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Approaching cultural landscapes in post-settler societies: ideas, policies, practices

AUTHOR(S)

Paulette Wallace

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Approaching cultural landscapes in post-settler societies: ideas, policies, practices

By

Paulette Wallace

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Deakin University

September 2014

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Abstract

This thesis takes issue with the way that heritage is managed in New Zealand. It contends that New Zealand's post-Treaty settlement environment, with its significant resource transfers and cultural redress for Māori, is exposing the need to move beyond the entrenched nature/settler/indigenous compartments that have so far dominated heritage management. It advocates that New Zealand needs to embrace a heritage management system that is open to networks that flow between natural and cultural heritage values.

'Cultural landscapes' is nominated as the conceptual tool to promote a more integrated heritage management approach. Yet, rather than seeing cultural landscapes as a way to shed light on a simplistic nature/culture binary, my analysis works to take the concept of cultural landscapes further than the heritage scholarship has done so far. Social systems theory is employed to interrogate how this concept is translated from a way of 'thinking' about heritage values, to how it is employed in the 'doing' of heritage practice. This body of theory allows me to frame a 'cultural landscapes approach' as a way of building a link between the realm of ideas around the concept of cultural landscapes, to its incorporation into the realms of policy and practice for heritage management. Thus this method of enquiry enables me to draw attention to how a visual focus on tangible forms and structures has dominated the way that the concept of cultural landscapes has widely been considered, and how the 'more-than-representational' might open cultural landscapes up to the realities of the 'contact zones' of post-settler societies.

This thesis begins on a small island in New Zealand and journeys to Australia, the United States of America, and Canada, to investigate cultural landscapes approaches in action in these countries with similar colonial legacies. The research project follows a constructionist interpretive approach, with ethnographic methods, employing semi-structured interviews to learn from those who work in heritage management at each of the case study locations. The narrative returns to consider why New Zealand, the country where Tongariro National Park was listed as the first World Heritage associative landscape, has not disseminated a cultural landscapes approach for heritage management as widely as these other settler countries. From there the thesis recommends a cultural landscapes approach for heritage management in New Zealand.

Acknowledgements

On a blustery night out on Matiu/Somes Island, in the harbour of Te Whanganui-ā-Tara (Wellington), I had made the decision to leave the solitude of my writing in search of the company of a family from Waiwhetu who were staying in the nearby whare mahana (iwi house). Matiu and I got talking about my research project, while Manaia and the four boys played an assortment of board games (although I could tell their ears were also tuned into what was going on in our conversation). I spoke about my early Te Reo (the Māori language) lessons, and my confusion between the possessive pronouns of tāku and tōku. Matiu responded that I needed to realise the significance of this part of the Te Reo 'mortar'. He schooled me to remember that 'it's all about the 'ā's and 'ō's', and that this was a basic that I needed to be clear about from the beginning. I took from our meeting the understanding that the ā and ō categories are a key division within Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), where the difference between the two is dependent upon relationships. I learned that I should use tāku when locating myself in the superior, and tōku to describe my relationship when it is subordinate to others and my surroundings. With this in mind, these few pages are the place for me to acknowledge my ā's and ō's—particularly my ō's, so that I may make clear that my role as narrator of this story is a very small one, and that it has been the assistance and contribution of so many others which has made this research project possible.

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I must also thank my interviewees from Parks Canada, both from the National Office in Gatineau, and Rouge National Urban Park in Toronto. Everyone was super accommodating and supportive of my research project. I cannot thank Mary Lou Doyle enough, a kindred spirit from Parks Canada who became my house-mate in Melbourne, who facilitated my Parks Canada connections, and who also provided Karen and me with a home in Ottawa. Big thanks also to Lindsay Archibald for providing us with another home to stopover at in Toronto, and for enabling me to meet up with Lisa Prosper and journey with her out to the Centre for Cultural Landscape at the Willowbank School of Restoration Arts, where I also met with Julian Smith.

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I hope this thesis meets the expectations of the many people whom I have quizzed, interjected, and debated the intricacies of cultural landscapes with across the United States, Canada, Australia, and especially within New Zealand.

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A note on the use of Te Reo (the Māori language)

This thesis has been written for an international audience, and as such I have included English translations bracketed in text next to Māori words in the first instance of use in each chapter. Macrons have been entered throughout the text to identify vowel length. I have not added macrons to historic texts which do not use them in the original.

Translations are in line with *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*, see http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz and;
Williams, HW 1957, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, see http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WillDict-t1-body-d1-d1.html

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
ariki	paramount chief
hapū	sub-tribes
hui	meeting, gathering
iwi	tribe
Kaihāutu	leader
kaikōrero	speaker
kaitiaki	trustee, guardian
kaitiakitanga	guardianship, trusteeship
kaumātua	elder
kōrero	speech, narrative
Makāro	place name of a small island in Wellington harbour
mana	prestige, authority, power, influence
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness
mana atua	sacred spiritual power from the ancestors, god
mana tangata	status and power of the people
mana whenua	primary territorial authority
manuhiri	visitors
marae	courtyard, where formal greetings and discussions are held
Matiu	the daughter/niece of famed Polynesian explorer, Kupe; and an island in Wellington harbour
maunga	mountain
mauri/mouri	life principle, vital essence

Mokopuna	place name of a small island in Wellington harbour
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	tribal group of the Lake Taupō area
Ngātoroirangi	ancestor of Ngāti Tūwharetoa
Pākehā	non-indigenous/settler New Zealander
pepeha	proverb, tribal saying, tribal motto
Pōneke	Wellington (informal)
pōwhiri	rituals of encounter and welcome
rangatiratanga	sovereignty, chieftainship
rohe	area, boundary, district, region, territory
tāku	my (depends on possessor)
taonga	treasure, anything highly prized
tangata whenua	local people, people of the land
tapu	be sacred, prohibited, restricted
Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika	the collective group composed of individuals who descend from Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Tama, Taranaki, Ngāti Ruanui and other tribes from the Taranaki area
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
te hongi	the pressing of noses in greeting
te karanga	the call
Te Reo	The Māori language
te wero	the challenge
Te Whanganui-ā-Tara	Wellington
Te Hokitanga Mai ā Matiu	the return of Matiu
tikanga	correct procedure, the body of Māori custom
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty
tōku	my (depends on possessor)
tuku	to let go, release, give up
tūpuna	ancestors
Waiwhetu	a suburb of Lower Hutt, Wellington, New Zealand
waiata	song
wairua	soul, spirit
whaikōrero	the world of Māori oratory
whakapapa	genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent

whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship
whānui	broad, extensive, collective
whare mahana	iwi house, to be warm
wharenui	main building of a marae where guests are accommodated
whenua	earth, placenta

Prologue: New beginnings on Matiu/Somes Island

Figure 1: Matiu/Somes Island, with the smaller Mokopuna Island, surrounded by Wellington city. Photo by Karen Astwood, June 2013

It was Wednesday 17 November 2010, and I was sitting on a plastic chair under a marquee on Matiu/Somes Island in Te Whanganui-ā-Tara (Wellington), Aotearoa (New Zealand).[1] It was not an ordinary working day for me in my role as a historic ranger for the Department of Conservation (DOC), as I sat focussing in earnest on the kaikōrero (speaker), willing myself to pick up more than the odd Māori word of his speech. We had quite a young member of our Māori team speaking on DOC's behalf to an important gathering on the island, and there had been whisperings that some were unhappy with the decision for him to speak. Yet as I watched him move gracefully across our make-shift marquee marae (courtyard, where formal greetings are held), the nods of the older men sitting in the front indicated that he seemed to be doing a good job. Ten minutes later, and I had given up trying to work out what he was saying. I was now letting the undulating tones of Te Reo (the Māori language) sweep over me, and my mind started to wander…

[1] English translations of Māori terms have been included in the first instance of use in each chapter and a glossary is supplied at the beginning of this thesis.

I had been part of a team of DOC staff who had stayed overnight on Matiu/Somes Island the evening before to assist with getting things ready for the event. I had found my niche in coordinating dinner efforts to feed the team that had been out all day trimming and mowing tracks to ensure that Matiu/Somes Island was presentable. I was excited to be on the island again. The last few months had been challenging working for DOC, and a trip out to Matiu/Somes Island always made me feel better.

Te Hokitanga Mai ā Matiu (the return of Matiu) ceremony was being held to recognise the handover of ownership of Matiu/Somes, and the two smaller islands of Makāro and Mokopuna, from DOC representing the New Zealand Government, to the Wellington-based collective of Taranaki iwi (tribes) and hapū (sub-tribes) known as Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika (Taranaki Whānui). The handover ceremony was a public ending to a very long Treaty of Waitangi settlement.

Figure 2: The Minister of Conservation on the left, DOC staff and other dignitaries from Wellington walk up to Te Hokitanga Mai ā Matiu ceremony on Matiu/Somes Island. Photo by DOC

The event began with the arrival of masses of people by ferry to Matiu/Somes Island. I had felt awkward that morning, not really sure of what I should be doing. It was a long walk up from the wharf to where the ceremony was being held, so I had positioned myself at one of

the big hairpin bends on the main track to make sure that people kept moving up towards the marquee. Then, being one of the last people to arrive at the marquee, I had to join onto the back of the gathering of the manuhiri (visitors) waiting to enter the marae area. We faced te wero (the challenge). There was te karanga (the call of welcome), te hongi (the pressing of noses with a line of senior women from Taranaki Whānui), and then we filed into the marquee and sat down. The initial speeches were to be followed by keynote addresses from Sir Ngatata Love for Taranaki Whānui, and the Hon. Kate Wilkinson, Minister of Conservation, representing the New Zealand Government.

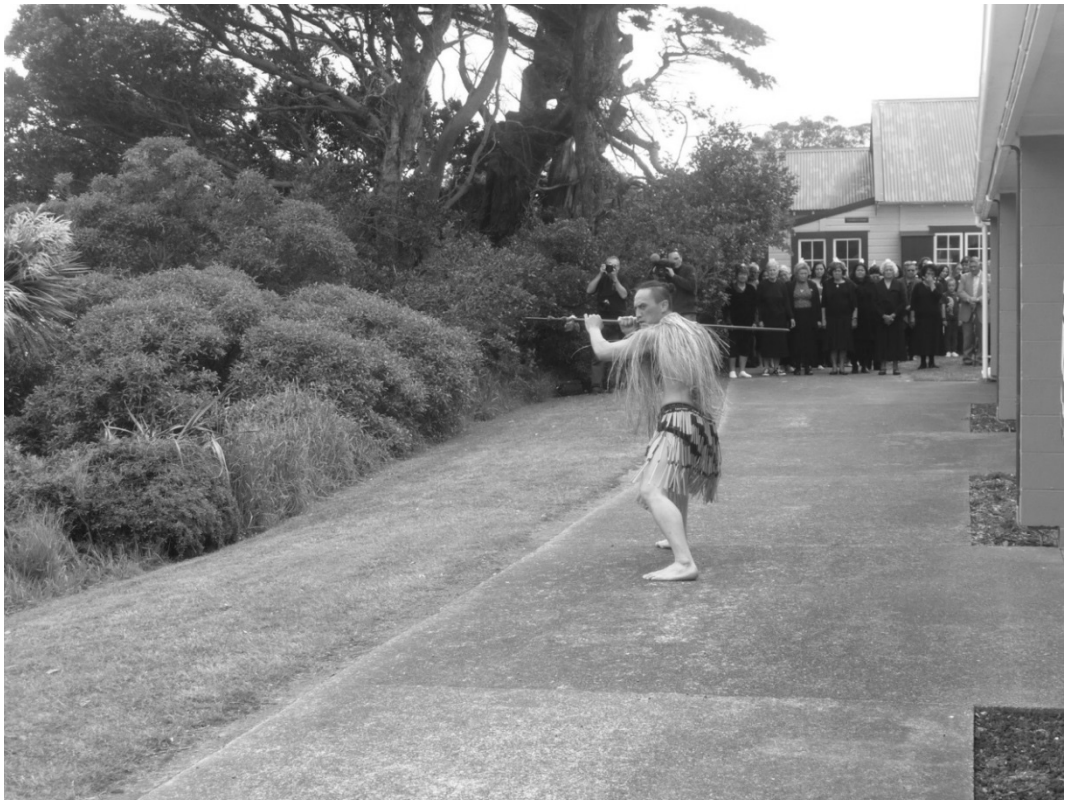

Figure 3: Facing te wero (the challenge) at Te Hokitanga Mai ā Matiu ceremony. Photo by DOC

The sound of a woman singing, and the quick realisation that I needed to join in, drew my attention back to what was going on in the marquee. By the second verse of the waiata (song), it dawned on me just how significant this ceremony was for Matiu/Somes Island and New Zealand more generally. The ceremony of Te Hokitanga Mai ā Matiu was publically signalling the new arrangements set in place by the Treaty of Waitangi settlement between the New Zealand Government and Taranaki Whānui. I hoped that the ceremony might also instigate some changes in the way that Matiu/Somes Island was being managed. It had been difficult working at DOC in the shadow of the Treaty settlement. DOC staff in my office had been kept out of the Treaty settlement process and simply told to continue on with our

work as before. Yet I couldn't see how things could be so straightforward. Taranaki Whānui were now the owners of Matiu/Somes Island and surely that meant there had to be changes in the way that I and my fellow 'on-the-ground' staff went about our work? I was the youngest in my office, and fresh out of a postgraduate course in museum and heritage studies. The underlying focus of much of my course work had been on building relationships with Māori when working in cultural heritage. I had all of these ideas about 'best practice', however, I was finding that in reality I was having to settle for something far removed from what I had learned.

