

# NGĀ KŌRERO A NGĀ POUPOU O TE WHARE

How to improve Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning engagement, from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki



*Submitted as a requirement of a Masters of Science within the School of Earth and Environment | Te Kura Aronukurangi, at The University of Canterbury, Christchurch*

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## i. Preface

I am a descendant of soldiers and settlers; my roots now six generations deep in this country. I grew up under the gaze of Maungarei Mt Wellington, and on the tides of Te Wai o Tāiki - the Tāmaki estuary. I also grew up in front of the whakairo of Te Wai o Paoa; our wharenui at Te Tahawai Marae. The whānau here claimed me as their own, despite my Pākehā whakapapa. This is where I call home.

After completing a Bachelors of Planning I moved to Te Waipounamu and began working for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. It was here that I began to see first-hand the daily fights Ngāi Tahu face to uphold the Ninth Tall Tree of Te Kerēme. Time and time again, environmental kaitiaki experience the same issues when engaging with the Crown and Local Authorities. I began to think that there must be a better way to conduct these endless engagement processes; a way that respected mana whenua and their mātauranga, values, and valuable time. I could either continue to help fight one battle at a time, or try and contribute to addressing the underlying issues.

I chose the latter.

My only hope for this research is that it proves useful. If it can make even a small difference to the way Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki experience Crown and Local Authority-initiated engagement processes then it will, in my eyes, have been a success. Being a voice for the natural world is already a lofty task. It does not need to be made any harder by planning practitioners.

## ii. Abstract

In large tracts of Te Waipounamu, the Crown and Local Authorities are required by legislation to engage with Ngāi Tahu on environmental planning matters. In turn, Ngāi Tahu are often morally bound to participate in these engagement processes due to their roles as environmental kaitiaki. Unfortunately, coloniality permeates these processes, and often creates frustration and dissatisfaction for these kaitiaki.

This research investigates the lived experiences of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki to understand their perceptions of Crown and Local Authority-initiated engagement. These perceptions are then analysed to provide recommendations for Crown and Local Authorities on what constitutes best practice mana whenua engagement on environmental planning matters within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. This research adopts a Braided Rivers approach incorporating Qualitative Research, specifically Narrative Inquiry, and Kaupapa Māori Research into its methodology. Face to face, semi-structured interviews are used to understand the experiences of ten Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki who have extensive experience engaging with Crown and Local Authorities on environmental planning matters. In these interviews, kaitiaki reflect on their positive and negative engagement experiences, as well as their perceptions on what best practice mana whenua engagement looks like in the context of environmental planning.

Three themes are identified from these interviews. The first is the importance of kaitiaki being treated as genuine team members in collaborative planning settings alongside Crown and Local Authorities. Second is the importance of Crown and Local Authorities recognising, incorporating, and appropriately resourcing mātauranga and tikanga Māori in environmental planning and its engagement processes. Third is how vitally important it is for planning practitioners to be culturally competent and informed of Ngāi Tahu history and values. These themes are further analysed to provide five recommendations for planning practitioners wanting to engage with Ngāi Tahu in a best practice manner. These recommendations are centred around the principles of proactive research, early and on-going engagement, appropriate resourcing, recognising mana whenua as experts, and hui protocol.

Lastly, the existence of deeper issues within the New Zealand planning system are touched on. The concepts of humility, awareness, and commitment are discussed in this context, with attention drawn to their relationship with the concept of coloniality. It is recommended that further research be undertaken to better understand how these concepts are promoted within the New Zealand planning system, and how they can be promoted for the betterment of Treaty Partner relationships within between Crown and Local Authorities, and mana whenua.

### iii. Acknowledgements

*Mā ngā huruhuru ka rere te manu - It is the feathers that allow the bird to take flight.*

There are many people whose contributions allowed this thesis to soar into life. First and foremost, to those Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki who contributed to this research: Tītī, Kea, Kārearea and Kākāpō, Tōtara, Matamata and Tīpere, Tio, Kanakana and Miro, and Kawakawa. This research was only possible because of your support, trust, generosity of time, and valuable experience and insight. This thesis is dedicated to you, and every other mana whenua representative that I have worked with as a planning practitioner in Te Waipounamu.

Gratitude also goes to my supervisors - both formal and informal. Thank you to Dr. Rita Dionisio for giving me the opportunity to undertake this study, and for your trust in me as a researcher. To Prof. Hirini Matunga: our many wānanga and your extensive practical experience has been invaluable. To those who started as friends and morphed into voluntary members of my supervisory team: Dr. Steven Steyl, and Phillip Borell. Thank you for your expertise, generosity, and reassurance in times of doubt. Your support was pivotal to my success. Lastly, to Aaron Hapuku, who encouraged me to take up this academic challenge. Thank you for your comradery, good-humoured empathy, and encouragement as I walked in your freshly laid footprints.

To my wider village: to my parents for always supporting me in any paths I choose to walk. You are the constant that gives me confidence to take risks and tackle any challenge. Thank you for letting me grow up in a bicultural world. To Te Tahawai Marae, Te Whare Tū Taua o Waitaha, Te Pao a Tahu, and Te Iti Kahurangi: thank you for welcoming me into the many facets of te ao Māori without judgement, and for allowing me to watch, listen, and learn. You have all shaped who I am, and how I see the world. To the faculty and staff of Aotahi and Te Waka Pākākano at The University of Canterbury: thank you for allowing me to work amongst you for the final few months of this journey, letting me commandeer whiteboard and office space, pick brains, and share laughs. A particular thank you to Corban Te Aika and Tamahou Thoms for your generosity and patience with my never-ending questions - often asked without warning or context. Last but not least, to the rest of my friends and family - particularly those who proofread chapters - my flatmates, and those who acted as sounding boards for the many ideas we worked through to get to this research's final form. Without you, this work would never have come to fruition.

This success belongs just as much to you all as it does to me.

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# 1. Introduction – “...We shall then consult together by what means they can make their country flourishing”

## 1.1 Introduction

*“It is my wish, when I have erected my house, that all the Chiefs shall visit me and be my friends. We shall then consult together by what means they can make their country flourishing...”* (Busby, 1833)

These words were uttered by James Busby, the Crown’s official representative in New Zealand, in 1833. They describe his aspiration for a partnership between the Crown and mana whenua, where decisions are made together on how to live within this soon to be born nation. One hundred and eighty-seven years later, it seems the Crown and Local Authorities are still deciphering how to turn this wish into a reality – particularly in the context of environmental planning.

This is not to say that there has been no progress in the intervening years. Since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, our nation has grown from deeming this agreement to be a legal ‘nullity’, to incorporating the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi into legislation (Ruru, 2002).<sup>1</sup> Today, environmental planning within Te Waipounamu is guided by these Principles, along with the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. These are joined by a reformed resource management system that requires mana whenua and their values to be included in environmental planning and decision-making (Ruru, 2002; Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013). This legal framework however does not seem to have materially improved the experience of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki; those who regularly engage with the Crown and Local Authorities on environmental planning matters on behalf of mana whenua.

Whilst environmental legislation has developed over time to be more reflective of the future Busby alluded to (Monrad & Jay, 2000; Latimer, 2011), it seems that the capacity of planning practitioners to fulfil their Treaty-based responsibilities have not (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995; Tipa & Welch, 2006; Backhurst, et al., 2004). These capacity issues seem to be causing significant frustration for Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki – frustration I observed first-hand as a former environmental planner working for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. In the Ngāi Tahu context, this problem is compounded due to the size of the Ngāi Tahu takiwā – their tribal region -, and the resulting number of environmental planning processes Ngāi Tahu are therefore involved in (Ruru,

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<sup>1</sup> This document is intentionally referred to as ‘Te Tiriti o Waitangi’ (as opposed to the Treaty of Waitangi) throughout this research as it was the Māori language version that was signed by mana whenua in 1840 – not the English version

2002). Observing the frustrations that these environmental kaitiaki experience when engaging with Crown and Local Authorities was the catalyst for this research.

This research however does not aim to put blame on planning practitioners for causing these frustrations. Rather, it recognises that there is a potential gap in planning education – specifically the existence of literature or resources advising practitioners on how to engage with Ngāi Tahu. This research aims to address this gap, and provide guidance to well-meaning practitioners who want to engage meaningfully with Ngāi Tahu, but do not feel that they have the resources to understand what best practice looks like in this context.

This introductory chapter provides a brief overview of this research. It begins by outlining its need and relevance based on both existing literature and observations from professional practice. It then introduces the overarching question, aims, and scope of the study. Lastly, it describes the research’s structure and methodology (including guiding principles), and highlights how mātauranga Māori and Ngāi Tahu have been incorporated into this research.

## 1.2 Research Need and Relevance

Crown engagement issues are not unique to Ngāi Tahu – or even to Māori. In a New Zealand context, this issue has been widely discussed by the likes of Roberts et. al. (1995), Matunga (2013, 2017), Tipa and Welch (2006), Harmsworth (2001), and the combined contributions of the Planning Under Co-operative Mandates research project (Backhurst, et al., 2004; Jeffries, et al., 2002; Neill, 2003). At an international level, research has identified similar engagement issues in many colonised countries including Canada, Sweden, Bolivia and Peru (Larsen & Raitio, 2019; Lewis & Sheppard, 2005; Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016). Many of the issues identified by the above relate to the inability of planning practitioners, processes, and systems to recognise and provide for the needs of indigenous communities, including their intimate relationships with the environment, and the appropriate incorporation of indigenous knowledge (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Stephenson & Moller, 2009; Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016; Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995).

Whilst these issues have been covered by multiple scholars, none seem to have investigated them from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu. This is important as, in the words of Rangihau (quoted in Roberts et. al) “there is no such thing as Māoritanga [a collective Māori experience] because... each tribe has its own history” (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995, p. 8). Ngāi Tahu have developed a unique culture due to their environment, whakapapa, and experiences with colonisation. Ngāi Tahu live in Te Waipounamu where environmental pressures resulted in mahinga kai - a concept discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.1.2 - becoming central to Ngāi Tahu

survival. This is because a cooler climate limited the ability to plant and manage large-scale gardens, meaning that a more nomadic lifestyle based around the seasonal hunting of species became commonplace in some parts of the takiwā (Lenihan, 2013). This resulted in Ngāi Tahu developing a deep cultural association with mahinga kai, which became a core part of Ngāi Tahu identity (Lenihan, 2013; New Zealand Conservation Authority, 1997). For this reason, Ngāi Tahu are particularly invested in environmental planning, as the degradation of the environment poses a direct threat to a key tenet of their cultural identity.

Ngāi Tahu are also unique in the expanse of their takiwā. The Ngāi Tahu takiwā covers the majority of Te Waipounamu (as shown in Appendix 2). Within their takiwā sit twenty-one district and city councils, and six regional councils – all of whom have a legal responsibility to engage with Ngāi Tahu on environmental planning matters (Local Government New Zealand, 2020). Nine Crown-managed national parks also sit either fully or partially within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, along with two regions undergoing significant Crown-led post-earthquake rebuilds. The prevalence of national parks and earthquake recovery areas, combined with the number of Local Authorities within their takiwā, means that Ngāi Tahu potentially have more environmental planning processes to engage in compared to other hapū and iwi. This increased engagement load means that the impacts of poor engagement processes disproportionately affect Ngāi Tahu.

Lastly, the Ngāi Tahu experience with the Crown differs from other hapū and iwi due to Te Kerēme – the Ngāi Tahu fight against breaches to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. After the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the entirety of the Ngāi Tahu takiwā was sold in just over twenty years (Evison, 2006). Many of the deeds of sale included provisions that reserved Ngāi Tahu access to and control of natural resources – provisions never honoured, resulting in the start of Te Kerēme (Evison, 2006). The content of the Ngāi Tahu Claim Settlement Act 1998 addresses these unhonoured provisions through the creation of engagement triggers such as Statutory Acknowledgement Areas and Tōpuni sites. It also established Ngāi Tahu representation on environmental-related decision-making and advisory groups such as the Conservation Authority, regional Conservation Boards, and Species Recovery Groups (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1997). These engagement triggers and representation requirements once again increase the involvement Ngāi Tahu has with Crown and Local Authority-initiated planning processes, thus exacerbating the impact of any poor practice on Ngāi Tahu.

The above implications of cultural identity, takiwā size, and Treaty Settlement provisions all show why Ngāi Tahu are disproportionately exposed to the environmental planning profession - and therefore any issues within it – compared to other hapū and iwi in New Zealand. Yet, there is a lack

of research focused on the specific experiences of Ngāi Tahu in environmental planning engagement, and perceived best practice. This research aims to address this gap.

In terms of relevance, this research sits within a wider discussion on the impacts of coloniality, biculturalism, and the increasing recognition of indigenous knowledge in environmental planning (Stephenson & Moller, 2009). Since the Māori Renaissance of the 1960/70s, there has been a noticeable upswing in the recognition of Māori values and culture in New Zealand (Maxwell, 1997; Love, 2001). This has continued to grow, with more and more recognition of mana whenua occurring in environmental planning legislation and documents (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013). The latest iteration of this is the introduction of Mana Whakahono-ā-Rohe iwi participation agreements under the Resource Management Act 1991 (Section 58). These newly introduced agreements are to be negotiated between Local Authorities and mana whenua, to record how they will work together in environmental planning processes. Every Local Authority is expected to have a Mana Whakahono-ā-Rohe with its relevant mana whenua, which has the aim of formalising and strengthening the relationships between Treaty Partners. This research will provide relevant background to Local Authorities as they begin to develop their Mana Whakahono-ā-Rohe, both inside and outside the Ngāi Tahu takiwā.

### 1.3 Research Objectives

This research asks the question, ‘from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, what constitutes best practice mana whenua engagement in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes?’. This question originated from my professional experience as an environmental planner. I observed that Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki were frustrated with the way that Crown and Local Authorities engaged with them on environmental planning matters, and that Crown and Local Authority planning practitioners often lamented the lack of tools available to them to upskill in this area.

The aim of this research is two-fold. Firstly, it aims to provide an opportunity to recognise the perspectives and experiences of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. As explained above, this is a collective voice that has not yet been widely shared in academic research.<sup>2</sup> The perspectives shared through this research are unique as they record views that are not typically available to those outside of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki circles. Due to the positionality of the researcher (elaborated on in Chapter 4, Section 4.4), these views have been able to be recorded candidly, and

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<sup>2</sup> Whilst some research such as Backhurst et. al. (2004) included individual Ngāi Tahu hapū in their research, it was aggregated into overall findings that included multiple iwi. Therefore, the specific experiences of Ngāi Tahu were not addressed.

provide insight into the way current Crown and Local Authority-initiated engagement processes are perceived by Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. This insight is valuable for planning practitioners, as it allows them to understand the perceptions and impact of their current processes on Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, providing a tool for practitioner reflection.

The second aim is to analyse the experiences of these kaitiaki to answer the research question. As outlined above, there is a shortage of Ngāi Tahu-specific guidance on best practice mana whenua engagement for planning practitioners to draw upon. This means that practitioners do not have guidance to support them to engage with Ngāi Tahu in ways that are responsive to Ngāi Tahu values, aspirations, and contexts. Whilst there are some tools available, such as Te Whaihanga (Henry & Reeves, 2018), and engagement guidelines developed by Te Arawhiti (Te Arawhiti, 2018; Te Arawhiti, 2018), none of these are Ngāi Tahu-specific. This means that they do not consider the nuances that Ngāi Tahu legislative or cultural contexts may create – elements discussed in Chapter 2. Since no research has been done to canvas the perceptions of Ngāi Tahu in this area, there is no basis to assume that these pan-iwi tools are appropriate for the Ngāi Tahu context.

The research question also shapes this thesis' scope. Firstly, it identifies the perceptions of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki as its focus by naming them as the group whose perceptions are being investigated. It also refers to a specific iwi, which is important in differentiating this research from the work of previous scholars. By making this research place-based, it allows historical and cultural context to be considered when discussing kaitiaki perspectives on best practice engagement. Secondly, it acknowledges the difference between mana whenua environmental kaitiaki, and staff employed by iwi or Papatipu Rūnanga-owned organisations. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, individual Papatipu Rūnanga, and Papatipu Rūnanga-owned Regional Environmental Entities (i.e. Mahaanui Kurataiao, Aoraki Environmental Consultancy, Aukaha, Te Ao Marama Incorporated) often employ a mixture of environmental planners, scientists, and policy analysts to contribute to environmental planning processes on behalf of Ngāi Tahu. Whilst some of these employees are iwi members, their role is inherently different to that of the environmental kaitiaki, whose views this research focuses on. Firstly, environmental kaitiaki are involved in environmental planning due to their whakapapa links to the natural world and their intergenerational responsibility to act as kaitiaki. Their mandate comes directly from their whānau (family), hapū (subtribe), Papatipu Rūnanga (see appendix 1 for definition), or iwi (tribe), and is connected to their identity as mana whenua. Often, these environmental kaitiaki engage in a voluntary capacity outside of their own work commitments. Hired planning practitioners, however, engage in these processes as an employee with corporate resources. They are involved as part of their commitments as a staff member and, crucially, have the ability to disengage or resign from their roles if they are unsatisfied with the impact Crown and Local

Authority engagement processes have on them at a personal level. Mana whenua environmental kaitiaki do not have this option. It is also worth noting that staff members employed by iwi or Papatipu Rūnanga-owned organisations do not take the place of environmental kaitiaki in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes. Instead, they function as a conduit between Crown and Local Authorities, and environmental kaitiaki. This means that even if Crown or Local Authorities are dealing directly with employees from, for example, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, environmental kaitiaki are still engaged in these processes behind the scenes.

The second level of specificity that this research question creates is the mention of *Crown and Local Authority*-initiated environmental planning processes. Environmental planning processes are not always run by Crown or Local Authorities. Private consultancies are a significant part of New Zealand's planning ecosystem, and often engage with mana whenua as conditions of consents, or as directed by planning provisions. As private citizens, however, it becomes more complex to articulate their specific responsibilities to mana whenua over and above other parties that they consult with, such as local community groups. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed between the Crown and mana whenua, establishing a special relationship between these two parties. It is the Crown, and in the case of environmental planning, Local Authorities (as their delegated authority), who are responsible for upholding the agreements made under Te Tiriti o Waitangi alongside mana whenua. For this reason, Crown and Local Authority-initiated planning processes are the focus of this research, so that it can be viewed against the backdrop of the Treaty Partnership.

#### 1.4 Methodology and Research Overview

This thesis is rooted in te ao Māori (the Māori world), and as such, its theoretical and methodological foundation is representative of this. Firstly, it is guided by a set of four mātāpono, or guiding principles. These are tika and pono, whakawhanaungatanga, koha, and whakamana tangata. These mātāpono were informed by the Kaupapa Māori Research methodologies of Smith (1999), and have been tailored to this research to infuse the Māori value of manaaki (care) into all aspects of this research. This is further presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2, with a particular focus on methodological application.

Mātauranga Māori – particularly mātauranga Ngāi Tahu - has also been instrumental in guiding this research. Ngāi Tahu voices and traditional knowledge repositories - including Ngāi Tahu academics, pūrākau (stories), whakataukī/whakatauākī (proverbs) and waiata (songs) - have been fundamental in directing this research. This can be seen most prominently in this research's title, and subsequent chapter titles which, in most cases, comprise of either Ngāi Tahu whakataukī/whakatauākī, or references to Ngāi Tahu pūrākau. These knowledge repositories have been intentionally referred to

to ensure this research maintains its anchorage in te ao Māori, and a Ngāi Tahu context. Referencing Ngāi Tahu scholars ensures that this researcher does not speak over or for Ngāi Tahu – rather, it builds from the voices of those who speak on this topic from a place grounded in whakapapa. The use of traditional knowledge repositories (e.g. pūrākau and waiata) also acknowledges the role these play in recording and sharing indigenous knowledge, reinforcing their standing as valid sources of knowledge (Tipa, 2017; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

This grounding in te ao Māori led to the adoption of a Braided Rivers approach to this research. Kaupapa Māori Research and Qualitative Research were ‘braided’ to design a research methodology incorporating the aforementioned mātāpono, and Narrative Inquiry. This approach was then used to inform the interview of ten Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. These interviews were semi-structured, and followed a Narrative Inquiry framework. This allowed the stories of these kaitiaki to be discussed and analysed, and provided the researcher with an understanding of their experiences engaging with Crown and Local Authorities on environmental planning matters. These stories were then analysed to identify themes, which in turn informed this research’s recommendations on what Ngāi Tahu perspectives of best practice mana whenua engagement in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes are.

This thesis starts by delving into the background of environmental planning in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. In Chapter 1: “We must remember to remember”, these words of Tā Tipene O’Regan are used to guide a reflection on the role of the Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. This is then contrasted with the legal obligations New Zealand planning practitioners have to engage with Ngāi Tahu in environmental planning. Chapter 2: “Whāia kā paeroa ka tae ki Aoraki” shows where this research stands within the academic landscape. It comprises of a literature review positioning this research within the wider body of planning and decolonisation research, and uncovers a gap for this research to stand proudly like the mountain, Aoraki (as this chapter’s title alludes to). Chapter 3: “Nāku te kori, kia kori hoki mai koe” follows in the footsteps of Ngāti Kurī leader, Marukaitātea, providing guidance on how to replicate this research. It introduces the Braided Rivers approach, Kaupapa Māori Research and the guiding mātāpono, and Qualitative Research and Narrative Inquiry. It then goes on to explain how these frameworks were applied, including how participants were identified and treated, how data was collected, and how it was analysed. Chapter 5: “I refuse to karakia for a cucumber sandwich”, shares the experiences and perceptions of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. Edited transcripts from the eight interviews are presented, and three themes that connect them are

highlighted.<sup>3</sup> Chapter 6: “He mahi kai hōaka, he mahi kai takata” builds from these themes and discusses them in the context of this well-known Ngāi Tahu saying that alludes to the enduring nature of engagement issues. This chapter provides recommendations on how planning practitioners can engage with Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki in a best practice manner. It also poses questions regarding why mana whenua engagement is such a challenge for planning practitioners, and provides recommendations on areas of further research that may provide insight into the underlying matters causing of these difficulties. Lastly, Chapter 7: “Why won’t mana whenua answer my emails?” revisits this research, and reiterates the challenges it lays before the planning profession in Chapter 6, including areas for further research.

## 1.5 Conclusion

This research sits within a wider discourse on decolonisation, biculturalism, and how the latter can be worked toward on a day to day basis in New Zealand. The fact that the planning practitioners are still struggling to live up to Busby’s words nearly one-hundred-and-ninety years later illustrates the complexities of this issue. There are many layers that need to be unpacked to fully realise a bicultural environmental planning system. This thesis focuses on one of these layers: the conduct of the individual planning practitioner. The power of an individual’s actions should not be understated, which is why this research aims to provide recommendations that can be implemented at the practitioner level. This way, well-meaning planning practitioners can be better equipped to engage with Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki on a day to day basis, thus taking steps toward realising a more bicultural environmental planning system.

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<sup>3</sup> Some kaitiaki were interviewed together, hence the difference between the number of kaitiaki interviewed and the number of interviews conducted.



## 2. Background – “We must remember to remember”

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter is named for the words of Tā Tipene O’Regan - Ngāi Tahu kaumatua (elder), scholar, and lead negotiator for the Ngāi Tahu Claim. O’Regan maintains that a people who know their own history will have a better capacity to envisage their own future (O’Regan, 2019). It is this same logic that guides this background chapter. This chapter provides a contextual foundation for this research, providing space to remember the stories and values of Ngāi Tahu, the evolving role of environmental kaitiaki, and the legal frameworks that now shape the way New Zealand manages the environment. Following O’Regan’s reasoning, by remembering the wider context that this research sits within, this research will be better placed to answer the question it poses: from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, what constitutes best practice mana whenua engagement in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes?

The anthropological and historical context this research sits within is complex, and, to be discussed meaningfully would necessitate its own research project. This chapter therefore focuses on two major areas that contextualise the research question: the role of the Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, and the contemporary context that planning practitioners work within. The first section of this chapter focuses on the relationship Ngāi Tahu have with the natural world, and how the role of the environmental kaitiaki has been challenged and altered by the impacts of colonisation. The second section discusses the current legislation directing Crown and Local Authorities to engage with Māori as part of environmental planning processes. Together, these two areas illustrate the dichotomy within New Zealand’s environmental planning world, and provides a backdrop for the questions this research poses.

### 2.2 The Role of the Environmental Kaitiaki – a Ngāi Tahu context

This section focuses on the role of the environmental kaitiaki in a Ngāi Tahu context. It recognises who Ngāi Tahu are as a people; grounding their roles as environmental kaitiaki in their relationship with the natural world. It introduces concepts such as mana whenua, kaitiakitanga, and mahinga kai, and begins to explore the way colonisation has impacted – and still impacts – environmental management in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā today. Intentional decisions have been made to draw on Ngāi Tahu scholars and knowledge repositories as much as possible in the following sub-sections. This is to ensure mana whenua voices are being amplified, as opposed to being spoken over by external sources – something this research is particularly cognisant of when sharing culturally important information.

### 2.2.1 Who are Ngāi Tahu?

Ngāi Tahu understand the world to have been sung into creation (Tiramōrehu, 1987; Te Aika, Solomon, & Fa'aū, 2016). This turned the darkness into light, then into the light of understanding, consciousness, and potential (Tiramōrehu, 1987). The world moved through more states until it came to Te Mākū, a state where water existed. Te Mākū coupled with Mahoranuiātea and begat the 'Sky Father,' Raki (Tiramōrehu, 1987). He, along with his various wives, created the many deities and elements that make up the Ngāi Tahu cosmological pantheon (Tiramōrehu, 1987; Lenihan, 2013).

These deities and their progeny created, shaped, and populated the Ngāi Tahu world through many ages and stages, forming the geography, flora, and fauna we see in Te Waipounamu today (Tiramōrehu, 1987; Te Aika, Solomon, & Fa'aū, 2016). Finally, these deities and their offspring created humankind (Tiramōrehu, 1987). This creation ontology means that for Ngāi Tahu, trees, minerals, animals, and even the landscape itself can be found in their family tree just as legitimately as a grandparent or cousin; as they all descend directly or indirectly from this pantheon of deities (Tiramōrehu, 1987; Stokes, 2013).

As an iwi, Ngāi Tahu comprises three major genealogical lines: Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe, and Ngāi Tahu (O'Regan, 1989; Tau, 2017). Today, Ngāi Tahu hold the status of mana whenua from Te Parinui o Whiti (White Bluffs) and Kahurangi Point in the north of Te Waipounamu, through to Rakiura (Stewart Island) and the Tītī Islands in the south, as illustrated in Figure 1. The term mana whenua refers to a specific group of people who have both authority over, and a responsibility to, a specific area and its resources (Evison, 2006; Tau, 2003). Mana whenua identify themselves through links to their location; seeing local rivers and mountains as their ancestors – which they are, as per the aforementioned Ngāi Tahu understanding of creation (Tau, 2003; Stokes, 2013). Mana whenua status can be acquired by inheriting it from an ancestor, by marrying someone who already has this status, or through a sustained relationship with an area through occupation and use - referred to as ahi kā (Evison, 2006). Ngāi Tahu holds mana whenua status in their takiwā through all three avenues, due to their combined Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe, and Ngāi Tahu heritage (O'Regan, 1989).

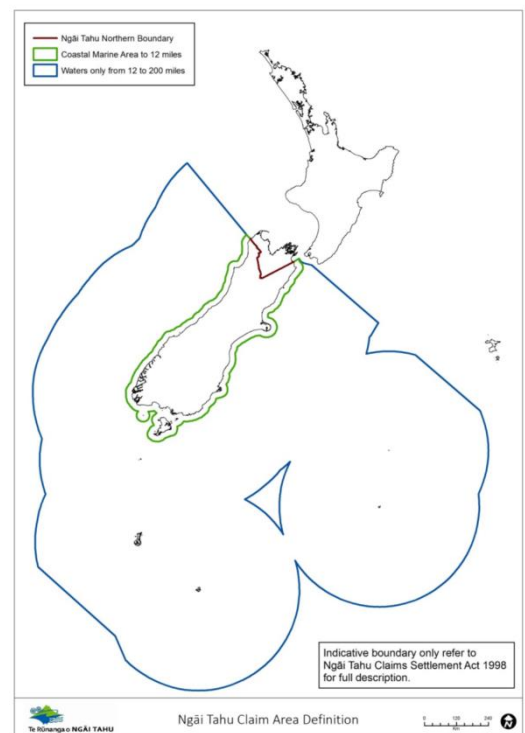


Figure 1: Map showing the extent of the Ngāi Tahu takiwā (also available as Appendix 2) (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, n.d.)

### 2.1.2 Environmental Kaitiaki and Kaitiakitanga

This research concerns itself with the views of a specific group of people: Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. Environmental kaitiaki are those with the responsibility to care for and manage the natural environment. Although mana whenua are often thought of as kaitiaki today, the original kaitiaki were actually the Gods (Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2012). They eventually shared this role to the flora and fauna they created to populate their respective realms, who were (and are) able to provide mana whenua with guidance on how to engage with the natural world (Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2012). This role of kaitiaki was eventually extended to mana whenua, which will be explained as this chapter unfolds.

