it with their lives because they would somehow know that their lives, their own roundness, could be nothing without it. If the Earth were only a few feet in diameter.

It seems that a dualism of thought is a characteristic of Pakeha attitudes to land. Pakeha attitudes are not unified either as a whole or for individuals. They lack a cohesive philosophy that dictates land use, but have a series of different philosophies that overlap and sometimes conflict, various of which are picked up or dropped as seems appropriate.

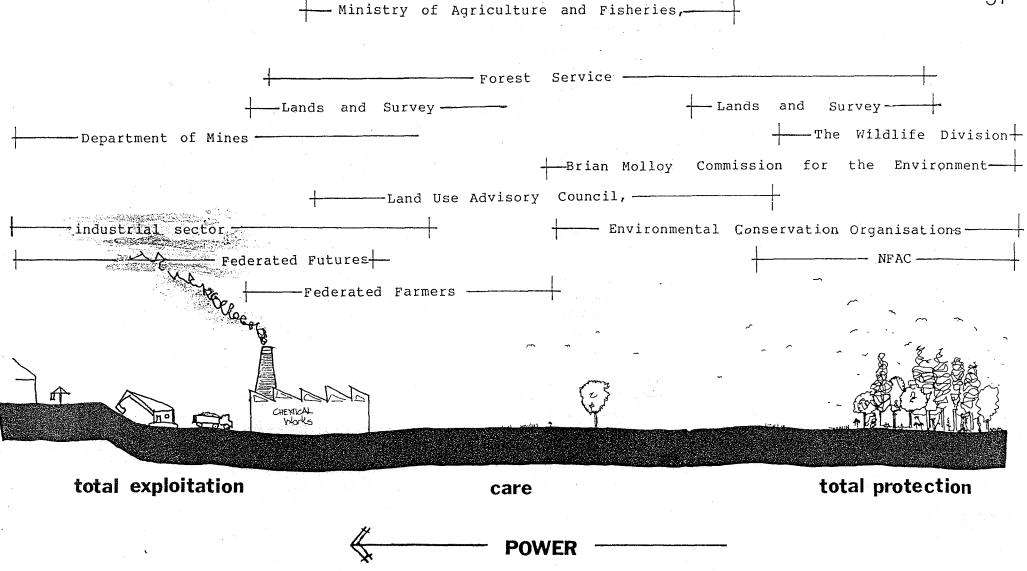
This compromise is seen in the fortunes of the Values Party. The Party was established with the object of saving the environment, but has failed to attract anything like the support necessary to achieve this. Committed environmentalists, the very people one expect to have a cohesive philosophy of land use, have not felt able to support its policy above all others. Even for them land has not been central to their way of thinking.

To Pakehas, lacking any strong spiritual or historical tie to the land, and essentially humanist in philosophy, the land represents prospect. This idea is expressed at one extreme in seeing the land as fit for total exploitation, and at the other as needing careful nurturing to maintain its usefulness. Although this humanist view dominates

the Pakeha's active and expressed relationship with the land, animism is present, although often below surface, at the 'use with care' end of the spectrum. This idea finds occasional unsure expression, particularly among pressure groups, but very rarely among other bodies as well. Only very seldom, however, are animist ideas expressed alone, rather they are generally tied back to the Pakehas prevailing humanist world view. view that allows land to be seen as something distinct, rather than as something central to their being.

It is because land isn't central to their being that Pakehas find it so difficult to state their attitudes to Pakehas are individuals for whom land. the land can fulfil their various needs - but not all at once. Therefore Pakehas are forced to compromise their actions in an effort to cater for their various conflicting needs. This is not to say that people don't lean in any particular direction, but that in so doing they embrace other attitudes as well.

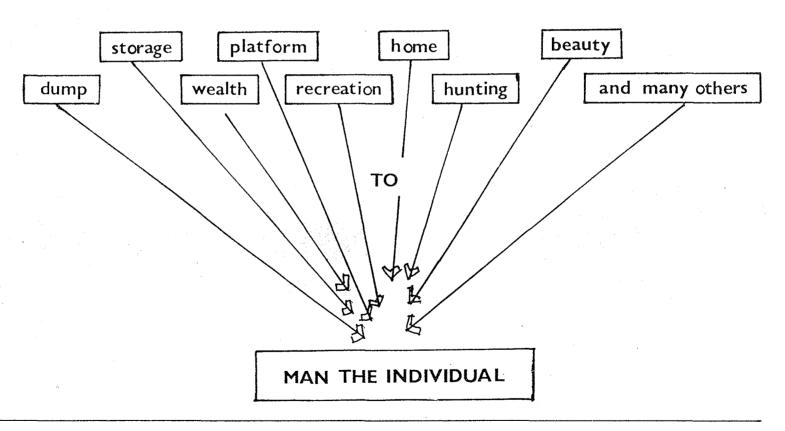
Pakehas do not, therefore, have a single unified philosophy that guides their use of land. Instead they see land as a

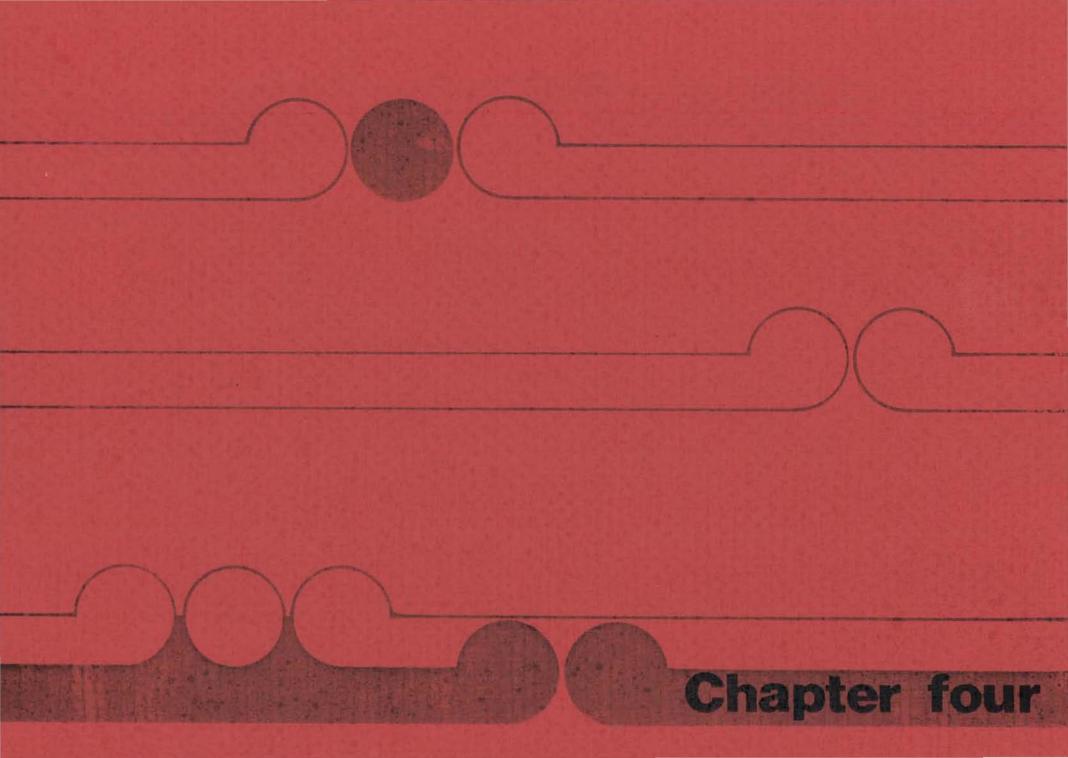


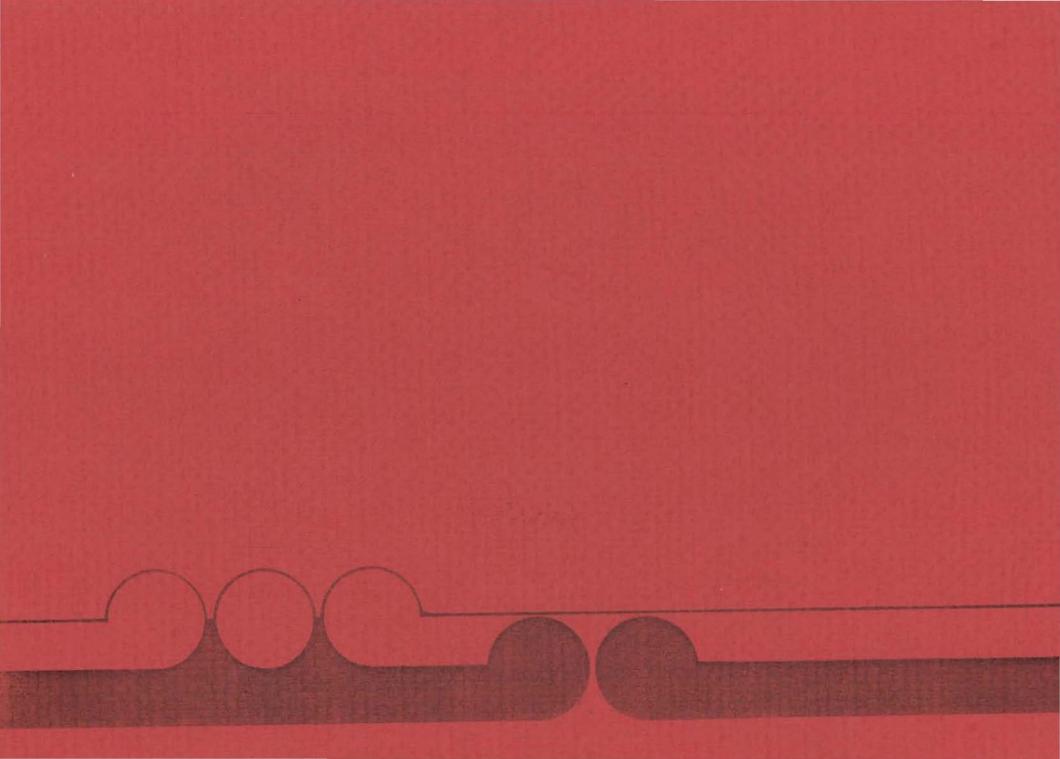
The Sectrum of Opinion

resource capable of fulfilling a welter of different human needs, and occasionally as having inherent rights of its own. Out of this range of capabilities, Pakehas pick on those they see as being important and it is these that forms their attitude to land.

LAND THE SUPPLIER







Lake Ellesmere, a case study

Having considered Maori and Pakeha attitudes to land as distinct entities, we will now narrow our sights to consider the application of these value systems, with particular relevance to The lake and its Lake Ellesmere. immediate surrounding is an area of significance to both Maori and Pakeha. It contains the whole spectrum of Pakeha attitudes to land, and provides the social core one would expect for Maoris. In a number of instances, however, these values clash. 'It is the intention of this chapter to review how these value systems work in tandem.