Since beginning my role at DOC in October 2008, I had followed the instruction that if we wanted to get Taranaki Whānui on board with our projects, we had to go through our immediate manager, who would then bring up our request with our Area Manager, who would then approach the heads of Taranaki Whānui on our behalf. The problem with this system was that it gave me no chance to get to know Taranaki Whānui on a personal basis, nor them me. So when it came to trying to work together, there were obvious disconnections. DOC also worked from a compartmentalised management approach where, as the historic ranger, I had my remit of work, which normally focussed on buildings, and this was in contrast to the kinds of work that my biodiversity colleagues undertook. I wasn't so sure that these distinctions in the way that we worked were all that useful, and I couldn't see how a system based on this premise would continue to work with Māori concepts of the interrelatedness of people and the natural world. I didn't like the DOC compartments, but at the same time, I didn't know how DOC would get closer to a management approach more in line with Taranaki Whānui world views which recognised the island of Matiu as their ancestor.

A little about the Treaty of Waitangi and its place in New Zealand

To shed light on what was transpiring on Matiu/Somes Island, my narrative needs to begin with some history of the Treaty of Waitangi (the Treaty) and the recent Treaty settlement process. The Treaty was drawn up in 1840 between representatives of the British Crown, and over 500 Māori chiefs, at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands, in New Zealand's north. The British Crown saw the Treaty as the basis on which to found a nation-state and build a functioning government in New Zealand to deal with pressing issues, such as clearing up disputes surrounding land acquisitions and unruly settler behaviour. The Treaty ensured that Māori rights would be protected in exchange for a cession of sovereignty. However,

the situation soon became confused by the existence of two versions of the Treaty. According to the English text, the British Crown acquired full sovereignty with Māori ceding 'absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of sovereignty' (The Treaty of Waitangi Information Programme 2006). Yet most Māori signed a version in Te Reo, which was not an exact translation of the English version, and it failed to convey the full intent of the agreement. In the Te Reo version, Māori only ceded governance to the British Crown, retaining tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) over their taonga (treasure, anything highly prized). Therefore, Māori who signed the Treaty were most probably under the impression that their authority over their customs and law/lore would remain intact. Had they understood the full extent of the English version, the 500 Māori chiefs may not have agreed to freely give up their powers of tino rangatiratanga (Byrnes 2001; Ruru 2004a, 2004b).

The Treaty is sometimes described as New Zealand's founding document, yet this recognition has been tempered by the New Zealand Government's historic disregard of the guarantees made to Māori in 1840. The signing of the Treaty initially made New Zealand a part of the British colony of New South Wales, Australia, with the *New Zealand Constitution Act 1852* conferring the responsibility of government from Britain to New Zealand settlers (The Treaty of Waitangi Information Programme 2006). The Treaty has also never had any legal standing in New Zealand, unless specifically referred to in legislation. While Māori have consistently called for the terms of the Treaty to be honoured, it was only in the 1970s, when a groundswell of Māori visibly took action in protest against government breaches that the Treaty began to gain mainstream recognition (Ruru 2004a). Consequently, reference to the Treaty 'principles' has developed as a way of denoting the Treaty while side-stepping the ambiguities surrounding the English and Māori texts. The growing prominence of Māori activism was a big contributing factor to the passing of the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975*, which established the Waitangi Tribunal and the subsequent Treaty settlement process (Walker, R 1990). Treaty settlements directly involve three main groups: the claimants, who put their case forward in relation to allegations that the Crown has breached the Treaty; the New Zealand Government, who responds to the case; and the Waitangi Tribunal who 'defines the problem and recommends a package of solutions' (Kawharu, IH 1989, p. xv). The Waitangi Tribunal has only ever been able to make recommendations, and it has no powers to compel the government into action. If the government decides to settle a Treaty claim, the Office of Treaty Settlements negotiates

with the claimants on behalf of the government. Once the claimants and the government agree on the terms of a settlement, they sign a deed and legislation is passed. Redress usually involves an apology from the government and financial recompense, and it can include return of culturally significant areas of land, greater participation in the management of culturally important areas or resources, statutory acknowledgements of historical, spiritual and traditional associations with areas, and the restoration of traditional place names (Hickey 2006; MCH 2012; OTS 2002). Jacinta Ruru (2013) suggests that New Zealand is one of the leading countries seeking to make amends with indigenous peoples, with Ruru detailing how more than twenty settlement statutes have now been enacted with Māori throughout the country as part of the Treaty settlement process.

Treaty settlement for Matiu/Somes Island

Matiu/Somes is a 24.8 hectare island, with 'Matiu' in Māori referring to the daughter or niece of legendary Polynesian navigator Kupe; and 'Somes' after the deputy governor of the New Zealand Company, whose vessel, the *Tory* arrived in Wellington harbour in 1839. The position of Matiu/Somes Island, with unobstructed views across flat plains into the lower North Island, and an outlook south towards the North Island's southern-most peninsulas, has endeared Matiu/Somes Island to successive groups of Māori. The island's strategic location has also led to a myriad of different uses by Wellington's settler population. Matiu/Somes Island was the location of New Zealand's first inner harbour lighthouse, a human quarantine station, and an animal quarantine station for over 100 years. It was an internment camp for enemy aliens during World War I and World War II, in addition to being the location of heavy anti-aircraft guns and a top secret naval station. In recent times, Matiu/Somes Island has become a place of refuge, as the centre of a concentrated volunteer, Taranaki Whānui and DOC effort to return native plants and animals to the island's ecosystem.

The iwi and hapū living in the Wellington harbour area at the time of the signing of the Treaty in 1840 originated from the Taranaki region of the North Island. Taranaki Whānui's continued residence in Wellington since the signing of the Treaty attributes them the rights and duties of mana whenua (primary Māori authority), which supports them in making a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in recognition of their role as the traditional guardians of the Wellington harbour and associated lands (PNBST 2012). The claim of Taranaki Whānui that involves Matiu/Somes Island relates to breaches by the government of its obligations under

the Treaty. These breaches include the government's eventual acquisition of the Port Nicholson Block (Wellington harbour), its mishandling of the administration of the lands reserved for Taranaki Whānui, and the compulsory acquisition and endowment of Taranaki Whānui lands for public purposes (OTS 2008). In September 2009, a Treaty settlement returned land ownership of Matiu/Somes Island to the Trustees of the Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust (PNBST) as part of a larger cultural, financial and commercial redress to settle the Treaty claims of Taranaki Whānui. The settlement was empowered by *The Port Nicholson Block (Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika) Claims Settlement Act 2009* which gives effect to certain provisions of the Deed of Settlement of August 2008.

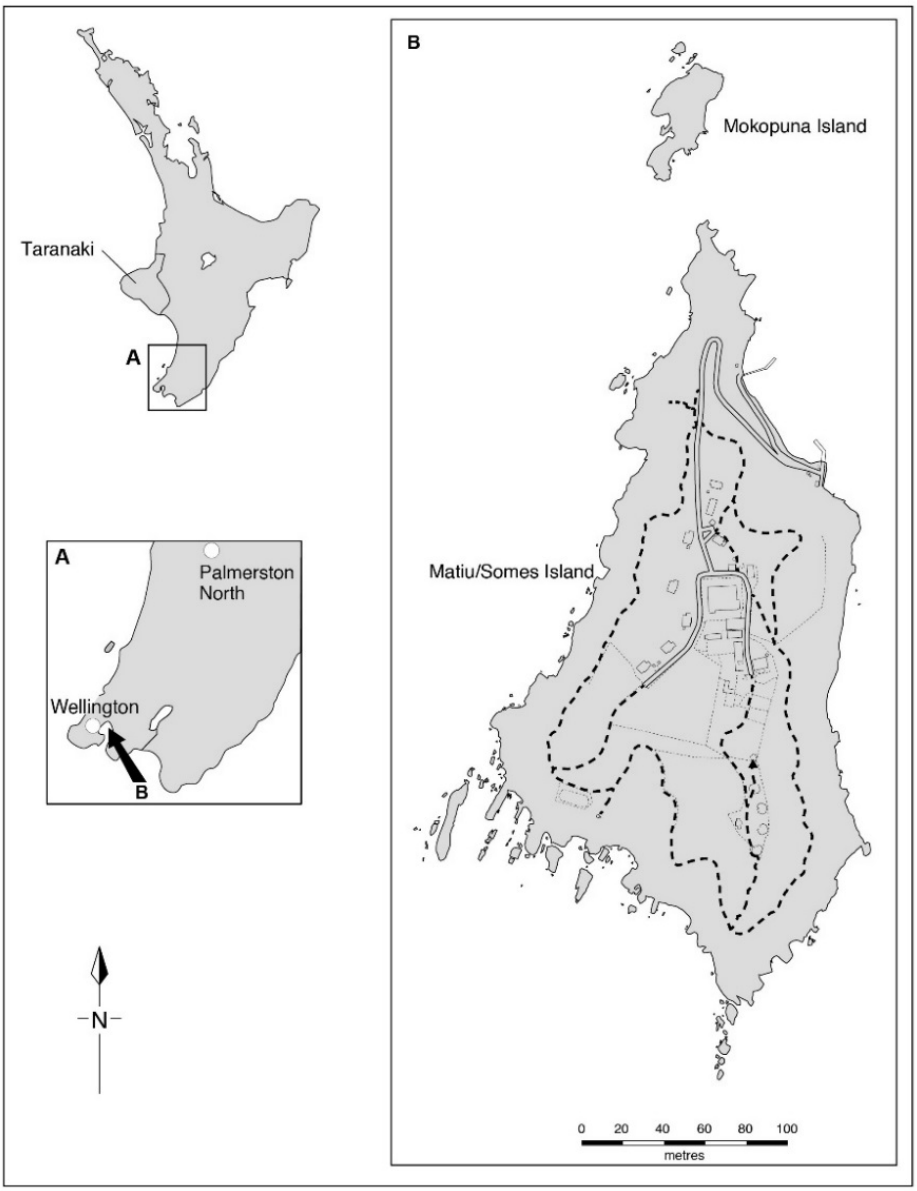

Figure 4: Locating Matiu/Somes Island and Taranaki in New Zealand. Map by Jeremy Rolfe

However, despite the transferral of the ownership of Matiu/Somes, Makāro and Mokopuna islands from the New Zealand Government to Taranaki Whānui, the Treaty settlement resolves that all three islands continue to be administered as reserves under the *Reserves Act 1977*. This means that DOC continues as the on-site manager responsible for caring for the scattered physical remains of the various uses of the island, and keeping it open to public visitors. The Treaty settlement also provides for the establishment of a 'Harbour Islands Kaitiaki Board' to administer the three islands. The Kaitiaki (governance) Board is chaired by Taranaki Whānui and it consists of an equal number of representatives selected by the Minister of Conservation, and representatives selected by Taranaki Whānui. Therefore, while the return of ownership of Matiu/Somes Island to Taranaki Whānui is key, the significance of the Treaty settlement also lies in the close formalised partnership that DOC and Taranaki Whānui now find themselves in as a result (*Port Nicholson Block (Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika) Claims Settlement Act 2009*).

Becoming the research problem…

I became increasingly unsure of my historic ranger role in the weeks that followed the ceremony to mark Te Hokitanga Mai ā Matiu. The message from DOC was to continue on as before, but then what was I to do about the Māori heritage of Matiu/Somes Island? I had been wondering about this since the Treaty settlement was finalised back in September 2009, and I thought that the ceremony of Te Hokitanga Mai ā Matiu at the end of 2010 would surely signal changes; a new beginning perhaps? A representative of Taranaki Whānui had already told me that there was too much interpretation of Pākehā heritage on Matiu/Somes Island.[2] But then according to the Treaty settlement, DOC were still responsible for the management of the buildings and structures on Matiu/Somes Island—including the interpretation of these items. Yet these buildings and structures sat within the wider sphere of the island—under the ownership of Taranaki Whānui. When I suggested a project which took into account both the Māori and Pākehā heritage of Matiu/Somes

[2] Pākehā is used throughout this thesis to refer to all New Zealanders who are not Māori. Pākehā can also refer to 'white' European settlers—largely because the majority of nineteenth century settlers to New Zealand emigrated from Europe—and Britain in particular. Michael King (2003, p. 168) details how the Māori text of the Treaty of Waitangi used the expression 'tangata maori' to mean 'ordinary people'. King contrasts this with how the Treaty also employed the Maori term 'pakeha' to 'refer to Queen Victoria's non-Maori subjects in New Zealand.' King attributes 'pakeha' to the pre-European word pakapakeha, 'denoting mythical light-skinned beings.' I use the differentiations of Māori/Pākehā throughout, as even though my thesis is about breaking down dichotomies and grid mentalities, Māori/Pākehā is a split which has a deep history of use and I am not sure how to reference New Zealand without it.