Signs such as the abundance of different plants, or movements of specific animals were observed over time by mana whenua. This helped them develop strategies and methods to adapt sustainably to their wider ecosystem. These strategies and methods are considered aspects of mātauranga Māori - applied knowledge grounded in Māori worldviews that have been tested and developed over generations by mana whenua (Stephenson & Moller, 2009). One mātauranga Māori concept is kaitiakitanga. Managing lands and resources in accordance with kaitiakitanga principles is vital for mana whenua, as they are acutely aware of their dependence on the natural world for survival. This is because, along with their deep familial and spiritual relationships with the natural world, mana whenua were (and in some communities, still are) dependant on the natural world to provide resources to sustain communities. This is reflected in the whakataukī, “he wāhine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata”. By giving land the same status as women, this whakataukī alludes to the importance of land to survival. Without women, new generations cannot come forth; and without land and its resources, these new generations cannot survive. This knowledge, combined with the genealogy mana whenua share with the natural world, fosters a sense of humility that ensures humans aren't viewed as nature's master. Rather, mana whenua are the younger generation tasked with caring for and respecting their elders that make up the natural world.

In a Ngāi Tahu context, this dependence is intensified, going so far as to shape their identity. Whilst many northern hapū and iwi could rely on agriculture based around crops like kūmara, this was not an option in parts of the colder South where these staples did not always grow (and where they did, they often did so at far smaller sizes) (Lenihan, 2013). This led to Ngāi Tahu developing a culture based around mahinga kai: a process of hunting and gathering; including extended, almost nomadic, ventures throughout Te Waipounamu to seasonally harvest various resources (O'Regan, 1989; Lenihan, 2013). According to Lenihan (2013), Ngāi Tahu grew to have an extensive knowledge of their entire landscape, and an in-depth understanding of the life-cycles of the many mahinga kai species.

Mahinga kai was so integral to Ngāi Tahu survival that it became a cornerstone of Ngāi Tahu culture (O'Regan, 1989). O'Regan explains that this practice is held in such high esteem by Ngāi Tahu because it is a major vehicle for the transmission of cultural knowledge between generations; going so far as to say it has “near religious significance” to Ngāi Tahu (New Zealand Conservation Authority, 1997, p. 98). Lenihan (2013) echoes this, asserting that mahinga kai was the “social glue that kept whānau together and communities alive”, as well as the “classroom” that passed the core values of Ngāi Tahu culture, such as manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga, from one generation to the next (p. 4). This thinking, combined with familial relationships Ngāi Tahu share with the natural world, describes an iwi that cares deeply about their environment, and sees preserving it through the expression of kaitiakitanga as key to the survival of their own identity.

### 2.2.3 Impacts of Colonisation on Kaitiakitanga in a Ngāi Tahu Context

Prior to colonisation, Ngāi Tahu managed their relationship with the environment in accordance with mātauranga Māori and kaitiakitanga principles (Matunga, 2017; 2013). Kaitiakitanga is one aspect of what scholars such as Williams (2013) and Jones (2014) consider a Māori legal system, or constitutional tradition. Once the wheels of colonisation began to turn in Te Waipounamu however, this system began to be challenged, and was eventually overthrown. Stokes (2013) and Evison (2006) theorise that this challenge partially originated from the inability of land to be bought and sold under Māori law – a key commodity for Pākehā settlers arriving in this new country (Teinakore, 2013). To provide for this colonial desire for Māori land, British colonial law was enforced, usurping Māori law, and forever altered the ability of mana whenua to manage and protect their lands (Stokes, 2013).

#### 2.2.3.1 *Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Land Alienation*

In 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (henceforth referred to as Te Tiriti) was signed between the British Crown and Māori – including seven Ngāi Tahu rangatira (Evison, 2006). At a very simplistic level, this document gave the British Crown the right to govern in New Zealand, and extended the rights and responsibilities of British citizens to Māori (Evison, 2006). Along with this, it also guaranteed Māori the right to retain their lands and other taonga (treasures) for as long as they wanted. If they did choose to sell their land however, they could only sell them to the Crown (Evison, 2006). The introduction of British laws meant the introduction of colonial private property land rights, which previously did not exist in Ngāi Tahu (and, more generally, Māori) culture (O'Regan, 1989).<sup>4</sup> Colonial law defined land ownership as an exclusive right to access a property and use its resources as the

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<sup>4</sup> Whilst there are tikanga Māori ways to transfer land from one persons to another (e.g. muru whenua), these are fundamentally different from the exclusive sale and ownership that colonial law provides (Evison, 2006)

owner saw fit – including its on-selling (Stokes, 2013). This challenged the Ngāi Tahu understanding of land as a living thing with its own mana; reconceptualising it into a commodity to be sold and developed for commercial gain (Wheen, 2013).

The Crown began to enact this newly introduced legal system almost as soon as Te Tiriti was signed, purchasing large tracts of Ngāi Tahu land in quick succession (O'Regan, 1989; Evison, 2006). The many issues within these land sales have been well documented, particularly by O'Regan (1989) and Evison (2006) who discuss the boundary issues, disputes over meaning and intent, questions of customary rights, and the manner in which negotiations were conducted (O'Regan, 1989). For these reasons, O'Regan considers these sales as forced – a clear breach of Article Two and Article Three of Te Tiriti. These articles state that Māori could not be forced to sell their land, and that Māori would have rights and protections against coercion (O'Regan, 1989). This mass alienation had a detrimental effect on the ability of mana whenua to express kaitiakitanga for practical reasons – they couldn't access their tribal lands and resources once these had been 'sold', meaning they could not physically manage them.

#### *2.2.3.2 Legislative Tools*

The next step in the colonisation of New Zealand was the introduction of colonial laws. New legislation compounded the impacts of land alienation for Ngāi Tahu, further restricting mana whenua from managing their environment in line with kaitiakitanga principles. In 1852 the first colonial government of New Zealand was established. This government did not have any Māori representation, meaning that Māori were excluded from decision-making (New Zealand Parliamentary Library, 2003).<sup>5</sup> They then proceeded to write legislation on an as-needed basis to further the colonising aspirations of settlers (Park, 2013). This included Acts such as the Public Works Act 1876, which saw the mass draining of Canterbury's wetlands to facilitate the expansion of colonial-style agriculture and the building of towns for settlers (Park, 2013). This happened despite mana whenua protests to protect these food bowls of Ngāi Tahu communities, and centres for mahinga kai activities (Lenihan, 2013; O'Regan, 1989). Other Acts of note include the Oyster Fisheries Act 1866, Protection of Animals Act Amendment Act 1875, Fisheries Conservation Act 1884, Animals Protection Act 1907, National Parks Act 1952, and Town and Country Planning Act 1953. These established an alternative legal framework for the hunting and management of native

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<sup>5</sup> While it is true that Māori males were technically able to vote for who was elected to parliament, in reality most Māori were not eligible based on eligibility criteria being tied to land ownership. Due to the aforementioned land sales and the collective way remaining land was owned, this excluded most of Ngāi Tahu (New Zealand Parliamentary Library, 2003).

species, and regulated land uses – actions which, pre-Te Tiriti, were governed by Māori law and regulated by mana whenua (Matunga, 2013; Evison, 2006; Jones, 2014).

These forms of legislation legally extinguished the ability of mana whenua to use mātauranga Māori (including kaitiakitanga principles) to guide if, when, and how species were hunted or harvested. Instead, hunting and harvesting rules were set by colonial legislation. It also further restricted the ability of mana whenua to decide how they used the land they had left, with the introduction of land use zoning now dictating this. These legal restrictions, combined with the aforementioned land alienation, had significant impacts on Ngāi Tahu. It significantly reduced their ability to practice mahinga kai, which removed a key way that culture was expressed, and transferred intergenerationally (Lenihan, 2013; O'Regan, 1989). It also meant that mana whenua who had fed themselves from the land and waterways for generations could no longer do so without breaking the law, making it difficult for them to sustain their families (Lenihan, 2013). Overall, the combined impact of colonisation (which land sales and the introduction of a colonial government are elements thereof) on Ngāi Tahu environmental management was that mana whenua were no longer in control of their lands, nor the taonga they held - two things promised to Māori under the Te Tiriti. Instead, mana whenua have had to take on the role of kaitiaki themselves and advocate for the environment within a colonial system that is geared to, in the words of O'Regan, “plunder [natural resources] to near destruction” in its pursuit of colonial ideals of progress (O'Regan, 1989, p. 254; McAloon, 2013; Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2012).

#### *2.2.3.3 Protest and the Māori Renaissance*

Ngāi Tahu, in their roles as environmental kaitiaki, petitioned the colonial government (now just considered “the government”) relentlessly, advocating for both the protection of the environment and their rights as mana whenua (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2018). Stokes (2013) notes that between 1880 and 1890 over 1000 petitions were lodged relating to land-based issues. Mana whenua also protested; re-occupying land that was illegally acquired by the Crown in what came to be known as the Ōmārama Heke (Low, 2016; Aoraki Kaitiaki Rūnaka, 2017). This unrest was not limited to Ngāi Tahu, with pushback to colonisation taking place in Māori communities through New Zealand. Many avenues were utilised, such as peaceful protests and occupations, the establishment of the Kiingitanga (Māori monarchy), further petitions, and political advocacy within parliament (Teinakore, 2013; Papa, 2018; Evison, 2006). This opposition to colonisation was enduring, and reached a crescendo in the 1960/70s in what became known as the Māori Renaissance Period – a time of mass protest and political action against land sales, breaches of Te Tiriti, and racial inequality (Hill, 2009; Maxwell, 1997; King, 2000).

This renaissance spurred changes in government legislation which resulted in the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal (the Tribunal) in 1975 (Wheen, 2013). The Tribunal addressed modern breaches of Te Tiriti, and was put to use almost immediately by various mana whenua objecting to the environmental effects of new infrastructure projects (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Love, 2001). This flurry of cases, including the Manukau Claim, Motunui-Waitara Claim, and Kaituna Claim had a profound effect on resource management in New Zealand (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Love, 2001). Major environmental legislation reform occurred, resulting in concepts such as kaitiakitanga, the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and a duty to engage with mana whenua in decision-making being legislated (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Love, 2001).

These reforms, however, did not allow mana whenua to resume managing the natural world in accordance with kaitiakitanga principles. Rather, mana whenua were added to a list of interested parties who's views Crown and Local Authority planning practitioners must weigh up when making recommendations (Tipa & Welch, 2006). This means that, whilst the current legal system is an improvement on the past experience of being "left out of New Zealand" and environmental decision-making completely (Stevens, 2013, p. 294; Ruru, 2002), mana whenua are still not back to being the sole decision-makers they once were. Instead, environmental kaitiaki must now work within a colonially-rooted environmental planning system if they want to influence the way their takiwā and its taonga are managed. In most cases this means that Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki must engage in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes.

### 2.3 Current Legislative Frameworks

As mentioned above, environmental legislation has evolved to be more inclusive of Māori, mana whenua, and their values in relation to environmental planning (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Love, 2001). Williams (2013) observes that colonial legislation in New Zealand was initially used to marginalise Māori and limit their influence. Today, legislation has matured, and legislation attempts to protect or develop a Māori interests (Williams, 2013). A range of legislation and the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi are tasked with this goal. The most influential pieces of legislation in the Ngāi Tahu context are the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, Conservation Act 1987, Resource Management Act 1991, and Local Government Act 2002.

#### 2.3.1 Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

The English and Māori language versions of Te Tiriti are not direct translations of each other. To circumvent this complication, the Crown introduced the idea of Treaty Principles (henceforth referred to as the Principles) via the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002). The idea of

using Principles was preferred by the Crown because, along with the differences between the two versions of Te Tiriti, it was believed that the Articles were too narrow to apply in contemporary circumstances (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002). This was elaborated on by Cooke P in *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General* [1987] 1 NZLR 641 (the *Lands Case*) in the Court of Appeal who said that the “relatively sophisticated society” that had developed since the original treaty was signed “could not possibly have been foreseen by those who participated in the making of the 1840 Treaty” (p. 34). To combat this, generalised principles were proposed to represent the underlying intent of the Te Tiriti. It is these that are spoken about in legal settings today – not the Articles of Te Tiriti themselves (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002).<sup>6</sup>

The Principles are referenced in legislation, but have never been clearly defined – a point of contention for many Māori (Hayward, 2012; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002). The Principles instead continue to be interpreted on a case-by-case basis through the courts and Waitangi Tribunal decisions (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002; Hayward, 2012). Case law has resulted in three major principles becoming widely known: partnership, participation, and protection (Hudson & Russell, 2009). Partnership was mentioned explicitly in the Ngāi Tahu Report 1991. The report specifically states the following:

*“Environmental matters, especially as they may affect Māori access to traditional food resources mahinga kai also require consultation with the Māori people concerned. In the contemporary context, resource and other forms of planning, insofar as they may impinge on Māori interests, will often give rise to the need for consultation.”* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 241)

This speaks directly to the heart of this research, as it justifies in the contemporary legal context of why Ngāi Tahu have a right to be involved in environmental planning processes within their takiwā. It is a right under the Principles, which flows through into various legislation governing environmental management in New Zealand today.

### 2.3.2 Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998

Ngāi Tahu first began raising their grievances with the Crown in 1849 – only nine years after the signing of Te Tiriti (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2018). In 1857 Matiaha Tiramōrehu, on behalf of a number of Ngāi Tahu chiefs, sent a subsequent petition to Queen Victoria requesting, “the law to be made one, that the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made just equal with the dark skin” as Te Tiriti had promised (Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act,

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<sup>6</sup> Many Māori, however, hold the Crown to the literal wording of Te Tiriti, as this is what was agreed to and signed in 1840 – not abstract principles.



1998) Petitions penned by Tiramōrehu also requested that access to mahinga kai, and lands for Ngāi Tahu to live on be provided as promised under the Kemps Deed land sale; as well as the provision of schools and hospitals, which had also been agreed upon (Te Aika, 2018; Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2018). These petitions began the Ngāi Tahu fight for redress that became known as Te Kerēme; something that morphed into a defining and intergenerational burden for Ngāi Tahu, until it was settled in 1998 (O'Regan, 2019).

In 1985 legislation was changed to allow the Tribunal to consider historic grievances from 1840 onwards (Wheen, 2013). Before this, only breaches of Te Tiriti that had occurred after 1975 could be heard. It took only one year for Ngāi Tahu to lodge Te Kerēme, which was centred around the Nine Tall Trees: the eight major land sales, and mahinga kai (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2018; Stevens, 2013). The story of Te Kerēme has been covered by many academics and sources; most prolifically by O'Regan in many publications including O'Regan (1989; 1998; 2019). As a summary, one of his many quotes on Te Kerēme is offered:

*“The Crown – New Zealand Unlimited – [was] found guilty and we [Ngāi Tahu] are now talking about settling the remedy for that offense”* (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2018).

That remedy was the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 (henceforth referred to as NTCSA 1998). This settlement consists of five major elements:

- A formal apology
- The return of Aoraki
- Cultural redress
- Non-tribal redress
- Economic redress

Much of the cultural redress related to environmental matters. This included legislating a requirement for Ngāi Tahu representation on all Conservation Boards within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, and a Ngāi Tahu representative on the Conservation Authority (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1997). The NTCSA 1998 also listed a selection of geographic features as Statutory Acknowledgement Areas, Tōpuni sites, and Coastal Management Areas; creating an obligation for the cultural significance of these places to be recognised in environmental planning decision-making processes (Ruru, 2002). The NTCSA 1998 also introduced a requirement for Ngāi Tahu representation on Species Recovery Groups relating to Ngāi Tahu Taonga Species (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1997).

This means that Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki are now formally required to sit on these aforementioned Crown-initiated advisory groups, and that both Crown and Local Authorities must seek to engage with Ngāi Tahu when decisions are to be made on or near listed sites. In the context of this research, the NTCSA 1998 results in Ngāi Tahu engaging with the Crown and Local Authorities more frequently than non-settled hapū and iwi, and potentially more than other hapū or iwi with different settlement legislation. For this reason, Ngāi Tahu is likely disproportionately impacted by planning practitioners who may not be engaging with mana whenua in a best practice manner. This is why this research specifically asks Ngāi Tahu what their perceptions of these processes are, and provides best practice recommendations for planning practitioners, based on these perceptions.

### 2.3.3 Conservation Act 1987

The Conservation Act 1987 established New Zealand's conservation lands. It includes the legislative tools to convert areas to Crown-owned conservation land, and to create and review conservation policy and management strategies. It is also the overarching legislation guiding other environmental-focused Acts such as the Reserves Act 1977, National Parks Act 1980, Wildlife Act 1953, and the Marine Reserves Act 1971 (all of which are now listed in Schedule 1 to the Conservation Act 1987). This Act establishes the Department of Conservation (DOC), regional Conservation Boards, and the Conservation Authority. For the purposes of this research, any engagement that is undertaken with these groups will be considered Crown engagement.

There are multiple provisions within the Conservation Act 1987 that direct the Director General of DOC to consult with, or give notice to, Ngāi Tahu. The most relevant to this research is section 4, which reads:

*“This Act shall so be interpreted and administered as to give effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi”.*

This means that the Conservation Act 1987 must be applied in a way that acknowledges the partnership between mana whenua and the Crown (Ruru, 2002). As confirmed in the Supreme Court's ruling on *Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Trust v Minister of Conservation* [2018] NZSC 122 (the *Ngāi Tai* case), section 4 applies to all of the Acts in Schedule One to the Conservation Act 1987. This means that the requirement to give effect to the Principles also extends to the interpretation and administering of all duties under those Acts too.

The Conservation Act 1987 is of particular relevance to Ngāi Tahu, and by extension, this research. This is because it influences the way large areas of the Ngāi Tahu takiwā are managed, along with species of cultural significance to Ngāi Tahu. Over a third of all lands managed by DOC are within the

Ngāi Tahu takiwā (Ruru, 2002). This includes nine national parks (one of which includes the ancestral mountain of Ngāi Tahu, Aoraki), and more than ten marine reserves. DOC are also responsible for managing a range of native species listed as Taonga Species under the NTCSA 1998. For these reasons, DOC are required to engage frequently with Ngāi Tahu on environmental planning matters.

#### 2.3.4 Resource Management Act 1991

The Resource Management Act 1991 (henceforth referred to as the Act) is the main piece of legislation in New Zealand for managing air, land, and water. It applies to all natural and physical resources, except for those contained within conservation lands (which are governed by the Conservation Act 1987). Natural and physical resources are defined in the Act as land, water, air, soil, minerals, energy, plants, animals, and all structures – most of which are considered taonga by Ngāi Tahu (and were therefore promised to mana whenua under Te Tiriti).<sup>7</sup> The Act sets out a resource management framework for New Zealand which includes delegating certain responsibilities to Local Authorities. It also creates a policy framework of national policy statements, regional plans, and district plans to document how these resources are managed at a practical level.

The Act is relevant to this research as it empowers the Crown and Local Authorities to make decisions on environmental management matters – a role traditionally held by mana whenua. It does, however, direct decision-makers to consider the position of mana whenua in their decision-making processes. In fact, there are over thirty sections in the Act that require decision-makers to consider matters of significance to tangata whenua, including the principle of kaitiakitanga (Backhurst, et al., 2004).<sup>8</sup> One of these sections is section 8, which requires the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi to be “taken into account” as part of decision-making. As discussed above, one of these Principles is partnership which, as per the Ngāi Tahu Report 1991, creates an expectation for consultation with mana whenua to occur. This research is focused on how planning practitioners can undertake this consultation (or, more ideally, engagement) with mana whenua, as required under this Act.

#### 2.3.5 Local Government Act 2002

The Local Government Act 2002 (henceforth referred to as LGA) sets out the responsibilities of regional, city, district, and unitary councils. For the purposes of this research, these councils will be referred to collectively as Local Authorities. The LGA compliments the Resource Management Act

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<sup>7</sup> Not all structures are seen as taonga

<sup>8</sup> A term defined in the Act to have the same meaning that “mana whenua” is afforded in this research. The accuracy of the Act’s definition of tangata whenua is contentious, hence the reason “mana whenua” is used in this research.

1991 by further specifying the role of Local Authorities, and instructing how they work with local communities – including mana whenua.

Section 4 of the LGA states that there are specific principles and requirements within this Act that “are intended to facilitate participation by Māori in local authority decision-making processes”, as recognition of the Crowns’ responsibility to take account of the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. It is these sections that make the LGA relevant to this research, as it directs the twenty-seven Local Authorities within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā to engage with mana whenua. This is the highest number of Local Authorities engaging with a single hapū or iwi in New Zealand, further illustrating the disproportionate impact any deficiencies in engagement processes have on Ngāi Tahu.

Unlike the other Acts, the LGA goes into detail about how Māori – and in extension, mana whenua - engagement should be undertaken. Section 81(1) states:

*“A local authority must—*

*(a) establish and maintain processes to provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to the decision-making processes of the local authority; and*

*(b) consider ways in which it may foster the development of Māori capacity to contribute to the decision-making processes of the local authority; and*

*(c) provide relevant information to Māori for the purposes of paragraphs (a) and (b).”*

This is one of the most relevant provisions to this research as it directs Local Authorities to establish and maintain processes to support Māori participation and partnership, as well as opening the door for Local Authorities to consider how they can support Māori capacity to do this. This research is directly related to providing recommendations on how Local Authorities can establish and maintain responsive and empowering processes. In short, it addresses the practical ‘how’ for this section of legislation in a Ngāi Tahu context.

## 2.4 Conclusion

The backdrop to this research is complex and intrinsically tied to colonialism in New Zealand. Colonisation pitted two environmental management systems against each other, with colonial systems taking control due to intentional breaches of Te Tiriti (Evison, 2006; O'Regan, 1989). This saw the ability of mana whenua to manage the natural world according to mātauranga Māori be systematically eroded. In response to this, mana whenua took up the role of environmental kaitiaki and began advocating for the environment within New Zealand’s new, colonial resource

management system (Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2012; Evison, 2006; Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Tipa & Welch, 2006). Intergenerational determination has introduced mana whenua and their values into New Zealand's environmental legislation – however, this has not fully restored the authority of mana whenua to protect their cousins and ancestors within the natural world (Williams, 2013; Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Tipa & Welch, 2006).

Environmental kaitiaki are now one voice of many that must be considered by planning practitioners. It is these planning practitioners and the colonially-rooted environmental planning system that influences how natural resources – whose continued ownership was guaranteed to mana whenua in Article Two of Te Tiriti – are now managed for present and future generations (Tipa & Welch, 2006; Evison, 2006).

However, planning practitioners – particularly those who work for the Crown or Local Authorities – are legally required to engage with mana whenua when considering these matters (Backhurst, et al., 2004). This requirement has developed in response to the maturing of New Zealand's legal system, which now aims to protect and develop Māori interests in environmental management; largely through the creation of the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Williams, 2013; Hudson & Russell, 2009; Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013). This has resulted in an increased requirement for mana whenua – particularly Ngāi Tahu – to be approached by Crown and Local Authorities as part of environmental planning processes. It is this modern context that this research speaks to. It queries how planning practitioners who are now legally required to engage with mana whenua can ensure they are doing so in a way that responds to the wider history and context presented in this chapter.

## 3. Literature Review – “Whāia kā paeroa ka tae ki Aoraki”

### 3.1 Introduction

No research sits alone, isolated from wider academia. The above whakatauākī speaks of interconnectivity and causality, which reflects the intent of this chapter. Like Aoraki, this research sits within a wider landscape of scholarly thought, connecting it to other research via the many ridgelines of the academic landscape. It also stands tall and proud, carving out its own space amongst the connected and interrelated peaks of other literature. This chapter explains this wider landscape, and the space this research speaks to within it.

The first section positions this research within the wider school of decolonisation research. It explains the relationship between the New Zealand planning system and coloniality, and two major implications of this that are particularly relevant to this research. The first is the well-documented shortage of planning practitioners that have a high skill level in mana whenua engagement, and the second is the conflict between Māori and Pākehā knowledge that the New Zealand planning system creates. The second section of this chapter reviews existing literature on best practice engagement methods in environmental planning. After recognising the lack of Ngāi Tahu-specific literature in this area, it reviews best practice recommendations for communities generally, indigenous communities outside of the New Zealand context, and engagement with Māori communities. It then critiques whether these methods can be applied to the Ngāi Tahu context, reasoning that they cannot without further research – thus identifying a gap that this research can address.

### 3.2 Coloniality in Environmental Planning

Thoms (2019) describes colonisation as a conveyor belt. This conveyor belt takes aspects of indigenous cultures and moulds them to conform to the ideals of the colonising culture. Off the end of this conveyor belt falls a monocultural society shaped in the image of the colonising culture, thus perpetuating their imperial aspirations (Thoms, 2019). In the case of New Zealand, colonisation produces a monocultural society based on Western culture – a culture with its roots in the Anglo-Euro British Empire (Matunga, 2017). Matunga (2013; 2017) draws attention to the existence of environmental planning practices in pre-colonisation New Zealand. Unfortunately, these practices were not immune to the conveyor belt of colonisation, and have become another aspect of New Zealand culture that has been moulded in the Western image (Thompson-Fawcett & Barry, 2020; Park, 2013; Matunga, 2013).

Matunga (2013) attests that as part of the colonisation of New Zealand, Māori environmental planning practices have been replaced by colonial concepts of town planning. This has seen

environmental planning move from being undertaken by mana whenua and guided by kaitiakitanga, to being controlled by Crown legislation that prioritises colonial ideals such as private property rights, order, productivity, and economic growth (Wheen, 2013; Stokes, 2013). Although reformed in the 1980's to better recognise environmental matters and mana whenua values, the underlying colonial foundations of the New Zealand planning system are still apparent; perpetuating barriers for mana whenua participation into the modern day (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Tipa & Welch, 2006). Awatere et. al. (2013) attributes planning processes themselves with low Māori participation in Crown and Local Authority-initiated planning - despite the aforementioned legislative reforms. New statutory obligations to engage with mana whenua have not removed the monocultural foundation of the environmental planning system – rather, they have created conflict within the legislation, causing frustration and insecurities for planning practitioners and environmental kaitiaki alike, who are now trying to integrate Māori values into an inherently colonial planning system (Harmsworth, 1997; Tipa & Welch, 2006). It is these matters of colonial/indigenous conflict in environmental planning that this research focuses on; positioning it within the wider body of decolonisation research in environmental planning.

### 3.2.1 Capability Concerns

There are some common issues within this school of research. One of these is the apparent capability issues within the planning profession– an area this research aims to address specifically. Jeffries et. al. (2002) defines capability as being a combination of commitment – the desire to do something - and capacity – having the skillsets to do something. Both factors need to be addressed to build capability in any area – something that does not seem to have occurred within the New Zealand planning system. In New Zealand, international agreements such as the United Nations Declaration of the Right of Indigenous Peoples, domestic legislation, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the contents of various Treaty settlements compel Crown and Local Authorities to engage with mana whenua and Māori as a whole in environmental planning. These directives provide the 'commitment' to engage with mana whenua. What is still missing however is the 'capacity', with a wealth of research commenting on the inadequacy of mana whenua engagement skills within the planning profession (Neill, 2003; Henry & Reeves, 2018; Backhurst, et al., 2004).

Neill (2003) observes that whilst New Zealand planning practitioners may have processes for engaging with mana whenua, they still do not know what to do with this information once they have received it, resulting in mana whenua considering engagement processes to be ineffective. This is because they cannot see any of their input being implemented in the final outcomes of environmental management actions – something that seems to be a global trend (Neill, 2003). When investigating similar issues in South America and Sweden, Flemmer and Schilling-Vacaflor (2016),

and Larsen and Raito (2019) both echo Neill's New Zealand observations. They describe indigenous communities increasingly being consulted, but their input continuing to have minimal effect on the overall outcome of environmental projects due to the inability of planning practitioners to interpret, value, or meaningfully consider their input.

Roberts et. al. (1995) and Behrendt (2019) both view this capacity issue as a symptom of a colonial planning system. Whilst Tipa & Welch (2006), Stephenson & Moller (2009), and Roberts et. al. (1995) all recognise planning practitioners increased effort to engage with mana whenua (the commitment element of capability), the aforementioned research proposes that mana whenua input is only incorporated when it can be done so without challenging colonial values – thus reflecting a lack of capacity. This, they argue, is because indigenous views are unconsciously perceived as being of less value due to the prioritisation of colonial knowledge and values – a reflection of coloniality within the planning system. This echoes the findings of Cox & Elmquist (1993) who says ethnocentrism (a mindset fostered by coloniality) within the predominantly Pākehā planning fraternity is a major influence to the way planning practitioners make decisions. This mindset, they reason, seems to be impacting practitioners' capacity to engage in a meaningful way with mana whenua. When mana whenua input can be incorporated in ways that does not challenge the colonial status quo, it is often romanticised and framed as having sentimental value to mana whenua – not genuine benefit to environmental outcomes (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). Considering this, it is unsurprising that indigenous communities remain unsatisfied with the way planning practitioners include them in environmental planning processes.