Maori Attitudes

Maori association with Lake Ellesmere, both as a place of residence and as a source of food, goes back into the annuls of time. Legend has it that in Rakaihautu, the distant past commanded the canoe Uruao, dug the lake with his digging stick. 1 In 1. In ancient times the lake was known as Rakaihautu',



more tangible past the lake has been home to groups of moa hunters, the Kaitahu, and has certainly been a rich source of food and resources to many others besides.

The first people to live by the lake were moa hunters. They lived along Kaitorete Spit and, judging by the number of their camps, must have been active for a long time. Between 23 and 51 archaeological sites have been recorded per square kilometer along the spit. At most this represents 80 of the total. 2 It follows, therefore, that there must be several hundred of these sites, which are now wahi tapu in the eyes of the Maori.

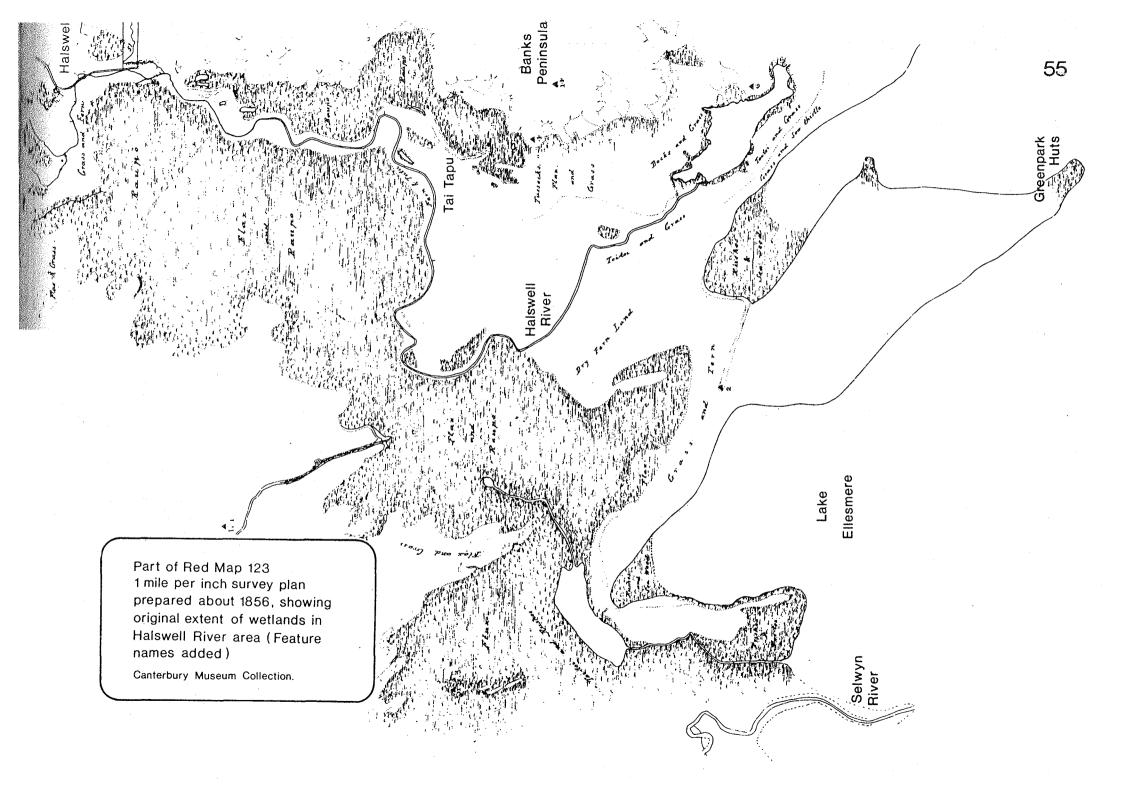
With the demise of the Moa, around 500 population years ago, the moved northwards to more productive coastal It was a further 200 years areas. before the Kaitahu settled the area, establishing permanent villages fortified pa at Taumutu, Birdlings Flat and on many of the lakeside spurs east of Tai Tapu. Of these, the largest and most strategically significant were those along the coast between Taumutu and Birdlings Flat; at least six pa quarding the route south along the coast.

Although its population has dwindled with time, there is still a Maori village at Taumutu. There is an urupa, a church and a marae, all of which are still used intermittently by the local Maori population. In addition there are the remains of several old urupa and pa which, like the moa hunter sites, are viewed as wahi tapu.

Traditionally, Lake Ellesmere was the source of nearly all the food used by the local Maori population, and while this is no longer true to-day, the lake is still a source of the 'speciality' foods of the district. Chief among these is the eel which once existed in great abundance and is still present, although in much reduced. Eels were so significant to the Maoris that they were able to recognise twenty different types, 3 as opposed to the two that the

fishbasket of Rakaihautu. Ellison, R. Te M. in Ellesmere, a Critical Area, submissions from interested groups.

- 2. Palmer, J., The Kaitorete Dunes, p 18.
 Please note that all archaeological sites
 are protected by the Historic Places Act
 1980.
- 3. Ellison, R. Te M. in Taylor C.N., Culture and Ecology in the Lake Ellesmere Ecosystem pp 47-48.



Maoris felt a Pakeha recognise. personal affinity existed between them and the eels and this necessitated that special rituals surrounded their capture, storage and preparation.4 As well as eels, the lake is a source of flounders, herrings, lamprey, whitebait and freshwater crayfish - all delicacies on the Maori table.

The security of this food resource is thought to lie with the god Tiki Tuna. "Lake Elesmere has been the centre of natural food as long as history has been recorded and tradition has it that the deity Tiki Tuna was quardian of all food in the lake and that the tuna (eel) was the supreme saint for the existence of and quardian of all things in the Patiki (flounder) and tuna would lake. flow in abundance so long as respect for Tiki Tuna existed. So great was the importance of traditional etiquette that one did not dare contravene the existing laws". 5 In addition to Tiki Tuna, Taylor refers to the god Nana as being the quardian of the Patiki and to the lake as being home to a number of Taniwha. 6

Ellesmere is also a source of a number of other resources. The most important of these is pingao - the golden sedge, which grows extensively on

Kaitorete Spit and is used to make tukutuku panels in meeting houses. With a number of marae being built in the South Island and with supplies of pingao running out in the North Island, this is a significant resource. Lake Ellesmere is also an important source of flax, which is used for making a wide range of items, from cloaks to baskets. Several different types of flax are recognised, each suitable for a different purpose, and Lake Ellesmere is a source of most of these varieties. Plants have been shipped all over Canterbury to enable flax work to be done. As well as having these resources the lake is a source of raupo used to make poi, and of many plants and herbs used in herbal remedies.

To those Maoris associated with Lake Ellesmere it contains many things. It holds their history in its soils and in the many wahi tapu sites that surround it. It is the source of food, - a source so important that a special

- 4. Ellison, R. Te M. in Taylor C.N., op cit, p 47.
- 5. Ellison, R. Te M. in Taylor, C.N., op cit, p 47.
- 6. Taylor, W.A., <u>Waihora Maori</u>
 <u>Associations with Lake Ellesmere.</u> p 12.

relationship with the resource and a special knowledge of its character have developed which demand particular care in its use. It is a source of material needed for the maintenance of important aspects of the Maori culture. In many ways, Maori attitudes to Lake Ellesmere are a close match to the model drawn in chapter two.

Pakeha Attitudes

Pakeha attitudes towards Lake Ellesmere are a reflection of the range of acceptable use as seen by the population in general. At one extreme we find the lake is viewed as being ideal for pasture, but in need of drainage, and at the other we find the lake viewed as a superb wildlife habitat in need of enhancement and protection.

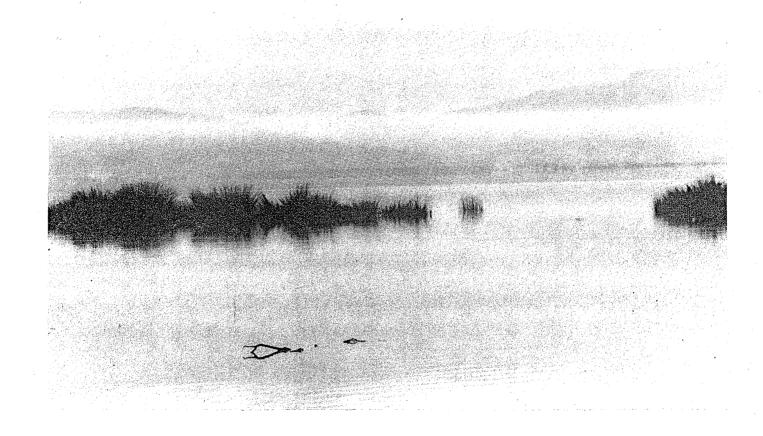
When the Ellesmere district was first settled by Pakehas the lake level was considerably higher than it is to-day. At times the lake covered 50,000 hectares, and all but isolated Banks Peninsula from the plains. Ever since then a continual process of drainage has reduced the area of wetland by 80 percent and stabilised the water level at about 1.10 metres above sea level.

These efforts are a good measure of the aspirations of the farming community, which has largely carried them out.

To farmers the lake is a threat that spoils pasture and reduces productivity. At the same time it represents potential in unsown pasture as yet under its waters. The land is a resource to be used and the lake is inhibiting this.

Many farmers would therefore like to see the lake level reduced still further, although few if any now wish to see it drained completely. A lot of farmers suggest lowering the lake to 700 millimetres above sea level, which they argue would increase production to the value of at least 2.4 million dollars per annum. (1983). 9 asking for this reduction they are aware that other values are being trampled on, but they do not consider these to be important. "We understand wetlands are considered a valuable natural resource and the more they are reduced the more valuable they become.

- 7. Palmer, J. <u>Ellesmere a Critical Area.</u> p 29..
- 8. Palmer, J. ibid.
- Lake Settler Society in Ellesmere a Critical Area Submissions from Interested Groups.



believe Lake Ellesmere would become a more valuable resource if the navigable area was corrected to allow public access to the lake from the roads surveyed for this purpose."

That is, if the lake level was dropped to less than 0.7 metres above sea level.

In reality the lake is now held at the lowest practical level. To increase further farmland would require extensive stop banking which, although tenable in the eyes of farmers would be detrimental to nearly all other lake users and as such would be unlikely to gain approval. Despite this many farmers cling to the notion that the best way to use the lake is to drain it. and look to Holland as their model as to how this can be achieved.

On the lake itself fishing is now a major industry, earning around one million dollars per annum. As we have seen, eels, flounder and herring are found in the lake and it is these fish, and particularly eels, which form the basis of the fisherv. Approximately 30 percent of New Zealand's eel catch 11 and 15 percent 12 of its flounder catch are caught in the lake, making it New Zealand's largest fresh water fishery.