Island, Taranaki Whānui told me that they were not ready to share their stories, nor did they want to do it in the manner that I had suggested. It was obvious that there was a definite gulf between my DOC approach, where I had a small budget and small-scale plans to get some of the disused buildings on the island open over the summer period, and the Taranaki Whānui approach, which wanted a much larger, all-encompassing project that covered the whole island.

By this stage, I was running out of ideas on how I might better work with Taranaki Whānui. I was feeling stressed, tired and unsure of myself. But most of all I was feeling isolated, both from the organisation that I had worked for over the last two years, and also from Taranaki Whānui. I was working in a system that I was starting to not believe in anymore, and I wanted the freedom to work in a way that was more open to Taranaki Whānui perspectives. As a 'Generation Y' Pākehā New Zealander, I considered that I was amenable to a more fluid approach, where I was happy to experiment rather than adhere to DOC systems which appeared to me, to be unyielding to change. The idea of recognising Matiu/Somes Island's natural, Pākehā and Māori heritage values in isolation from each other seemed to be a distinction made from the minds of an earlier generation of park managers, rather than the reality that I was working with. Consequently, I started searching for ways and means to help me in my work, and this is when I came across the concept of 'cultural landscapes' in heritage management.

I began reading up on cultural landscapes, and from what I could tell, it was a concept that recognised the connections that I felt existed between my work in historic or cultural heritage, and my colleagues' work in natural heritage. I also thought that it might enable the creation of a networked connection between Pākehā, or settler heritage, and Māori heritage values. This way, I believed that cultural landscapes had the potential to suggest a more integrated approach that dissolved the distinctions between nature/settler/indigenous heritage values. At the same time, I continued to hold out for changes on Matiu/Somes Island, hoping that DOC would recognise that adjustments needed to be made. Yet unfortunately, the more integrated management approach that I was hoping for did not materialise. It appeared that it was challenging enough for each party to get through the changes set in motion by the Treaty settlement, let alone consider how they might create their own modifications to the situation that they had found themselves in.

So it was that the Treaty settlement for Matiu/Somes Island prompted me to question DOC's embedded nature/settler/indigenous heritage management approach. The challenges that I faced in trying to work within this system made me look for a means of more integrated management, which led me to question whether a 'cultural landscapes approach' might be the answer. While I had not received the new beginning for Matiu/Somes Island that I had been hoping for, there had been a new beginning of sorts, in the way that the situation on Matiu/Somes Island had inspired me to investigate a new management approach for the future. I became interested in the way that the scholarship on cultural landscapes promoted cultural heritage as more than 'sites' or 'islands in a sea of nature', and I wanted to investigate how this kind of thinking might be translated into heritage management at DOC. I found it puzzling that cultural landscapes appeared to be not very well acknowledged in New Zealand, when the concept had an international following clearly evidenced in any Google search. My initial investigations had revealed that cultural landscapes were being more obviously engaged with in Australia, and I wondered what was behind this difference between the two countries. I also hoped that my thinking around a small island in Wellington harbour might assist me to recommend broader changes for heritage management throughout New Zealand, and perhaps even for heritage management in other countries with similar colonial legacies. And it was with this hope that I embarked on the research that is reflected in the following pages of this thesis.

Introduction: On post-settler societies, cultural landscapes and heritage studies

> I have seen enough now to be in no doubt that Pakeha New Zealanders peering into the twenty-first century have, like white Australians, a history that now requires them to re-imagine their community, to rethink their nation's responsibility to its indigenous people—as Maori are indeed fast rethinking their responsibility to Pakeha. The key to re-imagining will be the landscape. (Park 2006, p. 91)

This is a thesis about heritage management in the twenty-first century. More specifically, it is about how New Zealand and other countries with similar colonial legacies are reimagining their diverse heritage values. It begins from a position which takes issue with the way things are, and it sets out to unsettle and transform, arguing that it is imperative that any new heritage imaginings are translated into the way that heritage is managed in practice. As such, this is practice-led research, which utilises the heritage realities of a small island in New Zealand as a way of opening up the theoretical framework to questioning and innovation. Matiu/Somes Island is indicative of the wider issues for heritage management in New Zealand, a nation born out of a settler disposition towards dividing the country up into land for culture and production, and land for nature and preservation. Moreover, the experiences gained from Matiu/Somes Island's position in a recent Treaty of Waitangi settlement highlights how embedded separations between nature/culture can be further complicated by demarcations made between Māori/Pākehā (indigenous/non-indigenous New Zealanders). It is how these compartments are at odds with the realities of heritage in practice in New Zealand which is at issue here.

Treaty settlements are encouraging New Zealanders to rethink their nation beyond compartments and dichotomies. This is due to the politics of settlement for locations like Matiu/Somes Island, which shed light on the view that nature and culture might not be such discrete entities after all. The case of Matiu/Somes Island also illuminates how a history of mutual constitution between Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders might be a more accurate description of the present than a history of disassociation. In addition to Māori renegotiating their place in New Zealand through the Treaty settlement process, Pākehā New Zealanders are also being encouraged by the findings and consequences of Treaty settlements to question their own personal belonging in New Zealand. Debate, conflict and action in relation to self-definition, sovereignty, and redress between Māori and Pākehā

New Zealanders is working to build awareness and generate a deeper change of attitude in the way that Māori and Pākehā interact with each other and their surroundings.

Therefore, New Zealand's post-Treaty settlement environment is exposing the need to move beyond the entrenched nature/settler/indigenous compartments that have so far dominated heritage management. Yet how does New Zealand make this shift? Well-known New Zealand ecological historian, Geoff Park, is recognised for his scholarship on 'whenua' and 'landscape'. Park (2006, pp. 99-100) explains that the Māori term 'whenua' 'refers not to land as tradable commodity, as virtually all the English-language treaty documentation assumes it meant, but to the interconnected ecology to which people belong, rather than it belonging to them.' Whenua, according to Park, is a product of people understanding and regarding themselves as being tied to land, water and life around them. Significantly, Park (1995, 2006) suggests that 'whenua' is not exclusively the domain of Māori, highlighting how Pākehā New Zealanders are also becoming more in tune with and connected to 'whenua'—both in their growing awareness of what whenua means for Māori, but also in asking what whenua might mean for them. Park (2006, p. 10) then locates 'landscape' as developing different connotations to the English term 'land', suggesting 'the landscape idea is becoming increasingly the matter of heart and home that whenua is.'

In this context, Matiu/Somes Island constitutes a fertile research problem in which to launch an investigation into whether the concept of 'landscape' offers the key to reimagining a way of breaking through the nature/settler/indigenous demarcations which dominate heritage management in New Zealand. Is landscape, or as it will be introduced over the next few pages of this thesis—'cultural landscapes'—a potential tool for the more integrated management of the diverse heritage values of post-Treaty settlement New Zealand? To address these questions, this research project will traverse the cultural landscapes of New Zealand, Australia, the United States of America and Canada. It will return to New Zealand to lay out its findings, and it will close on the same 24 hectare island, Matiu/Somes, where it all began.

The dominance of the grid

So how did New Zealand's heritage come to be grounded in a three-way demarcation between nature/settler/indigenous values? Pākehā settlers to New Zealand in the nineteenth century saw the country first in terms of the bountiful resources it could

provide, and secondly as a place where they had the power to create a version of what they had left behind in Britain and other locations. Park (2006, p. 202) contends that settlers 'made New Zealand into a land of two kinds of country: one in which the urge was to advance human activity, and another in which the urge was to *exclude* it.' It did not take long for settler imperial mindsets to dominate in New Zealand, as exploration fixed locations within wider cadastral grid surveys. As part of this surveying process, settlers picked out sites and artefacts for recognition in heritage lists. These tangible heritage items often related to early explorers, pioneers, 'firsts', the 'rarities' and the 'biggest and best' examples (McLean 2000; Trapeznik 2000). This created a class of settler heritage in New Zealand in which the cultural was deemed to be separate from its natural surroundings.

As the settler grid spread, it continued to slice up nature and culture, but more significantly it further emphasised the existence of a racial separation between the 'indigenous' and the 'settler'. Land taken by settlers was turned into private property, with those areas deemed not ideal for settlement or pastoralism set aside as scenic reserves and national parks. Jacinta Ruru (2008) details how the law which separated out the national parks from settlers also ensured that Māori were removed from these 'natural' areas. Paul Carter (1987) and George Seddon (1997) are united in their deliberations on how Australian settlers (much like those in New Zealand) used devices such as naming practices, maps and fences to relieve indigenous groups of their land, while at the same time achieving substantial cadastral control. Fellow Australian Denis Byrne (2003a, p. 172) indicates how the grid gave little or 'no recognition to pre-existing Aboriginal boundaries or spatial conventions, let alone to any form of pre-existing Aboriginal land title.' Yet at the same time, Byrne (2003a, p. 188) points out how the grid was 'as much a settler fantasy as it was a reality on the ground', suggesting that away from their maps and plans, settlers were 'nervous' that Aboriginal Australians were not conforming to the structures and controls of the cadastral grid, but were instead subverting the rules wherever they could. More will be said in Part I of this thesis about the kinds of imperial mindsets that settlers brought with them to New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Canada, and how it affected the way 'heritage' is manifest in these settler countries.

Yet it is safe to suggest that as time went on, the local conditions in New Zealand began to challenge the rigidity of the cadastral grid. And while it can be argued that Māori were assimilated into the grid, numerous events and instances of rebellion and protest have also

occurred, leading to more complex hybrid spaces in New Zealand, where Pākehā found themselves being affected and changed by the Māori communities they initially sought to dominate. As the settlers became 'settled' in New Zealand, the country started to be re-imagined in more complex ways. This growing unsettlement has worked to challenge the cadastral grid, and it is becoming increasingly obvious in New Zealand and other settler societies that it can be unrealistic to try and 'fit' contemporary circumstances within the structures and controls of the grid.

Becoming 'post-settler' in post-Treaty settlement New Zealand

New Zealand anthropologist Jeffrey Sissons employs the term 'post-settler' in his scholarship on colonialism and cultural change (Sissons 2004, 2005, 2009, 2010). Through his questioning of such topics as legitimacy and belonging, Sissons uses the term 'post-settler' to indicate the kinds of relationships that are emerging in countries like New Zealand, where indigenous peoples are reappropriating their own cultures and working to assert themselves into stronger positions within their contemporary national narratives. This 'assertiveness' is also working to reimagine the place of settlers in these 'post-settler societies'. Māori scholar Mason Durie suggests that in New Zealand:

> A new age is dawning: it is a post-settlement era where Māori relationships with the Crown and with each other will not be premised on past injustices but on future development. The question now is whether Treaty experiences over the past two or more decades will provide a basis for a new type of relationship between Māori and the Crown. Working together to construct an agenda for New Zealand's future will be a major Treaty task that will require new approaches both from Iwi and the Crown. (Durie 2009, p. 5)

While this thesis may place more emphasis on the concept of 'post-settler' and its meanings than Sissons originally intended, I have taken the time to clarify my usage of the term so that I might apply it across Australia, Canada and the United States. These countries have somewhat similar colonial legacies to New Zealand, and have also been reinvestigating the histories of their indigenous and settler relations. While they do not all have the same experiences of the post-settler, consideration of this term is a useful way of articulating the changing relationships between indigenous and settler groups in these countries. In addition to questioning indigenous/settler interrelationships, this thesis also works from the position that the various struggles of indigenous groups for representation across New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States are having an important influence on thinking about natural and cultural heritage values.

Contact zones

A complementary idea that is useful when considering how the post-settler explores the changing relationships between indigenous and settler groups, is James Clifford's idea of 'museums as contact zones'. Writing towards the end of the 1990s, Clifford (1997) suggests that the traditional role of the museum is changing from a centre or destination, to a 'contact zone'. 'This is both a description and a hope', writes Clifford (1997, p. 8), 'an argument for a more diverse participation in a proliferating 'world of museums'.' The term 'contact zones', borrowed from Mary Louise Pratt (1992, p. 4), refers to 'social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other', and it emphasises that groups are constituted by their relations with others. Ruth Phillips (2003, p. 155) draws attention to how source communities connecting with museums in the past were usually marginalised and/or exoticised by the modern museum. Phillips goes on to point out how the 'contact zone' concept is now introducing a paradigmatic shift that raises fundamental questions around the voice of authority in displaying and interpreting artefacts. Eileen Hooper-Greenhill (2000, pp. 152-3) terms this redefinition the 'post-museum', to accentuate the rupture with historical traditions of the past, while still acknowledging that the post-museum retains 'some of the characteristics of its parent': the modern museum. The growing appreciation of museums as places to understand artefacts in terms of what Trudy Nicks (2003, p. 20) identifies as 'human interactions—the stories, songs, and activities that give them meaning' raises questions about what this means for the places outside of the museum where these artefacts draw their provenance from. Analogous to the post-settler concept, the idea of contact zones unsteadies the established power relations between settler and indigenous groups, yet it also draws attention to the reciprocal expectations which are binding museums to source communities, detailing that a museum will have ongoing historical, political and moral relationships with these communities.