This capability (or lack thereof) of practitioners to engage with mana whenua is particularly worrying when looking at the purpose of their role. Monrad and Jay (2000) stress the importance of planning practitioner roles within society. Planning practitioners are tasked with mediating between various interests such as economic, conservation, and cultural when making recommendations to decision-makers on environmental planning matters. To be able to do this effectively though, Monrad and Jay (2000) state that practitioners must work with indigenous communities to accurately interpret the cultural elements that they are tasked with mediating. In New Zealand, this aspect is particularly important due to the legal responsibilities Crown and Local Authorities have to consider cultural values and Māori concerns in decision making (Monrad & Jay, 2000). The research above shows that planning practitioners often lack an understanding of how to incorporate indigenous values. If this is the case, then how can planners undertake their role of mediating between interests – including cultural and mana whenua interests – if they cannot meaningfully engage with those who hold them, let alone comprehend them themselves? Henry and Reeves (2018) argue that they cannot. This fundamental flaw shows the need for further research into how to upskill planning practitioners



in this area to match their capacity with the increased commitment present in legislation. This research aims to do just that for practitioners working within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. With a takiwā spanning over two thirds of Te Waipounamu - nearly half of New Zealand – its contribution could be significant nationally.

The international research of Larsen & Raitio (2019), and Lewis & Sheppard (2005) show planning practitioners are aware of their capability issues in this area. In New Zealand-based studies however, this self-awareness seems to be missing. Neill (2003) states that whilst New Zealand Local Authorities often discuss the perceived capacity issues Māori face in responding to council requests for information and involvement, “councils do not seem so reflective about their own capacity to work with Māori” (Neill, 2003, p. 9). Even more alarming is the trend uncovered by Backhurst et. al. (2004) for Local Authorities’ planning practitioners to perceive themselves as more adept in key areas of mana whenua engagement than they actually were. This false sense of capacity is concerning, because if practitioners are unaware of their shortcomings, they are unlikely to invest in developing their skills in these areas (Neill, 2003). This revelation reinforces the importance of this research, as it provides an avenue for Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki to challenge these inaccurate perceptions and provide meaningful direction on how planning practitioners can address these (potentially newly discovered) areas of skill shortage.

Without planning practitioners building this capacity, environmental kaitiaki will continue to feel the detrimental impacts of mediocre engagement processes. Currently, environmental kaitiaki are often subjected to un-skilled, frustrating, and culturally offensive interactions with Crown and Local Authorities that, as the representatives of statutory consultees, mana whenua cannot opt out of (Backhurst, et al., 2004; Henry & Reeves, 2018, p. 25; Jeffries, et al., 2002). This finding is supported by Roberts et. al. (1995) who pinpoints that, from the perspective of mana whenua environmental kaitiaki, the ignorance of practitioners is a critical issue. Roberts et. al. (1995) also goes a step further, claiming that this ignorance comes from a place of ethnocentrism – a mindset that, as mentioned above, is a by-product of coloniality within the planning profession. This privileging of colonial knowledge results in other knowledge bases and worldviews – such as mātauranga Māori – being perceived as inferior, and unworthy of being understood (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995; Borell, 2016). This is supported by Behrendt (2019) who asserts that the validity of indigenous knowledge is dismissed and overlooked as part of the “colonial project” and replaced with colonial values that are seen as more robust and valuable – a position reminiscent of Thoms (2019) conveyor belt analogy.

The research of Behrendt (2019), and Roberts et. al. (1995) are particularly valuable as they draw a link between the colonial roots of the New Zealand environmental planning system (and planning systems in other colonised countries), and the skill shortages their colonial foundations create.<sup>9</sup> Their research allows for an argument to be made that it is the monoculturalism that permeates colonial planning systems that causes this continued lack of capacity (and, in extension, capability). When combined with the earlier comments of Awatere et. al. (2013) and Matunga (2013), this provides some insight into why mana whenua are still disadvantaged in environmental planning processes despite the resource management law reforms that were intended to address this issue. This research seeks to provide recommendations on how planning practitioners can combat this often unrecognised monoculturalism that guides mana whenua engagement processes; hence asking Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki what best practice engagement looks like from their indigenous perspectives.

### 3.2.2 Lore vs Law

Another issue discussed widely in both literature and practice is the concept of lore versus law, and the way the current planning system pits these two knowledge bases against each other. This is relevant to this research as it further illustrates the current conflicts that Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki experience when engaging with the New Zealand planning system. The commonly used phrase 'lore vs law' contrasts lore – used here to mean indigenous knowledge systems including mātauranga Māori and tikanga – against the colonial legal systems that now govern New Zealand (Scott, 2008). As scholars such as Jones (2014), Evison (2006), and Williams (2013) note, 'lore' was and is foundational to Māori society and regulates the Māori world in a similar way to how colonial laws function. As a result of the colonisation conveyor belt however, New Zealand's legal system – including the regulation of environmental planning – has moved away from lore and is now firmly anchored in law, with colonial legislation now governing the way New Zealand manages the environment (Wheen, 2013).

When the resource management reforms of the 1980s/90s attempted to reintegrate elements of mātauranga Māori into this colonial law-based system it exacerbated the conflicts between lore and law, thus further complicating the experiences of mana whenua engaging in colonial-style environmental planning (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013). The current planning system creates a legal requirement for planning practitioners to seek out indigenous knowledge that would usually only be shared with a select few (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). Despite this, planners are compelled to feel entitled to this information, and become

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<sup>9</sup> Behrendt's research is based on international case studies

frustrated when it is not provided to them without question. This is because current legislation does not take into consideration culturally appropriate ways of sharing – or even the option of not sharing – this kind of information (Harmsworth, 1997) .

Hapuku (2019) discusses the concept of the *kauwae runga* and the *kauwae raro* - a Māori conceptualisation of the separation of knowledge into *tapu* (restricted) and *noa* (freely available) information.<sup>10</sup> *Kauwae runga* knowledge was made up of “sacred teachings passed down by *tohunga* experts to a select few who carry the esoteric knowledge of their people’s histories” (Hapuku, 2019, p. 36). This often includes knowledge relating to *taonga*, *wāhi tapu* (sacred places), and *tikanga* – all elements that legislation and regional/district plans require planning practitioners to be aware of when making resource management decisions. This puts practitioners in a situation where, to competently do their jobs, they must seek out knowledge that, in most cases, they have no right to free and unfettered access to. Taking this into account, it is then not surprising that Harmsworth (1997) found practitioners had difficulty accessing this information, which causes them frustration. Harmsworth (1997) and Neill (2003) both identify a long list of difficulties planning practitioners experience when trying to source this kind of knowledge. None of these difficulties are surprising however when the restricted nature of this information – even within *mana whenua* circles – is taken into consideration. These difficulties are therefore centred on an underlying assumption that this kind of information should be readily available to planning practitioners in ways that are convenient to their needs – an inaccurate assumption when the information they are seeking is viewed in its wider cultural context.

Roberts et. al. (1995) speaks at length about the dangers Māori perceive when sharing this kind of knowledge outside of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* circles. They note that it is often taken out of context by ‘outsiders’ who do not fully understand its significance or preciousness. This often results in treasured histories and cultural concepts being misrepresented, appropriated, or abused by those who do not understand its cultural significance or context. Unsurprisingly, Māori carry “a legitimate concern and apprehension when uninitiates enter their cultural world” (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995, p. 8). Most planning practitioners would likely fall into this ‘uninitiates’ or ‘outsiders’ category, based on their well-documented lack of cultural competency (Tipa & Welch, 2006; Lewis & Sheppard, 2005; Latimer, 2011; Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016;

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<sup>10</sup> This explanation comes from the point of view of Ngāti Kahungunu. The concept of *kauwae runga* and *kauwae raro* is not explicitly present in Ngāi Tahu knowledge bases, but due to the *whakapapa* links between these two *iwi*, it has been deemed relevant for this discussion.

Henry & Reeves, 2018; Larsen & Raitio, 2019) – hence the difficulty they find accessing this knowledge.

Unfortunately, it seems that most planning practitioners are unaware of this context. Instead, the difficulty they experience sourcing mātauranga is perceived as the fault of mana whenua (Harmsworth, 1997). This lack of insight is reflective of the colonial roots of environmental planning legislation, which often overlooks the restricted nature of some information held by mana whenua (Neill, 2003). In the words of Neill (2003), by not recognising this, Crown and Local Authorities “are denying the validity of [mana whenua] perspectives, which is a poor basis for relationship building” (p. 4). This research seeks to understand these kinds of issues from a mana whenua perspective, which will challenge the dominant voices of planning practitioners and their monocultural perceptions, such as the ones captured by Harmsworth (1997).

### 3.3 The Relevance of Iwi Individuality

This section focuses on the contextual importance of this research, explaining why similar best practice community engagement methods cannot be applied unquestioned to environmental planning in the Ngāi Tahu context. There is a wealth of knowledge related to community engagement, and studies that canvas the perceptions of indigenous communities on these issues – both in the New Zealand context and beyond. However, none of this literature addresses a Ngāi Tahu perspective on this issue. The importance of this is often understated, with a widely held belief that all communities, all indigenous cultures, or all Māori have the same values and preferred ways of working. This is rebuffed by Tipa and Welch (2006) who assert that Māori have unique rights and needs when it comes to engaging with the Crown on environmental planning matters. This means that international or community-wide engagement methods may not be applicable to the New Zealand context.

Even in a New Zealand context, it is also argued that pan-tribal resources cannot speak to the Ngāi Tahu context. This is supported by Rangihau (quoted in Roberts et. al, 1995) who claims there is no such thing as a unified Māori culture – or ‘Māoritanga’ - as this is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Māori – an impossible feat due to the many different aspects of iwi and hapū culture, and their differing histories. For this reason, it is argued that pan-tribal literature does not fill this gap, thus identifying a need for this research into the Ngāi Tahu perspectives on best practice mana whenua engagement processes.

#### 3.3.1 Best Practice Recommendations in a Community-wide Context

Action Research is a common way to engage with communities in an empowering and community-led way. It is an umbrella term for a range of techniques used to promote community participation

in decision-making and research projects (Allen, 2000; Jacobson, 2007; Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988), and is particularly common in cross-cultural research (McTaggart, 1991). McTaggart (1991) notes that whilst people are often involved in research, they are rarely participants with real ownership - a point also noted as a critique of indigenous community engagement by Flemmer and Schilling-Vacaflor (2016). Authentic participation requires researchers to “share in the way research is conceptualised, practiced, and brought to bear on the life-world” (McTaggart, 1991, p. 171). This statement is reminiscent of the Treaty Principle of partnership, which underpins engagement with mana whenua in the New Zealand context (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Ruru, 2002). There are many different types of Action Research (such as Narrative Inquiry, and Participatory Action Research), but they all share the following elements:

- a cyclic and iterative process
- collaboration through participation
- emancipation of participants for social change
- learning through experience
- qualitative nature of the research
- the importance of critical reflection.

(Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988; Avison, Baskerville, & Myers, 2007)

By its very nature, the methodologies used in Action Research can be reinterpreted and augmented by the community participating in the research, so that it reflects their unique values and cultural norms – a point stressed by McTaggart who states that to not allow for this “is to engage in cultural imperialism”, which is a hallmark of coloniality (McTaggart, 1991, p. 171). This is an issue already identified as rife within current mana whenua engagement processes run by Crown and Local Authorities (Cox & Elmquist, 1993; Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995).

In an environmental planning context, co-management can be seen as a form of applied Action Research (Berkes, 1991; Tipa & Welch, 2006). Tipa and Welch loosely define co-management as a “...form of dual arrangement between government and people” (Tipa & Welch, 2006, p. 378). Co-management has been identified as a best practice form of engagement for environmental planning by Stephenson and Moller (2009), and is spoken about favourably by Tā Mark Solomon (former kaiwhakahaere (chairperson) of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu) in Stephens (2013) as “a new approach to management of natural resources” when compared to its historic Crown-controlled management. Like Action Research, co-management provides for collaboration with different community groups through participation, a cyclic and iterative process, and learning through experience. It moves communities as being the ones being planned for, to being the planners (Berkes, 1991).

Tipa and Welch, however, do not share Berkes praise for co-management – particularly in the context mana whenua engagement. They note that co-management does not address the unique relationship that indigenous communities have with Crown and Local Authorities that sets them apart from the wider community (Tipa & Welch, 2006). Tipa and Welch describe typical co-management arrangements as “two-dimensional representations that lack an indigenous perspective”, that creates significant ambiguity to how arrangements are implemented and managed in practice (Tipa & Welch, 2006, p. 381). Co-management cannot be considered best practice for mana whenua engagement as it lacks an understanding of their unique rights of Māori in the New Zealand context. Instead, co-management often sees mana whenua voices aggregated into those of the wider community (Tipa & Welch, 2006). This highlights that work still needs to be done to articulate what best practice engagement should look like from an indigenous perspective, as current best practice models used in community engagement may not be responsive to this context.

### 3.3.2 Best Practice Recommendations in an International Context

Research shows that engaging with indigenous communities is not just problematic in the New Zealand context. Research from Sāmoa (Cox & Elmquist, 1993), Bolivia and Peru (Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016), Canada (Lewis & Sheppard, 2005), and Sweden (Larsen & Raitio, 2019) all show that planning practitioners and indigenous communities alike are grappling with how to engage with each other on environmental planning matters. Flemmer and Schilling-Vacaflor (2016) discuss ways that government organisations can seek Free and Prior Informed Consent (henceforth referred to as FPIC) from indigenous communities. FPIC is considered the baseline for engagement with indigenous communities by the United Nations, based on the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (henceforth referred to as UNDRIP) (Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016). Flemmer and Schilling-Vacaflor assert that within all states that have signed up to these international agreements, indigenous communities have the following engagement rights:

- Engagement be carried out in good faith
- That it take place before adopting the planned measure
- Indigenous communities are provided with complete and non-biased information
- Representative institutions and authorities of the affected indigenous communities are involved
- Engagement be undertaken in a social, linguistic and culturally adequate way
- Engagement aims to achieve the consent of the consulted communities
- Agreements are recognised as binding

(Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016)

These rights are a high-level description of what Crown and Local Authorities are expected to do when seeking FPIC from indigenous communities, and are supported by both Larsen & Raito (2019), and Lewis & Sheppard (2005). These high-level rights however do not provide guidance on how planning practitioners should conduct themselves in practice. This is where Flemmer and Schilling-Vacaflor (2016) focus their research. In their research, they explain how engagement should be executed on the ground.

Flemmer and Schilling-Vacaflor (2016) pose three criteria that can be used to critique whether indigenous communities can effectively participate in engagement processes that seek their FPIC. This criteria moves the high-level rights from above into more detailed direction for those wanting to execute this kind of engagement. According to Flemmer and Schilling-Vacaflor (2016), consulted indigenous community must have:

- (1) considerable ownership of consultation practices;
- (2) the possibility to substantially participate in these arenas; and
- (3) the opportunity to shape the design and the execution of planned activities

(Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016)

Whilst these criteria provide more direction and may be a useful starting point for critiquing engagement processes, they do not speak to the unique context of environmental planning in New Zealand. Māori are set apart from many other indigenous communities by the existence of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the inclusion of Treaty Principles in environmental legislation, and the contents of treaty settlement legislation. For this reason, many of these criteria are already required by legislation in New Zealand. Therefore, restating them as best practice engagement criteria may not add value in the way it might for other indigenous communities. Furthermore, the fact that engagement issues persist in New Zealand despite some of these criteria being legislated suggests a different approach may need to be taken in this research – potentially an approach that provides more practical direction to assist planning practitioners to see outside of their monocultural lens.

### 3.3.3 Best Practice Recommendations in a New Zealand Context

This is not the first research to address this issue in a New Zealand context. It may be, however, the first to address it from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. Literature exists that provides recommendations at a pan-iwi level. However, as discussed above, this national approach does not accommodate for tribal or geographic nuances influencing how each iwi perceives best practice (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). Recommendations have previously been provided as part of the Planning Under Co-Operative Management project, and more recently, Henry and Reeves (2018) via their project, Te Whaihangā.

The Planning Under Co-Operative Mandates project (henceforth referred to as the PUCM project) is an in-depth investigation into hapū and iwi involvement in environmental planning in New Zealand. Made up of multiple papers, the PUCM project has investigated Māori input into environmental planning under the Resource Management Act since mid-1995. As part of this project, a suite of findings and recommendations relating to the bicultural nature of the New Zealand planning system have been made. Te Whaihanga also addresses the issue of best practice mana whenua engagement, and provides resources for built form practitioners to upskill in this area (Henry & Reeves, 2018).

Both the PUCM and Te Whaihanga projects provide recommendations that link closely to many of the issues already touched on in this chapter. Neill (2003) discusses the capacity issues and Western scientific bias present in district councils, which is echoed by Henry and Reeves (2018). Between them they recommend planning practitioners upskill on their relationship-building skills, their familiarity with Māori worldviews and environmental knowledge, and their ability to strategically analyse the position of Māori in relation to environmental management matters. Neill (2003) goes further, recommending Local Authorities resource mana whenua to upskill in their own understanding of environmental planning processes, environmental science, legislation, and the New Zealand planning system.

Whilst these recommendations may be relevant in the Ngāi Tahu context, it is hard to definitively say this, due to the challenge earlier issued by Rangihau. A limitation of the PUCM project is the way it aggregates the experiences of multiple hapū and iwi across the country, thus overlooking the diversities that exist between them. Whilst Ngāi Tahu were included in the PUCM project, their experiences are not discussed individually – nor do the eventual recommendations differentiate between which hapū or iwi they apply to. Furthermore, Ngāi Tahu is, internally, a diverse iwi with its many hapū and Papatipu Rūnanga having different experiences engaging in environmental planning. Only one Papatipu Rūnanga was included in the PUCM project, which does not adequately cater for the diversity of Ngāi Tahu.

In the case of Te Whaihanga, only hapū and iwi within the Tāmaki Makaurau region seem to have been engaged with, meaning that their recommendations may not take into consideration iwi variations, despite being considered a nationally applicable resource. For example, environmental planning in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā is influenced by the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, and the particular significance of mahinga kai to Ngāi Tahu culture. This context may not be reflected in guidance derived from the experiences of other iwi, thus limiting the applicability of these resources and recommendations in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. For these reasons it cannot be assumed the existing



research into this area will suffice to fill the gap in Ngāi Tahu-specific research in this area. Therefore, there is a clear gap for this research to address.

### 3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the many paeroa (ridgelines) that connect this research to its wider scholarly landscape. Thompson-Fawcett & Barry (2020) Park (2013) , and Matunga (2013) all argue that the New Zealand environmental planning system has been built in the image of Western colonial cultures, thus making it a structure that perpetuates coloniality in New Zealand. This therefore anchors this research within a wider discourse on coloniality in New Zealand, and decolonisation research. The modern planning system's colonial roots have consequences for planning practitioners, hindering their ability to engage meaningfully with mana whenua. The likes of Henry & Reeves (2018), Backhurst et. al. (2004), and Neill (2003) have all discussed the resulting capability constraints this causes for planning practitioners, which scholars such as Roberts et. al. (1995) attribute to the ethnocentric mindset coloniality fosters. Awatere et. al. (2013) notes that despite the legislative reforms of the 1980's/90's, the colonial roots of the planning system have endured, meaning that despite steps being taken to address the inclusion of mana whenua and their values into environmental planning, engagement barriers for Māori still exist. After reviewing the work of Harmsworth (1997) and Neill (2003) alongside the work of Roberts et. al. (1995) it becomes even clearer that this capacity issue is causing real distress and frustration for mana whenua. This confirms this researcher's experiences from professional practice that, as outlined in Chapter 1, instigated this research.

This chapter also identifies a clear gap that this research aims to address. Literature exists detailing preferred engagement methodologies for communities in general, with Action Research - and its environmental planning application, co-management - promoted as best practice by Berkes (1991) and Stephenson & Moller (2009). However, as Tipa & Welch (2006) argue, these models do not account for the unique Treaty Partner relationship between mana whenua and the Crown in the New Zealand context. Rather, it relegates mana whenua to a 'stakeholder' position alongside other community interests (Tipa & Welch, 2006). This critique is also waged at international examples of indigenous best practice engagement, with the work of Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor (2016) also being inappropriate for the New Zealand context. This is because it provides guidance that, in many ways, reflects the baseline requirements for mana whenua engagement in New Zealand as per current legislation. It also does not accommodate for the lack of cultural capability that scholars such as Neill (2003) Henry and Reeves (2018), and Backhurst et. al. (2004) have identified in planning practitioners' skillsets.

When investigating New Zealand based research it became clear that there is a gap in current literature, as no Ngāi Tahu-specific studies could be found. Whilst research that looked at Māori as a collective was reviewed, it could not be confirmed that the best practice recommendations they provided would be applicable to the Ngāi Tahu experience. This is because, in the case the PUCM project, the experiences of Ngāi Tahu were aggregated into those of other iwi; and in the case of Te Whaihanga, it seemed only mana whenua from the Tāmaki Makaurau region were involved (Henry & Reeves, 2018). As Rangihau (quoted in Roberts et. al., 1995) attests, all hapū and iwi have their own unique contexts, which lessens the usefulness of research undertaken at a pan-iwi level, and the ability to apply research undertaken in one iwi context to another (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). For this reason, existing literature does not fully address the questions this research poses, thus exposing a gap in current literature. It is this gap that this research aims to address by asking Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki what their perceptions are of best practice mana whenua engagement in the context of Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes.

## 4. Methodology – “Nāku te kori, kia kori hoki mai koe”

### 4.1. Introduction

The name of this chapter comes from the words of the historic Ngāti Kurī leader, Marukaitātea, who uttered them to his companion as they approached enemy territory (Te Aika, Te Aika-Puanaki & Fa'aū, 2017). Marukaitātea's words urged his companion to follow his lead in order to survive the fray, in the same way researchers should follow the steps set out in this chapter if they wish to successfully replicate this research project. This chapter illustrates how biculturalism has guided and shaped this research. Using a Braided Rivers approach, two different methodological frameworks – one from te ao Māori and one from te ao Pākehā (the Pākehā world) - have been drawn upon. These are Kaupapa Māori Research and Qualitative Research. These frameworks have been further articulated through the adoption of a set of guiding principles – referred to as *mātāpono* - to support methodological decision-making throughout the research, and Narrative Inquiry methods which are used to undertake this research.

The second section of this chapter focuses on the application of this methodology through semi-structured interviews with Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. The methods used are presented, with a focus on participant selection and treatment, *taonga* collection, and thematic analysis techniques.<sup>11</sup> Lastly, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of this methodology, touching on both positionality and limitations, before delving into the findings of this research in the next chapter.

### 4.2 Methodological Approaches and Frameworks

This section focuses on the methodological approach and frameworks adopted for this research, with discussion of their application following in subsequent sections. First, the decision to adopt a Braided Rivers approach is explained. This is followed by introducing the two methodological frameworks used as part of this approach: Kaupapa Māori Research and Qualitative Research. These frameworks are then considered within the context of the research question, “from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, what is best practice engagement with *mana whenua* in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes?”, allowing them to be further tailored to this research. For Kaupapa Māori Research, this means the introduction of guiding *mātāpono* to apply Kaupapa Māori Research contextually. For Qualitative Research, this means the

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<sup>11</sup> In this context, ‘*taonga*’ refers to the contents of the interviews – content that is often referred to as ‘data’ in other research. The reasoning for this terminology is discussed within this chapter.

adoption of Narrative Inquiry to facilitate conversations with participants that allow them to share their personal ‘stories’ of being Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

#### 4.2.1 Braided Rivers Approach

From the outset, this research has been grounded in te ao Māori. To continue this commitment, a kaupapa Māori methodological approach was sought. Whakataukī, whakatauākī, waiata, and pūrākau are instrumental in guiding decision-making for this research, and are again drawn upon to design an appropriate methodological approach for this research. The words Matiaha Tiramōrehu first penned in the Ngāi Tahu petition to Queen Victoria in 1857 reflect the bicultural aspirations of this methodology. He wrote, “kia orite ngā āhuatanga mō te kiri mā kia rite ki tō te kiri waitutu” – the white skin [should] be made just equal with the dark skin (Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act, 1998). This quote suggests seeking out an approach that allows for both Māori and Pākehā knowledge to be utilised equally alongside each other.

The Braided Rivers approach allows for both Pākehā (Western science) and Māori knowledge streams to be used in the same methodological approach (Macfarlane, Macfarlane, & Gillon, 2015). It uses the imagery of braided rivers - a geographic feature common within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā - to illustrate the way multiple ‘streams of knowledge’ can be used as part of a wider methodology that intersect where useful, whilst still retaining their own identities (Macfarlane, Macfarlane, & Gillon, 2015).

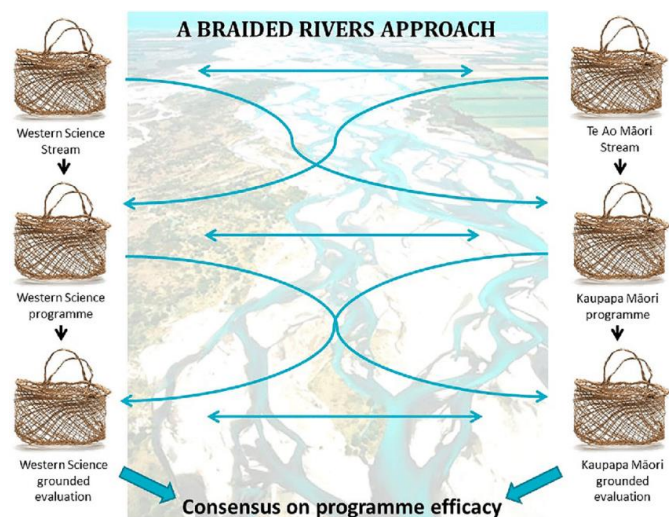


Figure 2: Braided Rivers Approach diagram (Macfarlane, Macfarlane, & Gillon, 2015)

Macfarlane and Macfarlane (2018) attest that this ‘braiding’ of knowledge ensures that one stream can complement the other without assimilating it, thus protecting the authenticity of each. The Braided Rivers approach is particularly relevant to this research, as it actively addresses matters raised in Chapter 3 relating to the use of indigenous knowledge. By braiding mātauranga Māori and Western science, it avoids the issues of assimilation and misrepresentation highlighted by Roberts et. al. (1993) that often occur when these knowledge streams are used alongside each other in an environmental planning context.

Two methodological frameworks – one from te ao Māori (te kiri waitutu) and one from te ao Pākehā (te kiri mā) - have been braided together under this approach. They are Kaupapa Māori Research,

and Qualitative Research. When considered alongside the research question, “from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, what is best practice engagement with mana whenua in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes?”, these two frameworks have been contextualised, resulting in the introduction of guiding mātāpono and adoption of Narrative Inquiry.

#### 4.2.2 Kaupapa Māori Research and Ngā Mātāpono

Kaupapa Māori Research (henceforth referred to as KMR) was developed as a way to create a safe space where mātauranga Māori is unquestionably accepted and valued in a research context (Smith, 2017). It signposts that mātauranga Māori will guide all decisions made as part of a research project, which echoes the kiri waitutu element of Tiramōrehu’s guiding words. Smith notes that historically, academic research has been seen as a process used to produce colonial or Western knowledge, and has privileged these bodies of knowledge and “ways of knowing” (Smith, 2017, p. 11). In New Zealand, this approach to academic research has often denied the validity of Māori ‘ways of knowing’, and in extension, the validity of Māori culture and its wider facets (Smith, 2017). This is consistent with the way colonial environmental planning processes have denied the relevance of Māori practices of kaitiakitanga, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. For this reason, it is sensible to use a methodological framework in this research that actively recognises the value of mātauranga Māori in New Zealand’s environmental planning landscape.

Whilst KMR has no set formula, Smith has, in her seminal work, *Decolonising Methodologies*, set out a list of “culturally specific ideas” which she considers should guide kaupapa Māori research (Smith, 1999, p. 13). These have, over time, become a framework that guides a researcher in their first steps into KMR. These culturally specific ideas are:

- aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
- kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)
- titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero (look, listen ...speak)
- manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
- kia tūpato (be cautious)
- kua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people)
- kia māhaki (do not flaunt your knowledge)

(Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 1999, p. 13)

These seven ideas are often used by researchers, such as Hapuku (2019) and Jones et. al. (2010), to guide their own process of identifying more targeted kaupapa Māori cultural norms based on these broader KMR ideas to help guide their own research. This research has also taken this approach, and has identified four guiding values – referred to as mātāpono – to contextualise Smith’s within this

research. Mātāpono were chosen due to their relevance to the Māori value of manaakitanga – a foundational value within the Māori world (Jones, 2014). This value was chosen due to the nature of this research’s question. As highlighted in Chapter 2, the relationship between mana whenua and the environment is closely linked to their cultural identity. Discussions in Chapters 2 and 3 also suggest that the current state of mana whenua engagement may not be positive, therefore elements of personal grievance would likely be touched upon during this research. For this reason, a focus on manaakitanga within this methodology – a value centred on caring for others and showing compassion – was appropriate. The four mātāpono chosen are:

#### *4.2.2.1 Tika and Pono*

Tika and pono can be translated as ‘correct’ and ‘honest’, and are considered key ways of conducting yourself within Māori society (Jones C. , 2014). As a generalisation, tika and pono are about always doing the ‘right’ thing in the context of Māori social norms for the ‘right’ reasons. Here, the terms are taken to involve regularly reflecting on methodological decisions to critique whether they are respectful and considerate to participants, parties discussed (e.g. the planning profession, Ngāi Tahu whānui), and traditional knowledge sources. This mātāpono influenced the decision to interview participants in their own spaces to reduce potential burdens of participation, participants’ selection criteria, and the way transcripts were processed and presented so that participants voices were accurately represented. Tika and pono also shaped the way interviews were conducted, with tikanga elements such as sharing food, and structuring interviews based on Māori cultural norms such as following a past, present, future questioning format (discussed in Section 4.3.2 of this chapter).