Tonnages taken vary widely, reflecting in part the length of lake opening and importantly, the impact more overfishing. In 1976 847 tonnnes of eel were caught. In 1977 this figure was almost halved to 444 tonnes and by 1981 the catch was slightly less than a quarter of its original size. 13 As the eel industry developed the number of eelers increased. In effect, "we were seeing the development of the classic syndrome in New Zealand commercial fishing, that of too many fishermen chasing too few fish." 14 In an to prevent the further degradation of this fishing a licensing system was introduced restricting the number of fishermen to 17, the length of fish taken to greater than 380 millimetres and the total quota to 300 tonnes. 15

- 10. When Ellesmere was originally surveyed a paper road was laid down at 0.7 metres above sea level. It was assumed that the lake would be drained to this height and although this has not happened, this is the road that is referred to. Lake Settler Society, op cit.
- 11. Tilling, A.J., <u>Fishery Resources in the Canterbury Region</u>, p. 8.
- 12. Todd, P.R., Fish and Fisheries of Lake Ellesmere', p 2. in Lake Ellesmere Symposium, 1981.
- 13. Todd, P.R., op cit p 3.
- 14. Todd, P.R., ibid, p 2.
- 15. Todd, P.R., ibid, p 3.

Despite these measures the drift of the Ellesmere fishery is towards resource depletion, as the eel population is consistently prevented from migrating to breed. Eels don't migrate until they are about 500 millimetres long, 16 and yet they can be taken before they are of breeding size. At the same time, the major part of the catch is composed of migrating eels caught on their way to the sea. The idiocy of this is neatly shown by a Fisherv Advisory Officer with MAF. "In the ideal situation the lake would be closed from mid February to mid March to ensure that most of the migrating eels can be caught, and opened in October and early November to allow young fish to enter. Where the young eels are to come from is something he omits to mention.

In essence then, the people who fish the lake and those who support them see it as a resource to be used, and exploited.

The final commercial use made of the lake is sand removal. Since 1952 Habgoods has been taking sand from Kaitorete Spit to use for blockmaking and concrete manufacture. The volume of sand has varied depending on demand, but it has averaged 32,000 cubic metres

per year, a total of 231,904 cubic metres being removed. ¹⁸ The effect of this has been to severely degrade part of the dunes, damaging the flora and

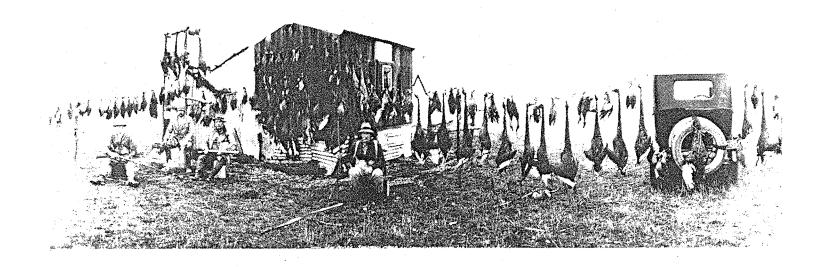
- 16. Todd, P.R., Size and Age of Migrating N.Z. Freshwater Eels', p 292.
- 17. Todd, P.R., 'Fish and Fisheries of Lake Ellesmere', p 3. in Lake Ellesmere Symposium 1981.
- 18. Palmer, J., The Kaitorete Dunes, p 29.



Unloading eels from traps into storage tanks where they are cleaned out. (Department of Lands & Survey) frequently desecrating wahi tapu sites.

As well as these extractive uses, the lake is used as a repository for effluent from the towns and villages that surround it. In conjunction with this, there is a high nutrient input from dairy farms and fertiliser use. These factors have caused the lake to reach the advanced state eutrophication it that currently. suffers.

The other body of people whe use the lake are the recreationalists. People who view Lake Ellesmere as important on account of its wildlife, its scenery, its 'get away from it all' qualities and more besides. Best known among these uses are hunting and fishing. With its large populations of birds Lake Ellesmere is the most game shooting significant Canterbury - a significance enhanced by its proximity to Christchurch. Thus



Game shooting has long been a popular pursuit on Lake Ellesmere — Jim Coop's shooting camp 1925. This is only part of the original photo which extended as far again in both directions, with three times as many birds. (R.P. Moore, photo, Canterbury Museum.)

at least 2500 hunters 19 use the lake during the various seasons, which cover seven months of the year.

Brown trout were first introduced into Ellesmere in 1868 and since then they have thrived - so much so that the Selwyn/Ellesmere fisheries are now the most important in Canterbury, cent of North attracting 25 per efforts. Canterbury's angling Assuming that all those people who hold fishing licenses distribute their effort evenly, this means that over 4000 people use the Selwyn and Ellesmere for fishing. 20 As well, there are numerous other people who go eeling or drag netting for flounder.

Less popular but none the important, the lake and its surrounds are an excellent area for bird watching and nature study in general. these values and in many ways pushing the innate values of the area, is the Royal Forest Bird Protection and Society and a number of individuals. They are concerned that the lake and its ecosystem should be protected for all to enjoy and as entities in their own riaht. As such they see a need to protect the lake from the farming community.

As might have been expected, this review has not revealed a unified Pakeha attitude towards Lake Ellesmere, but rather has shown a series of attitudes which are reflected in a wide range of desired land use. Land use that ranges from production to preservation.

Attitudes in Tandem

Lake Ellesmere thus has the capacity to fulfil a wide range of human needs and The problem is, however, aspirations. that it is not possible to fulfil all of these at once. In essence, these needs and aspirations fall into two major groups. In the first are those attitudes which are concerned with the lake's physical component. That is. its capacity to be used as an extractive resource. In the second, there are those which are spiritually based and concerned with the spiritual component of life and with land's capacity to Although they both hold provide this. to differing degrees, these views Maoris and Pakehas fall into both these camps.

- 19. Palmer, J., Ellesmere a Critical Area, p
 47.
- 20. Blair, I.D., 'Lake Ellesmere and the Trought Fishery', p 1. in Lake Ellesmere Symposium, 1981.

The spiritual dimension can be divided into those things which are visible and site specific, and those which are everywhere but insubstantial. Identity and history are two such intangibles. They are very important to the Maori, but are impossible t.o locate specifically. For the Maoris of Lake Ellesmere their history and the lake are intimately tied - they could not have the one without the other. This is a spirituality that cannot be pinned down to one spot, but which extends across the whole lake. The same is true of Nana, Tiki Tuna and the taniwhas that are said to live in the lake. They cannot be seen, but they have a spiritual existence that occupies the lake as a whole.

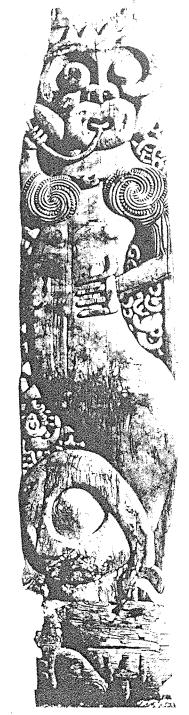
It is difficult, though not impossible, to damage spiritual values of this intangible nature. So long as the lake remains it will continue to function as a source of identity, as a symbol of tribal history and as a home to its metaphysical inhabitants. General farming practice poses no particular threat to these values, but if the lake was drained completely these values would be destroyed.

In terms of tangible spirituality, the important sites around Lake Ellesmere

for Maoris are the numerous wahi tapu around scattered the lake, but concentrated on Kaitorete Spit. Wahi tapu are particular to a spot and so can be located, seen and protected with relative ease. In the case of Kaitorete Spit, however, the sheer number of these sites gives them a value as a whole that exceeds that of the sites as individuals. From both a Maori and an archaeological perspective, Kaitorete Spit is therefore considerable significance as an entire entity. These values are obviously in conflict with the removal of sand by Habqoods.

The lake is also significant in spiritual terms for the Pakeha. An importance that is derived from the wildlife, archaeological, scenic and botanical values of the area.

Although Lake Ellesmere is of little significance botanically, Kaitorete Spit The spit boasts an interesting and unusual collection of plants, including large areas of pingao and several species at their southern limit. account of this there is pressure from the some quarters to see Spit preserved, something that conflicts with Habgoods and their sand removing operations.



In terms of wildlife, Lake Ellesmere is ofnational and possibly international significance. This is not only on account of the large number of species that use the lake, but also because it is used by huge numbers of birds. As might be expected, the viability of Lake Ellesmere as a wildlife habitat is very dependent on the treatment the lake receives. Τf the numbers and diversity of birds are to be maintained at their current level, the lake must be kept in its present state, and for preference improved. This requires that lake levels be kept much as they are, that swamp areas be allowed to remain and that processes leading to the lakes eutrophic state are curtailed.

None of these requirements really match the aspirations of the farmers who own land around the lake. Once again, therefore, we find a conflict of attitudes, between those who see Ellesmere as spiritually valuable, and those who see it as a significant source of production.

When seen as a source of production, there is broad agreement between Maori and Pakeha that Lake Ellesmere has the capacity to meet at least some of their

physical needs. However, what these needs are and how they might best be are issues of contention. Basically two groups of Pakehas use the lake commercially - those who fish and those who farm. What use should be made of the lake is a matter of dispute: not only between these two groups, but also between the commercial users and Maori environmental and factions.

Farmers would like to lower the lake level to increase the area of 'productive' land. In the process this would diminish the fishing resource, lessen recreation opportunities damage the wildlife habitat. As well as this, if they lowered the lake sufficiently they would effect the lake's spiritual values as seen by Maoris.

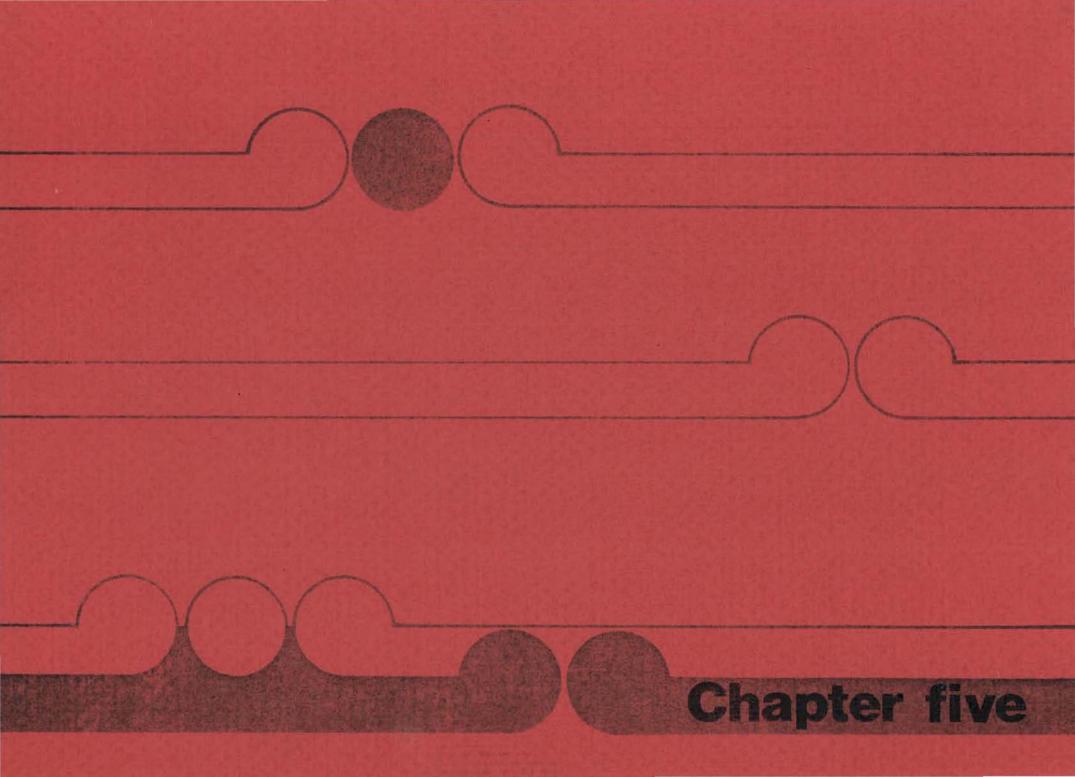
the fishermen For their part, completely reject the idea of lowering They point to their the lake. contribution to the economy, and arque that the lake level should if anything, be raised, to make it a better habitat At the same time as arguing for fish. this, however, they are catching so many eels that they seem intent upon fishing themselves out of work.