Paul Tapsell contends that these same principles of reciprocity might also be applied away from the museum. In his chapter in *Museums and Source Communities,* Tapsell (2003) speaks from one foot in, and one foot outside the museum. Tapsell describes the way that the different components involved in the return of artefacts to Māori source communities need to be in alignment to ensure the ancestral prestige attached to these items is not diminished in any way. One would think that this kind of care also needs to be translated into the wider heritage sphere. If there is a growing awareness in museums to understand

artefacts as taonga (treasure, anything highly prized) in terms of 'human interactions—the stories, songs, and activities that give them meaning' (Nicks 2003, p. 20), then there is surely a need for this to spread out into understanding of the way that 'the human interactions—the stories, songs, and activities that give meaning' also apply to whenua/landscapes.

Tapsell closes his chapter by contending that:

> Museums and indigenous source communities not only have a shared past, but now need to find new ways to share the future if both are to move out of survival mode into domains of sustainability. Tolerance of differing viewpoints, understanding one another's expectations and beliefs, and learning to recognise and negotiate boundaries, are critical factors both parties will need to accept if there is any hope of developing relationships for future benefit. (Tapsell 2003, p. 250)

Cultural landscapes

My work experience and readings of the heritage literature led me to the concept of 'cultural landscapes' as a potential tool for moving away from the entrenched nature/settler/indigenous mentality. 'Landscape' appears to offer more space to consider nature/settler/indigenous heritage values together, while at the same time being open to the more intangible elements that connect these diverse heritage values. I was particularly drawn to the way that World Heritage was employing cultural landscapes as 'the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity—they represent a closely woven net of relationships, the essence of culture and people's identity' (Rössler 2006, p. 334). At its most basic, the concept of 'cultural landscapes' is about people's interactions with their surroundings, and I wanted to explore this further, something I do in full at the end of Part I. Yet by way of introduction, I will quickly locate my research project in relation to the wider heritage scholarship on cultural landscapes.

This thesis sets out to honour the work of the many heritage practitioners and scholars before me who have examined 'cultural landscapes' as a means of forging out a new future for heritage management. There is a core group of Australian heritage practitioners/scholars in particular, who have set a very strong foundation for me to launch my research from, and I want to acknowledge their efforts here. Steve Brown's (2007, 2008, 2010, 2012) work is significant in its focus on operationalising the concept of cultural

landscapes in contemporary park management; Denis Byrne's (Byrne 2003a, 2003b; Byrne, Brockwell & O'Connor 2013) scholarship investigates how Aboriginal heritage challenges non-indigenous Australians to consider heritage as more than tangible sites. Jane Lennon's (Lennon 1997, 1997a, 1999a, 2000, 2000a, 2003, 2004, 2004a, 2005, 2012; Lennon et al. 1999; Lennon & Mathews 1996) extensive portfolio of work on cultural landscapes sets out a road map for how Australia has been engaging with the concept over the last twenty to thirty years. The scholarship of Isabel McBryde (1995, 1997, 2000) alerts us to the spiritual qualities that cultural landscapes hold for Aboriginal Australians; Jim Russell's (1988, 1989, 1992; Russell & Jambrecina 2002) work is useful in its questioning of cultural landscapes and the 'wilderness' idea; and Ken Taylor's (1988, 1990, 1994, 2009, 2012; Taylor & Altenburg 2006; Taylor & Lennon 2011; Taylor & Lennon 2012; Taylor & Tallents 1996) commentaries on cultural landscapes in Australia and Asia challenge traditional western ideas of heritage as an authentic product.

Yet I also want to build on the work that these and other cultural landscape pioneers have initiated. I particularly want to add to the familiar nature/culture dichotomy within the scholarship on cultural landscapes, to bring in the existence of a nature/settler/indigenous division. While the thinking about the nature/culture dichotomy has been formative to the scholarship on cultural landscapes, a three-way nature/settler/indigenous division more clearly expresses the experiences of the countries of New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. A monolithic 'culture' is an overly simplistic way to view how diverse peoples are engaging with nature. And while I acknowledge that my use of 'settler/indigenous' is still a little rudimentary when it comes to considering the culturally diverse societies that we now find ourselves part of, an embrace of the nature/settler/indigenous allows me to connect into the thinking of the colonial cadastral grid, which is embedded in the way that the settler countries of New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States have historically approached the management of their heritage values.

I would also like this thesis to promote a reassessment of the way that cultural landscapes are considered in the heritage scholarship. There is a tendency amongst the existing heritage literature to adhere to an established formula on how to write about cultural landscapes. These kinds of narratives generally focus in on defining what cultural landscapes are, and time is spent cataloguing the different descriptions of what a

‘landscape’ contains, including such details as the Germanic roots of the cultural landscape term. More often than not, this literature will reference American cultural geographer Carl Sauer, and his well-subscribed quote that ‘the cultural landscape is fashioned out of a natural landscape by a culture group’ (Sauer 1925, p. 46). The impact that Donald Meinig (1979a), JB Jackson (1984), Pierce Lewis (1979), along with their associates David Lowenthal (1965), and William Hoskins (1955), have had on ‘landscape’ thinking will normally also be part of the discussion. It is then common to launch into how the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) World Heritage Committee introduced cultural landscapes as a new type of property on the World Heritage List in 1992. There will be discussion on how this event, and the sub-categories that were developed as part of this World Heritage process, have influenced the way that the world has come to know cultural landscapes for heritage management. The more recent heritage scholarship on cultural landscapes might then bring in the work of cultural geographers such as Peter Jackson (1989), Don Mitchell (2000), and John Wylie (2007), to highlight how the issues of power, identity, and the more embodied experiences of landscape generate an understanding of the concept as focussed on process rather than product. From here, it is common to describe case studies which are engaging with the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management. Yet in moving onto the real-life case studies and practical heritage management concerns, these narratives can sometimes lose sight of the ideas expressed at the beginning, with the descriptive realities of the case study examples taking over the rest of the discussion.

Therefore, while I will be engaging with the existing debates on cultural landscapes in heritage studies and other disciplines such as cultural geography and anthropology, it is also necessary for me to forge out on my own in order to make my significant and original contribution to knowledge and understanding in the field of heritage studies. My interest in cultural landscapes for heritage management has grown out of my experiences working as a heritage practitioner, and as such I have endeavoured to focus my investigations on the challenges of translating the concept of cultural landscapes into heritage practice, a point of contention recurrently mentioned in the literature, yet there have been limited attempts to work past the gulf of cultural landscapes on paper and cultural landscapes in practice. I also bring to the dialogue on cultural landscapes the need to include an examination of how people’s sensory and emotional connections with landscapes can be an important part of the equation. I will bring into the discussion the notion of ‘affect’, and will use my personal

experiences at the World Heritage cultural landscape of Tongariro National Park to suggest that consideration of this 'more-than-representational' component can enhance a cultural landscapes approach.

Different manifestations of cultural landscapes

The direction that I have taken in my investigation of cultural landscapes as a tool for heritage management in post-Treaty settlement New Zealand, has been led in part by the World Heritage associative cultural landscape listing of Tongariro National Park in 1993 (Tongariro). Tongariro was the first property inscribed on the World Heritage List under the cultural landscapes criteria introduced in 1992, adding to its prior inscription under natural criteria in 1990. The 'associative cultural landscape' inscription means that Tongariro was included on the World Heritage List 'by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent' (UNESCO 1993c). In Tongariro's case, the associative cultural landscape listing recognises the cultural and social significance of Mount Tongariro and its surrounds to Māori, particularly the iwi (tribe) of Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Titchen 1993) (more will be said on this in Part III of this thesis). Associative cultural landscape is one of three World Heritage cultural landscapes categories, with 'defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man', and 'organically evolved landscape' making up the other two (UNESCO nd). What is interesting, is that while international commentators such as Lennon (2005a, p. 206) suggest that the inscription of Tongariro as the first World Heritage cultural landscape has 'set a precedent for recognising cultural values in natural areas and living cultural values expressed in the landscape', the World Heritage cultural landscape status appears to have only had a relatively minor impact in New Zealand. In countries like Australia and Canada[3], the World Heritage cultural landscape criteria and categories have filtered into national and local heritage management, and particularly into the ways that park organisations in these countries are considering heritage management (Brown, S 2010, 2012; Buggey 1995, 1999, 2004; Lennon 2005a; Lennon & Mathews 1996; Moylan, Brown & Kelly 2009). However, in New Zealand, the Department of Conservation (DOC) as New Zealand's major parks organisation has not employed the concept of cultural landscapes beyond its management of Tongariro. This lack of national endorsement has left the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management to be only sporadically employed

[3] The United States of America has been formally engaging with cultural landscapes as a type of cultural resource in the national park system since 1988 (Page, Gilbert & Dolan 1998).

by different local groups in New Zealand. Yet the fact that different New Zealand groups are engaging with cultural landscapes, or iterations thereof, in the absence of national leadership, suggests that cultural landscapes is a concept which resonates, and which is needed, and this will be the topic of discussion in Part III of this thesis.

DOC's limited engagement with cultural landscapes for heritage management outside of World Heritage prompted me to look to case studies from parks organisations in Australia, Canada and the United States for guidance on cultural landscapes for heritage management. My investigation of the international case studies in Part II will engage with the ideas, the policies and the practices of cultural landscapes for heritage management in these three countries, and will provide insight into how they are engaging with cultural landscapes for heritage management. No one has as yet taken a wide view to critically examine how heritage managers across Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States parks organisations are engaging with cultural landscapes in heritage management. Thus while there is plenty of scholarship comparing and contrasting international usage of cultural landscapes at the World Heritage level, my scholarship will break new ground in its international comparison of cultural landscapes at more local and national levels.

My research will also investigate whether cultural landscapes are the particular remit of indigenous groups, or only settler groups. Or can cultural landscapes be applicable for the heritage management of diverse heritage values together? The scholarship on indigenous heritage values and cultural landscapes from Australia, the United States, and Canada has tended to focus on the more remote and iconic locations, such as Uluṟu Kata Tjuṯa National Park in Australia, or the Fall Caribou Crossing in Canada, for example (Andrews & Buggey 2012; Buggey 1995, 2004; Harrison 2013b; Horton 2004; Lennon 2005a; Mason, Rachel 2004; McBryde 1997; Neufeld 2007). My reflection on the existence of indigenous heritage in more urban areas, while addressing the gap in the literature also brings to the fore the view that indigenous heritage values exist in highly modified areas, just as they exist in remote 'untouched' areas. Examining indigenous and settler heritage values in close proximity to each other is also more indicative of the realities of the post-settler environment where there is daily encounter and entanglement, rather than removed and isolated existences. Altogether, this research is an innovative investigation that breaks the bounds of nature/culture and indigenous/settler, to attempt to examine all of these diverse

heritage values together. This focus on plural post-settler societies, heritage making, and cultural landscapes is an innovative step in heritage management theory and practice.

Cultural landscapes and heritage studies

The explicit focus of this research project on the ways that nature/settler/indigenous heritage values are considered in relation to management means that this thesis is heavily grounded in heritage studies. Yet at the same time, my interest in cultural landscapes, and in breaking through embedded imperial mind-sets, has encouraged me to read widely across the associated disciplines of cultural geography, anthropology, history, archaeology, museum studies, indigenous studies, ecology and other natural history texts as part of the composition of this thesis. I review the literature in detail in Part I, where I pay particular attention to how the scholarship on heritage has changed its course in recent times. Initially focussed on inheritance and the preservation of buildings and monuments of 'the West', there is now an increasing body of literature which suggests that the emergence of the heritage concept needs to be related to the social, economic and cultural changes that took place in the closing decades of the twentieth century (Winter 2013c). Tim Winter (2013c, p. 5) promotes 'theorising heritage beyond the West'—not to suggest doing away with the Eurocentric discourses which have traditionally permeated heritage studies, but more to recognise the kinds of limitations that this grounding generates, and to open heritage up to new 'points of focus'.

Therefore, in order to examine heritage management in post-Treaty New Zealand, I have attempted to open up a new 'point of focus' in laying out Māori and Pākehā perceptions around the post-settler, cultural landscapes and heritage studies. As part of this discussion I recognise that while I have endeavoured to learn from my Māori friends and colleagues over the years, my knowledge of Māori world views is only peripheral. However, I hope that by venturing into unsteady territory to examine these ideas together, this research project might inspire others with more knowledge to take my findings further. It is also important to point out that my understanding of settler/indigenous interrelationships is largely couched in my New Zealand experiences. And while I have strived to reference as much New Zealand heritage scholarship as possible within this thesis, there are only a small number of research theses being produced in New Zealand in the area of heritage studies or on heritage related topics. However, I have found the following studies to be very useful: Val Kirby's (1997) 'Heritage in Place'; Janet Stephenson's (2005) 'Values in Space and Time:

A framework for understanding and linking multiple cultural values in landscape'; Susan (Huhana) Smith's (2010) 'Hei Whenua Ora: Hapū and iwi approaches for reinstating valued ecosystems within cultural landscape'; and Elizabeth Pishief's (2012) 'Constructing the Identities of Place: An Exploration of Māori and Archaeological Heritage Practices in Aotearoa New Zealand'.