#### *4.2.2.2 Whakamana Tangata*

Whakamana tangata actively directs the researcher to find ways to uphold and emphasise the mana (see appendix 1 for definition) of participants. Unlike Smith’s more cautionary ‘kaua e takahi te mana o te tangata’, the mātāpono of whakamana tangata requires positive efforts by the researcher to show respect in ways which uplift the mana of all involved. In this research, whakamana tangata extends to not only the participants themselves, but to all things related to the research. This includes people and organisations discussed by participants in their interviews, authors and their literature, Ngāi Tahu whānui, and the ideas and histories discussed.

This mātāpono was particularly influential during interviews, as it framed conversations as ‘participants-as-experts’ discussions. This encouraged the researcher to take a secondary role of listening and prompting, as opposed to challenging and sharing their own positions on matters. It also influenced the decision to uphold the confidentiality of specific Crown departments, Local

Authorities, and staff members mentioned. This was to uphold their mana, particularly when they are being used as examples of poor engagement practice. Lastly, whakamana tangata has influenced reference material used throughout this research, promoting the work of Ngāi Tahu academics and traditional knowledge repositories such as whakataukī/whakatauākī, pūrākau, and waiata to highlight authentically Ngāi Tahu perspectives. This is particularly important due to the iwi-specific nature of this research, and as a way of grounding this research in its locational context.

#### *4.2.2.3 Whakawhanaungatanga*

Whakawhanaungatanga is a process of establishing, building and nurturing relationships. It is considered a foundational value of Māori culture, described as “central to individual and community identity and the rights and obligations that are associated with that identity” (Jones C. , 2014, p. 191). In terms of this research, the ‘rights and responsibilities’ are particularly relevant. Hapuku (2019) and Jones et. al. (2010) both explain that in the context of research, whakawhanaungatanga is vital for creating space for trust-based relationships to form between researchers and communities, with an expectation that the researcher maintain an ongoing relationship with the community beyond the project’s completion. This encourages communities to share more in-depth and personal information with the researcher, thus strengthening the findings of the research.

This mātāpono was instrumental in the decision to recruit participants whom the researcher already had an established, trust-based relationship with. The timespan of this research was not long enough to build new relationships based on whakawhanaungatanga values before recruiting participants and conducting interviews. Instead, the researcher drew on their pre-existing networks within the iwi (further discussed in Section 4.3.1 of this chapter) to source participants. This mātāpono also shaped how interviews were conducted, with the semi-structured nature allowing for a more unstructured conversation to take place, which is elaborated on in Section 4.3.2 of this chapter.

#### *4.2.2.4 Koha*

Koha is the gifting of something of value to another to acknowledge them and/or their contribution in the spirit of reciprocity. Hapuku (2019) and Jones et. al. (2010) explain that whilst money is a common koha, food or other resources such as gifts of time, skills, and ideas are just as valid. Koha of this type can often be more meaningful as they are a personal way of helping participants and their community to reach their goals as thanks for them helping the researcher reach theirs (Jones, Davies, Ingham, & Cram, 2010).

For this research, koha took multiple forms. Food or drink was provided and shared during interviews, and each participant received a grocery voucher as a token of appreciation. Participants

were also provided with copies of their transcripts and encouraged to use them for their own purposes, such as adapting them for cultural evidence in environmental planning processes, or to keep in family records. Lastly, each participant will receive a copy of the completed research, a piece of artwork, and an offer to present the findings in any fora participants deem beneficial for their role as environmental kaitiaki (e.g. to Crown or Local Authority-initiated advisory groups that participants are involved with).

#### 4.2.3 Qualitative Research and Narrative Inquiry

Tiramōrehu also referred to ‘te kiri mā’ (the white skin) – interpreted in this methodology to mean Western science-based tools. For this braid of the Braided Rivers approach, Qualitative Research was chosen. Qualitative Research (henceforth referred to as QR) is a broad group of research methodologies that rely on qualitative data such as analysing characteristics, patterns, attributes, narratives, and meanings of human phenomena (MacDonald, 2012). QR methodologies provide human-focused, experiential information that allows for multi-dimensional understandings of phenomena. These reflect the human experience in ways that quantitative data cannot always do (Pathak, Jena, & Karla, 2013; Hapuku, 2019).

For this research, a QR methodology that captured the lived experiences of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki was needed. For this reason, Narrative Inquiry was chosen. Narrative Inquiry (henceforth referred to as NI), is a form of QR (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). It is predicated on the belief that people live “storied lives” – lives filled with experiences that can be shared with others to draw meaning (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). NI methodologies focus on discussing these stories with their owners (i.e. the research participants). Through doing this, both the owner of these stories (the participant) and the inquirer (the researcher) deepen their understanding of the experiences discussed, and can link recurring experiences together to find themes (Clandinin, 2006; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

There is always the chance, however, that participants may fail to accurately relay their stories. This is not a slight on participants, rather, it is a widely known limitation of NI as a methodology (Kim, 2016; Lal, Suto, & Ungar, 2012; Webster & Mertova, 2007). There is also the risk that the experiences of those interviewed are not representative of the whole. Webster and Mertova (2007) helpfully state that NI does not claim to provide the definitive truth, but rather aims for verisimilitude – results that have the appearance of truth or reality. Loh (2013) agrees, explaining that verisimilitude can be assessed through a process of peer validation, where themes are shared with others working in the same field to see if the findings are consistent with others experiences. As



discussed in Section 4.3.2 of this chapter, this approach was taken in this research to address this potential limitation.

A major strength of NI, however, is the inclusive view it takes on what stories are. Helibrun (as quoted in Connelly & Clandinin 1990) points out that stories can include those that are sung, or shared through other creative arts – not just stories that are spoken or written. Connelly & Clandinin (1990) expand this to specifically recognise the role that oral histories, folklore, proverbs, myths, and recollections play in the tapestry of stories that can be analysed as part of NI. This gives NI significant scope to acknowledge Ngāi Tahu repositories of traditional knowledge which often take the forms listed above. This scope supports this research’s grounding in te ao Māori, as it provides another avenue to highlight knowledge encapsulated in pūrākau, tikanga, proverbs, and waiata (Benham, 2012).

NI also naturally aligns with the mātāpono that guide this research. As a method that relies strongly on face to face interviews, NI allows for bilateral conversation to be had in a way that other QR methodologies such as questionnaires, surveys, or case study observations do not (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Kim, 2016). These two-way conversation covering broad topics create spaces for the participant and researcher to foster whakawhanaungatanga in a very authentic and typically Māori way (Hapuku, 2019). NI also allows the participant to question and critique the researcher and the way they have interpreted their ideas. This element is particularly important as it upholds the mana of the participant through the sharing of power, and ensures that the researcher interprets stories in ways that are tika and pono.

#### 4.2.4 Summary

The Braided Rivers approach has been used to create a methodological framework that responds to the question “from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, what is best practice engagement with mana whenua in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes?”. Inspired by the words of Tiramōrehu, two methodological frameworks – one from te ao Māori and one from te ao Pākehā – have been incorporated in this approach. These have both been contextualised for this research resulting in the creation of four guiding mātāpono, and the adoption of NI as a specific form of QR. Together, the mātāpono and NI have been used to shape the way this research has been addressed, including the methods of data collection, selection and treatment of research participants, and data analysis – all of which will be outlined in the next section of this chapter.

### 4.3 Application of Approach and Frameworks

This section links closely to the whakatauaākī this chapter is named for, as it outlines the practical steps taken to undertake this research – steps that could therefore be replicated as Marukaitātea advised his (more literal) steps be in the aforementioned whakatauaākī. The three areas discussed in this section are participant selection and treatment, interview protocols, and thematic analysis processes. Many of these steps follow standard practice for NI-style research, reflecting NI's prominent position as part of this research's Braided Rivers approach. Where these steps differ however, shows the influence of the second braid: the guiding mātāpono that are inspired by KMR. These augment standard NI practices to ensure that this research is undertaken in a culturally responsive and safe way that shows respect and care to participants.

#### 4.3.1 Research Participants

NI provides a way for the lived experiences of individuals to be analysed to uncover themes. For this reason, it was vital that participants with relevant lived experiences as environmental kaitiaki were recruited to be part of this research. To assess this, two criteria were created based on those offered by Gorman and Clayton (2005): breadth of experience as a representative of their Papatipu Rūnanga or iwi in Crown or Local Authority initiated environmental planning processes, and regional distribution within the sample of participants.

The first criterion required participants to have at least two experiences contributing to Crown or Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes as a mandated Papatipu Rūnanga or iwi representative. This is to ensure that participants have breadth to draw on when discussing their experiences. This is important so that an individual engagement experience that may have been atypical does not become overrepresented when participants discuss their overall perceptions of engagement processes. Examples of engagement processes that participants could be involved in are:

- Mana whenua working groups for plan reviews, including:
  - District plan reviews
  - Regional Policy Statements
  - Regional Air/Water/Land plans
  - National park management plans
  - Conservation Management Strategies
- Environment Canterbury Water Zone Committees
- Department of Conservation Species Recovery Groups
- Expert cultural witnesses for notified resource consents

- Regional Conservation Boards

This criterion does not include employees who work in a professional capacity in iwi or Papatipu Rūnanga environmental planning roles. This is in recognition of the different roles environmental kaitiaki and employees have in environmental management – particularly the voluntary nature of the environmental kaitiaki role, and the cultural relationships they have with the environment. This kind of relationship is not universal among employees who, despite being employed by the iwi or a Papatipu Rūnanga, do not always share whakapapa with the environments they are employed to work with.<sup>12</sup>

The second criterion addresses regional diversity within the sample of participants. For the purposes of this research, the Ngāi Tahu takiwā is viewed as six generalised areas. These are:

- Te Parinui-o-Whiti (the northeast boundary of the Ngāi Tahu takiwā), down to Te Pae o Kahukura (Port Hills) in Christchurch, and inland to Kā-Tiritiri-o-Te-Moana (the Main Divide)
- Te Pātaka o Rākaihautu (Banks Peninsula)
- The Rakaia river to the Waitaki river, and inland to Kā Tiritiri-o-te-Moana (the Main Divide)
- The Waitaki to the Mata-Au (Clutha) river
- The Mata-Au (Clutha River) to the bottom of Te Waipounamu (South Island), and across to Rakiura (Stewart Island) and the Titi islands
- The length of Te Tai Poutini (West Coast of Te Waipounamu) from Kahurangi (the Ngāi Tahu northern boundary) south, and inland to Kā Tiritiri o te Moana (the Main Divide)

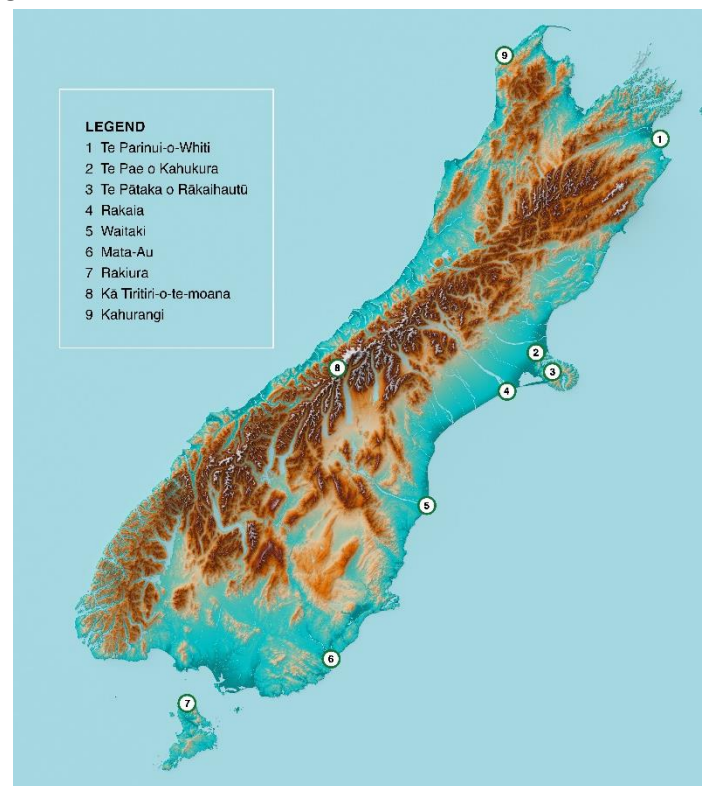


Figure 3 Map showing figurative pou used to delineate the six regional areas for this research (Garcia, 2020)

<sup>12</sup> One participant in this research is employed by a Regional Environmental Entity. However, they are in a unique position of having a whakapapa connection to the environment they work in, meaning that they serve a dual role of an environmental kaitiaki and an employee – the former being why they were included in this research.

These generalised areas were conceptualised using figurative pou placed upon the landscape, as shown on the map in Figure 3.<sup>13</sup> The boundaries of each area are intentionally vague and undefined on the map as many indigenous groups – including some of the participants of this research – oppose the practice of dividing the landscape with arbitrary lines when in fact, the environment is interconnected and contiguous (Roth, 2009; Garcia, 2019). For this reason, the Ngāi Tahu method of marking rough boundaries with pou is used instead (Harding, 2019).

This research includes participants from each of these generalised areas to ensure regional variation within the participant pool. The Ngāi Tahu takiwā is expansive and diverse, meaning it is likely that the experience of participants from different regions will vary. For example, each region has its own environmental priorities and ecosystems, different Papatipu Rūnanga and values, and different Crown and Local Authority organisations and staff members that mana whenua engage with. For this reason, one to two participants from each region have been recruited.

Difficulty was encountered finding two participants in some regions, due to unavailability of some potential participants and lack of pre-existing networks with the researcher (a third criterion soon to be discussed). Because of these constraints, a decision was made to recruit at least one participant from each region to retain the geographic variations within the research, and interview a second from each region until saturation was reached. Saturation is defined as the point at which the content of interviews transition from providing new data to confirming previously collected data (Kim, 2016). In the case of this research, eight interviews were undertaken, with a total of ten participants spoken to, meaning that two regions were represented by one participant each. While this is a limitation of this research, it was unavoidable due to the mātāpono of whakawhanaungatanga - particularly its commitment to recruit only participants the researcher had pre-existing professional relationships with - which will be explained below.

The mātāpono of whakawhanaungatanga necessitates a third criterion. It requires the researcher to have a pre-existing relationship with participants in order for them to be considered for involvement in this research. As discussed in Section 4.2.2 of this chapter, building trust-based relationships between researchers and the communities they engage with is vital to the success of a kaupapa Māori-inspired research project. It was decided that new relationships should not be established for this research, as they could not be done so in an authentic or meaningful way within the time constraints. Instead, the researcher's pre-existing networks built whilst working for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu were used to recruit participants. The researcher is no-longer employed by Te Rūnanga o

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<sup>13</sup> A larger version of Figure 3 is included as Appendix 3

Ngāi Tahu or working with any participants on professional projects, which means that there are no ethical issues in recruiting participants based on these relationships.

A list of potential participants was created based on the criteria outlined above. They were then approached verbally (usually through chance meetings within the community) to ask if they would be interested in being involved in this research. Those who showed interest were then contacted via email to formally request their involvement, at which point they were provided with a scope of the research project (Appendix 5 of this research) to ensure that they could make a fully informed decision regarding their participation.

Once participants agreed to be involved in this research, the focus turned to protecting their confidentiality, as an expression of the *mātāpono whakamana tangata*. This research is intended to be read by the Crown and Local Authorities about whom participants refer to. To uphold the *mana* that participants have in these Crown and Local Authority fora, some steps are taken. The first is to pseudonymise each participant, and use gender neutral pronouns. The researcher collaborated with participants to decide upon a preferred pseudonym which, in most cases, was a Taonga Species-themed name to acknowledge the original *kaitiaki* role of non-human species (as explained in Chapter 2). The second step is to obscure names of individuals, groups, organisations, or identifying details of projects that would make it plain who comments are specifically about. This is not only to protect the *mana* of participants, but also the *mana* of the organisations and people being spoken about, as this *mātāpono* (as explained in Section 4.2.2.2 of this chapter) extends beyond the *mana* of just the participant.

#### 4.3.2 Taonga Collection

In many research projects, the information gathered from participants would be referred to as 'data'. This is not appropriate in this context. The thoughts, feelings, histories, and stories shared by participants are more than just data – they are *taonga*. WAI 262, the Waitangi Tribunal claim covering intellectual property, confirms that as per Article Two of Te Tiriti intangible elements such as Māori language, tribal histories, *tikanga*, and *kawa* are all *taonga* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). The information shared by participants spans all of these intangible elements and more. This information therefore needs to be treated with an elevated level of care and respect than would potentially be afforded to data collected in other research projects. The guiding *mātāpono* of *tika* and *pono*, and *whakamana tangata* ensures that these *taonga* are treated appropriately throughout this research.

NI lends itself toward face to face interviews as a preferred way of sharing in the *taonga* that participants have (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Kim, 2016). Participants were given the choice of when and where their interview was held, and who else was present as a way to *whakamana* or

empower participants (as per the *mātāpono* of *whakamana tangata*). Most participants chose to host interviews in their own homes, and some invited their *whānau* to sit alongside them. In some cases, their *whānau* contributed to the conversations, which added another layer of richness to the *taonga* collected. The presence of these *whānau* members also helped keep participants emotionally and culturally safe, making them feel more at ease. These *whānau* members were also able to deflect and/or answer questions if they could see that the participant was uncomfortable, or if they knew it was a sensitive subject.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the preferred method for this research as they allow participants significant control over the direction conversations take. The open-ended nature of semi-structured interview questions also gives participants significant scope to direct conversations toward topics they consider relevant, thus ensuring issues they consider important become central to this research. This is particularly important to ensure that the researcher does not guide participants toward specific opinions or positions (Hapuku, 2019) – a real risk due to the researchers previous professional experience engaging with Crown and Local Authorities on environmental planning matters. To combat this, three broad questions were chosen to centre the conversation on this research’s topic in a neutral way. These questions are:

- 1) Ko wai koe, and how did you become involved in this mahi [engaging with Crown and Local Authorities on environmental planning]?
  - This question intentionally asks “ko wai koe” instead of “who are you” (a literal translation of this question) as the Māori phrasing asks a much deeper question. “Ko wai koe” asks what genealogical lines a person comes from, what physical locations are important to them, and who are important ancestors. This depth is explained in an alternative translation of the question “ko wai koe?” as “from what or whose waters do you come from?” (Stevens, 2012, p. 68)
- 2) How do you find engaging with these organisations [Crown and Local Authorities] on environmental planning kaupapa (matters)?
- 3) If you could design your own engagement process, what would it look like?

Questions are intentionally ordered in this ‘past, present, future’ way to ensure that the experiences of the participant are viewed in their wider context, as per NI methodologies (Kim, 2016). This structure is also inspired by *te ao Māori* as it is reminiscent of *whaikōrero* and *mihimihi* (formal speech-making). In these contexts, the past is always acknowledged first – whether that be through reciting *whakapapa* links, acknowledging *kaumātua* and *tīpuna* (ancestors), or referring to creation stories or tribal histories (Tipa, 2017). The order of these questions allowed this same *tikanga* to be

followed during interviews, with many participants using the first question to acknowledge their wider whānau and the experiences of their kaumātua as environmental kaitiaki.

Interviews were voice recorded, with the researcher taking minimal written notes. This allowed each party to fully immerse in the conversation both physically and spiritually (Jones, Davies, Ingham, & Cram, 2010). For the researcher, it also removes the need for verbatim notes, which frees them to truly listen, and notice unspoken responses (such as pauses and body language) – elements that add richness and context to the narratives being shared (Jones, Davies, Ingham, & Cram, 2010; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Interview lengths varied, with some being as short at twenty minutes, and others over an hour and a half. Time taken depended on the natural flow of the conversation as interviews concluded once conversations naturally came to an end, which aligns with how whakawhanaungatanga-centred conversations naturally conclude. These interviews were then transcribed and sent to each participant for their review, along with a summary of the initial findings of the research. This screening process ensures that participants feel that their recorded words uphold their personal mana, that findings are relevant to the needs of their communities, and counters some of the previously discussed limitations of NI (see Section 4.2.3 of this chapter).

#### 4.3.3 Thematic Analysis

Once participants screen and confirm their transcripts, a thematic analysis is undertaken to identify any common themes across the eight interviews. The thematic analysis follows a four step process modelled on the work of Kim (2016) and Hapuku (2019). Unlike the aforementioned processes however, this research uses a manual method, incorporating visual/tactile aids (post-it notes) in the analytical process. First, interview transcripts are coded using a manual word search to identify common topics of conversation. Each time a common topic (e.g. partnership, marae-based hui (meetings), future generations) is raised, the sentence relating to it is written on a post-it note, resulting in the creation of a collage of deconstructed interviews (Figure 4). Next, post-it notes recording identical ideas are stacked on top of each other to visually identify common issues. As



Figure 4: Image showing post-it note coding method



Figure 5: Image showing issue identification, using shading effect of stacking post-it notes

more post-it notes are stacked atop of each other, the stacks become darker, showing the frequency of different issues. After this aggregating exercise, stacks of post-it notes are grouped together around common themes such as the personal toll of being a kaitiaki, and the misuse of mātauranga Māori (Figure 5). Lastly, these groups are considered in relation to the research question, which allows themes from the interviews to be identified. These themes will be presented in the following chapter in Section 5.3.

#### 4.4 Strengths and Weaknesses

All methodologies have strengths and weaknesses, and this methodology is no different. This section discusses these, highlighting particular areas of strength and weakness and, where appropriate, their mitigation. This complements the limitations already addressed throughout the chapter. Some aspects relating to positionality will be discussed in the first person due to their personal nature. Whilst it is recognised that academic conventions prefer the more neutral third person, in the words of Irihapeti Ramsden, conventions are just that, and can be disregarded when appropriate (Ramsden, 1990).

My positionality creates both strengths and weaknesses for this research. I am both an ‘insider’ and an ‘outsider’ when it comes to this research’s topic: an insider in the sense that I am an environmental planner with an understanding of both the New Zealand planning system and the operational realities planning practitioners face, and an outsider by virtue of being a Pākehā researching a topic deeply rooted in Ngāi Tahu experiences and identity. This insider/outsider status also intersects, as my professional planning experience has been largely gained as an employee of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. This means that although technically an outsider, my professional experience has given me unique insight into the Ngāi Tahu environmental planning experience and the role of environmental kaitiaki. This positionality allows me to consider both the experiences of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki and the realities of the planning profession in an informed way, making me well positioned to conduct this research.

My prior experience working with and for the iwi is also a strength, as it allows me to draw on pre-existing relationships to conduct this research in accordance with the mātāpono of whakawhanaungatanga (as discussed in Section 4.2.2.3 of this chapter). This mix of professional planning experience and familiarity with Ngāi Tahu allowed me to engage with this topic from an informed place, allowing discussions with participants to be had with a shared understanding of the context. The pre-existing relationships also allow participants to speak in a more open and honest way than they may have with a researcher who they did not already know, and had not previously worked with. However, it does create a potential for bias, as I naturally have my own views on how



Crown and Local Authorities engage with mana whenua. Lather (1986) notes that there is no such thing as neutral research, so, as discussed in Section 4.3.2 of this chapter, care was taken during interviews to mitigate any bias I could add to this research.

My 'outsider' status also creates potential limitations. This research, which is grounded in te ao Māori, is not being undertaken by a Māori researcher. Whilst this is not necessarily a weakness in itself, there are implications that must be considered. As a Pākehā researcher, I cannot fully understand the gravity of being an environmental kaitiaki, and the unique emotions and responsibilities that come with a role intrinsically linked to Ngāi Tahu culture and identity. This issue is mitigated by the aforementioned screening process of transcripts to ensure the words and ideas of participants are recorded accurately. Also, special care is taken to ensure I engage with participants in a culturally appropriate way. Whilst my pre-existing experience engaging with te ao Māori helps inform my actions, interviewing participants that I already have a professional relationship with also mitigates the risk of causing offense. This is because I am already familiar with participants and the way they prefer to be engaged with, and participants are already aware of my good intentions, which could offset any unintentional cultural faux pas.

This research intentionally has a narrow scope as it aims to address a specific gap in literature – the experiences of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes. For this reason, the findings of this research are only relevant in this context. Transposing these findings to another hapū or iwi could be problematic, as each has their own histories, tikanga and values, relationships with the Crown, and (where present) settlement legislation. Also, it is unclear if these findings could apply directly to private planning processes, such as those undertaken by consultants and businesses. This is because this research speaks to the relationship that the Crown and Ngāi Tahu share as Treaty Partners. The general public are not bound to uphold Te Tiriti in the same way as the Crown, therefore it is complex to justify if this relationship should be given the heightened attention that it is at a Crown level. Despite this narrow scope, this research provides insight and fills a literature gap identified in Chapter 3. By exclusively interviewing Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, this research provides their Ngāi Tahu-centric view on mana whenua engagement – a topic that, until now, has more commonly been discussed at a national, pan-tribal level which does not provide for tribal nuances to be articulated.

## 4.5 Conclusion

This chapter outlines this research's bicultural methodology; a methodology inspired by the words of both Marukaitātea of Matiaha Tiramōrehu. A Braided Rivers approach is adopted to utilise both Māori and Pākehā methodological frameworks within this methodology; namely Kaupapa Māori

Research and Qualitative Research. These two frameworks are contextualised alongside the research question to create four guiding mātāpono, and identify Narrative Inquiry as an appropriate way to undertake this research.

The application of this approach and frameworks are also explained, with participant selection and treatment outlined, the protocols for undertaking semi-structured interviews discussed, and thematic analysis processes described. These three elements are guided by Narrative Inquiry best practice, and augmented where necessary to embody the four guiding mātāpono of this research. Lastly, the strengths and weaknesses of this methodology are addressed, with particular attention paid to matters of positionality.

Together it is proposed that this methodology, with its bicultural elements and well positioned researcher, is an appropriate way to address this research's question of, "from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, what is best practice mana whenua engagement in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes?".

## 5. Findings – “I refuse to karakia for a cucumber sandwich”

### 5.1 Introduction

The title of this research is Ngā Kōrero a Ngā Poupou o Te Whare - a phrase which comes from the Ngāi Tahu accounts of the life of the deity, Hinetītama. She famously sought answers from the poupou (carvings) within her whare (house) due to their ever-watching eyes and longstanding presence (Tikao & Beattie, 1939). In this chapter we listen to the poupou of a different whare – the whare of Ngāi Tahu.

This chapter shares excerpts from interviews with Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki – one of which is the title of this chapter. In these interviews kaitiaki discuss their experiences of, and aspirations for, engaging with Crown and Local Authorities in environmental planning processes. These discussions – the kōrero from the poupou of this whare – are the heart of this research into what Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki consider best practice when engaging with Crown and Local Authorities on environmental planning matters. The first section of this chapter focuses on each interview individually, providing insight into the lived experiences of each kaitiaki. Each subsection intentionally ends with a direct quote from kaitiaki so as to give them ‘the last word’ and show respect to them as the experts on their own experiences.

This research was conducted using a Braided River approach, which has been discussed in Chapter 4. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were chosen as the preferred research method. Kaitiaki were asked to choose where their interviews took place, and who was present. These options and the provision of food or drink were embodiments of this research’s guiding mātaḗpono of whakawhanaungatanga, koha, whakamana tangata, and tika and pono (introduced in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2). Most kaitiaki chose to be interviewed in their own homes, and some chose to be interviewed alongside a whānau member. In addition to the food that was provided, a small koha was given at the end of each interview, and a second koha was gifted at the completion of this research to acknowledge their time, expertise, and support.

The second section of this chapter discusses the common themes that emerge across the interviews. The themes, identified using the thematic analytical methodology described in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3, identify the elements that Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki consider best practice for engaging with mana whenua in environmental planning processes. These are:

- Equal and authentic teamwork
- Recognition, incorporation, and resourcing of mātauranga and tikanga Māori

- Informed staff

These themes provide the basis for discussions on what constitutes best practice engagement from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki – the focus of Chapter 6.