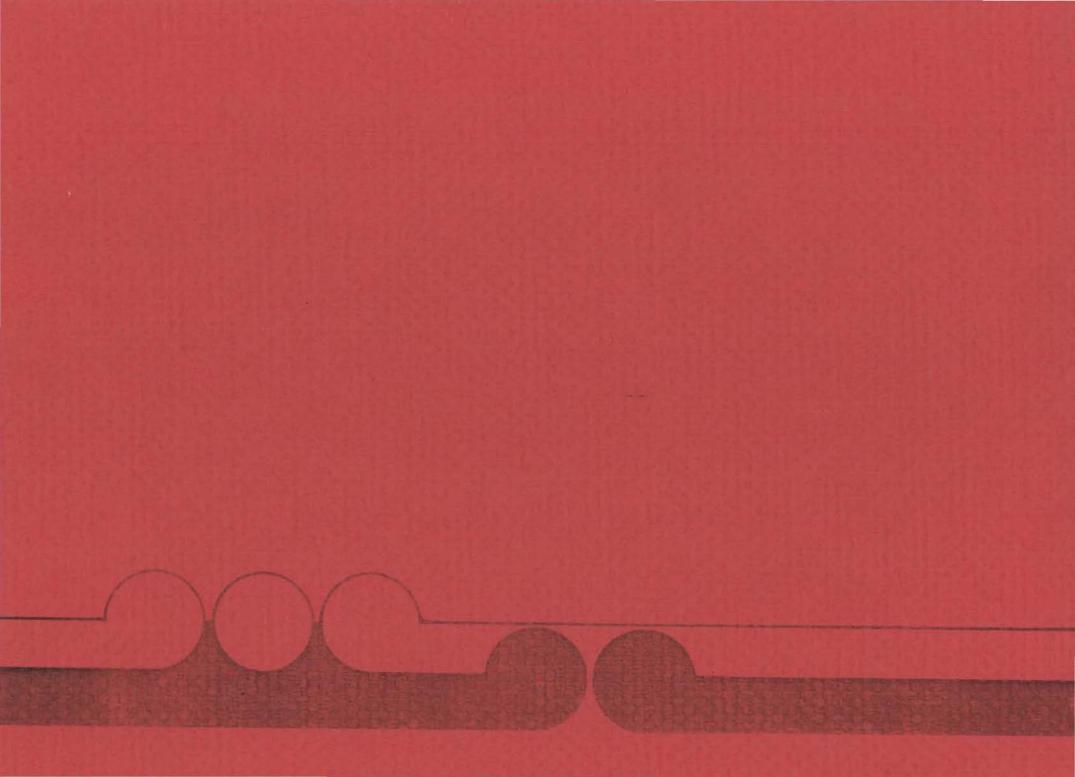
As we have seen, the size of the eel catch has dropped dramatically since commercial fishing began in Lake Although this seems of Ellesmere. little concern to the fishermen, who carry on oblivious, it is of grave concern to lakeside Maoris. Eels a resource held in special regard by the Maoris of Lake Ellesmere, and the effect of excessive commercial fishing has been to undermine this relationship. As Maoris see it, commercial fishing is robbing them of an essential part of As well as this, the their culture. quality of the eel is becoming reduced as the lake becomes more and more polluted due to eutrophication. The eel resource is under attack from two fronts.

Finally Lake Ellesmere is a source of pingao and flax, which is needed by Maoris to make piupiu, (flax skirts), baskets and takutuku panels. Flax is by no means rare, but pingao is. Fro m the Maori perspective, it is essential, therefore, that this resource is protected to ensure its continuity into the future. Thus for a second time Maori aspirations are in conflict with those of Habgoods.

This comparison of Maori and Pakeha views of Lake Ellesmere typifies the dichotomy between their attitude to land. Maoris have a strong centralized view of the lake, in which they form a part of the lake's story and it forms part of theirs. In contract, Pakehas hold a series of views, none of which link them to the land, and all of which fulfil only a part of the lake's capabilities.

However, although Maori and Pakeha attitudes towards the lake rest upon different values and philosophy, both parties hold views which, broadly speaking, are either spiritually or physically based. There are certainly considerable differences between Maori and Pakeha attitudes, but there are also similarities, which suggests the possibility of some common ground. Both groups see Lake Ellesmere as a resource to be used, but they both consider it to have a broader meaning than use alone. Maoris and different groups of Pakeha both consider the eels a significant resource; both view Kaitorete Spit as important; both are opposed to changes in the lake level, and they would like to see the lake waters made clean again. although the basis of their philosophies are different, in terms of action there is some broad agreement between Maoris and different factions of Pakeha society.





Application and Potential

If New Zealand is to become a truly bicultural country, then Maori values need to be viewed as legitimate and allowed to be expressed. Things of value in Maori landscapes must be recognised as valuable. They must be afforded the same protection and status as things of importance in the Pakeha landscape. This clearly requires that the conflict between Maori and Pakeha attitudes to land be resolved; not at a philosophical level, but as they are manifest in land use. This does not Maoris have to become mean that Pakehas or Pakehas have to become Maoris, it simply means recognising that the two cultures are different but Although the root of land use equal. problems lies in philosophy, it is in the expression of these philosophies that conflict occurs. Thus it is in the realm of land use that the solutions to these differences must be found.

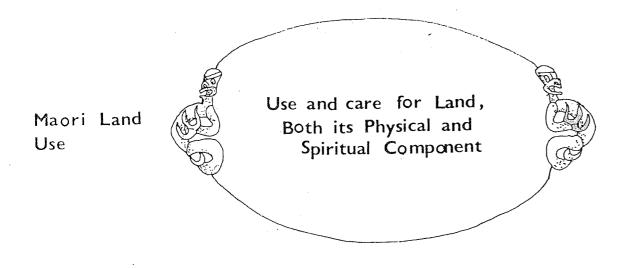
Thus far this review has concerned itself very largely with the nature of Maori and Pakeha attitudes to land, and not with their resolution. In this

chapter I seek to redress this balance. In doing so, I quickly recap on Maori and Pakeha attitudes; then I consider the accommodation given to alternative attitudes within the land planning system, and I end by considering some of the potentials for resolving this conflict of values.

A Re-cap of Attitudes

It is obvious from the preceding chapters that Maoris and Pakehas have profoundly different attitudes to land. Maoris, land contains their spiritual base, their personal and tribal identity, and the economic resource upon which their survival as individuals and as a people depends. Inherent in these attitudes is a unity of thought that sees these aspects not as separate entities, but as intimately linked components of life. To Maoris life is a totality, and land is the element that binds it and them together.

The use that Maoris make of their lands is a reflection of this holistic world view. They do not separate the land's spiritual and physical



Pakeha Land total use or use to or preserve sustain

components, but use land in a way that permits both these elements to find expression at once.

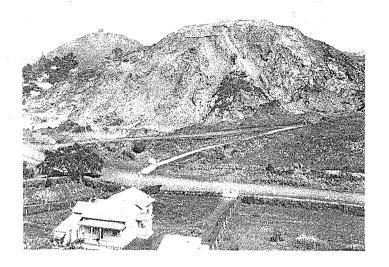
In somewhat stark contrast to this, Pakehas see land differently. They are humanists, and in analysing the world 'out there' see it as holding the prospect of fulfilling certain of their needs. By and large they view land as a resource put there for them, and to be used for their benefit - be this benefit of a physical or a spiritual nature. In taking this stance they see themselves as separate from the world - as onlookers not as components.

humanists, rarely or more animists in a humanist system, the use make of the land Pakehas 'resource' is not holistic but is They do not strive for, parametric. and indeed generally seem unable to a system of land use conceptualise, that allows both these physical and spiritual needs to be met. Rather, in attitudes land, its their capabilities are generally divided into a series of compartments, many of which are in conflict. As a whole, Pakeha society thus accommodates a wide range of acceptable land use, but within this spectrum there is conflict and compromise as the proponents of various uses endeavour to prove their worth.

Maoris and Pakehas therefore both have a spiritual and a physical component to their attitude to land, they just come from different bases and find different expression.

Accommodation of Differences

The system pays no heed to these fundamental differences in attitudes it is staunchly Pakeha in outlook and within this it is mainly concerned with the land as a physical resource. country that sees itself as being multi-cultural this is completely Indeed it is arrogant unacceptable. and morally "Some wrong. acknowledgement of the special relationship which Maoris have for land and more especially for their ancestral estates should be embodied in the legislation and the existing machinery adjusted to make promulgation more effective. Bearing in mind the particular difficulties arising from the complexity of land ownership and the emotional intense attachment which Maoris have for their lands." 1



As one would expect, the system which is basically white, is based upon the Pakeha culture. There is a belief inherent in this, that a person's home is their castle and this belief is backed by the legal system and the planning process. Generally, when questions of alternative values arise which threatens this belief in the sovereignty of land, they are resolved in the light of the national good as perceived by the pakeha majority. This approach was summed up by the Land Use Advisory Council. They

1. Mahuta R. in Dyer, J. Site Planning for Marae p 51.

The Three Kings in 1920. Mt. Eden road skirts a pile of rubble, which was once a pa on one of the Three Kings. Today only the hill with a reservoir remains, the other two having succumbed to progress. Hundreds of pa sites have been destroyed or mutilated by activity such as this. (J.D. Richardson Photo, Richardson Album, Auckland Institute and Museum.)

recognised the strong attachment Maoris have for their land, but suggested it "must be balanced against the national good" ² a neat side step of the problem.