Marie Louise Stig Sorensen and John Carman (2009, p. 17) propose that heritage studies is 'becoming an area calling out for investigation and analysis aiming to understand how heritage becomes constituted, what it is and does, and how different groups engage with it.' As I have already explained, my consideration of how 'heritage becomes constituted' is very much determined by my work experiences in New Zealand, and therefore my research approach is grounded in the empirical—with my theorising on heritage and cultural landscapes germinating out of my practical work experiences. As such, this research approach has led me to question recent comments made by well-known heritage geographers Tunbridge, Ashworth and Graham (2013b, p. 371), who contend that the existing 'yawning gap' between academic theorising and practical applications in heritage studies can best be bridged 'not by academics being more aware of the pragmatic difficulties of the world of heritage practice, but by more, better thought out theory.' They then suggest that 'academia can most effectively offer assistance to practice by clarifying what we are actually doing, and the consequences of doing it, meanwhile grounding such thoughts in unequivocal theory' (Tunbridge, Ashworth & Graham 2013b, p. 371). While I agree with Tunbridge, Ashworth and Graham's call for better conceptualisations of heritage theory, I do not think that the relationship between academic theorising and practical application is quite so clear cut, especially when many who occupy positions within academia also work as heritage practitioners. Andrea Witcomb and Kristal Buckley (2013, p. 563) bring to the fore how the newly minted 'critical heritage studies' takes an overly negative view of heritage practice in its critique as part of an effort to 'rebuild heritage from the ground up'. Witcomb and Buckley point out how the Association of Critical Heritage Studies Manifesto 2011 appears to work from the belief that the critique of the heritage industry can only be made by detached academics. As an alternative, they suggest that 'it should be possible to engage with the heritage industry while also retaining critical distance and adding to our body of critical knowledge' (Witcomb & Buckley 2013, p. 563). Therefore, I suggest that an analytical approach to thinking on cultural landscapes—one that is couched in the practicalities of management, and entangled with the theories on

heritage and landscape—is what is required to address the kinds of issues that I faced working as a heritage practitioner in New Zealand. Geographer, Hayden Lorimer (2008, p. 197), echoes my feelings on heritage theory and practice when he speaks of how those who actually 'encounter' landscapes, the ones who are out and about, engaging with, and paying attention to the 'minute particulars', are well placed to gain insights for thinking through possibilities for future understanding and growth. As part of a wider panel discussion led by Peter Merriman, Lorimer notes:

> I guess what I'm getting at—to put things just a little more bluntly—is that there's still plenty of mileage left in descriptions of 'knowing-by-doing' and practical forms of intelligence. I mean here accounts that are thickened by the patient labour of studied inspection or attentive listening; and lightly flecked with insights from theory. (Merriman et al. 2008, p. 197)

Furthermore, my research project also sets out to convince others of the need for a 'boundary crossing conversation' which promotes a stronger dialogue between heritage academics and practitioners (Winter 2013b). A more robust relationship between heritage academics and practitioners might also support a stronger presence for heritage studies against the other closely-related and more well-established disciplines of cultural studies, geography, archaeology, anthropology and history, for example. However, it will be challenging to draw heritage academics and practitioners more closely together, when the 'critical heritage studies' academics, who in their efforts to 'investigate how knowledge and power intersect with and influence contemporary heritage practices' (Baird 2009, p. 43), have fashioned their own power dynamic between themselves and heritage practitioners.

This research project will draw attention to how innovative ideas on what cultural landscapes are in relation to heritage, what they contain, involve, and how they might be managed, are not only generated by heritage academics. It will illustrate that new ideas are also coming from those working in the field of heritage management, who are reflecting on, and processing what they do in order to be more effective in a climate conditioned by ever-decreasing resources.

Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into three parts, with each being made up of sections organised to connect into the objectives of this research project. Matiu/Somes Island features as the bookends to begin and conclude this thesis; the Prologue sets the scene for the research

problem, and the Postscript examines a future for more integrated heritage management on Matiu/Somes Island.

Part I sets out the overarching frame that this research project hangs from. In Part I Section One I outline the key elements of the research question and objectives, and explain that my research project follows a constructionist interpretive approach, with ethnographic methods. Part I Section Two considers how a nature/settler/indigenous demarcation has developed in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States, and how this thinking continues to affect heritage management in these countries. In Part I Section Three I investigate the genesis of cultural landscapes for heritage management, focussing on how cultural landscapes came to figure within the World Heritage process and in other countries. Central to Part I is my examination of how the nexus between the ideas and the doing of cultural landscapes is well-rehearsed in the heritage scholarship, and I suggest that a 'cultural landscapes approach' is a useful way of framing cultural landscapes for heritage management that takes into account the translation from concept to practice.

Part II investigates how cultural landscapes approaches are being utilised in Australia, the United States and Canada. My literature review and initial online policy investigations revealed that parks organisations within Australia, Canada and the United States were taking leading roles in employing cultural landscapes for heritage management. This suggested that case studies selected from within these organisations could offer insights into how the concept of cultural landscapes is translated into practice, and thereby provide real-life examples of whether cultural landscapes approaches provide useful tools for the integrated management and interpretation of diverse heritage values. My discussion then spends some time considering what a 'cultural landscapes approach' entails, working to connect the kinds of ideas that are expressed around cultural landscapes, with the management policies and practices of heritage management across the three case studies.

Part III returns to New Zealand, with Section One investigating the World Heritage cultural landscape listing of Tongariro National Park. I suggest that contemporary considerations of the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management need to take into account the more than aesthetic, the more than material, and the more-than-representational. Part III Section Two considers the New Zealand situation in light of the international findings, and it

provides recommendations for how New Zealand might develop a cultural landscapes approach that caters to its current post-Treaty settlement situation.

Part I Section One: Approaching the research design

This section details the approach and research design which have guided my investigation into cultural landscapes in New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Canada. It covers the perspectives, epistemology, theoretical influences, methodology, and the methods employed as part of this qualitative design.

Perspectives informing the methodology

The idea for this research project grew out of my experiences working as a historic ranger for the Department of Conservation (DOC) in Wellington, New Zealand. My role involved managing and interpreting the historic sites located on DOC-managed land, and Matiu/Somes Island in Wellington harbour was a place where I spent a great deal of my time. While I enjoyed my job, I found myself increasingly frustrated by what I considered to be a disconnected workplace. I was particularly concerned by the dichotomy that I perceived to exist between cultural and natural heritage management. And as the only 'historic' staff member in a team of around fifteen others across biodiversity, visitor assets, service, and community relations programmes, I was largely disassociated from the work plans of my colleagues. The workplace compartmentalisation was further echoed in DOC policy, with the plan for the conservation management of Matiu/Somes Island being organised into the categories of 'restoration of biotic communities', 'protection against threats', 'management of historic places' and 'visitor management' (DOC 2000). The management policy for Matiu/Somes Island also made a distinction between 'cultural significance' and 'historic significance', with the former being a short section noting the location of Matiu/Somes Island at the head of the fish of 'Polynesian demigod' Maui (DOC 2000).

My sense of unease with the compartmentalised DOC management approach was further exacerbated by the finalisation of the Treaty of Waitangi settlement for Taranaki Whānui in 2009. As the prologue to this dissertation has explained, the Treaty settlement conferred ownership of Matiu/Somes Island and leadership of the newly established governance or Kaitiaki Board to Taranaki Whānui. DOC was to continue in its role as on-site manager of Matiu/Somes Island, working closely with the new Kaitiaki (governance) Board. This exciting situation left me wondering what changes DOC might be prompted to introduce, as it is widely known that Māori New Zealanders do not make strict distinctions between the

taonga (treasure, anything highly prized) of the natural environment, and tangata whenua (local people). The fact that 'tangata whenua' means people born of the land, connecting the placenta of the land where people's ancestors have lived with the people of today, describes a very different interpretation to the ideas behind the DOC management approach that I was familiar with (Park 2006). I also wondered what the settlement might mean for my role, in that it was never clearly articulated how I was to work with the Māori heritage of Matiu/Somes Island in my role as 'historic' ranger. I thought that having Taranaki Whānui on board in a more formalised governance role might make my position clearer. However, my initial excitement was soon dashed when it transpired that we were to continue to follow the compartmentalised DOC management approach: 'business as usual', but with the added recognition that Taranaki Whānui were now the landowners of Matiu/Somes Island. No extra support was implemented to manage the changes enacted by the Treaty settlement, with a further impediment being that the Māori liaison staff member for the Wellington region was seconded to DOC's national office during this time.

In my efforts to carry on with 'business as usual' I experienced a mixture of anxiety and uncertainty surrounding project progression and approvals. I did not have the closer working relationship with Taranaki Whānui that I had initially thought the Treaty settlement might foster, and when I did get to liaise with representatives of Taranaki Whānui, I witnessed first-hand their frustrations with DOC's compartmentalised systems. The whole situation impelled me to question not only the compartmentalised DOC management approach, but also myself, and what I knew as a Pākehā New Zealander. My main concern was that Matiu/Somes Island might only be the beginning of many more Treaty settlements where land returned to Māori would continue to have DOC involved in its management. If this was the case, then surely DOC needed to start seriously considering changing its management systems.

So it was that Matiu/Somes Island became the research problem that propelled me to formulate the central research question:

> Do cultural landscapes approaches provide useful tools for the integrated management of the diverse heritage values of post-Treaty settlement New Zealand?

The research question will be explored by pursuing the following five objectives:

1. To identify how heritage management operates in post-settler societies

2. To define what cultural landscapes approaches are

3. To explore how cultural landscapes approaches are being utilised in the emerging post-settler societies of Australia, the United States of America and Canada

4. To consider why cultural landscapes approaches have received little attention and utilisation in New Zealand

5. To transmit my findings to the intricacies of New Zealand's post-Treaty settlement situation, and explore whether there is value in applying a cultural landscapes approach to the research problem of Matiu/Somes Island.

Outlining the key elements of the research question and objectives

I considered that the diverse heritage values of Matiu/Somes Island were being compartmentalised under the different headings of natural; historic, or more specifically settler heritage; and indigenous as 'cultural' heritage. I also found that these three categories were a common distinction that was being made across New Zealand's heritage management systems. I was of the opinion that organising heritage into distinct categories for management contradicted the real-life complexities being exposed in post-Treaty settlement New Zealand. Having recently completed postgraduate museum and heritage studies, I returned to my course materials for guidance, and it was here that I came across the concept of cultural landscapes. According to my course book a 'cultural landscape', was where 'cultural historical and natural features or events may be interpreted in relation to each other as part of a broad regional map of the human past' (Barber & McLean 2000, p. 91). This idea was a promising start to where I felt heritage management in New Zealand needed to go. After some further inquiry, I was struck by just how little the phrase 'cultural landscape' appeared in heritage management legislation and policies New Zealand wide; this was in contrast to my initial scoping of the concept's use in Australia. What made New Zealand's lack of engagement with cultural landscapes all the more perplexing was that New Zealand has the distinction of having the first World Heritage-recognised cultural landscape. Tongariro National Park in New Zealand, already inscribed on the World Heritage List for its natural values in 1990, was the first cultural landscape listed in 1993,

included as an example of a cultural landscape strongly associated with the spiritual and cultural connections of Ngāti Tūwharetoa iwi (tribe) to the mountain of Tongariro. The international recognition of Tongariro National Park as a cultural landscape, combined with New Zealand's limited application of the concept outside of the World Heritage system, provoked me to turn my perfunctory interest into a more serious research undertaking investigating the 'nature' of cultural landscapes in New Zealand.

Initial scoping of my research question encouraged me to cast my net wider than New Zealand and Australia. This led me to the scholarship of the United States and Canada, and it also highlighted a level of ambiguity between 'cultural landscapes as a concept' written about in academia and 'cultural landscapes as an approach' employed practically by heritage managers. To tackle the research question I needed to address the objective of defining what 'cultural landscapes approaches' were, before investigating why cultural landscapes approaches have received minimal use in New Zealand.

I first needed to consider the context of New Zealand's post-Treaty settlement environment and how this is affecting the country's heritage management systems. Examining New Zealand's colonial experiences encouraged me to explore and make connections with other colonial legacies. New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Canada are all 'settler societies' created as a result of European settlement overseas. And while other places including South Africa, India and Latin America can be included within this group, the parallels that exist across the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand set them apart as temperate 'neo-Europes' retaining cultural ties to Britain. This is not to suggest that all four countries underwent universal colonial experiences, but rather, to illuminate the shared experiences of settler domination in these countries. 'Post-settler' society is about questioning the notions that were taken for granted in these 'settler societies', and it supports the view that relationships between indigenous and settler groups are currently changing and growing into something different. The focus of my first research objective on the operation of heritage management in post-settler societies was initially to identify why compartmentalisation is occurring in the management of heritage, and why this is a problem. Yet it was soon evident that I was making assumptions about the nature of reality, and that a step back was required. And it was within these early stages of my research project that a level of critical analysis developed.