## 5.2 Ngā Kōrero a Ngā Poupou o Te Whare | *Interview Summaries*

Ten kaitiaki from throughout the Ngāi Tahu takiwā are interviewed in this research – some individually, and some in pairs.<sup>14</sup> These kaitiaki have decades of experience in a wide range of environmental planning processes where they have been mandated representatives for either their Papatipu Rūnanga or iwi. For most, this involvement has been intergenerational, and for all it is more than a mere role – advocating for their environment is a deeply personal responsibility.

Interviewed kaitiaki have been involved in some or all of the following forums:

- Mana whenua working groups for plan reviews, including:
  - District plan reviews
  - Regional Policy Statements
  - Regional Air/Water/Land plans
  - National Park Management Plans
  - Conservation Management Strategies
- Environment Canterbury Water Zone Committees
- Department of Conservation Species Recovery Groups
- Expert cultural witnesses for notified resource consents
- Regional Conservation Boards

In addition to this, some also have work experience and/or formal qualifications in environmental planning. For example, over a third of the kaitiaki interviewed are Resource Management Act hearing commissioners (henceforth referred to as RMA commissioners), and a number have been employed in Crown departments or Local Authorities, giving them insight into both sides of the environmental planning process.

The following sub-sections discuss the eight interviews undertaken as part of this research.<sup>15</sup> The names of each of kaitiaki (and, where present, their whānau member/s) have been changed to ensure kaitiaki anonymity. Pseudonyms used were chosen with each kaitiaki and link to Ngāi Tahu

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<sup>14</sup> Eleven individuals contributed to these interviews, however one (Kākāpō) contributed solely as a whānau member/support person with the environmental kaitiaki being interviewed. This is different from the two other group interviews where both participants were Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki in their own right.

<sup>15</sup> Some kaitiaki chose to be interviewed together, hence the discrepancy between the number of interviews and environmental kaitiaki involved in this research

Taonga Species. Their hapū and Papatipu Rūnanga affiliations and geographic locations have also been intentionally omitted for the same reason. The names of specific organisations, people, Local Authorities, and Crown departments have also been removed and replaced with a more generic descriptor to further protect the identity of kaitiaki who may be identifiable by the organisations or projects they have been involved in. All of these confidentiality actions have been taken in response to the mātāpono of tika and pono, and whakamana tangata. As discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2, these mātāpono direct this research to treat both the kaitiaki interviewed and those that are spoken about in a mana-enhancing and ethical way.

### 5.2.1 Kārearea and Kākāpō

Kārearea has over twenty-five years of experience engaging in environmental planning processes for their Papatipu Rūnanga and iwi. They have been involved in consenting and policy, Conservation Boards and Species Recovery Groups, and sit on environmental governance boards. Kārearea is also an RMA commissioner, and an ex-employee of an environment-focused Crown department. Kārearea chose to be interviewed alongside their spouse, Kākāpō. Together they discussed the realities of contributing to environmental planning processes.

Kārearea highlighted the paternalism that permeated the way Crown and Local Authorities engaged with mana whenua. They felt that planning practitioners often acted as if they knew what was best for mana whenua, and tried to dictate how mana whenua should engage with their environment:

One day I went into [district council]. I sat there and I listened to their rhetoric in terms of - it wasn't quite what we should be able to eat or not eat, but it's how I should live or not live. I just said, "You have no right to tell me how I should live or how I should eat, when I should gather or not gather. You have no right to do that" ...

This, Kārearea felt, impinged on the rangatiratanga (see Appendix 1 for definition) of mana whenua and was highly offensive, as it dismissed the mātauranga Māori that generations of their hapū had used to manage their resources. Not only this, but it didn't reflect a partnership approach to addressing environmental matters. Kārearea was then asked if they had ever been part of an engagement process that did embody true partnership:

You know [researcher's name], no... No. [It always feels] like we are trying to battle.

I'm starting to question the whole thing around what is a partnership, and what should it look like? The thing is, nobody understands what it should look like... that's why I couldn't answer [your question] ... do I honestly feel as if I'm sitting at the table as an equal partner? ...not quite. I'm not quite there.

When asked to elaborate, Kārearea gave an example of the inequality they experienced. In one instance, Kārearea was allocated tasks in their role as co-chair of a group, but was not trusted by Crown staff to complete it:

My co-chair got overloaded and so I said to him “...Let me do the agenda” ... He sent an email off to his staff internally that this is what was going to happen, and they closed ranks, and they did the agenda [instead].”

This left Kārearea feeling underestimated and undermined, and gave the impression to the rest of the group that Kārearea was not capable of completing this simple task. In another instance, Kārearea’s proposals were dismissed because they came from mana whenua – not the Crown:

I’ve [also] got [corporate organisation] ... ready to talk to us about the captive breeding of [endangered Taonga Species] right? [Crown organisation are saying] “Aw...no thank you, that’s alright”. They would rather look at another sanctuary because [Crown organisation] is in charge, rather than actually look at [my option] .... [It’s like they think] it won’t work, it won’t work.

This made Kārearea feel like staff did not trust them, and that their ideas were not valued in the same way Crown contributions were.

Kārearea then discussed the importance Crown and Local Authorities put on mātauranga Māori:

They [Crown and Local Authority staff] want the mātauranga. They want it... but they don’t quite know what to do with it. There is a big difference between those two things [wanting it and valuing it].

Kārearea noted that whilst acknowledging mātauranga Māori was usually supported in principle by the various groups they were on, there was often pushback once it was implemented and started to alter projects from the status quo. According to Kārearea, this showed that planning practitioners did not actually understand these concepts. This was something that Kārearea hoped would improve in the future.

Kārearea was also asked about the personal toll of being in a kaitiaki role, which Kākāpō answered on their behalf:

An example [of a typical day for Kārearea]: the lady who is organising [project] will come around here...[so] there’s an hour. [Crown organisation] want to do a blessing...so that’s probably two hours a week at the moment - so there’s three hours. [Staff member] rings up

and [wants to meet] about [other project] so there is another phone call, so there is half a day [filled with Crown and Local Authority-initiated tasks] ...

Kārearea added that this reality had rendered them unemployable for lack of spare time, as responding to Crown and Local Authority requests had to be their priority. They also alluded to the pressure they feel from these expectations – both from Crown and Local Authorities, and from their Papatipu Rūnanga and iwi.

Lastly, Kārearea was asked about their aspirations for the future of environmental planning in their takiwā:

I'm hoping that that [one day there] will be a space where... empowerment [for whānau] is coming from an understanding about working together with mātauranga and Western science alongside each other, and that they are benefitting each other. Rangatiratanga with [projects] can only come about through collaboration, where we can actually work together.

### 5.2.2 Kanakana and Miro

Kanakana and Miro are a parent and child who chose to be interviewed together. Kanakana has represented their Papatipu Rūnanga in Local Authority and Crown engagement processes for decades. They are also a Tangata Tiaki (customary fisheries officer), and ex-iwi liaison staff for an environmental-focused Crown department. Their child, Miro, works for a Regional Environmental Entity.

Kanakana explained how the demands of being a kaitiaki clashed with their employment. This made it both difficult and personally stressful to respond to Crown and Local Authority engagement requests.

It's quite taumaha - it's quite heavy sometimes. Not for the fact of what it is – it's that you have to find a way to go and do it... which is sometimes quite difficult....If you are working full-time and then other things arise within the Rūnaka and you are called on [e.g. attending Crown or Local Authority working group meetings, or project site visits] , it's like, how do I get out of my mahi (work) to go and do those things? But it's not an option – you have just got to do it.

Both Kanakana and Miro felt that Crown and Local Authorities did not recognise this complications, or the effort kaitiaki went to to engage in these processes. This was reflected in the way kaitiaki are unequally treated compared to other experts in environmental planning processes (e.g. engineers, planners, scientists). Kanakana and Miro find this demoralising, as it feels like Crown and Local Authorities are saying:

“We expect you [mana whenua] to give that [cultural] information freely, but we will pay that ecologist and pay that landscape architect. We will pay them a couple of hundred dollars, but can you write a Cultural Values Assessment for nothing? Oh, and can you bring along a Rūnanga member who is not getting paid either - but bring them along as well please?”

However, Kanakana made an exception for operations staff and field workers:

They visit the marae and they hear the stories and actually get out and meet people and talk to people... [they are] willing to... listen to the whānau – and actually listen, not just sit there and go “yeah, yeah, yeah”.

This was in contrast to their perceptions of office-based staff:

They just sit there sending out their emails and wanting things done...they don't care how it's done... [it seems like they are thinking] “I don't really care, I don't have to look at these people, I'm just going to flick that email out, tell them what I want”.

This dichotomy hinted at the importance of face to face communication for mana whenua. Miro and Kanakana considered the latter example to be extremely disrespectful, and a sign that these staff did not care or understand the importance of this practice to mana whenua. The former, according to Kanakana and Miro, was a much more respectful way for staff to conduct engagement with mana whenua.

Disrespect was a recurring theme for Kanakana. They shared anecdotes illustrating the disrespect staff show the Treaty partnership:

[Senior Crown official] had a triangle diagram up on the whiteboard, and at the top he had [government department]. Then in the second tier he had [business], and then down in the third tier he had iwi and some others, and I was so horrified. I was like, “why have you got iwi down the bottom of that triangle when we are a Treaty Partner?” and he said, “You should be happy that you are even in the picture!”.

I rang up [government department and said] that we [mana whenua] wanted to come and get some mānuka out of some of the botanic reserve [for cultural purposes]. [He said] “Um no, you can't come and get it.”. Then, “if you do go out there you will have to have us with you so we can keep an eye on what you are taking out of there”.

These showed a complete lack of respect toward Kanakana, and the weight that these organisations give the Treaty Partnership. It is also representative of the way staff, by default, assume mana



whenua are untrustworthy and incapable of managing natural resources without Crown expertise and leadership.

Miro was then asked if these attitudes also existed within Local Authorities:

I don't think I've ever heard anybody from any of the councils talk about you being a Treaty Partner. You are sitting down with [business] and all that sitting in that lane. Well actually, we are quite different to them.... They still don't view us as an equal, as a Treaty Partner.

Kanakana and Miro also noted that Local Authorities often try to integrate mātauranga Māori into their projects without understanding its application, thus tokenising it:

It's a case of "that sounds pretty – ki uta ki tai from the mountains to the sea – let's put that in there because it's so beautiful". [There is a lack of] understanding behind it of what it actually means.

It's those little things that are big things... The name for [location] is [Ngāi Tahu place name], and they got this big flash sign made out of wood and they spelt it wrong... One of them [staff members] said to me, "it would be alright aye? Would anybody know it's the wrong word?".

These examples illustrate the tokenistic commitment Crown and Local Authorities have towards incorporating mātauranga Māori into their work, and the lack of understanding they have around the importance of things such as place names and indigenous science.

Miro and Kanakana shared differing views on the way tikanga Māori should be incorporated into corporate settings. Kanakana is supportive of incorporating karakia (prayer), but is frustrated that staff assumed mana whenua should always facilitate these practices, thus making it performative:

I don't like when...they go "yup [Kanakana], you can stand up and do the karakia". I feel like saying "no, do it yourself. Get some of these other ones around the table to actually bring their skills up so that they can stand up themselves and do it".

Miro, however, highlighted how asking mana whenua to lead karakia could be uncomfortable for those who have, as an impact of colonisation, lost their language:

My Reo isn't that strong and I don't like the feeling it puts on me when they say, "oh can you open the meeting and do a karakia?". I'm fine to do the karakia, but... I don't feel confident enough to walk in and do [mihi and other te reo Māori speaking roles]

These differing views illustrate the complexity of incorporating tikanga into planning processes, and shows that there is no universal rule for what mana whenua consider appropriate.

Kanakana and Miro were then asked what changes they would like to see in mana whenua engagement processes:

For me it would be that they had done a bit of background work on the Rūnaka...our aspirations and things like that. There is no reason why they can't find that information [themselves] – everything is within the push of a button [i.e. publicly published in documents available on the Ngāi Tahu website like Iwi Management Plans].

We need to be sitting around a table right from the get-go discussing those things, and valuing what iwi have to say rather than the box-ticking...we have had to compromise an awful lot [in the past]. What have other people compromised?

### 5.2.3 Tōtara

Tōtara has been active in environmental matters for decades. Tōtara spoke frankly about their personal experiences as an environmental kaitiaki, and their thoughts on the current environmental planning system in New Zealand. They drew on their experience which included working for Local Authorities in an iwi liaison role, representing their Papatipu Rūnanga on various environmental working groups, and their time on their local Conservation Board.

Tōtara started by expressing their distaste for some of the representative boards they had been a part of. This stemmed from their perception that these processes aren't responsive to Māori tikanga or worldviews:

[Most planning processes have] no strength, no teeth for Māori [because] it wasn't designed for us. We were an appendage. The whole thing ... has got nothing to do with us. They think by giving us these seats and positions they can keep us cuddly... Yeah, nah, I don't operate like that...

Asked why they continue to be involved in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes, despite all of these frustrations Tōtara said simply:

If you don't make those statements [i.e. uphold your kaitiaki responsibilities] ...your mokopuna (grandchildren) are going to think, "what did you do, [grandparent]?"

This illustrated the intergenerational responsibility Tōtara feels as an environmental kaitiaki, and the way that this role is not one that kaitiaki can step away from.

Tōtara explained how mātauranga Māori is commonly misunderstood by Crown and Local Authorities, who often misinterpret this knowledge. Tōtara also explained that cultural faux pas are commonplace, which further shows the lack of cultural competency planning practitioners have:

There is a litany of them [cultural faux pas], and it becomes second nature of you anticipating and correcting [them]. Just people making absolute fools of themselves, you know?...

One of the biggest insults for me is a karakia for a sandwich – I refuse to. Who do you think I am? Do I look like a taurekareka (slave), e hoa? Nope, don't waste my time. Karakia is a personal thing; I always start my day with karakia and I'm happy with that. I remember [sibling] used to say, "I do not karakia to a cucumber sandwich" [insinuating that karakia are over-used in corporate settings and used for inappropriate purposes].

In Tōtara's experience, Crown and Local Authorities also seemed to have different priorities to mana whenua. Tōtara used water quality as an example:

A lot of [Crown or Local Authorities focus on] the quantity of water – not the quality. Now, they can allocate ten thousand, fifty thousand cumecs of water to environmental outcomes [in response to mana whenua concerns], but if that's not quality water you are wasting your time... it's not about quantity – the Ganges has quantity. But quality costs money, and that's the difference, you know?

This difference in priorities also extends to decision making protocols, with Tōtara discussing the issues planning practitioners seem to have with mana whenua decision making processes. Tōtara believes that Crown and Local Authorities prioritise project timeframes over mana whenua decision-making, which is why practitioners often become frustrated with the consensus model of decision-making mana whenua employ at a Papatipu Rūnanga level.

Tōtara then spoke about the racism that kaitiaki experience when attending community meetings for Crown or Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes. In their experience however, this animosity could often be countered by demystifying mana whenua values and aspirations for attendees. Once the community understood the values mana whenua were advocating for, this animosity often receded. This informs Tōtara's view that Crown and Local Authorities understanding of te ao Māori and matters relating to Te Tiriti needs to grow for engagement processes to improve. Tōtara suggests compulsory Treaty training as a potential solution. This is largely informed by their time in what they identified as their most positive Local Authority engagement experience:

You look at their backgrounds... [elected official had spent] ten years on the Waitangi Tribunal so she knew about Māori, she got it... They were receptive to the wants of Ngāi Tahu... they understood the statutory obligations... If you know what they [mana whenua] are about, and you know what those outcomes are, you don't have to go out on all these different tangents.

Treaty training however, would only go part way to solving the problem, as practitioner attitudes are also an issue:

You can legislate all you want, but it's going to have to be a comfortable feeling from the people [Crown and Local Authority staff members] themselves. Now to me, the hope is always with the young ones – the acceptance of it [the value of Māori culture] at a young age...I mean, the more general acceptance from them, [and better] behaviour, attitude. To me, it's that... you can legislate all you like, doesn't mean people have to [change their attitudes]. It needs to be through teaching in the schools, all through that way, through the work ethic and understanding. I think its kind of a metamorphosis of gradual cultural change – which we are having! You can't hardcore it, or you will create that hardcore resentment.

#### 5.2.4 Tio

Tio is a leader within their Papatipu Rūnanga and iwi with approximately five decades of experience engaging in environmental planning matters. They are involved in both resource management and conservation matters, engage with the Crown and Local Authorities at district, regional, and national levels, and have sat on a wide variety of environmental project-related working groups. Tio is also an active RMA commissioner, ex-iwi liaison staff for a Local Authority, and has worked on environmental policy for their Papatipu Rūnanga. Discussions with Tio were wide-ranging, covering their extensive experience as an environmental kaitiaki, and knowledge of Ngāi Tahu history pertaining to engagement processes.

To start, Tio shared their overall perception of engaging with Crown and Local Authorities:

I have been on a lot [of environmental planning processes], and most of them it's sort of a battle of attrition, and you get what you get. Out of ten, most of them [Crown and Local Authority-initiated engagement processes] are lucky to get to five... [often planning practitioners] aren't aware in their own minds of our Treaty position, or the need to keep our customary traditions alive and all of those sorts of things. To be charitable, I think it is just an element of ignorance... It's just a monocultural view on things...because its only coming from their paradigm.

Tio elaborated on this ignorance, and how it often causes people to be fearful and prejudice toward Māori during environmental planning processes – and sometimes even overtly racist in their remarks. When reflecting on one instance of racial abuse they experienced in a planning process, Tio said:

The language and the kōrero was just - I just - I will never forget - it was just appalling, archaic. I just thought gee, my father, grandfather, great grandparents had to live through this crap for generations, and this guy is demanding that it continue...

This intergenerational frustration Tio experiences does not deter them from engaging in environmental planning processes, however. In fact, Tio goes to great length to contribute:

Some days I might do 15 hours [at work] so that I can have 8 hours free the next day [to attend to environmental matters e.g. going to Crown/Local Authority-initiated meetings]. Sometimes I have to really push it to makes the hours free. You have to really put the mahi in when everyone else is on holiday.

Asked why they are so committed, Tio spoke of their responsibility to their ancestors:

... I had a responsibility I felt to put something back - and that's what [was] sort of expected as well – to [uphold] all of those things that previous generations did. So, it's sort of a responsibility I have the opportunity to hold...

When asked how to improve the current engagement experience for mana whenua, Tio provided some suggestions. They pinpoint representation and resourcing as vital, based on their past experiences where these elements had either made or broken a process:

We had these [mana whenua engagement] meetings...but we would spend half the time arguing over resources, because these people had to [travel to another city] on their own expense to be consulted [so] we were dealing with frustrations around “this is not consultation, this is not partnership”.

Probably the best [engagement process] I have been in would be [project]...we got three plus three [mana whenua members on the engagement group] – three reps...and then we each had an alternate, and they were allowed to attend the meeting...and in the end I think we gave them a vote!

We work as a whānau or as a team... You know, I often think that native trees don't grow on their own, they grow in a cluster and work that way, and we [mana whenua] are similar.

Tio also identified hui location as important. Tio explained that marae are the most appropriate places to start new engagement processes, because of the tikanga that must be followed when there:

The tikanga there [includes] manaakitanga [which] ensure[s] that everyone is in a good space and place – a good starting point for any forum of engagement. [It also requires everybody] to have the tikanga understood...

As well as marae-based hui, Tio considers site visits to be equally important:

Hikoi out to the old sites and places, particularly around the rivers and the waterways... to see the issues...are good... It's like kanohi ki te kanohi [but with the environment – not a person].

Lastly, Tio described a process they had been a part of that, in their eyes, embodies elements of best practice such as equitable representation, adherence to tikanga, and respectful teamwork:

I said first meeting is going to be on the marae...and that set the scene. The [Crown] Minister came, and it gave them a background to us, the cultural thing, and the tikanga of how we run our meetings was decided there as well... It was the nature of the forum to showed respect... across the board. Just the odd one would try rock the boat so we would just gently – the Ngāi Tahu people were the moderators in the end of the whole thing, believe it or not! Instead of being cornered we actually become the moderators [due to having more than one or two representatives on the group]. We had an independent Chair - a good independent Chair – that was an RMA lawyer and that set the scene. And the next meeting was on a marae - we went to [location] to meet Ngāi Tahu at [location]. So, we made sure we had good, strong cultural input, and it's the best forum I've ever worked in.

#### 5.2.5 Kawakawa

Kawakawa's involvement with environmental management matters include being a Papatipu Rūnanga voice in district and regional council forums, as well as engaging with environmentally focused Crown departments. Kawakawa's longstanding involvement allowed them to reflect on both the changes and enduring issues in Crown and Local Authority engagement processes, which are the main themes of this interview.

Kawakawa began by sharing their overall impressions of Crown and Local Authority engagement, which they summarised as "sincere". However, this sincerity does not always translate to engagement that Kawakawa considers best practice, or stops engagement being, at times,

frustrating. Often, this frustration comes from a difference in how Crown and Local Authorities, and mana whenua view the world:

I think with [government department] ...they look at things in isolation from other things, whereas we [mana whenua] don't... They want to take the pieces they want [of mana whenua feedback] and they don't understand the rest – “just another Māori blithering on”, you know? In most cases... they don't want to have those conversations because to them it has no relevance... [if they listened to everything] I think it would give them a greater understanding of the history, and [help them take] a more holistic approach...

Other times it comes down to how Crown and Local Authorities choose to undertake engagement, which sometimes shows that whilst their desire to engage is sincere, the way they conduct it is often offensive and frustrating:

They [Crown department] wanted to consult us to death [to uphold their legal obligations] – which they did. But they wanted to consult us in a way that we were backing up what they wanted to do, and to push their barrow with conversations like, “we know this is the kind of thing you will support”. I would say “uh, no. How would you know if it was something we would support?”. The thing I find most frustrating is when they are being patronising, or when they pretend that they know what you want.

This led to discussions about the assumptions Crown and Local Authorities seem to make about how mana whenua relate to their land, and their rights to the resources within their takiwā:

We are not back in time where [government department] think we are - that if you give us a harakeke (flax) bush and a mat we can sit there and weave baskets all day – that's not who we are. We had to have those expanses of land to provide for our people. In today's model that means in a commercial way as well.

Our landscape is covered by the mere naming of the different features of our tīpuna, so we are not going to accept that we have to go cap in hand and ask or beg for access to our resources...

Kawakawa then spoke about an incident that led to one of their Local Authorities trying to improve their relationship with mana whenua. This spurred a change in approach, which Kawakawa commends them for:

[Local Authority] said, “We want to know what are the challenges in relation to your values that we can address prior, and that we can understand” – which I thought was really

insightful, and it was sincere, and that's where [working group] came from. They [also] employed a [iwi liaison role]. I have to say they were incredibly respectful, and they took it very seriously.

Kawakawa went on to discuss the importance of these iwi liaison roles. They spoke about the attributes that someone in this role should have, and how hiring inappropriate people into these roles can create major roadblocks for building and strengthening relationships.

Kawakawa noted that their Papatipu Rūnanga struggles internally to contribute to Crown or Local Authority-initiated working groups. They explained that their Papatipu Rūnanga is small, which makes finding representatives difficult. This often means that the right people aren't always available to attend these forums. Kawakawa lamented the way some engagement opportunities have been missed as a result of this, which highlights the realities of these resourcing constraints.

When asked for other examples of best practice, Kawakawa spoke of a project where mana whenua had been given flexibility to shape outcomes in ways that suited their cultural needs:

With the [plan] I felt that we had a really good input. They created Silent Files so we could put all of our wāhi taonga (places with restrictions upon them) or wāhi tapu on it, our tauranga waka (canoe landing) sites - everything. We could either make them publicly known, or we could file them into a Silent File that was tagged [on the planning maps], so that if anyone in that particular area applied there was a 'red flag' and they knew they had to come to mana whenua, which I thought was pretty ground breaking for that time.

Not all Local Authorities take engaging with mana whenua as seriously as the one discussed above, however. Kawakawa described their other Local Authority in the following way:

They are dismissive and don't support it. They don't see the need to engage. You couldn't say it was bad engagement because it was no engagement. Typical rednecks - white, middle-aged, men... "if you want to vote, stand [for election onto the council] like everybody else.

Only if it can be of benefit, and that's why with this funding that has come up they are saying, "shit, it would be handy to have a Māori on board..."

These examples show that there is significant variation between Crown departments' and various Local Authorities' understanding of how to engage with mana whenua. As a generalisation on what best practice should look like though, Kawakawa suggests that:

[Engagement should] be done in a way that makes you feel valued for a start...I think [most of them] do with their best endeavours try- and I think it is changing [for the better]. I just



think they need [to be] open to the suggestions [of mana whenua], and [be] willing to walk with you and willing to allow you a voice and to be listened to.

#### 5.2.6 Kea

Kea has been involved in environmental management since the Ngāi Tahu Claim was settled in 1998, which spurred Crown departments to build a closer relationship with Ngāi Tahu. This saw Kea begin to work for a Crown department, and become involved in environment-related projects on behalf of their Papatipu Rūnanga. This includes working with Local Authorities, Government departments and organisations, and sitting on their local Conservation Board.

Kea first spoke about their overall perception of Crown and Local Authority engagement processes.

Engagement processes I've worked on were all pretty much the same – great deal of enthusiasm at the first hui, and a diminishing amount of enthusiasm – well not enthusiasm - but the realisation of the reality [as time goes on].

Kea believes that working with Crown and Local Authorities on projects is “fraught with danger” for mana whenua, due to their differences in aspirations:

We have a starting point over here, they have a starting point over there...So, the task is to get both groups to the middle happy with what they have been able to gain...

I would have to also say that invariably in almost all of the projects, what we hoped for - what we aspired to at the start of the process - and where we end up at the end of the process, our aspirations have been diluted down...

Kea also shared that they are conscious of the negative perceptions of engaging with mana whenua – especially the perceived time and cost of doing so:

The [other] thing that we [are] concerned about [is] that we don't want to be seen as the handbrake on anything... [we have to help people see] what it [mana whenua input] might bring to the [project], as opposed to the cost to bring it. That has always been the difficulty – and some organisations have been better than others at understanding the benefit.

Discussions then turned to what Kea would consider best practice mana whenua engagement. Their first suggestion is adherence to tikanga Māori. Kea explained the importance of starting new projects with formal processes such as pōwhiri, as these set a foundation for successful engagement going forward. Kea explained that these processes remove planning practitioners from the restrictions of being guests, and allow tikanga such as kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face interactions) and whakawhanaungatanga to be observed, which allow more operational conversations to follow:

The enduring relationships...happen during the kai [i.e. after the formal processes have been completed]. That's where the one-on-one, eyeball to eyeball conversations start, and where the inquisition starts, where we start to get a handle on the people that are sitting in front of us.

You've been welcomed, you're not waewae tapu, we started to get to know who you are and so you can start to talk to us on an equal footing basis...We can have that conversation saying, "this is what we [mana whenua] understand you want or you would like to see in this [project], and these are the things that we believe you should include".

Kea acknowledges, however, that engaging in tikanga Māori such as pōwhiri can be intimidating for planning practitioners as it may be unfamiliar to them. This, Kea believes, is because many have a limited understanding of the Māori world:

...people who work for agencies who are required to consult with mana whenua who aren't Māori or have a background of working with or understanding Māori concepts and protocols, for them the engagement process is like walking onto a snow covered glacier where they are shit-scared of taking the first step because they don't know what is going to happen to them...So, then what they are doing is looking for information...and generally they are looking at their peers who may or may not be effective at engaging with mana whenua [either].

Kea's Papatipu Rūnanga has identified this as a barrier to meaningful engagement. To proactively address this, they created explanatory documents for built form professionals working within their takiwā, and facilitate cultural values training for Local Authorities. These address implementation matters such as how to express mana whenua values in the built environment, and how to incorporate mātauranga Māori and kaumātua in consenting. The tools also support built form professionals to broaden their understanding of Ngāi Tahu tikanga and values, as their Papatipu Rūnanga have noticed that concepts are often interpreted very narrowly, which leads to misrepresentation.

Early engagement is another element of 'best practice' according to Kea. They gave examples where late engagement had caused issues, and where early engagement had led to successful outcomes. Kea noted though that if engagement happens late, projects can still be salvaged if staff are honest, humble, transparent, and open to mana whenua aspirations:

They [a specific project team] missed the boat with getting us in on the ground right at the very start, but they turned out to be very good listeners... So, from the worst-case scenario

[where they] didn't even consider consulting with mana whenua to "whoops, my bad, come in sit down tell us what we need to do to make this right".

Lastly, Kea spoke about the role of mātauranga Māori in planning processes, and finished with a challenge to the Crown and Local Authorities that seek to engage with mana whenua:

The best piece of advice I was given was by the late [kaumatua] – "you don't have to be a scientist to understand whether the environment is healthy or not". We had a meeting at the [Local Authority] once talking about stormwater and flooding and [kaumatua] went through the flood of '56, the flood of another year, and the next one, and the one after that. He rattled off song and verse all of this memory, all of this actual observed knowledge of the environment...So here is a guy with all of this institutional knowledge and all this observational knowledge. Why won't they listen to him as part of the process?