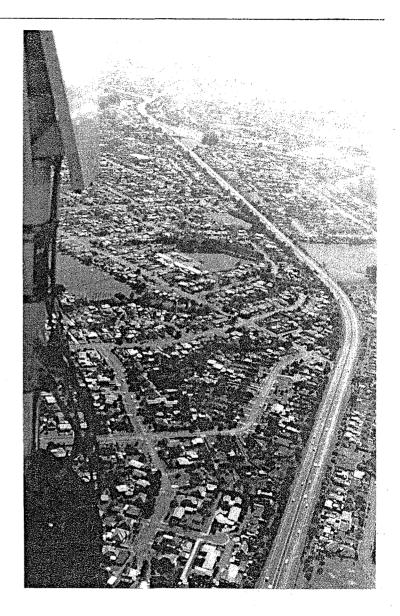
Predictably, the effect of this failure to incorporate all values has been to generate conflict and dispute. Conflicts which have been manifest over such issues as the Motunui outfall and the dumping of sewage in the Kaituna river, but also over issues such as the Clyde dam and the Aromoana smelter.

Against this background the last few years has seen increasing attempts to change the emphasis of planning; to incorporate alternative values within the system. Although this is not a planning document, nor a casebook of environmental law, it is pertinent at this stage to briefly overview the nature and effectiveness of these developments.

Mangare. For most In 19 development in 19 develo

In 1973 as part of the Huntly power development, it was proposed to use water from the Waikato river for cooling purposes; the heated water was to be returned to the river. This use

 Land Use Advisory Council, Land Use in New Zealand - National Goal. p 32.



was opposed by two groups, both of whom were essentially motivated the river's spirituality. The environmental movement opposed this water use on the grounds that it would be detrimental to the river's value as a habitat. While Maoris, opposed it on the grounds that it would be injurious to the taniwha which lived in the river and were its quardians. Neither group was successful in its appeal, but, this was one of the first attempts to bring spiritual matters to bear within the planning process.

In 1977 the revised Town and Country Planning Act was made law. Inher ent in this act is the potential for a more holistic and just system of land use. This is based upon section three of the act, which establishes seven things as being matters of national importance - four of these are particularly significant from the perspective of this report.:-

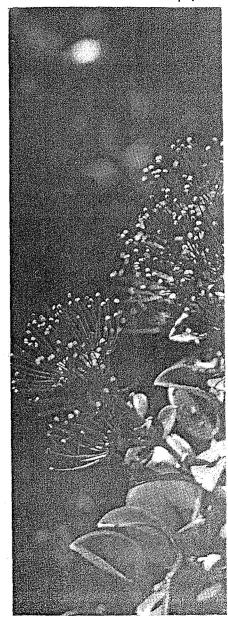
- "(a) The conservation, protection and enhancement of the physical, cultural and social environment:
- (b) The wise use and management of New Zealand's resources:

- (c) The preservation of the natural character of the coastal environment and the margins of lakes and rivers and the protection of them from unnecessary subdivisions and development:
- (g) The relationship of the Maori people and their culture and traditions with their ancestral land."

Obviously, the most important clause for Maoris is section 'g' which potentially could ensure the entry of their values into the planning system. The fulcrum upon which this potential rests is the definition of 'ancestral' lands.

In defining this, two cases stand out as being particularly important. Knuckey Taranaki County Council, which established that 'Maori land' 'ancestral land' and Auckland Maori Council V the Manakau Maritime Planning Authority which established that land had to be owned by Maoris to be considered ancestral. The legal system has thus defined ancestral land to mean land still owned by Maoris.

3. Town and Country Planning Act, 1977. Section 3 (1) p 9.



However, this is not the definition that Maoris would give the term.

Despite this, there is some recognition that ancestral land has a broader Adamson Taipa Limited v meaning. Mongonui County, was a case in which it was proposed to build oxidation ponds on a headland in a sensitive coastal area. The headland had been a pa site of significance particular to Ngatikahu, who had been associated with it for centuries. The planning tribunal recognised that the land could not be termed ancestral land, but said that its use should be avoided in recognition of its significance to the Maori people.

Section 'g' of the act has been further defined by Nganeko Minhinnick v Auckland Regional Water Baord. As we have seen, this was concerned with mixing water from the Waikato with the Manakau. The court ruled that it did not have the authority to consider spiritual matters.

The final case of significance to Maoris is The Provisional Trustees for the Lands Affected and Others v the Ministry of Works and Development. In this case it was proposed to purchase some Maori land using the Public Works

Act. The owners appealed under section 'g' of the Town and Country Planning Act. The solution applied here, and now used in many such instances, was for the M.O.W. to lease rather than purchase the land, thereby maintaining Maori contact with it.

Section 'g' has thus been given a narrow definition, which limits its applicability to all but a few situations. As such, it has failed to relieve but a few of the problems of determining appropriate land use, as perceived by Maoris. It is however, a start.

Of interest to the whole community, are the attempts to modify resource In 1979 the high court allocation. held that in granting water rights for a hydro-electric dam, the loss production from the flooded land should be weighed against the benefits to be gained by building the dam. Eight years later this principle was expanded when the high court held that in granting water rights to the Clyde dam, the end use of the electricity was of relevance to making the decision. 'Thus, the scope οf relevant considerations was widened, beyond the immediate resources to be gained or lost, to include what can properly be

called downstream "resources".4

Although this is hardly a long chronicle of success stories, it does indicate a widening of the basis of resource allocation. Ultimately this could lead to a holistic system of land use. Interestingly, none of the cases I came across were concerned with appropriate resource use, as seen from Maori eyes; this may well be an area of future litigation.

The legal system, in its own cumbersome and slow way, has made some advances towards accommodating alternative attitudes to land. Thes e advances, however, have failed to realise the hopes and expectations of Maoris, and to a lesser extent those of Pakehas.

I use the words 'lesser extent' advisedly, because although there is considerable dispute between different sections of Pakeha society, some Pakeha expectations for alternative land use have been met. Manapouri was saved, Maruia was not logged, and there are nearly three million hectares of National Parks and Reserves across the country. For Pakehas the problem lies

within their system and their inability to reconcile their different expectations of land. For Maoris the problem is that they are outside the system, which largely does not recognise their values and fails to give these values the status they need.

4. Turner, A. "The Changing Basis of Decision Making" p 14.



Potentials for Resolution

In considering the potential to improve this state of affairs it is appropriate to reconsider the nature of the problem. As was discussed above, this is not a question of changing cultures, but one of accommodating them. This means using the land in a way that is not incompatible to one culture or the other. The reality is, of course that the power base rests with the Pakeha, and that it. is the Maori whose attitudes to land is not finding As such this is the real expression. problem to be addressed.

As we have seen, Maoris have an expansive and holistic view of land that is immensely spiritual. On the ground, however, this comes down to two things: the maintenance of important resources and the maintenance of elements of spiritual significance.

In terms of the physical resource, this means ensuring that things such as eels, sea food, flax and pingao, all elements important in defining the Maori culture, remain to be used into the future. In terms of the land's

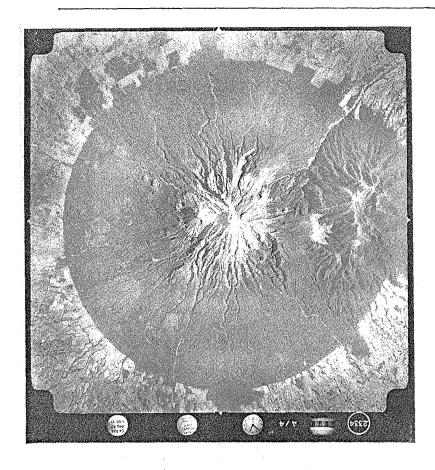
spiritual content, things are more complicated. As was discussed above. there are two sorts of spirituality the tangible and the intangible. which are specific to one location and those that are everywhere. It is really the former of these that needs protection, the wahi tapu sites. damage the spirituality of the latter requires an effort that is seldom forthcoming. This is not to say that the broad scale spirituality should be ignored, but that in the vast majority of cases its maintenance does not require special measures.

To come up with a comprehensive list of measures by which to safeguard wahi tapu and culturally significant resources is beyond the capacity of this report. To do so would require an extensive knowledge of the existing legislation and procedure, far beyond my own. Having said this, however, there are several possibilities that seem realistic.

In terms of spiritual values, legislation protecting elements of spiritual significance to Pakehas could be expanded to incorporate elements of significance to Maoris. For example, the Reserves Act could be expanded to create Maori spiritual reserves, or the

Mt. Egmont

The sacred and the profane. Most land is divided into one of two categories, either it is marked for productive use, or it is marked by some special feature and reserved. Seldom are the two successfully married. This is clearly seen here, within the 'sacred circle' in Mt. Egmont; surrounding it is the 'profanity' of productive land.



Wild and Scenic Rivers Protection Act expanded to include rivers, or parts of rivers, which are spiritually important With regard to the to Maoris. physical resource, areas of importance could be set aside, or used in such a way as to ensure that the resource remained available. 5 This would require not only that the resource was not over-exploited, but also that it was not pollution destroyed bv or other activity.

It should not be taken from this that resource use and spiritual values are irreconcilable. Ву sympathetic communication the two can be successfully married. This is seen in the Northland ironsand extractions. The ironsands are on Maori land, in an area containing numerous urupa. careful negotiations it was arranged that all the known urupa would be avoided, and that if an urupa was discovered during mining, the remains would be re-intered in a secure place with due ceremony. Upon completion of mining, the area is to be reinstated to its former condition.

5. It should be remembered that the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed Maori's sovereignty over their Fisheries.

Shell Knife.

"'You digging another hole for the dunny?' Yeah, breathing hard and stabbing the earth on the safe fringes Sand and more sand and aching and suddenly soot Calcined shells and broken fish jaws browned by hundred on hundred still years A flake of flint chipped in deliberate small notches long as my finger. Don't touch! 'Hey it's sharp!' - grinning at my white eyes grinning and carving the air hoping for blood beads 'Tu! Tu! Tu! Shrill above the sea 'E, who taught you that?'

'Nobody...'"

Keri Hulme, 1982.

In this marriage of interests the mining company is able to extract the resources, for which the land owners receive a dividend; the spiritual values of the area remain largely secure, and in the long run the environment will suffer no ill effects.

Given their concern for the broader environment and for spiritual values, and given the common difficulties that Maoris and the environmental lobby have in getting their values accepted, it appears that on some issues at least alliances could be formed between these groups. These alliances would clearly require a common issue, but as well as this there would need to be recognition of the differing concerns of the two groups and of the legitimacy of their concerns. However, if these conditions prevail then both environmentalists and Maoris stand to benefit by the increased strength and visibility they would gain. In the long run, such alliances could see the formation of a more holistic New Zealand environmental ethos.

From the broad scale we will now turn back to the specific and consider the application of this to Lake Ellesmere.