Preliminary consideration of the literature on cultural landscapes revealed that the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior (US National Park Service), and Parks Canada, stood out as active leaders in the usage of the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management in North America. While the United States and Canada each have a central federal agency mandated to protect the national parks and other government managed protected areas, in Australia the majority of national parks are managed by the eight different states and territories. I found that the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service (NSW Park Service) had developed a portfolio of work on cultural landscapes that exceeded the detail of information that I could find for the other Australian state and territory parks organisations, and I selected this park organisation to represent Australia. A case study park location was then selected from the Australian, American and Canadian park organisations for the investigation of engagement with cultural landscapes. As will be discussed, the park case studies have been selected to complement the research problem of Matiu/Somes Island, a historic and scientific reserve in New Zealand.

It was then vital to return my focus to New Zealand to investigate the 'nature' of cultural landscapes for heritage management, in light of my international findings. I determined to interview some of the country's leading heritage professionals about why New Zealand has not followed Australia, the United States and Canada in applying cultural landscapes within its formal heritage management systems. The next step was to hypothesise how cultural landscapes might work in New Zealand and suggest recommendations for the future, so that I might circle back to Matiu/Somes Island and reflect on the research problem.

Epistemology and theoretical influences

This research project is about more than simply gathering 'facts'. It works from the position that there are no fixed meanings to be discovered, and it highlights an anti or post-positivist stance in the contention that reality can only be approximated (Denzin & Lincoln 2011). I am guided by the 'epistemological stance' of constructionism[4] in which I acknowledge that the world is determined by the people who live in it. Sotirios Sarantakos (2005, p. 37) explains that 'constructionism focuses on the firm belief that there is in practice neither

[4] Michael Crotty (1998) explains that constructionism is often used interchangeably with constructivism. Yet Crotty (1998, p. 58) makes the distinction that 'constructivism' is about 'the meaning making activity of the individual mind', whereas 'constructionism' includes 'the collective generation and transmission of meaning.' While constructivism appears to reify unique personal experiences, constructionism emphasises that individual constructions are also shaped by the 'cultures that we are born into', and can follow a more critical approach (Crotty 1998, p. 58 & p. 78).

objective reality nor objective truth.' It is people's interaction with the world, in specific social settings, and shaped by their own personal backgrounds, which underlies the concept that reality is not 'the reality' at all, but more a construction of different experiences (Sarantakos 2005; Schram 2006). My selection of constructionism also recognises that multiple knowledges exist, and that different people may construct different meanings in relation to the same phenomenon (Crotty 1998).

Sarantakos (2005, p. 39 author's emphasis) submits that 'the key process that facilitates construction and reconstruction is *interpretation*.' I am interpreting or reconstructing the constructions of others on how cultural landscapes approaches are being utilised in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. I am also developing an interpretation of whether cultural landscapes approaches provide useful tools for heritage management in New Zealand. Thus the philosophical stance that informs my chosen methodology seeks to reflectively assess culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the world (Crotty 1998; Sarantakos 2005). To find out about cultural landscapes approaches I have interpreted the views, opinions and perceptions of people as they are experienced and expressed in everyday life. In addition, I have used the views and opinions of individuals to investigate the wider factors and social conditions which generate certain situations and systems.

My interpretive approach is supplemented by a critical lens, where through my efforts to explain the constructed social realities I will provide critique and recommendations for change. Thomas Schram's (2006, p. 47) *Interpretive/Critical Continuum* is a useful way to illustrate my position between 'the interpretive aim of understanding and the critical aim of potentially unsettling the realities I am encountering.'

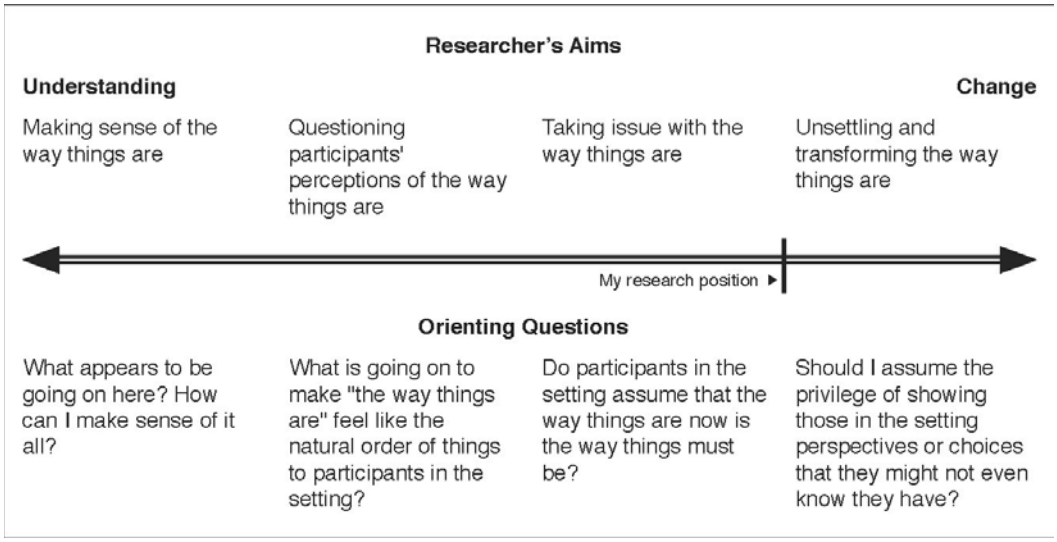

Figure 5: My research position on Schram's interpretive/critical continuum

While my research takes issue with the way things are, it is not of a steadfastly critical bent which sets out to transform the world. While transforming the world might be an underlying ambition, it is not the starting point of this research. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (2011, p. 15) stress that we are in 'a new age where messy, uncertain multivoiced texts, cultural criticism, and new experimental works will become more common.' The future, or 'eighth moment', as Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p. 3) coin this era, 'asks that the social sciences and the humanities become sites for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation states, globalization, freedom, and community.'

Methodology

My research project has grown out of my experiences working for DOC in New Zealand. This background has given me insight into how large parks organisations operate, and particularly how operational staff from within these organisations carry out their work. And while I recognise that the parks organisations from the countries within my post-settler framework will have a raft of different nuances, there are a lot of synergies between them due to New Zealand, Australian, and Canadian parks looking to the American national park model for direction. I found that I could identify with many of the points made by the people that I spoke with from parks organisations across Australia, Canada and the United States. I also found that my experiences working with Māori New Zealanders as part of my role at DOC engendered a level of awareness and respect which informed the discussions I had with representatives of indigenous communities in Australia, Canada and the United States. I believe that this knowledge gives my research project a depth that would not be

present if the research was undertaken by someone without this background. This reflection on my perspectives and bias has affected the way in which I have determined to carry out this research project, and at the same time it supports a connection between my interpretivist approach and social anthropology, particularly ethnography. James Clifford (1997, p. 8) is a critic of classical anthropology where a 'border' is erected between the observer and the observed, and he identifies instead a 'new anthropology' in which a 'borderland, a zone of contacts—blocked and permitted, policed and transgressive' exists. As part of this more interactive anthropology, Clifford (1997, p. 8) defines ethnographic fieldwork as a 'travel practice' that 'highlights embodied activities pursued in historically and politically defined places.' Clifford's positioning of ethnography is supported by Julian Murchison (2010), who explains that the ethnographer as researcher is not typically a detached or uninvolved observer. Cai Wilkinson (2013) adds that thinking about positionality—and being explicit about it—is considered important in ethnographic research.

Therefore, as an interpretive researcher with an affinity for ethnography, I sought out other studies which might provide useful guidance on how to best carry out my research project. Sharon Macdonald's (2002) ethnographic research at the Science Museum stood out as a useful example. Macdonald's anthropological–ethnographic perspective allows her to illuminate all the complexities and negotiations involved in producing an exhibition. Macdonald's approach is such that her perspective clearly elucidates that an exhibition is created by more than just its curators. As part of her research, Macdonald ensures that the political environment encircling the opening of the exhibition is never far from her discussion. Macdonald (2002, p. 8) contends that an ethnography 'coupled with historical and political–economic analysis' can provide a 'fuller account of the nature and complexities of production: of the disjunctions, disagreements and 'surprise outcomes' involved in cultural production.' It is this level of insight into complexity which my research hopes to emulate. More than anything, I have attempted to adopt the same kind of tone exercised by Macdonald, from her self-reflexive beginnings where she explains being late for her first day of fieldwork, to her discussion of the challenge in balancing her empathy for the curatorial team with her efforts to keep a critical distance. Macdonald's style is endearing to someone like me, whose past work experience so heavily colours my research direction.

Yet what I need to make clear is that unlike ethnography, where the primary research agenda is 'the study of cultures with the purpose of understanding them from the native point of view' (Sarantakos 2005, p. 207), my research project is not focussed on the inner workings of cultures. I am more concerned with people's constructions of the world they live and work in, and then using my interpretation of these individual constructions to formulate a larger picture of society. As such I found that I could ask people about what I needed to know, and that my research project did not necessitate that I spend extended periods of time in the field observing participants. Therefore, unlike Macdonald's starting point of the personalities of the individual museum staff, my research is more concerned with the systems that the individuals work within. Instead of a strict ethnographic research project, I have determined to follow an interpretivist approach with ethnographic methods.

To assist me in organising and framing the constructions of the world revealed within my research project I have looked to the 'social systems theory' of Niklas Luhmann. My search to find a way of organising the complexity of cultural landscapes as an approach for heritage management led me to Luhmann's work. I had identified three factors which I believed stood out as standard elements which might make up a cultural landscapes approach, and as a way of gathering up the three elements for closer examination, my supervisors and I began talking about a cultural landscapes approach as a 'system'. Luhmann is a German sociologist whose theory begins with the idea that there are 'social systems', and that these systems are distinct from the surrounding 'environment'.

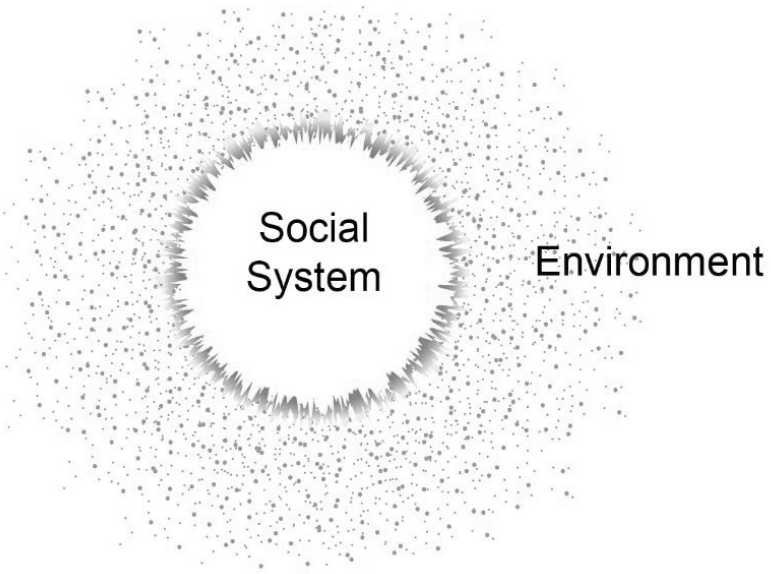

Figure 6: My interpretation of Luhmann's social system

Social systems are bounded, yet the boundary is permeable, with the external 'environment' having a strong influence on the system's inner workings (Luhmann 1995). The 'pseudo-boundary' is there to help recognise a 'system as difference' and to create a distinction between what is inside and what is outside (Luhmann 2013, p. 102). Luhmann's social systems theory is also shaped by the biological idea of autopoiesis, which means that social systems are 'self-organised' or 'self-referential', much like a human cell (Luhmann 1995).

Luhmann (1995) locates 'communication' as being central to the way that social systems function, reproduce and change their own structures. He describes communication as being made up of three elements: 'information', which has to do with a selection from a range of referential possibilities; 'utterance' as a selection from a range of intentional acts; and 'understanding' as the consequence of how the information is uttered or conveyed.