### 5.2.7 Matamata and Tīpere

Matamata and Tīpere are two relations who have kaitiaki responsibilities in overlapping parts of the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. Tīpere was initially approached to be part of this research, and chose to invite Matamata to participate as well. Both have experience sitting on partnership working groups for a wide range of environmental issues – particularly water-related issues. Between them they have been involved in Water Zone Committees, presented as expert cultural witnesses at a variety of planning hearings, and support their Regional Environmental Entity to respond to a wide range of environmental planning matters within their respective takiwā.

Matamata began by speaking about their deep relationship with the environment, and the whakapapa that links them to it:

My whakapapa is engrained in that waterway and the whenua and the kai te mea, te mea. I have a saying that translated into [English] it says "no water, no environment. No environment, no kai. No kai, no whakapapa. No whakapapa, ko wai au - who am I?". If we are Ngāi Tahu and we say this is who we are... [then] when the environment collapses who are we?

This led them both to reflect on the difference between how they see the natural world, and how they think non-Māori planning practitioners see it:

We have a different values system...You see a thousand-year-old tōtara tree or kauri in the ngāhere and you take a Pākehā and he will go, "oh gee, that's worth fifty grand". Māori will look at it as a living thing.

You are always going to be against whatever group favours whatever – whether it be [hunting advocacy group], the [conservation advocacy group], the farmers, hydroelectricity. There will be occasions where you can work with them, and there will be occasions more often than not that you are fighting against them most of the time. Basically, [we fight over] who has the greater need. The majority of it [the arguments] will be [based on] economics.

This difference in values and priorities, Tīpere reasoned, causes many of the complications they experience when contributing to Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes.

Matamata then expressed their disillusionment with Crown and Local Authority engagement processes. They believe that most of the time these processes are only tick-box exercises where mana whenua input does not materially change outcomes:

They don't give a shit about us... they [Crown and Local Authority staff] will say all the words, they will do all the things – invite you to hui and get you to talk and do stuff...purely for the fact of “we met them” - whether or not we have agreed [is beside the point].

Matamata also thinks that Crown and Local Authority staff are not qualified to interpret their cultural input in the first place:

My concerns are about who is evaluating my whakapapa and my kōrero in a planning sense when I say, “this is wrong” and “that’s wrong” [in terms of the cultural appropriateness of proposed environmental projects and consents]. Who has the competency on the other side to understand what I am trying to talk about and where I’m coming from?

The system has captured our kōrero and our mātauraka, and where it doesn't fit into the system, they change it to suit them and their system.

This cultural competency and misuse of mātauranga Māori was a recurring theme in this interview, showing how much frustration it causes these kaitiaki.

Tīpere also spoke of the realities of being in a kaitiaki role, and the double standards between how Crown and Local Authorities can operate, verses what is expected of environmental kaitiaki who work in a largely volunteer capacity.

I haven't had a normal life since 2000-and-something. Its impossible [to balance the demands of external environmental planning projects with everyday activities and responsibilities]. People say that you can balance it out – you can't! I'm responsible for other stuff for [location] and [location] marae, I still have to balance all of that stuff out.

When we need more time, we get that pressure [from the government department to stick to their timeline], but if they change their timelines we are left waiting and waiting.

Tipere and Matamata also spoke of the racism they experience at community meetings, which is a reality that they have had to learn to deal with as part of their roles. Tipere explained that often these reactions are caused by the public being uninformed and making assumptions about what mana whenua want, which are often inaccurate.

[When] you are about to deliver to a group of dairy farmers – a hundred of them sitting in the room – and you hear a comment out the back saying, “oh what do these black bastards want now?” To me they are not horror stories – that’s a fact of life of what you deal with...

They come in wanting your head and you have to spend hours actually putting up with some really nasty shit. You have to be patient and professional in order to explain the whole thing... you can put out all the facts, but they are not going to listen – not until probably another meeting about it.

When asked what their ideal engagement process would look like, Tipere stressed the importance of open, honest discussions, and transparency from Crown and Local Authorities:

If they [Crown or Local Authority] are against something, I want to hear the truth and not a politically correct reason. I want to hear why they are really against it. Otherwise we can’t address the friggin’ issue”.

Matamata’s desires were that their mātauranga was validated throughout engagement processes:

That’s the dream. That’s about being proactive and accepting that my mātauranga, my whakapapa is the most important part of that project – that’s the key to it. [Currently] they [Crown and Local Authorities] still perceive that our mātauranga Māori – our science – is not real...because it hasn’t been verified by a Pākehā process.

#### 5.2.8 Titī

Titī has been involved with their Papatipu Rūnanga for most of their adult life. They sit on a wide range of regional and national level environmental trusts and groups including Conservation Boards, Water Zone Committees, and community environmental groups. They are also an RMA commissioner. Titī spoke of the long-term developments they have seen in mana whenua relations, the benefits of education, and the complications internal Papatipu Rūnanga politics can cause for environmental kaitiaki in representative roles.

Tītī was quick to praise the groups they have been a part of, enthusing about their willingness to upskill and learn about Ngāi Tahu culture. Tītī has worked hard to help demystify things such as Māori language, Ngāi Tahu place names, and the purpose of karakia for those they sit alongside in environmental planning processes, which seems to be bearing fruits:

I've realised over time that if I want to be influential, I just have to put ideas into words that people understand ... I think when you say things in Māori that people don't understand - it means nothing to them - [so it's important to] explain [things] in a way that they [non-Māori] actually understand ... I'm seeing a real shift in the groups that I work with in their thinking. There seems to be a real want, and it's all about how you communicate it, how you make them feel a part of it...

When asked how Tītī fosters such a willingness in their Boards and Groups to embrace aspects of te ao Māori, they spoke about the importance of relationships:

I think just through meetings, just through sharing the kōrero - and its little steps ...It hasn't happened overnight, that's been a journey...a 25 – 30-year journey... When I first brought [these things] up, I just about got my throat slit by another board member...

Tītī was able to build up this trust and cultural capacity for two main reasons: the continuity of both their and their parent's involvement in their community over a long period of time, and the lack of staff turnover in their region. On the latter, Tītī said:

In [region], [government department] staff tend to stay. [In other regions], you spend twenty years forming a relationship with a person and they bugger off [so] you are back to square one...we have [been able to educate them in our values and aspirations], and they value [our input]. I believe there is a genuineness in our relationships with [government department] and I think that [the relationship we have built with staff over time] has got a lot to do with it.

Together, these two factors have allowed trust to be built over time. This trust-based relationship has encouraged staff to upskill in aspects of te ao Māori such as language and values, and helped mana whenua gain support on projects from Crown, Local Authorities, and the community as a whole.

Not everything can be fixed through relationships and education though. Tītī touched on the impact Crown department restructures have had on Crown/mana whenua relationships. According to Tītī, these restructures have been detrimental to Treaty Partner relationships, with less resources now

allocated to this area. Tītī highlighted the under-resourcing of iwi liaison roles as a key issue, and went on to express how important these roles are when the right people were hired.

Tītī also discussed the realities of Papatipu Rūnanga politics. Tītī does not think Crown and Local Authorities fully grasp the complexities of Papatipu Rūnanga politics, and the extra layers it adds to mana whenua representatives' decision-making processes. Tītī explained that these internal issues are often an obstacle to successful engagement processes, and they can make the position of mana whenua representatives both dangerous and precarious. This, Tītī stressed, is out of the control of planning practitioners, but worth them being aware of so that practitioners can have a better contextual understanding of why some processes may deteriorate despite their best efforts.

Lastly, Tītī was asked if they had any examples of best practice mana whenua engagement. The examples Tītī gave all include elements that create opportunities for shared learning, and mana whenua rangatiratanga:

[In one process] we went through a [shared] process of learning what the coast used to look like so that we could then say how we wanted it to look like in the next strategy – you got to go back to go forward.

[In another project] whānau have hired [a contract planner] ... to do their plan writing. [Government department] are paying her, so she is actually their contractor, but really, she works for the iwi...What I've observed is here is the perfect co-governance kind of thing... iwi is actually calling the shots. [Government department] really is sitting back and trying to make it happen – facilitate it.

### 5.3 Themes

The section above acknowledges the individual experiences of each kaitiaki. This section views them collectively. When viewed together, common themes appear that describe what Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki consider best practice for mana whenua engagement in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes. When undertaking a thematic analysis of the above transcripts (as outlined in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3), a level of consensus appears between what kinds of engagement processes kaitiaki see favourably, and those they do not.

These collective perceptions have been organised into three themes framed around this research's question. Together they provide guidance on what, from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, is considered best practice for engaging with mana whenua on environmental planning matters. The three themes are:

- Equal and authentic teamwork
- Recognition, incorporation, and resourcing of mātauranga and tikanga Māori
- Informed staff

Each theme is discussed below.

### 5.3.1 Equal and Authentic Teamwork

*Best practice engagement is centred on equal and authentic teamwork between mana whenua and their Treaty Partner, the Crown (or their delegated authority, a Local Authority).*

Kaitiaki universally recommended improving the equity, transparency, and sincerity of working relationships as a major way of improving engagement processes. Many kaitiaki recounted the way mana whenua are currently treated as less important than Crown and Local Authorities, despite their position as a Treaty Partner. Miro specifically says that they have never heard Local Authorities refer to mana whenua as a Partner, with Kārearea saying they have never felt like an equal when engaging with Crown and Local Authorities. Kaitiaki often experience paternalistic rhetoric, are made to feel less capable or valuable than other technical specialists, and feel that their involvement in processes is often tokenistic in nature. In short, kaitiaki are more likely to feel like they are the ‘opposition’, rather than a ‘teammate’ when working alongside Crown and Local Authorities.

Kaitiaki also describe having to engage in processes tailored exclusively to the needs of others – namely planning practitioner convenience, or colonial cultural norms. Examples include holding meetings during the work day (which, as volunteers, clashes with commitments that kaitiaki have in their own employment), expecting kaitiaki to be able to respond to requests or complete tasks in short timeframes that align more with the capacity of a dedicated staff member – not a volunteer; and practitioner assumptions around the level of delegated authority kaitiaki have on behalf of their Papatipu Rūnanga or iwi. Kanakana and Tio discuss the way these arrangements impact their ability to meet their own employment commitments, with Kārearea going as far as to say that they are “unemployable” due to the time it takes to respond to these Crown and Local Authority-initiated processes. The way processes are structured often alienate kaitiaki and make it difficult for them to meaningfully contribute to engagement processes.

Some kaitiaki attribute this lack of equality and authenticity to the monocultural way some planning practitioners see the world. At times, kaitiaki are made to feel like colonial world views and values are more important than theirs, or that they are the only world views and values that exist within New Zealand society. Best practice engagement should be built on a bicultural understanding of New Zealand, and be reflected throughout environmental planning processes – an aspiration Kārearea shared in their interview. At times, this requires planning practitioners to explore their own



unconscious bias or assumptions because, as Tio notes, many planning practitioners seem to view the world through this monocultural lens.

### 5.3.2 Recognition, Incorporation, and Resourcing of Mātauranga and Tikanga Māori

*Best practice engagement provides for mātauranga and tikanga Māori to be a genuine guiding element within processes.*

Mātauranga Māori is at the core of many of the positions kaitiaki hold on environmental matters. Almost all kaitiaki interviewed however, feel that these knowledge bases are discriminated against in environmental planning processes. Some feel that Crown and Local Authorities do not see mātauranga Māori as 'real', which results in it being dismissed by decision makers – thus dismissing the role of kaitiaki, their intergenerational knowledge, and their culture as a whole. Matamata and Kea spoke directly to this issue when they recounted Local Authority staff dismissing mātauranga Māori when they tried to contribute this knowledge to environmental planning processes.

When projects do attempt to recognise mātauranga and tikanga Māori, Crown and Local Authorities often do not provide adequate resourcing to do so in a meaningful way – an issues commented on by multiple kaitiaki. Appropriate time is often not included in project timeframes to allow tikanga-based decision-making and relationship-building to take place. Budgets are also not allocated to site visits or mātauranga Māori-based research projects or monitoring. This is raised by Tio as a specific issue they had experienced in Crown and Local Authority-initiated engagement processes that was detrimental to its success.

Conversely, many of the examples kaitiaki give of best practice are linked to appropriate resourcing, recognition, and incorporation of mātauranga and tikanga Māori. Kawakawa and Titi highlighted this, recounting the way Crown and Local Authorities allocated resourcing internally to create iwi liaison positions – something that improved engagement processes. Tio and Kanakana also gave examples of processes where tikanga such as marae-based hui, and site visits were incorporated into planning processes, making them more culturally appropriate for mana whenua. Finally, Kea shared an example of planning practitioners being open and receptive to decisions based on mātauranga and tikanga Māori, thus making engagement feel more authentic.

### 5.3.3 Informed Staff

*Best practice mana whenua engagement is run and attended by planning practitioners (and others, e.g. elected officials) that have a sound understanding of Ngāi Tahu and Te Tiriti matters prior to a process commencing.*

Many of the best practice engagement experiences kaitiaki mention include planning practitioners and elected officials who are humble and knowledgeable. Tōtara spoke favourably about processes where staff are familiar with Ngāi Tahu values and concepts, understand Crown responsibilities under Te Tiriti and the Treaty Principles, and have an awareness of both historic issues and previous responses mana whenua had given on them.

These examples unfortunately are in the minority. More commonly, kaitiaki express frustration at the lack of knowledge most planning practitioners and elected officials have. Kanakana lamented this fact, and explained the difficult situation this left kaitiaki in, where they feel responsible for educating practitioners on basic and easily accessible aspects of Ngāi Tahu culture, history, and values. Not only is this time consuming and frustrating for kaitiaki who, in most cases, are volunteering their already limited time to these processes, but it can be upsetting and triggering, or “heavy” to use Kanakana’s words. This is because these conversations often touch on painful topics such as the loss of land and culture, impacts of colonisation, and intergenerational injustices. Some kaitiaki even find themselves having to advocate for their legal rights to be recognised by planning practitioners or elected officials who seem unaware of their own responsibilities under legislation. This is mentioned specifically by Kawakawa who has been told by elected officials that if mana whenua wanted to be heard in Council forums, they should seek election onto the Council like other community members. Once again, this is frustrating, demoralising, and a waste of kaitiaki time.

Lastly, kaitiaki appreciate staff who go to the effort of asking kaitiaki about regional or personal preferences around tikanga and mātauranga Māori. Often, staff make assumptions around the definition of Māori terms, the appropriate ways to apply tikanga, or mana whenua positions on matters. For example, multiple kaitiaki shared their views on the use of karakia in corporate settings. All four kaitiaki who discussed this have different perceptions on if and how karakia should be incorporated in the workplace. However, none reported having Crown or Local Authority staff ask them if using karakia is appropriate in these forums – rather, they just assume that it is. This invariably leads to cultural faux pas and inaccurate understandings of important issues. This is also reflected in the use of concepts such as ki uta ki tai, te reo Māori, and other tikanga-based practices. Planning practitioners that enter into processes humbly and with an open mind are perceived favourably, and are less likely to cause offense, thus providing a better engagement experience for mana whenua.

## 5.4 Conclusion

This chapter is an insight into the experiences of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. As part of this research ten kaitiaki were asked to share their experiences engaging in Crown and Local Authority-

initiated environmental planning processes in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. Each kaitiaki tells a unique story of their dealings with various Crown and Local Authority staff and elected officials. Some of these dealings are positive and reflective of the Treaty Partnership that underpins mana whenua engagement. Most, however, are not. Stories of belittlement, dismissal, ignorance, and paternalism permeate their stories, and describe mana whenua experiences that, in general, do not reflect best practice Treaty Partner engagement.

Transcripts from Chapter 5's semi-structured interviews underwent a thematic analysis to identify what best practice engagement is from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. Three themes appeared. They are:

- Equal and authentic teamwork
- Recognition, incorporation and resourcing of tikanga and mātauranga Māori
- Informed staff

Whilst each kaitiaki has different experiences, these three themes are discussed to different degrees across all interviews - whether that be through their presence or absence. This implies that if these areas are addressed by planning practitioners, it is likely that Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki would consider their engagement processes to be closer to best practice.

The themes align closely with existing research on the experience of indigenous communities engaging in government-initiated environmental planning. This suggests that the experience of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki is not dissimilar to the experiences of other indigenous groups – both other iwi, and indigenous communities abroad. This raises questions around why these matters have not yet been addressed by planning practitioners working in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, when commentary on their importance already exists at a national and international level.

Overall, the findings in this chapter are useful for three reasons: firstly, they confirm the researcher's hypothesis that Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki are not experiencing best practice engagement when working with Crown and Local Authorities on environmental planning. Almost all kaitiaki interviewed provide recommendations on how planning practitioners can improve the way they engage with mana whenua, showing that there is widespread room for improvement. Secondly, the themes provide insight into what changes practitioners could make to move toward what Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki consider best practice. These have been presented under the three best practice themes in Section 5.3 of this chapter. Thirdly, these findings uncover similarities between the Ngāi Tahu experience in this area, and the experiences of other iwi and indigenous communities – something that will be further discussed in the following chapter.

## 6. Discussion – “He mahi kai hōaka, he mahi kai takata”

### 6. 1. Introduction

The whakataukī ‘he mahi kai hōaka, he mahi kai takata’ refers to the way successive generations of people can be worn away in the pursuit of a long-term goal in the same way multiple blocks of sandstone are expended in the process of shaping pounamu (Te Aika, 2018). Whilst initially coined to describe the experiences of those fighting Te Kerēme, these words are also pertinent to the experiences of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki when considering the findings of this research. Chapter 5 clearly shows the frustrations kaitiaki feel with current Crown and Local Authority engagement processes. It also shows that these issues have persisted for decades. This chapter examines the themes presented in Chapter 5 and provides recommendations on how Crown and Local Authority planning practitioners can break this cycle and move toward best practice engagement. It also discusses the enduring nature of the issues uncovered in this research and argues that underlying issues within the New Zealand planning system may be the cause.

Three themes were identified by Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki as best practice engagement. These are:

- Equal and authentic teamwork
- Recognition, incorporation and resourcing of tikanga and mātauranga Māori
- Informed staff

In this chapter five focus areas are proposed which, if invested in, should support environmental planning practitioners to embody the above themes of best practice mana whenua engagement.

These focus areas are:

- Proactive research
- Early and on-going engagement
- Appropriate resourcing
- Recognising mana whenua as experts
- Hui protocol

These focus areas are presented in a weaving-inspired framework to illustrate the interconnectivity between the themes and focus areas.

The second section critically assesses these focus areas and draws comparisons to existing literature on mana whenua engagement in environmental planning. It highlights the similarities between the recommendations arising from this research and the resources already available to planning

practitioners, particularly Crown guidance from Te Arawhiti (the governmental Office for Māori Crown Relations), and the educational resource Te Whaihanga. This leads to questions about why best practice is not already being followed, if resources like these already exist. This section then goes on to discuss deeper issues in the New Zealand planning system that may benefit from further research to help best practice mana whenua engagement processes to be implemented on a national scale.

## 6. 2. What does best practice look like?

The previous chapter presented the experiences of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. Across eight interviews, three themes emerged that explain what best practice engagement consists of from the perspectives of these kaitiaki. They are:

- Equal and authentic teamwork
- Recognition, incorporation and resourcing of tikanga and mātauranga Māori
- Informed staff

In this section, recommendations are made on what tangible actions planning practitioners can take to ensure that engagement processes incorporate these three themes. Five focus areas have been identified based on the direct recommendations of kaitiaki, and existing literature. They are presented below in Figure 6, which uses a weaving analogy to illustrate the relationships and interconnectivity between the best practice themes and the focus areas.

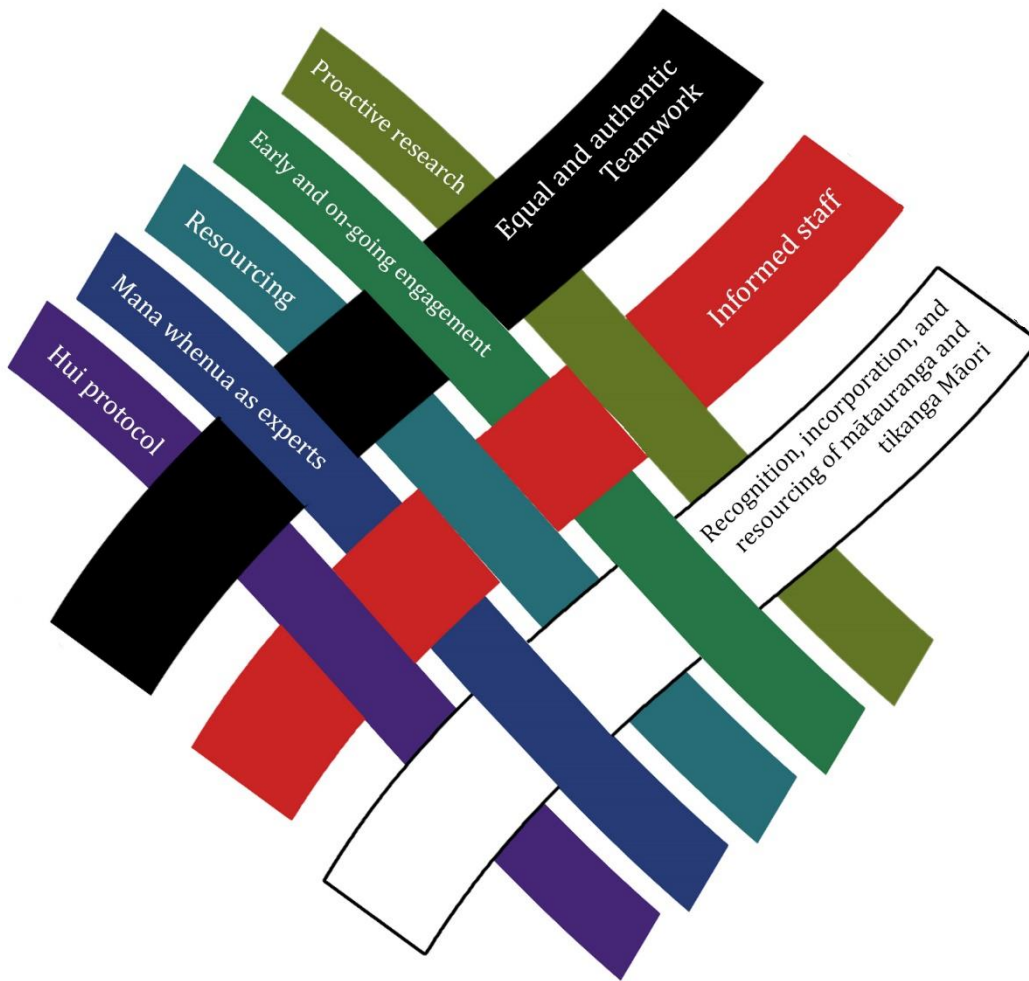


Figure 4: The relationship between best practice themes and focus areas

Figure 6 represents the focus areas as the green, blue, and purple strands, and the themes as the black, red, and white strands. Like any woven taonga, each strand plays a vital role to holding the entire structure together. To remove one strand would render the entire structure unstable, and unusable for its purpose. Similarly, the focus areas and themes are woven together in this figure, illustrating their relationship to each other. It shows that there is no hierarchy between focus areas; all five must be considered when working towards achieving any of the best practice themes. The five focus areas are discussed below.

### 6.2.1 Proactive Research

Planning practitioners should conduct relevant background research before engaging with mana whenua on environmental planning matters. This research should focus on iwi or hapū-specific environmental policy documents, previous correspondence with mana whenua on similar matters, mana whenua background and context, and place-based cultural competency. Familiarity and a basic understanding of this information shows respect for the time kaitiaki are contributing to

engagement processes, and the time they (or other members of their Papatipu Rūnanga or iwi) have previously contributed. The latter point is particularly important as kaitiaki express frustration at having to not only educate planning practitioners on these matters, but also having to re-educate them on recurring topics. Upskilling in these areas - particularly cultural competency, and mana whenua background and context – also reduces the likelihood that practitioners will unwittingly commit cultural faux pas; something all kaitiaki witness regularly during engagement processes.

Ngāi Tahu has a wide range of publicly available position statements and policy documents on environmental matters. Most prominent of these are the various Iwi Management Plans (henceforth referred to as IMPs). As of 2020, five IMPs exist within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā. These provide regionally specific information on mana whenua environmental priorities, issues of particular concern, and position statements on common matters. They are:

- The Kaikōura Environmental Management Plan Te Pōhā o Tohu Raumati
- Mahaanui Iwi Management Plan
- Waitaki Iwi Management Plan
- Kāi Tahu ki Otago Natural Resource Management Plan
- Te Tangi a Tauria Ngāi Tahu ki Murihiku Natural Resource and Environmental Iwi Management Plan

The above IMPs are all available online. Planning practitioners should review these before engaging with kaitiaki to gain insight into mana whenua priorities and positions. This gives practitioners an indication of the aspects of a proposal or project which might be contentious, allowing them to proactively address these issues. It also allows practitioners to structure conversations around matters of importance to mana whenua, making engagement more targeted, and a better use of kaitiaki time.

Planning practitioners should also draw on previous responses from mana whenua when preparing to engage. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and individual Papatipu Rūnanga have been engaging with Crown and Local Authorities on environmental matters for extended periods of time – in some cases, for generations. Some kaitiaki explained that the institutional knowledge retained by Crown departments and Local Authorities is often lost over time. This is due to high staff turnover, organisation restructures, and sometimes simply poor document management. This means that kaitiaki are often repeatedly asked the same questions, which is not a good use of kaitiaki time. It also demonstrates a lack of respect for the effort and expertise kaitiaki have previously invested in projects. Instead, planning practitioners should ensure that all mana whenua correspondence is kept, filed, and reviewed before engaging with mana whenua anew on environmental matters. This

way, a conversation can build from where previous ones left off, thus creating a single, ongoing conversation instead of multiple, repeated engagement experiences.

It is also useful for practitioners to understand who they are about to engage with. This helps inform how matters could be approached, and how engagement processes are initially structured. Flemmer and Schilling-Vacaflor (2016), and Neill (2003) mention that engagement with mana whenua should take into consideration that representatives are laypeople, unfamiliar with technical aspects of colonial environmental management. This is not always the case in the Ngāi Tahu context. Most of the kaitiaki interviewed are trained RMA commissioners, meaning that they have a sound understanding of process, environmental matters, and relevant legislation. Many also have experience working in the very organisations they now engage with as environmental kaitiaki. Most kaitiaki also hold multiple roles within their community, and are involved in a wide range of projects, giving them a breadth of skills and experience. Planning practitioners should ask their colleagues who have previously worked with specific kaitiaki about their backgrounds, or search online for projects kaitiaki have been involved in. Understanding the skills and experiences kaitiaki have can help practitioners pitch their discussions appropriately, as well as combat underestimation or misconceptions practitioners may have about the contributions kaitiaki can make to discussions.

Lastly, ongoing cultural competency training should be mandatory professional development for planning practitioners. All practitioners should be familiar with accurate New Zealand and local history, Te Tiriti and the Treaty Principles, basic tikanga and Māori language. This should be done either in fora led by mana whenua or using mana whenua-mandated resources. This ensures that the information being taught is appropriate and locally relevant. The purpose of this type of training should be to create open-minded and non-judgemental staff, who are aware of Ngāi Tahu tikanga and worldviews, and the influence of coloniality in New Zealand (Ramsden, 1990). This gives planning practitioners a better contextual understanding of mana whenua, and builds their confidence when engaging in kaupapa Māori situations (such as pōwhiri), thus reducing misunderstandings and cultural faux pas.

The purpose of cultural competency training is often misunderstood. The purpose of cultural competency training is not to make planning practitioners experts or leaders in kaupapa Māori. Unless it is vital to their role, they are not expected to become fluent Māori language speakers delivering whaikōrero and karanga on the marae, or experts in haka and waiata. As Ramsden states, turning non-Māori staff into cultural experts is “an extension of the colonial process” as it appropriates cultural knowledge that some mana whenua may not yet have, as a result of colonisation (Ramsden, 1990, p. 4). Mana whenua should remain the leaders in these areas, with



cultural competency training serving a perceptive role as opposed to a performative role – a focus on the why, not the what of Ngāi Tahu culture (Ramsden, 1990).

### 6.2.2 Early and On-going Engagement

Engagement with mana whenua should not be transactional; it should be relationship-based. This means that familial relationships and shared values should be established well in advance of planning processes commencing. These relationships should also be maintained between processes so that engagement is one on-going conversation, as opposed to multiple discrete processes. Three ways to foster this are: through relationship building strategies that are often referred to in te ao Māori as the ‘tea towel tax’, the establishment of pre-agreed processes, and decision-making opportunities.

The colloquial term ‘tea towel tax’ refers to the way standing within Māori communities is earned through service and attendance (Te Aika & Te Aika-Puanaki, 2018). Often, the best way to build meaningful, trust-based relationships with mana whenua is to offer to attend their significant events and volunteer your time – even if that means helping wash dishes at the marae (hence the term ‘tea towel tax’). It is through acts like this that staff become known, trusted, and respected by mana whenua, which then leads to more open dialogue when environmental planning issues arise. Building these informal relationships through acts of service and whakawhanaungatanga is important in Māori culture, as it allows mana whenua to get to know planning practitioners as a whole person – not just as a staff member.