Lake Ellesmere is central to a large number of values, essentially based either on resources or on spirituality. It is the dispute over different balances of these two that is central to the conflict here: both between Maoris and Pakeha and within Pakeha society. For Maoris the key issues are the wahi tapu sites and the availability of For Pakeha the concerns are resources. and with farming, fishing extraction; and with wildlife, botany, scientific and scenic values. care and concern all these uses could be accommodated.

The Town and Country Planning Act voices opinion on all these areas of conflict, citing a legal need for: - the 'wise use of resources, 'protection of the physical, cultural and social environment', preservation of natural character of coastal area and lakes', and 'the relationship of the Maori people and their ancestral lands'. Logically, therefore, the Town and Country Planning Act could be used to resolve these conflicts over resource use.

It is apparent that Maori concerns and

the concerns of some Pakehas run both concerned to parallel; are maintain and protect Kaitorete Spit, both view sustainable resource use as a necessity and both wish to maintain the lake as a viable habitat. In this common ground there is the potential for alliances between Maori and Pakeha. Similarly, there should be a union of opinion between Maoris and the fishing They should both be community. concerned with sustainable resource use - it is perhaps just a question of expanding the fishermens time scale to make them realise this.

The farming community is the odd one out. In its desire to drain the lake it threatens all of the values that other people hold. It seems only reasonable, therefore, that farmers curb their ambitions and allow a multi-use system to persist.

To specifically protect Maori values there appear to be four major possibilities. To protect the eel resource a more realistic system of fishing quotas could be imposed, the Maoris share of this resource could be ensured by enlarging the non commercial area at Taumutu making and

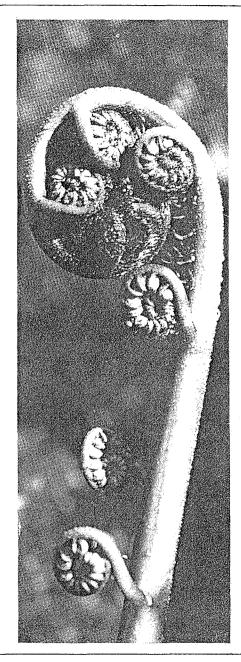
specifically for Maoris. Kaitorete Spit, or at least the dunelands on the spit, could be given reserve status of a sort which would still allow the pingao Finally, the sand to be collected. miners could be directed to avoid the t.o administer known urupa, and remedies when appropriate one (This would clearly need uncovered. liaison with the Maori close At the same time they community.) could be directed away from ecologically important areas. Αt current levels of extraction these measures would allow sand mining to continue for thirty years.

In these measures not only does the Maori community stand to benefit, but the environmental lobby stand to gain as well.

Admittedly Lake Ellesmere is a relatively simple case. However, it is clear that with the right attitude all of the different values that people see in the lake could be accommodated.

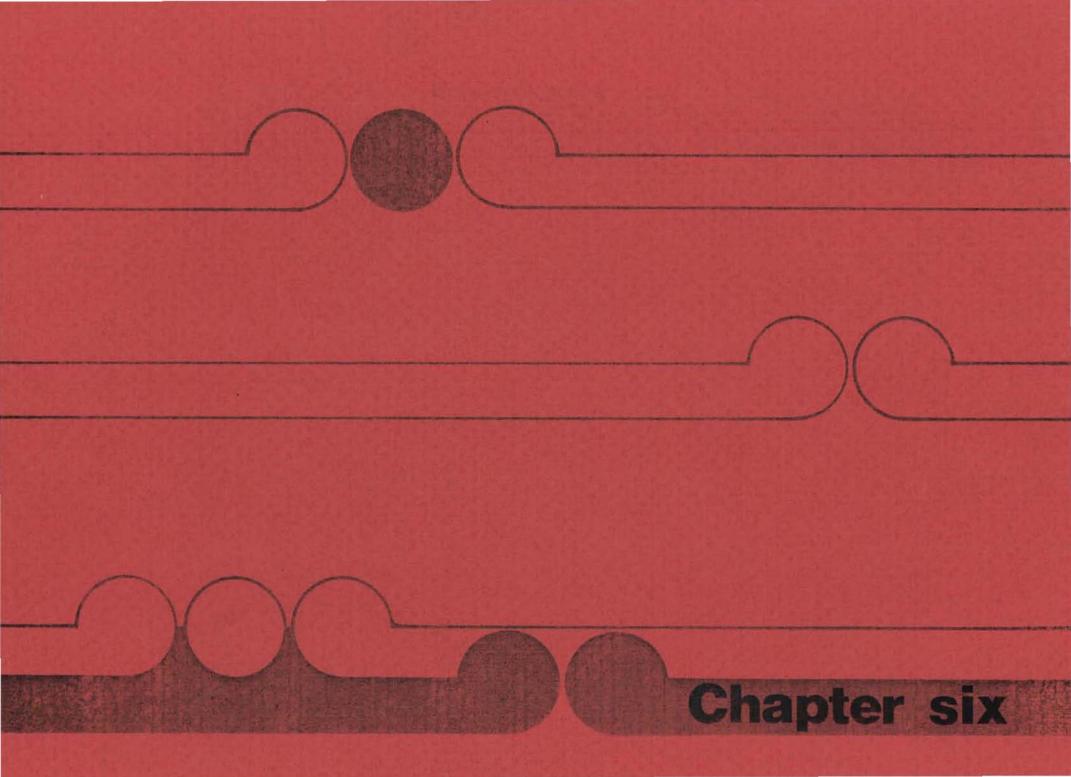
Despite the major differences between Maori and Pakeha attitudes to land, they are not irreconcilable within the land use system. With care and

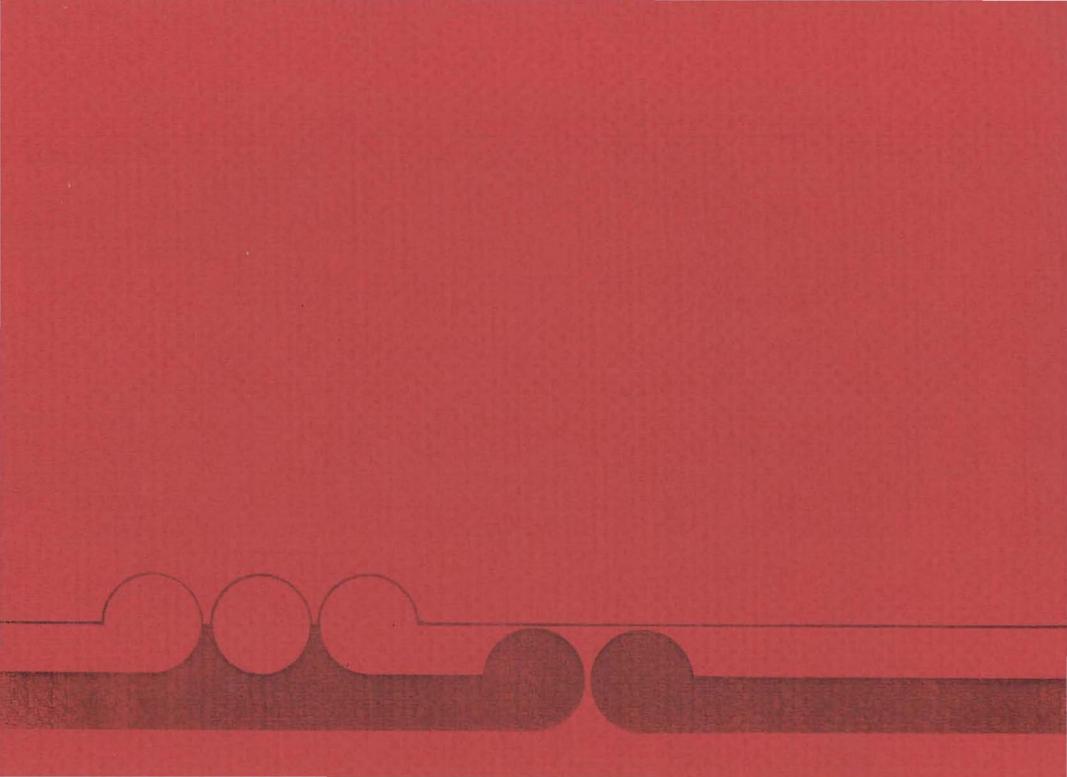
concern the system can be expanded to accommodate Maori attitudes, and to give them the status and support they need and deserve; thus enhancing the Maori culture and identity. At the time this would same aid the environmental movement in its plight and in the long run could lead to a new environmental ethos in New Zealand. By safequarding wahi tapu sites not only would the Maori culture be more secure, but New Zealand's identity, as seen by the Pakeha population, would gain a greater depth and strength than it has at present. If the spirit is willing, it can be done.



'Observe the young and tender frond of this punga: shaped and curved like the scroll of a fiddle: fit instrument to play archaic tunes.'

A.R.D. Fairburn.





Conclusion

Different people and different cultures see land through different eyes, their vision depending on a mixture of cultural, individual and social factors that determine behavior. Broadly speaking, however, these different visions of land can be seen as fitting within one ο£ three categories: humanist or managerial. animist. Generally the west's attitudes to land are a mixture of the former two, while many so called primitive cultures hold the latter view. It is into this animist school of thought that Maori attitudes to land largely fits.

In considering Maori attitudes to land, only traditional attitudes are taken into account. It is apparent, however, that Maoris have a deep and spiritual relationship with land. They see land as their spiritual base and as a source of their identity, both as individuals and as a tribe; g it provides social structure and is the economic resource upon which their lives depend. Thes e facets are intimately linked in a holistic mix that places land alongside people at their centre.

By and large Pakehas see land as representing the potential to fulfil their needs and requirements. Historically Pakehas have not established strong links with the land and philosophically they veer between humanism and managerialism. This allows them to see the land as something distinct from themselves.

As manifest in action, these attitudes range from total exploitation to total and seldom do the twain preservation However, in the attitude to meet. land of many people and organisations there are several of these potentials in conflict with each other. As a whole their attitudes are parametric compartmentalized. As a consequence their different attitudes are inevitably in conflict.

Lake Ellesmere is an example of these It is important attitudes in parallel. to both Maori and Pakeha, representing many of the values that these groups see To those Maoris associated in land. with the lake, it houses their spirituality and identity and is the source of food and resources important To Pakehas, it has to their culture. the potential to fulfil many of their needs, from farming, to fishing, to the These values stem study of nature.

from two sources: the lake's productive capacity and its spiritual component. Maoris and different segments of Pakeha society both hold these values, they just do so differently.