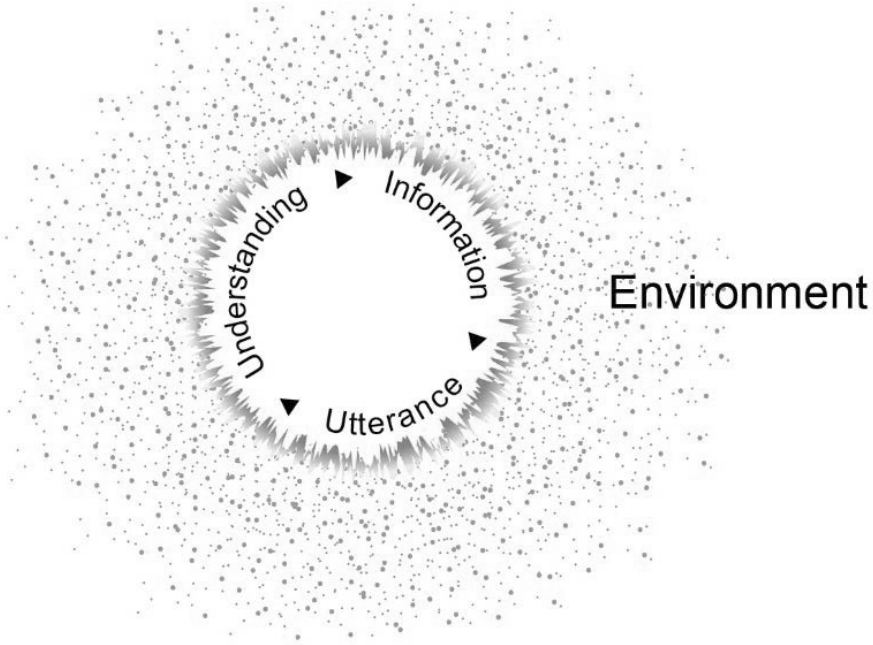

Figure 7: Luhmann's 'communication' in a social system is made up of information, utterance and understanding

Luhmann's (1995) reasoning for the three-way split has to do with his belief that communication is located outside of the consciousness of the individual. According to Luhmann, what people think and what they communicate are commonly different things, with the consequence being that the message that someone thinks they are communicating might not be what is interpreted or understood by someone else. Luhmann

(2013) also identifies 'understanding' as the key, noting that communication can only happen if somebody roughly understands, or even misunderstands. As a consequence Luhmann (1995) contends that the human individual is not central to understanding society, because individuals are only loci for social communication. It is what goes on between the individuals—the information, utterance and understanding—which is the focus of investigation. Thus, instead of approaching communication from the 'intended meaning' of the individual, Luhmann reverses the perspective so that the meaning of communication is determined through the understanding or interpretation.

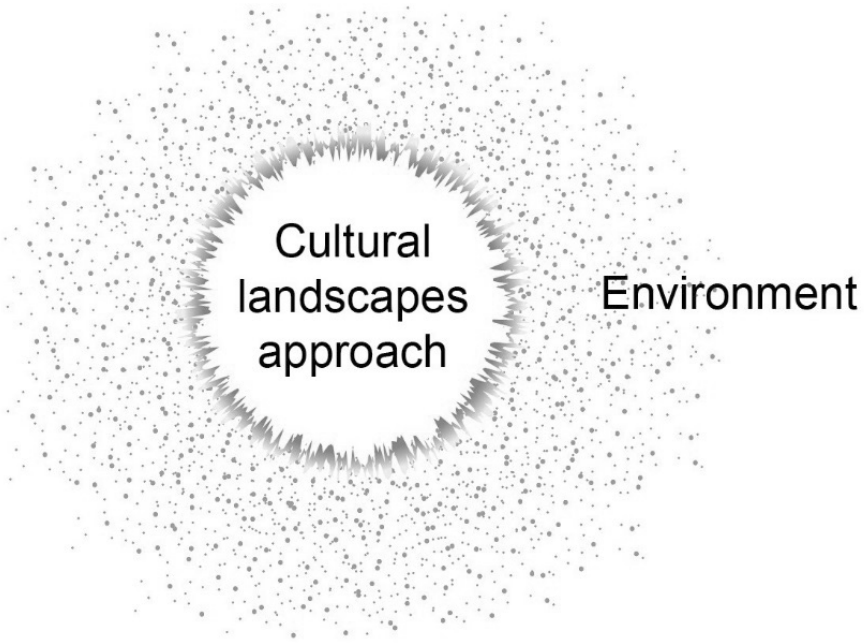

Figure 8: A cultural landscapes approach as a social system

The way that the three elements of information, utterance and understanding interrelate is a useful guide for thinking about how the elements/realms that I have identified as making up a cultural landscapes approach as a social system might also relate. I had conceived of the three realms so that I might make sense of what a cultural landscapes approach involves. I also needed a way of thinking about and comparing the different cultural landscapes approaches that I found across the four countries within my post-settler framework. Analogous to the Luhmann model of communication, I found there to be three common threads when investigating cultural landscapes for heritage management. Firstly, there are the *ideas* that I was reading about in the scholarship, hearing about at symposia and conferences, and taking on through conversations with people. These ideas were not

purely ‘academic’ as they came from a myriad of sources, and significantly included indigenous perspectives. Then there was what I was finding in *policy*: the information in the planning documents which dictate the details of management for protected areas in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. Thirdly, there was what was happening in *practice*, which I found out about by speaking with people working in operational roles within parks organisations across the four case-study countries.

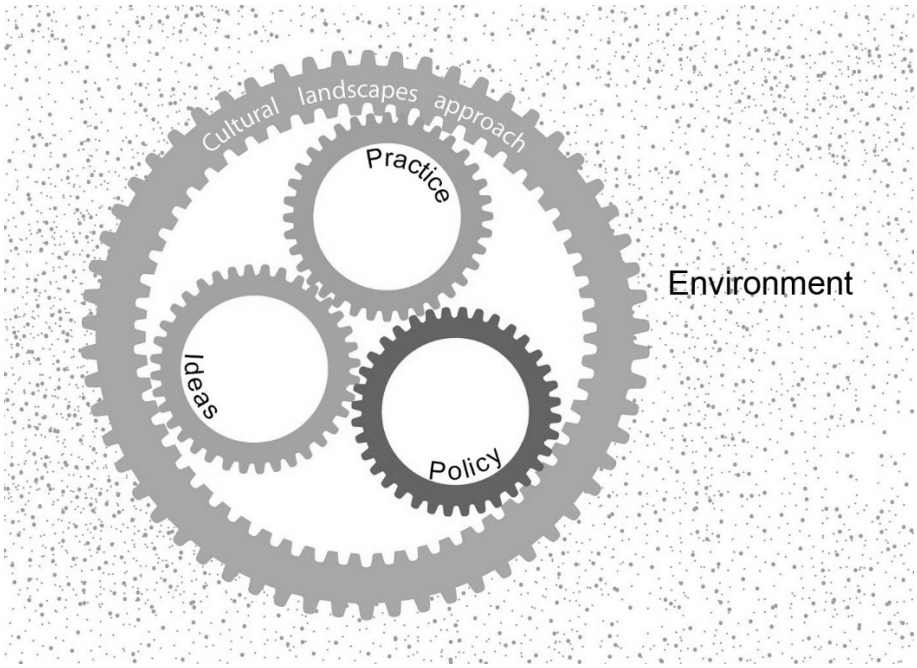

Figure 9: A close up of a cultural landscapes approach as a social system

My work experience in an operational role for DOC in New Zealand also contributed to how I thought about the interrelationships between the ideas, policy and practice. I considered that these three realms might be universal features in any cultural landscapes approach and determined to investigate further. What Luhmann’s dialogue on social systems and communication reveals when it is likened to the three realms is that there is more to the different elements than simply being a group of connected items. Luhmann (2013, p. 52) argues that social systems are more than what they are colloquially recognised for; they are more than a collective, and more than an ‘andness’. For example, communication is determined by how the different elements of information, utterance and understanding interact, and there is a type of operation at work as they relate which produces the system. Therefore, the realm of ideas, the realm of policy and the realm of practice are more than a

linear grouping, and it is the way that these three realms interrelate with each other which determines how a cultural landscapes approach as a social system is generated.

Furthermore, what makes Luhmann's theory even more applicable to my research project is the awareness of the observer in social systems. An observer is required to witness the difference between a social system and the environment. To be able to define the social system, the observer has to be related to it, with Luhmann (2013, p. 101) suggesting that the observer 'does not exist somewhere high above reality. He does not hover above things and does not look down from above in order to observe what is going on.' In reality, the observer is empirically connected with the system—as the observer makes an observation, and this observation is produced by a system, which in turn is produced by the observation, which continues the self-referential process. According to Luhmann (2013, p. 129) there is a switching, 'a back-and-forth oscillation', between internal and external observation. Luhmann (2013, p. 99) highlights how the shape that the social system takes relies heavily on the observer, submitting that 'one observer considers this constellation of cause and effect as important; another has a different concept of what is relevant, a different temporal horizon, and different tendencies to see causality at work instead of something else.' Therefore, observations are not the same as the reality observed; they are an interpretation. This distinction again underlines the requirement for me to be explicit about my own background and positionality in order to clarify the interpretations that I create. What I identify here as being a cultural landscapes approach 'social system' might not be the same conclusion reached by another.

In sum, my research project follows a constructionist interpretive approach, with ethnographic methods, and which looks to Luhmann's social systems theory as a way of organising its findings. At the same time, I am wary of the modernist, controlled, monocultural connotations that social systems theory brings with it. Australian law professor, Alex Zeigert (2005, p. 52), likens Luhmann's systems theory to an 'endless 'grid' of everything that constitutes society.' Zeigert (2005, p. 52) continues by noting that 'the result is a conceptual grid that can be read semantically in any direction—and in the logical form of a text from the beginning to the end or from the last chapter to the first.' I disagree with Zeigert, and suggest that a social system is not reality, it is simply a tool for thinking about and organising reality. To think that we can map the whole of society is a modernist, imperial assumption, which is why I am attempting to balance this part of my research

project with the interpretive ethnographic component, so that my research methodology is more indicative of an approach that is 'loosely Luhmann' and more open to diversity.

I am also conscious that my research project employs primarily western ideas and frameworks, even though I am exploring indigenous heritage in addition to settler heritage management. This approach further emphasises the need for me to be explicit about my self-reflexivity and positionality, alerting the reader to the view that I am not setting out to understand or define indigenous heritage, but more that I am suggesting a re-evaluation of its management relative to settler and natural heritage management.

The methods

My research project employs case studies and semi-structured interviews as the main forms of inquiry. These ethnographic methods are supported by the overarching literature review, in addition to the textual analysis of heritage management policies. The literature review examines the scholarship that is particularly relevant to my research project, allowing me to position my research in relation to its context, outlining the major issues and gaps within the existing scholarship, and setting up a foundation for me to build upon in relation to cultural landscapes and the future of heritage management in post-settler societies.

As I have already discussed, because there has been limited engagement with cultural landscapes in New Zealand, I have looked to examine the relative engagement with cultural landscapes in the three other countries within my post-settler framework. My literature review and initial online policy investigations revealed that parks organisations within Australia, Canada and the United States were taking leading roles in employing cultural landscapes for heritage management. This suggested that case studies selected from within these organisations could offer insights into how the concept of cultural landscapes is translated into practice, and thereby provide real-life examples of 'whether cultural landscape approaches provide useful tools for the integrated management of diverse heritage values'. The case study parks were also selected to act as windows into the wider heritage management policies of the different parks organisations, which also speaks to the wider heritage management policies and practices of each of the countries discussed.

The selection of the case study locations within the three parks organisations was then shaped by the research problem of Matiu/Somes Island. In addition to the requirement that the case study must in some way apply 'cultural landscapes' for heritage management, the location had to be publicly accessible, and have natural, settler and indigenous heritage values present. Matiu/Somes Island is also located in the harbour of New Zealand's capital city, a point which has inspired a more urban focus for the case studies. While addressing a gap in the literature, my reflection on the existence of indigenous heritage in urban areas also brings to the fore the view that indigenous heritage values exist in highly modified areas, just as they exist in remote 'untouched' areas. In addition, when one thinks of the areas that the major parks organisations manage, it is normally to consider the 'national parks' or 'wilderness areas'. Selection of a 'non-national park' highlights the variety of different protected areas that the major park organisations care for, highlighting the 'everyday' and accessible, over the remote and 'out-of-the-ordinary'. I also felt that it was the 'everyday' and accessible which required my consideration, in that the 'out-of-the-ordinary' or iconic are the places which appear to be the main topics of research and also receive the majority of funding and attention for management.[5] I was also interested to find out if those protected areas which are spatially constrained by urban development would bring to the fore more obvious conflict between the natural, settler and indigenous heritage values, and therefore perhaps highlight the complexities of our contemporary societies.

I selected Royal National Park (the Royal), Sydney, Australia, to represent the NSW Park Service. I chose the Royal because I had been directed to the policy document *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide for Park Management* released by the New South Wales Department of the Environment, Climate Change and Water in 2010 (now the Office of Environment and Heritage within the NSW Department of Premier and Cabinet), of which the NSW Park Service sits within. I had also found the *Audley Masterplan*, a policy document developed by staff from the Royal in conjunction with landscape architect consultants. Both of these documents suggested that the NSW Park Service, and the Royal in particular, were working with cultural landscapes for heritage management, and as an

[5] For example in New Zealand, the new Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014 establishes a 'National Historic Landmarks List' to identify New Zealand's most important historic places, and the New Zealand Department of Conservation identifies and focusses its funding and management efforts on 'Icon Destinations' and 'Historic Icon Sites'.

urban park which met the other criteria for my case study selection, I determined to focus my efforts there.