Equally important is the insight it gives planning practitioners into mana whenua if or when they are allowed to contribute in these spaces. By being present at iwi or Papatipu Rūnanga events in a background role, practitioners begin to experience the world within which kaitiaki function. This gives them practical experience with relevant tikanga, as well as adding context to mana whenua worldviews and priorities. This practical experience can then be drawn upon during engagement processes to help planning practitioners understand mana whenua positions, and to help them conduct themselves in culturally appropriate ways.

As part of a commitment to early engagement practitioners should pre-emptively approach mana whenua and ask with what manner they would like to be engaged. These discussions should cover when and how mana whenua would like to be included in environmental planning processes, and be guided by their priorities and availability. Alongside these engagement protocols sits an expectation that mana whenua be included in all levels of an engagement process including the final decision-making. Whilst it is common for Crown and Local Authorities to claim that this is not legally possible, this is untrue as there are multiple examples around the country where mana whenua hold decision-

making roles alongside Crown or Local Authorities. This includes the use of the transfer of powers provisions in the Resource Management Act 1991, co-management and co-governance structures such as those at Waituna Lagoon in Southland, or decision-making protocols which recognise mana whenua recommendations as binding. Discussions should also cover the values which will guide engagement processes and the expectations each party has for these kinds of processes. The answers to these questions may differ between each Papatipu Rūnanga, between matters, and may evolve over time. For these reasons, planning practitioners should always conduct these discussions well before any specific engagement process begins.

### 6.2.3 Resourcing

This research uncovers a chronic skill shortage in mana whenua engagement and cultural competency within Crown and Local Authorities. This means that the cultural needs of kaitiaki often cannot be met, and tikanga is disrespected during engagement processes. It also shows the inequity between the expectations put on mana whenua versus planning practitioners, and highlights the contrast in the weight placed on the needs of each party. These issues can be addressed by increasing resourcing for mana whenua involvement, and the incorporation of tikanga and mātauranga Māori in environmental planning processes. Resourcing does not always refer to funding. It also includes time resourcing and representation.

Often mana whenua require longer to complete tasks than planning practitioners allow for in their project timelines. Extra time is needed for a multitude of reasons. Firstly, decisions often need to be taken back to monthly Papatipu Rūnanga meetings for confirmation. Secondly, the volunteer nature of kaitiaki roles means that they have less time available to allocate to these planning processes. Thirdly, incorporating tikanga-based engagement elements such as site visits and relationship-building hui requires additional time. Therefore, planning practitioners should co-design project timelines with kaitiaki to make sure the time allocated for engagement processes is appropriate. Practitioners often suggest that this is not possible, as they are constrained by statutory timeframes. However, this can be addressed by starting projects earlier, as opposed to assuming that longer timeframes mean finishing a project later. Since extended timeframes are a well-documented aspect of best practice mana whenua engagement (see this research, as well as Te Arawhiti (2018), Henry and Reeves (2018), and Neill (2003)), planning practitioners should anticipate this, and allocate time accordingly.

Resourcing should also be allocated to facilitate equitable representation in environmental planning engagement. It is not acceptable to have one mana whenua representative to speak on behalf of an entire iwi – especially when an issue impacts the takiwā of multiple Papatipu Rūnanga. This is because one person does not always hold a mandate to speak on behalf of multiple Papatipu

Rūnanga. Kaitiaki spoke strongly about feeling outnumbered and isolated when they are the sole representative present, and explained how this restricts them from conducting themselves in culturally safe ways. For this reason, multiple mana whenua representatives should always be included in engagement processes, with a goal of 50/50 representation. This is not only equitable, but a direct reflection of the Treaty Principles – something that all environmental planning processes conducted under the Conservation Act 1987, Resource Management Act 1991, and Local Government Act 2002 are obliged to take into consideration.

Lastly, funds should be made available to enable kaitiaki to contribute to engagement processes, including through culturally appropriate avenues such as marae-based hui and site visits. Kaitiaki should also be compensated appropriately for the time and expertise they contribute to engagement processes. This should reflect travel costs, preparation time, and recognition of the expertise kaitiaki bring to processes. This is no different from paying other experts such as traffic engineers, environmental scientists, or landscape architects for their time. Based on feedback from kaitiaki however, Crown and Local Authorities do not seem to consider kaitiaki as equal to these experts, and therefore worthy of similar remuneration. Crown and Local Authorities should also allocate resource internally to enable cultural engagement aspects to be provided for (e.g. food, site visits), and cultural competency training, as previously discussed.

#### 6.2.4 Mana Whenua as Experts

Mana whenua are experts when it comes to their values and mātauranga Māori, and they should be treated as such. With this expertise, mana whenua contribute to environmental planning processes in ways that others cannot. Therefore, these skills should be acknowledged and respected in the same way the contributions of other technical experts are. Many kaitiaki feel that planning practitioners (and other Crown and Local Authority staff) do not view them as capable, or of bringing value to engagement processes. To combat this, practitioners should actively critique their assumptions on mana whenua expertise and capability, and challenge their preconceived or unconscious biases. Mana whenua should be regarded as competent, capable, and as people with views worthy of listening to and considering. Some ways that this expertise can be recognised in practice include respecting and supporting mana whenua belief systems, ensuring mana whenua have control over the use and interpretation of cultural knowledge and values in planning processes, and employing iwi liaison staff.

Kaitiaki consistently described the way they feel that their beliefs – and mātauranga Māori in general – is often ignored or belittled in planning processes. This reflects the commentary of Roberts et. al. (1995) who describes the way in which mana whenua belief systems are often romanticised, and only incorporated in environmental planning when there is no perceived interference with Western

science. Although it is not expected that all planning practitioners should personally share beliefs held by mana whenua (such as Māori spiritual practices, or the genealogical links between people and the environment), this should not be an excuse for practitioners to dismiss or belittle these views. In fact, with regard to matters relating to Māori culture, the relationship between mana whenua and the natural world, and Māori values such as kaitiakitanga, these legally must be taken into consideration under the Resource Management Act 1991 (sections 6(e), and 7 respectively). Therefore, planning practitioners need to respect and support mana whenua and their beliefs throughout environmental planning projects and engagement processes. This includes supporting mana whenua in Crown or Local Authority-initiated community engagement forums where many kaitiaki recounted being racially abused by community members. None described planning practitioners stepping in and condemning this behaviour, which is disappointing considering practitioners and kaitiaki are supposed to be working together on environmental planning matters – not functioning as separate teams.

When Ngāi Tahu values or concepts are incorporated into environmental planning, it should be done in ways that recognise the leadership of mana whenua. Kaitiaki spoke of the way values and terms are often used out of context despite their consistent objections. Kaitiaki also described the way planning practitioners make decisions on the inclusion of tikanga and Māori language in planning processes without first seeking guidance from mana whenua on the appropriate ways to do this. Kaitiaki should be regarded as the experts in such areas, and guidance should be sought before incorporating these elements. All cultural elements should be reviewed and approved by kaitiaki, particularly the definitions and application of Māori words or concepts, before they are used in planning processes. This ensures that these cultural elements are being used authentically, and not perpetuating inaccuracies within the community or planning profession.

Lastly, all Crown and Local Authorities should strongly consider establishing iwi liaison roles. These staff members can work alongside mana whenua to support organisations internally on matters of cultural competency. It is unreasonable to expect planning practitioners to fully grasp all aspects of te ao Māori, and the nuances of iwi and Papatipu Rūnanga history and politics. Dedicated staff members who have been endorsed by mana whenua can provide internal expertise and guidance for planning practitioners, taking this educational responsibility off already busy kaitiaki, whilst still keeping it in the hands of mana whenua. It is important, however, that the right people are hired for these roles, as this research shows that hiring iwi liaison staff that are not properly suited to the role can be more detrimental than not having one at all. For this reason, it is important that mana whenua are granted significant influence in the hiring process. It is also important to note that hiring iwi liaison staff should not be seen as a way to lessen the responsibility on planning practitioners to

be culturally competent themselves. Practitioners should always have a basic level of cultural competence. Staff in iwi liaison roles are there to support practitioners to grow this competence, and provide a more nuanced understanding of cultural matters when necessary.

#### 6.2.5 Hui Protocol

Planning practitioners should be competent and comfortable engaging in kaupapa Māori spaces such as marae and pōwhiri. These are important decision-making spaces for mana whenua; therefore, planning practitioners should expect (and be prepared) to work within them as part of mana whenua engagement processes. There are multiple ways planning practitioners can ensure they are prepared. These include planning for place-based discussions, practitioner upskilling on appropriate conduct, valuing whakawhanaungatanga and kanohi ki te kanohi, and expecting to follow tikanga-based processes at hui such as the laying of relationship foundations.

Many kaitiaki spoke of the importance and appropriateness of conducting at least part of environmental planning processes on marae, and through site visits. For this reason, marae-based meetings and site visits should be proactively planned for and appropriately resourced so that if kaitiaki request them, they can be incorporated. This includes extending timeframes in projects to allow for these excursions, allocating funds toward them, and upskilling planning practitioners so that they are comfortable and properly trained to engage with mana whenua in these places – particularly marae settings. Practitioners should also proactively learn about the tikanga of any marae or wāhi tapu that they may visit during an environmental planning process. This includes understanding the difference between pōwhiri and mihi whakatau and how to behave in each process, including appropriate dress code, male and female responsibilities, and how to contribute in the wharekai after the formalities have concluded. Iwi liaison staff should be well-placed to support planning practitioners in this learning.

Planning practitioners often enter into engagement processes with speed and efficiency as their main drivers. This means that time is not often spent laying relationship foundations between staff and mana whenua, or agreeing to underlying principles or processes to guide engagement process. This step is critical, especially when two parties have differing world views or priorities; which this research suggests is often the case with kaitiaki and planning practitioners. Practitioners should expect to spend at least the first hui of a new engagement process focused exclusively on these matters, as opposed to expecting to delve straight into the project itself.

Lastly, elements of Māori decision-making such as whakawhanaungatanga and kanohi ki te kanohi should be understood and prioritised by planning practitioners. Face to face hui are mentioned by many kaitiaki as their preferred form of engagement. This is because they are considered a sign of

respect, and allow for more transparency in discussions. Wherever possible, practitioners should use face to face hui as the primary form of engagement – despite the extra resource this may require. Practitioners are encouraged to see the time around formal hui such as breaks, travel time, and the shared times before and after hui as valuable opportunities to build relationships with kaitiaki as well. Such unstructured times are equally important as formal hui time, as they provide opportunities to foster whakawhanaungatanga. Kaitiaki spoke of the importance they found in having strong relationships with the people they were working with, which in turn supports better engagement processes.

### 6.3 Why is Such Guidance Still Relevant?

The remarkable thing about this research is that its findings and recommendations are not remarkable. In fact, they are almost completely consistent with existing research in this field. That is not to say that this research itself is unremarkable, however. Its aim was to fill a gap in existing research for Ngāi Tahu-specific commentary on Crown and Local Authority-initiated mana whenua engagement on environmental planning matters. Until now, these iwi-specific experiences and perceptions of best practice had not been recorded. This means that there was no basis to assume that existing best practice recommendations are relevant in the Ngāi Tahu context. This research has proved that they are, due to the consistency between this research's recommendations, and the recommendations presented by other scholars (as presented in Chapter 3).

The recommendations are consistent because the issues being raised by Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki are also consistent with existing literature. Issues with the dismissal and under-resourcing of mātauranga and tikanga Māori, cultural competency, and unequal partnership are common themes, and have been discussed by scholars since the major resource management reforms of the 1980/90s. This consistency can be seen when reflecting on the literature reviewed in Chapter 3. To illustrate this, three pieces of relevant literature from the last thirty years are revisited: Roberts et. al (1995), Tipa and Welch (2006), and Lenihan and Bartley (2016).

In 1995, Māori in Te Ika a Māui (the North Island) were discussing many of the same issues this research touches on. This date is important due to its proximity to the resource management reforms of the 1980s/90s. Only four years after the introduction of the Resource Management Act 1991, Roberts et. al. highlighted the issues caused by the lack of cultural awareness among planning practitioners, and the negative impacts of this on mana whenua engagement (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). Issues around teamwork, and the weight given to mana whenua voices were also discussed (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). These are the same three issues identified by kaitiaki in this research. In 2006, Tipa and Welch also spoke on the topic of mana whenua engagement in environmental planning – this time from a

national perspective. The authors stressed the importance of incorporating mātauranga and tikanga Māori into engagement processes, and identified that power was not being shared equally between the Crown and mana whenua in the spirit of partnership under Te Tiriti (Tipa & Welch, 2006). These critiques are also consistent with the themes identified in this research. Ten years later, Lenihan and Bartley identified that mana whenua are not always involved as an equal team member in decision-making, and that planning practitioners are not skilled in understanding or applying mātauranga Māori within their work (Lenihan & Bentley, 2016). This clearly shows that the issues being raised by Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki are not symptoms of isolated experience. Rather, they highlight the enduring and widespread nature of these issues within the New Zealand planning system, with the Ngāi Tahu experience reaffirming the prevalence of these issues for even the most well-resourced of hapū and iwi in New Zealand.

As mentioned above, the consistency of these issues has resulted in consistent recommendations on how to address them. Resources such as Te Arawhiti and Te Whaihanga provide guidance to planning practitioners wanting to engage with mana whenua. When viewed alongside this research, they show the clear consistency in what mana whenua would consider best practice. This then leads to questions around why, if relevant recommendations already exist, have mana whenua engagement processes not improved for Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki?

Te Arawhiti are responsible for providing guidance to Crown departments on mana whenua relationships – including engagement processes (Te Arawhiti, 2020). Their guidelines specifically note the importance of appropriate timeframes and early engagement – aspects this research also recommends planning practitioners focus on (Henry & Reeves, 2018). Te Whaihanga is an educational resource for built form professionals that teaches best practice mana whenua engagement practices (Henry & Reeves, 2018). It stresses the importance of upskilling built form professionals (including planning practitioners) on Te Tiriti and tikanga, which are also recommendations of this research. (Henry & Reeves, 2018). Te Whaihanga also promotes the idea of recognising mana whenua as experts, and the importance of undertaking research prior to engagement - other areas of alignment with this research (Henry & Reeves, 2018).

It is also worth noting that the themes presented in Chapter 5 align closely with the Treaty Principles and UNDRIP. New Zealand legislation requires environmental planning to be undertaken in accordance with the Treaty Principles. As discussed in Chapter 2, Crown and Local Authorities are expected to engage in accordance with these Principles as per the Conservation Act 1987, Resource Management Act 1991, and Local Government Act 2002. New Zealand is also a member of the United Nations, and are therefore expected to abide by UNDRIP. Elements of both the Treaty Principles and UNDRIP share significant similarities with the recommendations of this research,

inferring that they are not being consistently expressed in engagement processes with Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki.

This suggests that there may be underlying issues within the New Zealand planning system which are complicating the ability of practitioners to embody best practice. If this is the case, then these issues need to be addressed before the recommendations of this research – or any of the other existing guidance - can create positive change for Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki in their daily interactions with Crown and Local Authorities. The scope of this research restricts its ability to delve into these underlying issues in substantial depth, however, it does not preclude identifying them as issues worthy of future research. When analysing kaitiaki responses alongside existing literature, further areas worthy of investigation appear. These include the role of humility in the planning profession, the importance of culturally aware practitioners, and the level of importance afforded to mana whenua engagement in planning processes.

### 6.3.1. Humility

Humility is highly regarded quality within Māori culture, and is seen as an essential personal attribute - particularly for those holding positions of power or influence (Te Aika & Te Aika-Puanaki, 2018; Thoms, 2020). This is illustrated in the whakatauaikī of Prof. Te Wharehuia Milroy CNZM QSO: ko te whakaiti te whare o te whakaaro nui – humility is the citadel of wisdom; and the whakatauaikī of Dr Ngāpō Wehi QSM: there are three things a person should be – humble, humble, and humble (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2019; Thoms, 2020; Pihama, 2011). Unfortunately, this vital attribute is often missing in planning practitioners' actions, which creates friction in mana whenua engagement processes. Steyl (2020) states that parties cannot work in good faith (or, as he conceptualises it, show good care) from a place of paternalism, or dismissal of the views their counterpart holds. This, however, is exactly the type of treatment kaitiaki reported in this research. Kanakana gave examples of planning practitioners telling mana whenua they were lucky to even be included in environmental planning processes in the first place (despite engagement occurring well below a Treaty Partner level). Kawakawa and Kārearea also encountered planning practitioners who assumed that they were more fully informed of mana whenua matters than kaitiaki themselves; and Kea and Matamata had seen kaitiaki knowledge dismissed by practitioners as it did not originate in Western science.

Roberts et. al (1995) links this lack of humility to ethnocentrism; the idea that one culture – in this case, the Western colonial culture of New Zealand – is superior to Māori culture. Cox and Elmquist (1993) share this view, saying that many planning practitioners still hold a “potent, if unarticulated conviction” that colonial paradigms are superior to indigenous world views (p. 16). This is a clear example of coloniality within the New Zealand planning system, based on Borell's definition of



coloniality being, “long-standing patterns of power differentiating between coloniser and colonised” (Borell, 2016, p. 167). The coloniality within the New Zealand planning system innately influences practitioners to perpetuate this superiority, which often results in them being perceived by mana whenua as lacking humility.

Further research into coloniality in the New Zealand planning system would be useful to help address this underlying issue. This could then provide recommendations on how to decolonise environmental planning in New Zealand, and influence future legislative reform that aims to create a more bicultural environmental planning system. Research into the importance of humility in te ao Māori would also be useful. This deeper understanding could then be used to educate planning practitioners, better equipping them to engage with Māori communities in culturally appropriate ways.

#### 6.4.2. Awareness

Ignorance is responsible for many of the issues that exist in Crown and Local Authority engagement with mana whenua. Existing literature, and the findings of this research, identify practitioner lack of awareness of Māori values, local history, tikanga, and Te Tiriti as major barriers to successful mana whenua engagement (Henry & Reeves, 2018; Neill, 2003; Backhurst, et al., 2004; Lenihan & Bentley, 2016; Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). Kaitiaki also spoke at length about the cultural faux pas, misunderstandings, and incorrect assumptions planning practitioners make from a place of ignorance. Interestingly, as previously discussed in Chapter 3, it seems that planning practitioners in New Zealand are not always aware of their shortcomings in this area (Neill, 2003; Backhurst, et al., 2004). If this is the case, this would be a major barrier to practitioners seeing a need to implement these, and other, recommendations on best practice as they may not perceive a personal need to upskill.

Some sources also point to Pākehā culture as a reason for this lack of awareness. Kaitiaki do not think Pākehā can truly comprehend key aspects of Māori culture, such as kaitiakitanga. This is because some aspects do not have an equivalent in Pākehā culture. Jones (2017), Borell (2016), and Gordon (2013) however, discuss this in the context of coloniality, arguing that coloniality influences Pākehā to assume that their perceptions of the world are universal, with all other knowledge and experiences being alternative or fringe, and therefore optional to understand. Kiddle (2020) suggests that fear also influences Pākehā to stay ignorant of Māori culture. This fear, Kiddle suggests, is partially due to a lack of exposure to Māori culture, thus making it unfamiliar and therefore intimidating – a assumption shared by Kawakawa in their interview (Kiddle, 2020). Kiddle (2020) also hints at the weight an accurate understanding of New Zealand history has on Pākehā. New Zealand’s colonial history is difficult at best and brutal at worst, with the implications of coloniality influencing

almost every facet of life (Borell, 2016). The enormity of unpacking their own role in colonisation, perpetuating coloniality, and the concept of White Privilege often deters Pākehā from becoming more informed of New Zealand history (Kiddle, 2020). All of these hypotheses sit against a backdrop of the paucity of New Zealand history taught in schools, meaning it is not compulsory in New Zealanders to learn about these histories in a holistic and accurate way (Derbyshire, 2004). This means that it is possible for planning practitioners to move through the entire education system without ever needing to learn a balanced history of New Zealand, or be exposed to Māori culture.

Further research would be valuable to understand why some planning practitioners remain under-informed on kaupapa Māori matters such as Crown responsibilities under Te Tiriti, tikanga Māori, balanced New Zealand history, and mana whenua values; despite these forming integral aspects of the New Zealand planning landscape. If further research can address some of these influences, then this could be particularly useful for tailoring the way kaupapa Māori matters are taught to planning practitioners. If issues such as fear are identified as a barrier, then education opportunities can be tailored to be cognisant of this. Proposed teaching methods would then play an important role in shaping the way te ao Māori content is embedded into planning education and professional development, which could help address this underlying issue that hinders best practice Treaty Partner relationships in environmental planning.

### 6.3.3. Commitment

Many of the kaitiaki interviewed for this research hinted at a level of apathy within the planning profession when it came to engaging with mana whenua. The general consensus was that whilst engaging with mana whenua is often compulsory in environmental planning, there is no formal standards for assessing the quality of this engagement, nor a requirement for this engagement to result in substantial changes to proposed activities. Often this apathy presents as late engagement, tokenistic involvement, and a lack of resourcing – three things this research recommends addressing. Lenihan and Bartley (2016) note that there are currently no national requirements for engagement that addresses process at a practical level. The authors argue that this allows for inconsistencies in the quality of mana whenua engagement. This inconsistency is reflected by kaitiaki – particularly Kawakawa - who discussed the difference in commitment to meaningful mana whenua engagement between the various Local Authorities within their takiwā.

Further research into how to address these varying levels of commitment would be useful, and could provide recommendations on policy and legislative changes within the New Zealand planning system. Adding more weight to mana whenua input, as well as creating more avenues for mana whenua to hold Crown and Local Authorities accountable for poor engagement practices could help ameliorate the privilege planning practitioners currently have to remain apathetic. This would be

particularly useful as part of the newly introduced Mana Whakahono-ā-Rohe iwi participation agreements that Local Authorities are required to design alongside mana whenua under the Resource Management Act 1991. It could also be well-suited to becoming the topic of a new National Policy Statement, as suggested by Lenihan and Bently (2016). Best practice engagement should be compulsory, and its quality should be assessed. This would afford it a higher level of importance, and ensure that engagement is not relegated to a box-ticking exercise. This would provide more confidence to mana whenua that the time and effort they invest in environmental planning processes will bear fruit, and result in engagement processes with more equal power balances between Treaty Partners.

## 6.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides a clear set of recommendations for Crown and Local Authority planning practitioners who want to move toward a best practice model of engaging with Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. It extends on the three best practice themes presented in Chapter 5, and proposes five focus areas to move practitioners toward embodying these themes. These focus areas are:

- Proactive research
- Early and on-going engagement
- Appropriate resourcing
- Acknowledging the expertise of mana whenua
- Hui protocol

Using a weaving analogy, this chapter explains that these five focus areas all intersect with the best practice themes; creating a network of actions that help planning practitioners to exhibit what Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki consider best practice mana whenua engagement.

This chapter then takes a broader look at the issue of best practice mana whenua engagement, and highlights the similarities between this research's findings and recommendations, and existing research in this area. The parallels prove that the Ngāi Tahu experience in this area is remarkably similar to those of other iwi throughout the country, and consistent with national commentary on environmental planning. Prior to this research being completed, this consistency could only be assumed. This research therefore confirms that there is an ongoing pattern of issues in the New Zealand planning system relating to mana whenua engagement. This leads to a realisation that there are underlying issues which are hindering growth, and retaining the status quo of poor mana whenua engagement processes, despite the existence of best practice recommendations such as Te Arawhiti resources, and Te Whaihanga.

This chapter suggests that these underlying issues can be related back to the New Zealand planning system's colonial foundations. There are important discussions to be had about the role of humility, awareness, and commitment to mana whenua engagement within the New Zealand planning system. If, as this research suggests, these aspects are impacting the way in which planning practitioners absorb and address the consistent critiques and recommendations discussed in Section 6.2 of this chapter, then these issues need to be investigated further. Research into these areas would complement the recommendations of this research, and provide a holistic suite of recommendations addressing more systemic issues, to sit alongside these more practitioner-focused recommendations.

## 7. Conclusion - “Why won’t mana whenua answer my emails?”

### 7.1 Introduction

A well-meaning planning practitioner once asked me, “why won’t mana whenua answer my emails?”. Their desire to know was genuine, as was, no doubt, their commitment to engage with mana whenua. They just didn’t know how to do it. As stated in Chapter 1, this research assumes that most planning practitioners want to engage with mana whenua in a way that reflects best practice. The aim of this research is to help them to do so – or at least explain why, at times, mana whenua may not want to answer planning practitioner’s emails. This research highlights some of the difficulties in building and implementing a truly bicultural planning system. It does not, however, claim to address all of these difficulties. Rather, it focuses on just one aspect: what the individual planning practitioner can do to provide a more respectful, appropriate, and culturally safe environment for Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki when initiating environmental planning engagement processes.

This chapter summarises this research’s journey to answer the question, “from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, what constitutes best practice mana whenua engagement in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes?” It first recaps the dichotomy between the environmental kaitiaki and planning practitioner’s drivers for engaging with each other, which sets a backdrop for this issue. Next, it reflects on the scholarly landscape this research sits within, and the gaps that it aims to address. It then summarises the methodology, before revisiting this research’s findings. Lastly it reiterates the implications of these findings – particularly the further questions this research raises, and how their investigation could contribute to both the daily experiences of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, and the future development of New Zealand’s planning system.

### 7.2 Two Worldviews, One Planning System

This research started by discussing the wider context that mana whenua and Crown/Local Authority engagement sits within. This context is complex and multifaceted; itself, a topic worthy of its own research. For the purposes of this research however, two main points were focused on. The first was the role of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. The relationship between Ngāi Tahu and the natural world was discussed, explaining the deep familial relationships Ngāi Tahu have with their environment that connects them - through the landscape’s native flora and fauna - back to the pantheon of Ngāi Tahu deities (Tiramōrehu, 1987; Mahaanui Kurataiao, 2012). The importance of mahinga kai to both the survival of Ngāi Tahu as a people, and the intergenerational transfer of

knowledge was also discussed; further explaining why Ngāi Tahu are deeply invested in protecting the environment that sustains these practices (Lenihan, 2013; New Zealand Conservation Authority, 1997). In a modern context, this often necessitates their engagement with Crown and Local Authorities on environmental planning matters.

In contrast to this, planning practitioners are influenced to engage with Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki for a different reason: it is a legal requirement of their jobs (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Love, 2001; Ruru, 2002). Post-Māori Renaissance of the 1960s/70s, environmental legislation was amended to include requirements for Crown and Local Authorities to engage with mana whenua and/or take into account their values (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Love, 2001). The Resource Management Act 1991, Conservation Act 1987, and Local Government Act 2002 all now refer to the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi; of which one is generally understood to be participation.<sup>16</sup> The Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 also adds further engagement expectations, resulting in an array of legal directives requiring Crown and Local Authorities to engage with Ngāi Tahu more than ever on environmental planning (Awatere, Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Stevens, 2013; Ruru, 2002; Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1997).

These differing backgrounds are important as they provide context to the many issues that appear as this research unfolds. On one side of these engagement processes sit mana whenua who feel a moral and intergenerational responsibility to engage in environmental planning processes. On the other side sit planning practitioners who are required to engage with mana whenua as a procedural step in their professional roles. Another contextual layer is understanding why mana whenua choose to engage within this colonial planning system at all. Ngāi Tahu had their own established environmental management systems before the arrival of Pākehā, but as a result of broken treaties and forced land sales their ability to manage their environment autonomously was eroded (Evison, 2006; O'Regan, *The Ngāi Tahu Claim*, 1989; Park, 2013). For this reason, scholars such as Awatere et al. (2013) and Park (2013) consider the New Zealand planning system a tool for colonisation, and one that perpetuates colonialism to this day. This research recognises the influence colonisation has on the way Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki undertake their roles, noting that environmental kaitiaki have been forced to conform to an introduced colonial environmental management system to undertake parts of their kaitiaki responsibilities.

Despite the wording of Te Tiriti, the partnership between mana whenua and the Crown is not equal. This research provides recommendations that can help shape environmental planning processes in a

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<sup>16</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, there is no definitive or universally agreed list of Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, hence referring to participation as being 'generally understood' to be a Principle.

way less influenced by the coloniality that permeates our environmental planning system (despite its attempt at structural reform), and more aware of what Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki consider best practice.

### 7.3 A Ground-Truthing of Exercise

This research was borne from practice. As a planning practitioner working for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, I noticed the frustration Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki experience when engaging with Crown and Local Authority staff on environmental planning matters. A review of literature confirmed that not only was this perception accurate, it was also not an isolated experience. There is a wealth of literature documenting the difficulties planning practitioners and indigenous communities alike experience trying to engage with each other on environmental matters (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995; Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016; Larsen & Raitio, 2019; Tipa & Welch, 2006; Harmsworth, 1997; Henry & Reeves, 2018). Scholars such as Thompson-Fawcett & Barry (2020), Park (2013), and Matunga (2013) all point to the colonial roots of the New Zealand planning system, which seems to cause many of the engagement issues discussed by other scholars.