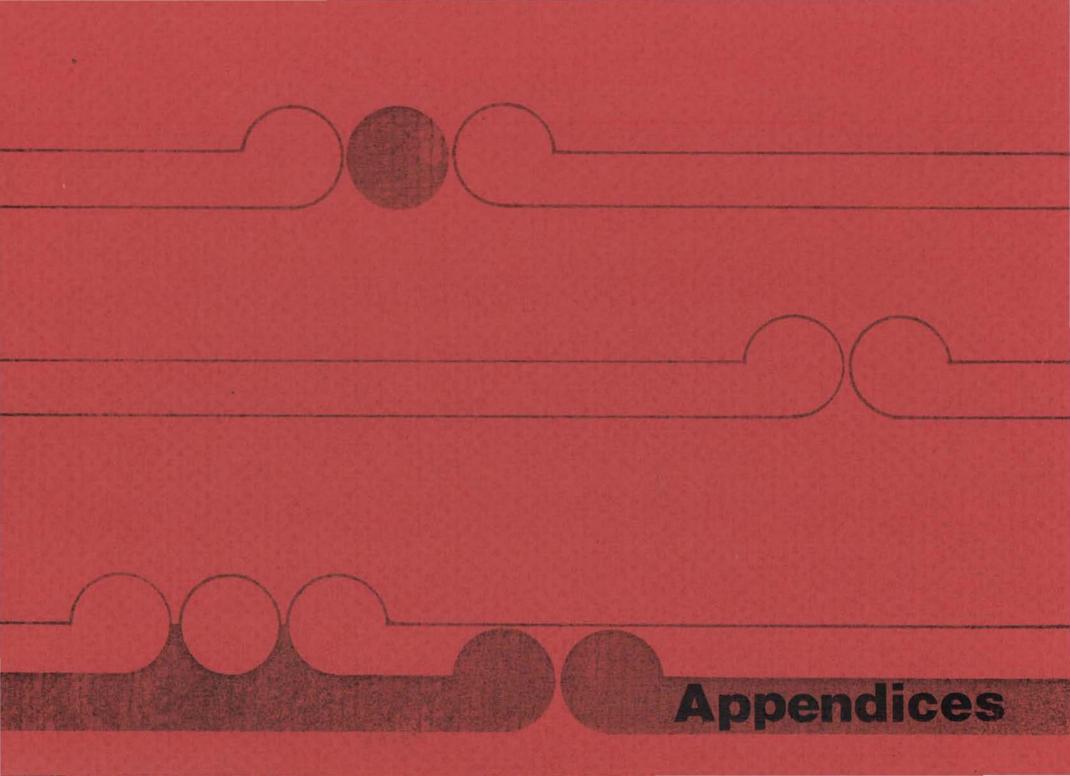
The different uses made of the lake are a reflection of these differences in attitude and essentially is a reflection of the clash between parametric and holistic world views. The one either accommodating spiritual or physical values, and the ot.her accommodating both. Thus Maori and Pakeha spiritual values are under threat from resource use by Pakehas, while the nature of Pakeha resource use threatens not only the resources Maoris need but also the resource itself.

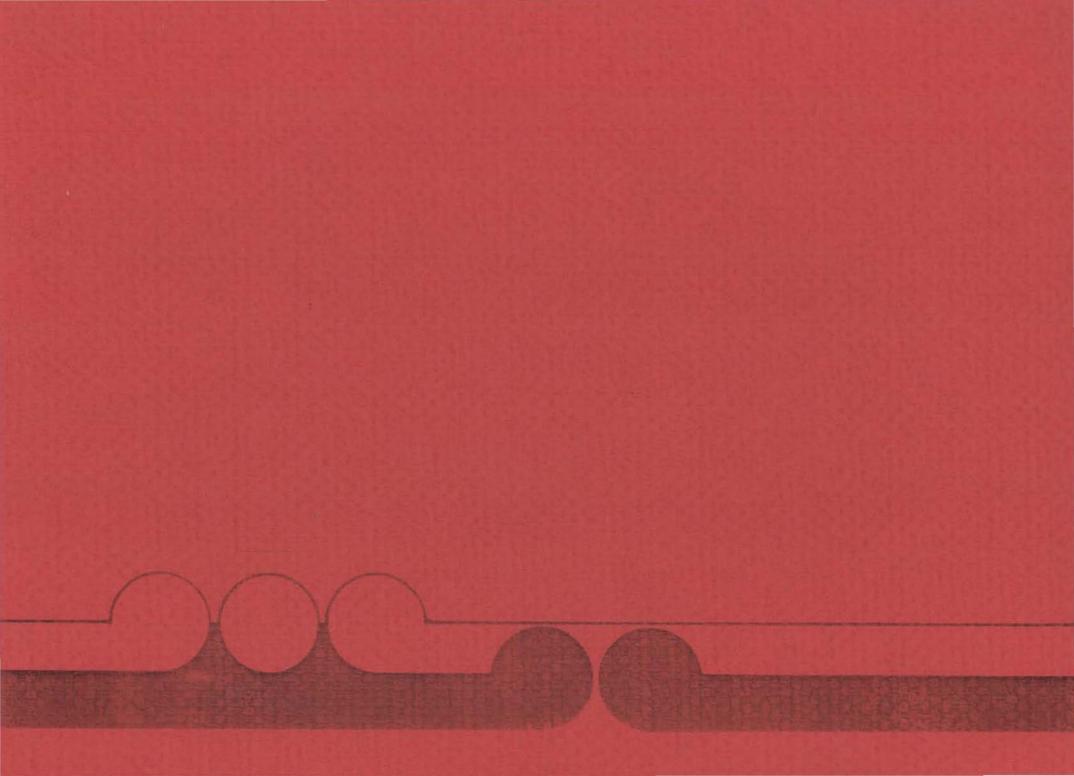
If New Zealand is to become a multicultural society these differences in values must be reconcilled, not by the merging of cultures, but by recognising and allowing these differences. The issue is not at a philosophical level but concerns things on the ground resource use and spiritually significant sites; it is for these things that allowance must be made. This is not happening the remains system staunchly white.

some extent these concerns were tacked on in the Town and Country Planning Act, but the interpretation of this has been such that applicability has been limited to all a few situations. Broader measures are therefore needed to elevate Maori values to the same position that Pakeha values enjov. This should not be seen as a one way street, on many issues there is agreement between the environmental movement and Maori aspirations. This points the way to a broad alliance betwen these two groups.

In terms of Lake Ellesmere this may mean reserving Kaitorete Spit and reassessing resource use. Although they are restrictive, these measures are not prohibitive.

Through such measures the systems of land use in New Zealand could not only become more just, but the environment of New Zealand could be improved.





Appendix one, Wahi Tapu Sites

The nature and importance of wahitapu sites is something that varies depending on the mana of the person or people, associated with the site and upon the length of the tribal memory. Thing s may be sacred to everyone, or they may only be sacred to a small group of people for a short time. This is something that must be worked out with the tangatawhenua of an area.

However, bearing in mind this cautionary note, a number of things were identified as making a site wahitapu by my informants. These wahitapu are:

- Urupa
- Pa sites
- Marae
- Some rivers, or parts of rivers, on account of ceremonies associated with them.
- In the past trees were used to hang bodies in before they were buried. These trees are wahi-

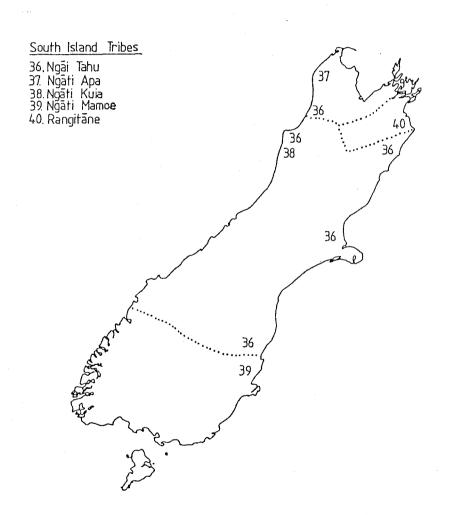
tapu.

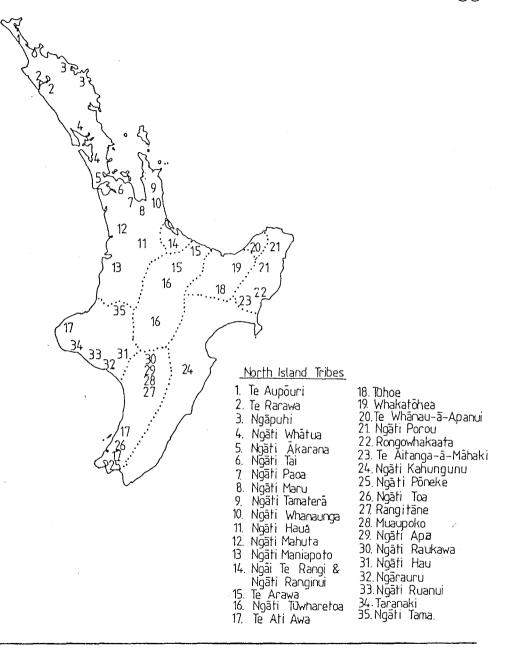
- Places strongly associated with the possessions of important people, such as where their clothes are buried.
- Places associated with rituals.

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Appendix two, Tribal Areas





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Appendix Three, The Character of Lake Ellesmere

Lake Ellesmere was formed around 4,000 years ago by the impoundment of water from the Rakaia, the Waimakariri and, more recently, the Selwyn rivers behind The spit is the Kaitorete Spit. product of sand and shingle that has been brought north by coastal currents and deposited in the lee of Banks Peninsula. Overlaying this, an extensive dune system has formed. a world scale such formations are very rare and this, in conjunction with the geomorphic processes still continuing on the spit, makes it of considerable geological interest.

Ellesmere is neither an estuary nor a fresh water lake, and is perhaps best described as a brackish coastal lake. The lake's level is controlled by periodically opening it to the sea, which results in some interchange of water and in the lake being saline. In conjunction with the shallowness of the lake (it is rarely deeper than 2.5 metres), and its gently sloping sides, this gives rise to a wide range of habitats within the lake, making it a

rich and productive environment for plants, fish and birds.

The lake edge supports three major communities of vegetation - grassland, salt meadow and duneland. The salt meadow is significant as a source of food and habitat for other organisms, and is dominated by juncus species with scirpus largely prevailing in the wetter areas.

Of more botanical interest are the dunelands of Kaitorete Spit. This harsh environment is dominated by the native marrum grass pingao, originally the main dune vegetation in New Zealand. As a remnant of this type of vegetation Kaitorete Spit is probably the largest remaining area in New Zealand, with the possible exception of Masons Bay on Stewart Island. 1 well as pingao there are scattered Raulia. Muehlenbeckia and broom. several of which are endangered, notably Carmichaelia eorrugata and C oppresa. Several other species, such as Dodonea Viscosa and Muehlenbeckia astunia are at their southern limit on the spit. Hosting as it does this unusual and interesting mix of plants, the dunelands are a source of considerable botanical curiosity.

1. Palmer J., The Kaitorete Dunes p 10.

Within the lake little remains of the water weeds that dominated its vegetation prior to the Wahine storm. Instead, the lake's vegetation is domination by extensive and almost continuous blooms of algae: something that has been brought about by the lake's advanced state of eutrophication.