One prominent issue raised by scholars is the capacity issues planning practitioners have in terms of engaging with indigenous communities. Henry & Reeves (2018), Backhurst et. al. (2004), and Neill (2003) all comment on the skill shortages practitioners have in this area, with Roberts et. al. (1995) and Behrendt (2019) both linking this capacity issue to an ethnocentric mind-set – a belief that knowledge that sits outside of Western frameworks – frameworks introduced through colonisation – is not worthy of knowing. It also seems that some planning practitioners are unaware of these prejudices they hold against mātauranga Māori, as studies by Neill (2003) and Backhurst et. al. (2004) show planning practitioners are sometimes unaware of the detrimental impacts of their inability to engage meaningfully with mana whenua. These impacts are discussed in detail by the likes of Roberts et. al (1995), and supported by similar frustrations reported by other indigenous communities in both South America and Sweden (Larsen & Raitio, 2019; Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016).

The literature reviewed not only showed that my practical experience was representative of a well-documented issue, but it also showed that there was a need for research that focused on addressing this issue at a practitioner capability level. Additionally, this review highlighted the lack of Ngāi Tahu-specific guidance on mana whenua engagement – despite the size of their takiwā, and the significant percentage of Crown-managed conservation lands and earthquake recovery areas within it. Whilst there are established methods for best practice engagement in environmental planning as a whole, these, according to Tipa & Welch (2006) are not appropriate for use in a Treaty Partner level

relationship. International best practice, such as the recommendations of Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor (2016) are also inadequate as, whilst they do accommodate for the rights of indigenous people as listed by the United Nations, they do not surpass these to move into a place of proactive best practice. Even New Zealand-based best practice recommendations are not sufficient to fill this knowledge gap as they do not speak to the unique Ngāi Tahu experience. Much of the New Zealand-based research, such the PUCM project and Te Whaihangā were conducted at a national level, or by using the experiences of only one hapū or iwi (Backhurst, et al., 2004; Henry & Reeves, 2018). This methodology did not allow for hapū or iwi variations to influence recommendations. Instead, it aggregated or generalised recommendations to be responsive to a collective Māori identity – something Rangihau (quoted in Roberts et. al, 1995) argues does not exist.

This research therefore extends on a larger area of research, namely coloniality in the planning profession. It builds upon research that highlights cultural capacity as a weakness within the planning system, particularly at the practitioner level. It also fills a gap on Ngāi Tahu-specific research in this area. Currently, there is a lack of information on how Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki experience Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes, and what their perceptions of best practice engagement are within the unique context of Ngāi Tahu. These are the questions that this research asks, and contributes to the understanding of.

#### 7.4 A Bicultural Methodology

When designing this research, the bicultural foundations of this country were reflected on. This led to a bicultural methodology being designed using a Braided Rivers approach, as pioneered by Macfarlane, Macfarlane, and Gillon (2015). The two ‘braids’ of this approach were Qualitative Research and Kaupapa Māori Research (Smith, 1999). These methodologies were further refined to produce a set of guiding principles – or mātāpono – that ensured this research was conducted in accordance with tikanga Māori, and the selection of Narrative Inquiry as the preferred Qualitative Research discipline. The four mātāpono were centred on the concept of manaakitanga, or showing care for those involved in this – for many participants, very personal – research topic.

The first mātāpono was tika and pono: a commitment to conducting this research in accordance with appropriate Māori social norms and ethics. The second was whakamana tangata: the upholding and promoting of the mana of all involved in this research (both directly and indirectly). The third was whakawhanaungatanga: the valuing and strengthening of trust-based relationships with participants. The fourth was koha: providing reciprocity for the time and insight participants contribute to this research. The use of Narrative Inquiry saw semi-structured, face to face interviews used to record the words of participants. This method allowed participants to freely share their



stories, whilst the researcher worked with participants to find meaning and commonalities within them (Clandinin, 2006; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

Using the above methodology, ten Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki were interviewed, and asked about their experiences engaging with Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes. They were chosen based on their experiences engaging in Crown or Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes, their location (so as to make sure participants were spread throughout the Ngāi Tahu takiwā), and their existing relationship with the researcher. This latter criterion was chosen based on the mātāpono of tika and pono, and whakawhanaungatanga. It recognised that the timespan of this research was not adequate to build a meaningful, trust-based relationship with a participant before conducting interviews. For this reason, the researcher utilised their pre-existing networks to recruit participants who were already familiar with the researcher. After conducting these interviews, a thematic analysis was undertaken to identify themes across the stories of all participants. These themes then became the basis of this research's findings into what Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki consider best practice engagement when contributing to Crown and local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes.

## 7.5 Ngā Kōrero a ngā Poupou o te Whare | The Lived Experiences of Kaitiaki

The heart of this research is the experiences of ten Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki. It is these experiences that this research is named after, likening participants to the poupou of Hinētītama and Tāne's whare. In the Ngāi Tahu accounts of Hinētītama's life, she sought answers from these poupou due to their enduring presence within the world. It is for these same reasons that this research seeks the insights of these environmental kaitiaki.

Under Taonga Species-themed monikers, Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki shared their experiences engaging with Crown and Local Authorities on environmental planning matters. Tītī, Kārearea and Kākāpō, Tōtara, Matamata and Tīpere, Tio, Miro and Kanakana, and Kawakawa all had unique stories which are shared in their own words in Chapter 5. Some stories reflected Treaty Partners working together in an equal, trust-based relationship. These stories, however, were in the minority. Stories of belittlement, dismissal, ignorance, and paternalism permeated these interviews, and further confirmed the perceptions that instigated this research – that current Crown and Local Authority engagement processes leave a lot to be desired for Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki.

A thematic analysis of these interviews identified three themes that spoke to this research's question. It was identified that, from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, best practice engagement included:

- Equal and authentic teamwork
- Recognition, incorporation and resourcing of tikanga and mātauranga Māori
- Informed staff

According to kaitiaki, best practice includes planning practitioners treating kaitiaki as teammates, rather than their opposition in environmental planning processes. This creates engagement processes that are transparent, equitable, and trust based. Additionally, best practice engagement is also conducted in a way that recognises, resources, and applies mātauranga and tikanga Māori in a meaningful way. This means that planning practitioners recognise the validity of these cultural elements and the benefits they can bring to a project by providing appropriate space in project timelines, and resourcing in budgets to incorporate them; as well as providing opportunity for these elements to meaningfully influence outcomes. Lastly, best practice mana whenua engagement requires planning practitioners to be well versed in Ngāi Tahu values, and priorities. They also need a balanced understanding of New Zealand history, and Crown obligations to their Treaty Partner under both Te Tiriti and relevant legislation. Having this background allows engagement processes to move forward without having to negotiate a shared understanding of these concepts before engagement processes can commence.

These three themes of equal and authentic teamwork, informed staff, and the appropriate use of mātauranga and tikanga Māori describe an ideal engagement experience that, on face value, should not be difficult for planning practitioners to reach. In reality, they aren't too far removed from what is legally required of Crown and Local Authorities under UNDRIP (Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016), and the Treaty Principles (Hudson & Russell, 2009). The fact that the majority of those interviewed discuss these attributes as if they are aspirational, highlights the depth of the problems within this field. It seems that by answering this research's question, further questions have arisen.

## 7.6 Underlying Issues

Existing literature stresses the low level of cultural competency most planning practitioners possess (Henry & Reeves, 2018; Larsen & Raitio, 2019; Backhurst, et al., 2004; Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). For this reason, the themes that this research uncovered have been analysed further to create practical recommendations for planning practitioners to implement. These have been framed as key focus areas. It is argued that if practitioners focus on implementing these recommendations, they will move toward embodying the best practice themes. These key focus areas are:

- Proactive research
- Early and on-going engagement

- Appropriate Resourcing
- Acknowledging the expertise of mana whenua
- Hui protocol

When critiquing these recommendations however, some interesting correlations were identified. The issues these recommendations address are consistent with the issues existing research has been identifying since the introduction of the Resource Management Act 1991 almost thirty years ago (Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995; Tipa & Welch, 2006; Lenihan & Bentley, 2016). This confirms that the Ngāi Tahu experience is consistent with the experience of other hapū and iwi throughout New Zealand when it comes to their experiences of engaging with Crown and Local Authorities. It is unsurprising then that the recommendations of this research are also consistent with existing research. Te Whaihanga and Te Arawhiti both promote the importance of upskilling planning practitioners on their understanding of mana whenua histories, concepts, and the responsibility of being a Treaty Partner. They also allude to the importance of increasing the resources available for implementing mātauranga and tikanga Māori – particularly time resource - and discuss the importance of fostering a genuine and enduring relationship with mana whenua (Henry & Reeves, 2018; Te Arawhiti, 2018).

The revelations outlined above raise further questions. Why, if information already exists to inform practitioners of their shortcomings, do they continue to perpetuate these issues? If guidance already exists around best practice engagement, why are well-meaning planning practitioners not implementing them? Addressing these deeper questions fell outside the scope of this research. Some theories, however, are raised in this research in the hope that further research will be undertaken to fully investigate them. It is suggested that, like the literature review and background chapters infer, the influence of coloniality within the planning system may be more influential than many recognise. The importance of humility, awareness, and commitment were highlighted, with comment made on the way these are sometimes missing within mana whenua engagement processes. Further research into these areas could be significant for shaping the way planning education is framed going into the future, as well as influencing future legislative reform in resource management.

## 7.7 Conclusion

In answering the research question, this research has raised many more about New Zealand's planning system as a whole. In its pursuit to provide practical guidance to planning practitioners wanting to engage with Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki in a best practice manner, it has raised questions about the very values that underpin New Zealand's planning system. Putting this aside

momentarily however, it can be acknowledged that this research has met the aims it set out to achieve. Firstly, it has amplified the voices of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki who spend significant time involved in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes. It has confirmed that these kaitiaki are frustrated, and not experiencing best practice engagement when working alongside their Treaty Partners. This in itself is important as there was a gap in existing literature when it came to the specific experiences of Ngāi Tahu in this area.

Secondly, this research was able to answer the question of what, from the perspectives of Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki, constitutes best practice mana whenua engagement in Crown and Local Authority-initiated environmental planning processes. In short, it looks like what is actually already required of planning practitioners in accordance with the Treaty Principles and UNDRIP: kaitiaki being treated as capable and trustworthy equals, having their values and knowledge systems recognised and resourced during processes, and engaging with sufficiently informed planning practitioners. Participation, protection, and partnership (Hudson & Russell, 2009).<sup>17</sup> Considerable ownership of consultation practices, the possibility to substantially participate in these arenas, and the opportunity to shape the design and the execution of planned activities (Flemmer & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2016).<sup>18</sup>

Well-meaning planning practitioners no-longer have an excuse not to engage with Ngāi Tahu environmental kaitiaki in a way that embodies best practice. This research provides an insight into the impacts of their current practices; educating practitioners on the way their actions are perceived and the frustrations they cause. This research also provides guidance on how planning practitioners can change their current processes to better embody a Ngāi Tahu perception of best practice. If, despite the dissemination of this research, poor practice persists, then planning practitioners – and the planning profession as a whole - may do well to reflect deeper on what values and attributes they are prioritising in their work. Are humility, awareness, and commitment guiding their interactions with mana whenua, or are the undercurrents of coloniality that runs through the New Zealand planning system still shaping their mindsets?

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<sup>17</sup> The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

<sup>18</sup> Flemmer and Schilling-Vacaflor's summary of FPIC in accordance with UNDRIP

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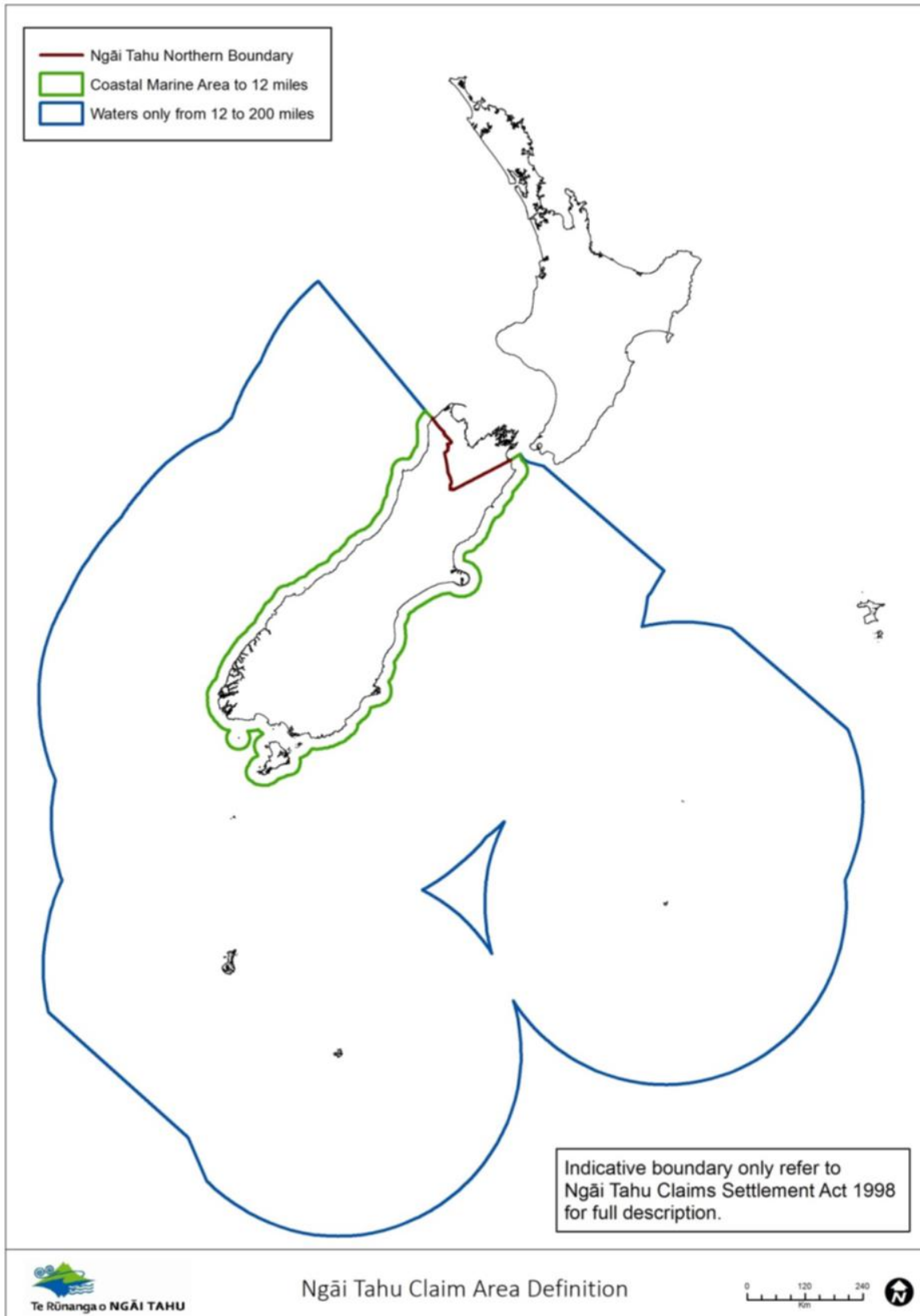
## Appendix 1 - Glossary of Māori Terms

<i>Māori Term</i>	<i>Definition</i>
<b>Ahi kā</b>	Representation of continuous occupation, the idea of mana whenua being continually present on their land.
<b>Hapū</b>	Māori kinship group, subtribe
<b>Harakeke</b>	Flax
<b>Hiko</b>	Walk
<b>Hui</b>	Meeting, gathering
<b>Iwi</b>	Māori kinship group, tribe
<b>Kai</b>	Food, sustenance
<b>Kaitiaki</b>	Someone or something with a responsibility to a place or resource
<b>Kaitiakitanga</b>	A Māori value of care
<b>Kaiwhakahaere</b>	Chairperson
<b>Kanohi ki te kanohi</b>	Face to face interactions
<b>Karakia</b>	Incantation, prayer
<b>Kaumātua/kaumātua</b>	An elder/ elders
<b>Kaupapa</b>	Topic of discussion
<b>Kawa</b>	Māori protocols
<b>Ki uta ki tai</b>	From the mountains to the sea. Catchment-based environmental management
<b>Ko wai au?</b>	Who am I?
<b>Ko wai koe?</b>	Who are you?
<b>Koha</b>	Gift, offering
<b>Kōrero</b>	To speak
<b>Mahi</b>	Work
<b>Mahinga kai</b>	The practice of sustainably harvesting natural resources. Mahinga kai includes the places these activities take place, the transmission of cultural knowledge that occurs, the traditional methods and various tools used, the sustainability and kaitiakitanga considerations, and the physical gathering, preparing, and using of these resources.
<b>Mana</b>	Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status
<b>Mana whenua</b>	People who have tribal authority over a location based on ancestry and occupation
<b>Manaaki/manaakitanga</b>	Hospitality, care
<b>Māori</b>	The indigenous people of New Zealand, of the indigenous people of New Zealand
<b>Marae</b>	Traditional Māori meeting space
<b>Mātāpono</b>	Values
<b>Mātauranga/mātauraka</b>	Knowledge
<b>Mihi/mihimihi</b>	Acknowledgements, informal speeches

<b>Mokopuna</b>	Grandchildren
<b>Ngāhere</b>	Forest
<b>Ngāi Tahu/Ngāi Tahu whānui</b>	The Māori collective that holds tribal authority over large area of Te Waipounamu. Ngāi Tahu consists of individuals who descend from the primary hapū of Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu being: Ngāti Kurī, Ngāti Irakehu, Kāti Huirapa, Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Kāi Te Ruahikihiki / the people of Ngāi Tahu
<b>Ngāti Kurī</b>	A primary hapū of Ngāi Tahu, whose takiwā is centred on Kaikōura and its surrounding areas
<b>Noa</b>	A state of no restriction
<b>Pākehā</b>	People of British decent, or descended from those who settled in New Zealand as part of the colonisation of New Zealand
<b>Papatipu Rūnanga/ Rūnanga / Rūnaka</b>	Means the tribal councils of Ngāi Tahu whānui referred to in section 9 of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996
<b>Pou/poupou</b>	A carved post, sometimes used to mark tribal boundaries, and sometimes used structurally in the building of whare
<b>Pounamu</b>	Greenstone
<b>Pōwhiri</b>	Traditional welcome (formal)
<b>Pūrākau</b>	Story, usually of the mytho-period
<b>Rangatira</b>	A leader, someone of high esteem within the community
<b>Rangatiratanga</b>	Authority, self-determination
<b>Takiwā</b>	Tribal region
<b>Tāmaki Makaurau</b>	Auckland
<b>Tangata Tiaki</b>	Legally appointed person responsible for managing fisheries resources for customary food gathering within a mātaihai or taiapure (customary fishing areas established under the Fisheries Act 1996)
<b>Taonga</b>	Treasures
<b>Taonga Species</b>	Indigenous species of significance to Ngāi Tahu. Includes (but is not limited to) the species listed in Schedule 97 of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998
<b>Tapu</b>	To be in a state of restriction
<b>Tauranga waka</b>	Canoe landing spots
<b>Taurekareka</b>	Slave
<b>Te ao Māori</b>	The Māori world
<b>Te ao Pākehā</b>	The Western colonial world
<b>Te Ika a Māui</b>	The North Island of New Zealand
<b>Te Kerēme</b>	The Ngāi Tahu fight for redress from The Crown for Tiriti o Waitangi and land sale deed breaches
<b>Te mea, te mea</b>	...and so on, and so forth
<b>Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu</b>	The legal Iwi Authority representing the tribal body of Ngāi Tahu whānui established under section 6 of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996.

<b>Te Tiriti o Waitangi</b>	The document signed between the British Crown and Māori chiefs in 1840. This document is intentionally referred to as 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi (as opposed to the Treaty of Waitangi) throughout this research as it was the Māori version that was signed by mana whenua in 1840 – not the English version
<b>Te Waipounamu</b>	The South Island of New Zealand
<b>Tikanga</b>	Traditional and customary Māori rules
<b>Tīpuna</b>	Ancestors
<b>Tōpuni</b>	A form of cultural redress created as part of the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998
<b>Waewae tapu</b>	A newcomer, or first-time visitor - particularly to a marae
<b>Wāhi taonga</b>	A place where Māori artefacts are located, or have been found
<b>Wāhi tapu</b>	A location with restrictions placed upon it
<b>Waiata</b>	Song
<b>Wānanga</b>	Meet to discuss and deliberate
<b>Whaikōrero</b>	Formal speech usually done in the pōwhiri or mihi whakatau
<b>Whakapapa</b>	Genealogy, the continuous layering of things onto another
<b>Whakatauāki</b>	Māori proverb of whom the author is known
<b>Whakatauki</b>	Māori proverb coined by an unknown individual
<b>Whakawhanaungatanga</b>	Building of relationships
<b>Whānau</b>	Family
<b>Whare</b>	House, dwelling
<b>Wharekai</b>	The dining hall on the marae
<b>Whenua</b>	Land

## Appendix 2 – Map of the Ngāi Tahu Takiwā



Appendix 3 – Map of Takiwā Regions used in Methodology





## Appendix 4 – Ethics Approval



### HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Rebecca Robinson  
Telephone: +64 03 369 4588, Extn 94588  
Email: [human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

Ref: HEC 2019/42

6 June 2019

Courtney Bennett  
Geography  
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Courtney

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal “Ngā Kōrero o ngā Poupou o te Whare - How To Improve Crown and Local Authority-Led Engagement Processes in Environmental Planning Issues in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā Through the Perspectives of mana whenua kaitiaki” has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'D. Sutherland', written in a cursive style.

Dr Dean Sutherland  
**Chair**  
*University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee*

## Appendix 5 – Participant Information Forms

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Department of Geography, College of Science  
Telephone: +64 3 369 40 87  
Email: Courtney.Bennett@pg.canterbury.ac.nz  
Date: 6/6/2019  
HEC Ref: HEC 2019/42

### **Ngā Kōrero a ngā Poupou o te Whare:**

## **How to improve Crown and local authority-led engagement processes in environmental planning in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā through the perspectives of mana whenua kaitiaki**

### **Information Sheet for Interview Participant**

E ngā poupou o te whare o Tahu, tēnā koutou,

*Ko Maungarei te maunga  
Ko Te Wai o Tāiki te awa  
Ko Te Tahawai tōku marae  
Nō Ingarani me Kōtirana ōku tīpuna  
Nō Tāmaki Makaurau ahau  
Ko Courtney Bennett taku ingoa  
Nāia te mihi ki a koutou*

I speak to you today in my capacity as a post-graduate student at the University of Canterbury. I am currently undertaking a research masters into how Crown and local authorities (i.e. government departments, and regional and local councils) can improve the way that they engage with mana whenua in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā on environmental issues. I am specifically focusing on the impact being involved in Crown and local authority engagement processes has on the individual kaitiaki that work on behalf of their papatipu rūnanga and iwi on environmental issues, and these individuals' views on what best practice engagement should be.

You have been approached to take part in this study because of your experience working on behalf of your papatipu rūnanga and iwi in these types of environmental engagement processes - whether that be from sitting on conservation boards and zone committees, contributing to plan reviews and major environmental projects, being involved in consent processes, or any of the other roles that require Crown or local authorities to engage with their Treaty Partner on environmental issues. I have located your contact details through our previous conversations about your potential involvement in this research, and now would like to formally tono for your involvement in this research

If you choose to take part in this study, your involvement in this project will consist of sitting down with me

(the researcher) for an interview where I will ask you about your experiences in this mahi, views on the role of a kaitiaki, and how you think consultation with people in your role should be undertaken. If you agree to be part of this research, we can discuss if you would like any of your whānau members present during our kōrero. In some cases, I may also suggest others that could be appropriate to sit alongside you in your interview to create a focus group. The final say on who is present when we kōrero however will lie with you.

This interview will take as long you feel like speaking to me, which could be from twenty minutes through to 1-2 hours - it depends how much you feel like sharing. I also encourage you to choose a location for these interviews that you are most comfortable with – I am more than happy and prepared to travel to where you are based (regardless of distance) if this is what is most convenient for you.

The interviews will be recorded with a handheld voice recorder and will be transcribed post-interview. Your whakaaro will then be looked at alongside feedback from other participants and will help inform recommendations on best practice consultation with Ngāi Tahu kaitiaki on environmental issues. I will be the only person who listens to the recording of your interview or reads your transcripts, and you will be provided with a copy of the transcript for both your own records and as an opportunity to check its contents and remove anything you would not like included in this research. Any edits you request will be done on a 'no-questions-asked' basis. This means if you would like any of your words removed from your transcript, you do not need to provide a reason for wanting this – it will just be done.

As a follow-up to this interview, you will also have the opportunity to participate in a short questionnaire that you can fill out in the days after our interview. This questionnaire will have some of the same questions asked during our kōrero and is a way for you to share anything you think of afterwards, or did not feel like sharing face to face. Depending on how much you chose to share in this questionnaire, it could take anywhere from three to twenty minutes to complete, and can be done either digitally or in hard copy. If you have nothing you would like to add via the questionnaire you are more than welcome to discard it and not fill it out at all. Similar to your interview, a copy of your questionnaire will be sent out to you for both your records and for you to edit if you so wish to.

In the performance of the tasks and application of the procedures related to this project there are risks of mental and/or emotional distress for the participant (you), and the potential for cultural or moral offense being caused by the researcher. These risks will be avoided at all costs by providing a safe and culturally responsive interview environment where you will have the opportunity to guide the direction of the kōrero, refuse to talk about topics that may be distressing for you, and to stop the interview at any time for any reason. I will also seek your guidance on any ways you would like to be engaged with to avoid cultural or moral offense unintendedly being caused. This includes seeking guidance on specific tikanga related to the location of our interview, such as if you would like it to be conducted on marae or another location of significance to you. Finally, there is the physical risk of travel to and from the interview location. To minimize this risk for you (the participant), I will offer to travel to you so that there is less distance for you to travel, thus less risk on your behalf.

Participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any stage without penalty. You may ask for your raw data to be returned to you or destroyed at any point. If you withdraw, I will remove information relating to you. However, once analysis of raw data starts it will become increasingly difficult to remove the influence of your data on the results. Despite this, efforts will still be made to remove your data if that is your desire.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: your identity will not be made public without your prior consent. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, any quotes used within this research will be attributed to a false name (e.g. Participant A), and any identifying comments such as reference to specific projects, organisations, or papatipu rūnanga will be similarly altered. As mentioned above, the recordings of your interviews and their transcripts will only be accessed by me, the researcher. They will be stored securely on a password protected computer, and raw data will be destroyed after five years.

At all times, your whakaaro and mātauranga remains your intellectual property, or the property of your wider whānau. For this reason, you will be provided with copies of your transcripts and a copy of the final research for you to utilize however you see fit – whether that be keeping in your personal records, incorporating in your own projects, or sharing with your wider papatipu rūnanga. A thesis is also a public document. It will therefore also be available through the UCLibrary. At your interview, we will also discuss how you would like to be acknowledged within the thesis.

The project is being carried out as a requirement for a Masters of Science by me, Courtney Bennett, under the supervision of Dr Rita Dionisio and Prof Hirini Matunga. Dr Dionisio is the primary supervisor for this project can be contacted at [rita.dionisio@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:rita.dionisio@canterbury.ac.nz), or +64 3 369 5993. She will be happy to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch ([human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)).

If you agree to participate in the study, you are asked to complete the consent form (attached) and return via email to [Courtney.Bennett@pg.canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:Courtney.Bennett@pg.canterbury.ac.nz). If you have any further questions, please feel free to email me at this same address. I am happy to kōrero further kanoahi ki te kanoahi about this project before you decide whether to be involved if this is something you would like to do.

Ngā mihi,

Courtney Bennett  
*Postgraduate student*  
*University of Canterbury*

Department of Geography, School of Science  
Telephone: +64 3 369 40 87  
Email: Courtney.Bennett@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

**Ngā Kōrero a ngā Poupuu o te Whare:**  
***How to improve Crown and local authority-led engagement processes in environmental planning in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā through the perspectives of mana whenua kaitiaki***  
**Consent Form for Interview Participant**

- I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.
- I understand that participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw at any time without penalty. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information I have provided.
- I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and their supervisors, and that any published or reported results will not identify the participants without prior agreement. I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.
- I understand that all data collected for the study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and/or in password protected electronic form and will be destroyed after five years.
- I understand the risks associated with taking part and how they will be managed.
- If participating in a focus group, I agree to uphold the mana of other participants within my focus group by not sharing their comments outside of this forum, unless explicitly directed by the individual who made the comments in question.
- I understand that I can contact the researcher (Courtney Bennett, contactable on Courtney.bennett@pg.canterbury.ac.nz) or primary supervisor (Dr Rita Dionisio for further information. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch ([human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)))
- By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Email or postal address (*for report of findings*):  
\_\_\_\_\_

Please either email this completed and signed form back to [Courtney.Bennett@pg.canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:Courtney.Bennett@pg.canterbury.ac.nz), or email the same address informing that you would not like to be involved by 6/7/2019