As a wildlife habitat, Ellesmere is of national, and possibly of international In 1973 Tunnicliffe significance. recorded that 129 different species of birds were using the lake.² This number is unsurpassed in New Zealand. 3 Subsequent work by O'Donnell has shown the number of species identified using the lake has increased to 137.4 Of these, 73 species are regular users, 32 species occasional users and 32 species (mainly oceanic incidental users species). These birds use the full lake from its edges to its centre, resting, feeding and nesting in and around the Some 45 species of bird lake margins. breed on Ellesmere, 20 introduced, 20 indigenous and five migratory.⁵

In terms of game birds, Lake Ellesmere is particularly important. An estimated 6000 Canada Geese live on the lake in summer - 40 percent of the New

Zealand population. Six to eight thousand black swans live there - about 10 percent of their population, while hundreds of thousands of ducks visit the lake for various lengths of time; up to 70 percent of the New Zealand duck population using the lake during the course of the year. 7

As well as birds, the lake supports 26 species of fish, 16 of these resident, the rest visitors. The most significant of these, to man at least, are three species of flounder, two species of eel, whitebait, herring, sea run trout and fresh water trout. All but the trout breed at sea, entering the lake either as fry or, in the case of herrings, as grown fish. The lake therefore has to be open, not only to

- Tunnicliffe, G.A., 'The Aviflora of the Lake Ellesmere Area', p 110.
- 3. Williams, M., Lake Ellesmere as a Wild Life Habitit, p 1, in Lake Ellesmere Symposium, 1981.
- 4. O'Donnell, in Palmer, J. <u>Ellesmere a</u> Critical Area p 38.
- 5. Palmer, J. Ellesmere a Critical Area p 38.
- 6. Williams, M. op cit, p 2.

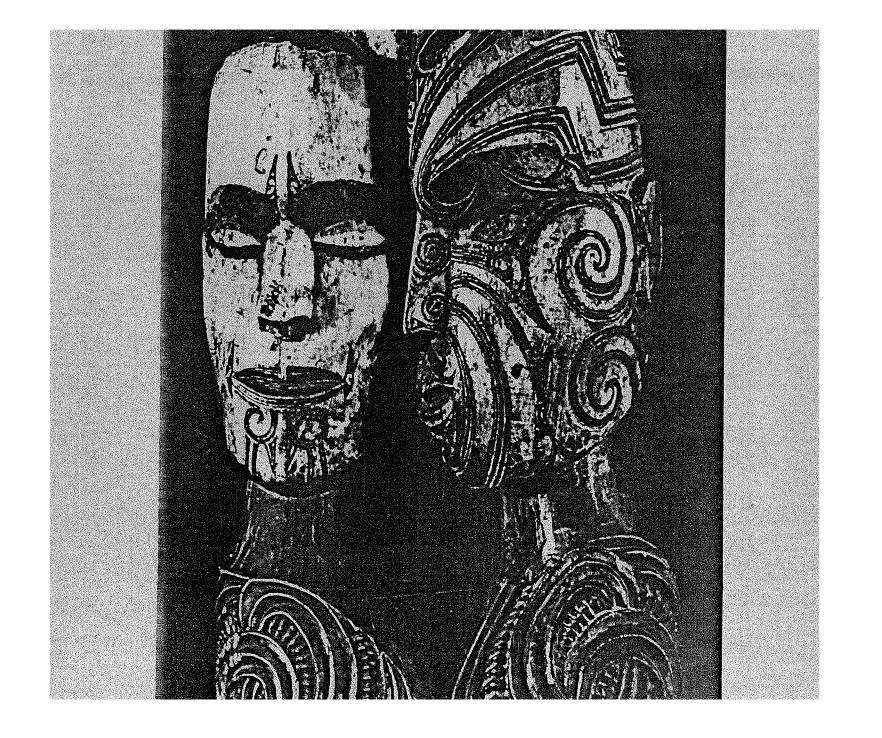
let the fish in, but also to let them out to breed.

The lake is also important in terms of the visual landscape. "While not of visual dominance at the regional level, Lake Ellesmere is a visual feature of considerable significance in the Canterbury plains."8 It provides foreground and middle ground for the Southern Alps and Port Hills and is a source of interest to travellers on the Akaroa highway. Further, it is one of the few pieces of nature left on the Canterbury plains, something that is especially tangible on Kaitorete Spit.

Overall Lake Ellesmere is clearly of considerable significance in terms of its biophysical character. effort to protect this, it has been proposed by the Department of Internal Affairs that it be declared a wetland of international importance. The International Union for the Conservation of Nature sets out eight criteria for establishing an area as a wetland of international importance. Fulfilling any one of these is sufficient for the area to qualify:

Lake Ellesmere is so significant that it fulfils five.

- 7. Palmer, J. ibid, p 40.
- 8. Findlay, C., in Palmer, J. ibid, p 33.



Glossary of Maori Words Used in the Text

Throughout the text a number of Maori words have been used; either because a comparable English word does not exist, or would fail to convey the full meaning of the word; or where the Maori word is in common usage.

hapu a subtribe:

hui a gathering or meeting, often on a marae

lasting several days:

iwi tribal group;

mana influence, prestige and power, generally

derived from people but also present in the

land and some objects;

marae a meeting house and associated facilities:

mauri the life force of mankind:

mere striking club often made of greenstone;

paepae the front porch of a meeting house;

Pakeha a non Maori New Zealander, ususally a

European;

piupiu flak skirt; pounamu greenstone;

rahui a temporary tapu on a resource, which

constrains resource use to prevent over

exploitation;

tangata whenua the people of the land

tangi funeral

taniwha mythical creatures often the quardians of a

area and are usually associated with water

tapu sacred, imbued with power;

tipuna ancestors;

turangawaewae literally, a person's place to stand, their

home marae and home area;

urupa cemetery

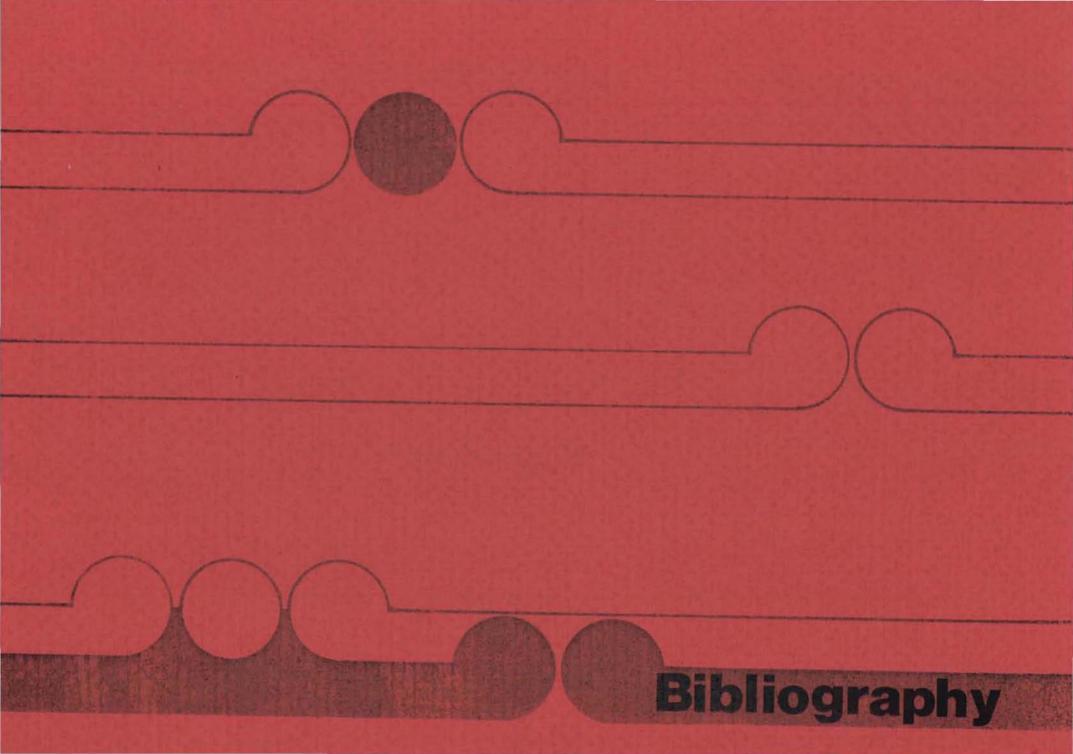
wahi tapu a tapu location or area, made tapu on accun

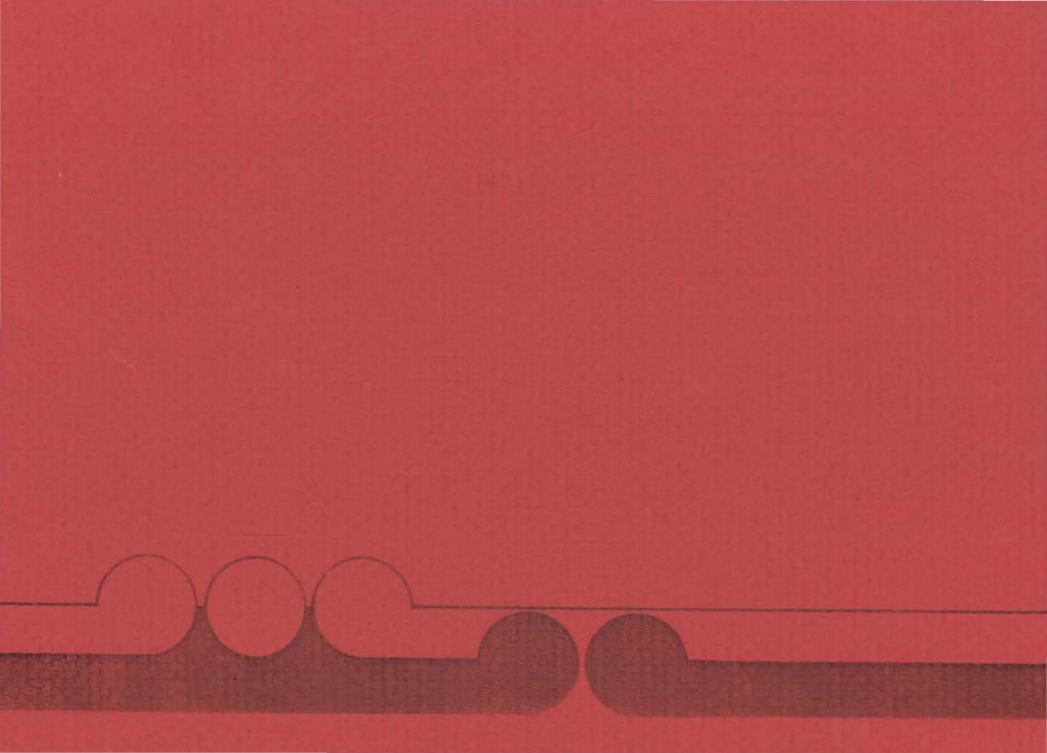
of its historical associations;

wairua spirit;

whenna the land and also the placenta;

whaikbrero formal speech making on the marae.





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