	Australia	United States of America	Canada
Case study	Royal National Park, Sydney	Golden Gate National Recreational Area, San Francisco	Rouge National Urban Park, Toronto
Uses 'cultural landscapes'	●	●	●
Managed by a major park organisation	●	●	●
Natural heritage values	●	●	●
Settler heritage values	●	●	●
Indigenous heritage values	●	●	●
Urban park	●	●	●
Easily accessible by the public	●	●	●
Living cultural landscape	●	●	●

Figure 10: My criteria for case study selection

Golden Gate National Recreation Area (Golden Gate) in San Francisco, was selected as the case study within the US National Park Service. For Golden Gate I had discovered a large selection of cultural landscapes policy documents online for the different units of the park. For example there is the *Alcatraz Island National Historic Landmark Cultural Landscape Report 2010*, the *Fort Baker Cultural Landscape Inventory* and the *Fort Mason Cultural Landscape Report*, to name only a few. Golden Gate meets my urban park requirement, with natural, settler and indigenous heritage values also being present. Furthermore, the US National Park Service has a long history of national policy documents concentrating on cultural landscapes, including the 1994 publication *Preservation Briefs No. 36, Protecting Cultural Landscapes*, by Charles Birnbaum. Cultural landscapes is also located under the 'Cultural Resource Management' section of the *Management Policies 2006*, 'the basic

Service-wide policy document of the National Park Service' (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2006).

Within Parks Canada I selected Rouge National Urban Park (the Rouge). I had more trouble narrowing down the Canadian case study because I found that Canadian parks (managed by Parks Canada), were very rarely located in or near urban areas. I sought advice from staff at Parks Canada, and finally chose the Rouge as the case study which met my selection criteria. The Rouge has been a metropolitan park managed jointly by national and municipal governments, with other agencies, and in 2012 its mandate was taken over by Parks Canada. Thus the findings for this case study will be slightly different to those from the other case studies, due to the fact that the park is being established as this dissertation is being written. Nevertheless, there are still many interesting synergies with the other two case studies and the research problem of Matiu/Somes Island in New Zealand. The key Parks Canada policy documents of *An Approach to Aboriginal Cultural Landscapes*, published in 1999, and the recently revised 2010 *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada*, which locates 'cultural landscape' as a category of historic place, are some of the policy documents which indicate that Parks Canada is engaging with a cultural landscapes approach for heritage management.

Case studies were chosen as the best method to allow in-depth analysis of the application of cultural landscapes by the different parks organisations. They provide the opportunity for me to develop a relatively comprehensive understanding of the issue at hand, by drawing on both contextual data as well as interviews with those who work at the case study locations. Case studies also allow me to circumscribe my unit of analysis to a workable scale, in that to attempt to research the whole of the NSW Parks Service, with the whole of the US Park Service, and the same for Parks Canada would have been unfeasible within the research time available to a PhD candidate. The different case study locations offer multiple constructions of reality which cut across time and space, and most significantly they provide different perspectives on how the concept of cultural landscapes should be applied to the management of heritage. Therefore, although not without its own methodological challenges, a multi-sited case study approach enabled me to uncover connections, perspectives and relationships that would have been missed had I focussed only on one location.

I examined visitor guides and other relevant material (published and unpublished) relating to the three case study locations. Of principal interest was the textual analysis of management policies for each of the case study parks. I examined 'whole of park' management plans, in addition to policy guiding cultural heritage management, and that which referred to cultural landscapes for heritage management. Most of these policy documents are available online which meant that I was able to examine them before visiting the different case study locations.

To understand more clearly how the policy on cultural landscapes was being enacted in practice for the three case study parks, I reasoned that I needed to speak with the park staff who worked with the policy and on the ground at the different park locations. I interviewed up to ten staff from different practice and policy-oriented roles, and across natural and cultural disciplines for each case study location. Timing and location of interviews with respondents was organised mainly by email and telephone, and largely set in place before I visited each case study park. In some instances I organised to interview staff after I had arrived at the parks. I used a semi-structured approach to interviews, with a basic set of questions that served as a starting point. Beyond these questions, my respondents were able to initiate discussion topics and share their own experiences. This more open interviewing approach also allowed for spontaneous questions which were sensitive to the case study locations and the respondent's work. I worked to keep the basic interview question order the same across the different case study parks, though with the semi-structured nature, the flow of the conversation dictated the questions asked, and in some instances question order was slightly adjusted. Semi-structured interviews provided me with a framework which could be tweaked to be more or less formal dependent on the interview situation. I had also found that there was only so much that I could glean from policy documents on the use of cultural landscapes within the different park case studies. Opening up the interviews for the staff respondents to discuss information which they thought was relevant, and which I might not have considered, added another level to my research project. Visiting the different case study parks gave me further context to make sense of the policy documents and also the discussions of the interviews, and all interviews with case study park staff were audio-recorded.

I also determined to speak with indigenous representatives for the three case study locations. I believed that input on the current park management approaches from

representatives of the local indigenous communities would add more depth to my questioning of whether cultural landscapes approaches provide useful tools for the integrated management of the diverse heritage values frequently lumped into nature/settler/indigenous categories. Park staff interviewees had been identified and approached with the assistance of a staff contact at each of the three park case study locations, and park staff also assisted me to make initial contact with representatives from the local indigenous communities. For the Royal in Sydney, I approached the La Perouse Local Aboriginal Land Council as well as a member of the local indigenous community introduced to me by Royal's indigenous community liaison officer. For Golden Gate in San Francisco, I approached the park liaison representative for the Coast Miwok. I must also acknowledge here that there are other indigenous groups associated with the Royal and Golden Gate whom I did not speak with, but I hope that my careful handling of what input I did receive from the indigenous representatives will at least give a voice to the kinds of issues that indigenous communities are concerned about in relation to the management of their heritage. I was not able to speak with any indigenous community representatives for the Rouge, largely due to travel constraints and the fact that relationships between Parks Canada and the ten First Nations communities invited to participate in the development of the Rouge were still in the early stages of establishment when I visited Toronto. To make up for this omission I ensured that I interviewed indigenous staff from the Parks Canada Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat who had been working with the indigenous communities of the Rouge.

Therefore, there is a slight 'messiness' about the research design, where I have needed to be open to what the different environments of the three case studies have presented. My 'open' research design has also enabled me to uncover connections, perspectives and relationships that might have been ignored had I only focussed on New Zealand, or had I not included indigenous perspectives. It is hoped that these connections, perspectives and relationships, while illuminating the intricacies of cultural landscapes for heritage management in post-settler Australia, the United States, and Canada, might also shed light on the possibilities for a cultural landscapes approach for heritage management in post-Treaty settlement New Zealand.

I recognise that my presence as the interviewer may have biased my interview responses, in that respondents may have felt that they needed to adjust their responses to

communicate what they thought I wanted to hear. Yet with the inclusion of other research methods such as textual analysis, and site visits where I can take in the on-ground realities of the different case studies, I have a wide spectrum of information to balance any limitations generated by my interviews. The convergence between the textual analysis data of 'rules-based knowledge' with the semi-structured interview data providing 'real-life experience' strengthens the case study findings and helps me to describe in more detail the complexities of cultural landscapes for heritage management at the different case study locations. The range of methods not only generated a rich amount of data but also enabled data-source triangulation to support the analysis and interpretation of my findings.

The case study interviews at Golden Gate and the Rouge were undertaken in March/April 2013, corresponding with the month where I attended two conferences in the United States on the topics of park management and cultural landscapes for heritage management. Listening to presentations and seminars led by staff from the US National Park Service and Parks Canada, and having the opportunity to meet and talk with people who work in heritage management in North America, also added to my background knowledge in this area.

Ethical approval was sought from Deakin University's Human Research Ethics Committee to undertake interviews with park staff and representatives from the indigenous communities at the case study locations. All respondents received plain language statements prior to being interviewed, which I went through in detail with them before any discussion took place (copies of these forms are provided in the Appendix). Respondents also signed consent forms allowing me to use their interviews in my research. For the case studies it was determined that individual respondents would not be personally identified in my thesis. We discussed the slight issue that colleagues might be able to identify the respondents' comments, yet all were happy to proceed despite this. All staff respondents, along with the superintendent/area manager of each case study park, were sent a summary report of my findings so that any inconsistencies that might exist in my interpretation could be addressed before I used the data in my thesis.

To ensure that my project returned its focus to the research question of whether cultural landscapes approaches provide useful tools for the integrated management of the diverse heritage values of post-Treaty settlement New Zealand, my research needed to make the

geographical shift from the overseas investigations back to New Zealand. I had found that there was little coverage of this topic in the New Zealand scholarship—both at academic and policy levels. I determined that in order to investigate my preliminary view that New Zealand had not experienced the same level of engagement with cultural landscapes for heritage management as the other three countries in my post-settler framework, I needed to ask well-informed people in New Zealand. My experiences carrying out semi-structured interviews at the case study parks encouraged me to employ this same method of inquiry for New Zealand. I decided that the best people to interview were those who had an understanding of New Zealand's heritage management systems. The small size of New Zealand's heritage industry combined with my work experience assisted me in identifying a list of heritage professionals from different areas who I believed would be knowledgeable about this subject. I also wanted to ask these people about the World Heritage listing of Tongariro National Park, as the world's first cultural landscape inscription, and what impact this international recognition has had in New Zealand.

Interview candidates	**Has experience working with natural or cultural heritage values**	**Is a member of a NZ heritage agency (either natural, cultural or both)**	**Has published/reported on heritage management in NZ**
Paul Dingwall	●	●	●
Merata Kawharu	●	●	●
Di Lucas	●	●	●
Robert McClean	●	●	●
Mary O'Keefe	●	●	●
Sir Tumu Te Heuheu	●	●	●
Dame Anne Salmond	●	●	●
Huhana Smith	●	●	●
Janet Stephenson	●	●	●
Te Kenehi Teira	●	●	●

Figure 11: My criteria for the New Zealand heritage professionals interview selection

My list of New Zealand interviewees changed slightly as a result of people's availability and I ensured that I replaced those who were unavailable with others with similar backgrounds/training. The New Zealand interviewees have been personally identified, which is in contrast to the anonymity of the respondents from the case study parks. The rationale behind the different approaches to the interview data is that for the case study parks, the staff were not interviewed as individual professionals; they were interviewed as representatives of their larger parks organisation. Park staff were interviewed in relation to the details of their role at the case study parks, and not on the wider politics of heritage management in their respective countries. Conversely, the New Zealand heritage professionals were asked to comment on New Zealand's national heritage scene. All of those selected are well published and have backgrounds where they have been associated with New Zealand's national heritage organisations.

Ethics approval from Deakin University's Human Research Ethics Committee was sought to interview the New Zealand heritage professionals. The New Zealand interviewees were contacted by telephone and email prior to interviews, and were given plain language statements to read, and consent forms to sign prior to the interviews taking place.
All of the New Zealand interviews were audio-recorded. The New Zealand interviewees were given transcripts and reports of the interview data to ensure that my interpretation of their interview is consistent with what they wanted to communicate. In accordance with Deakin University's ethical approval procedures, all information about interview respondents, including the original audio-recordings, has been stored in a locked cabinet, and any computer files relating to the interviews stored in a password protected computer.

For all of the interviews across the case study parks and the New Zealand heritage professionals, the respondents were sent only a rough guide of questions and topics that the interview sought to address. Respondents were not made aware of the exact questions prior to the interviews taking place, because I wanted them to respond more instinctively to the questions. In such situations the responses are arguably more 'honest' as the park staff, indigenous representatives, and New Zealand heritage professionals do not have time to research a 'suitable' reply of what the researcher may be looking for. I also found it challenging during the interviews to not influence respondents' comments, as the semi-structured approach sometimes encouraged two-way discussions, where the respondents

asked for my opinions. In the situations where I was asked for comment, I tried to be naturally involved, while being wary of influencing the interviewee's responses.

The semi-structured interviews across the case studies and the New Zealand interviews produced a wide range of material. To determine which information was relevant to the information that I had already discovered through the literature review and textual analysis processes, I coded the data into preliminary and final codes, in vivo quotes, versus coding, and themes. I found that this system enabled me to fracture the data into manageable bunches which brought to the surface commonalities and differences for further discussion. I also found that the writing up of summary reports for dissemination to park case study respondents assisted me with formulating the trends and themes that I wanted to delve into in more detail in my chapter discussions.

Conclusion

In describing my approach and research design, my aim was to detail how I have gone about addressing the research question and the five objectives of this thesis. My research project follows a constructionist interpretive approach, with ethnographic methods—particularly case studies and semi-structured interviews—which look to Luhmann's social systems theory as a way of organising its findings. The following parts and sections will unravel and make sense of the data that I have collected across four countries in my efforts to investigate cultural landscapes for heritage management in post-settler societies.

Part I Section Two: The shifting contours of heritage in post-settler societies

> Wycaddy [Waikare]—The structure of this village is one of the most beautiful I have seen in New Zealand, and deserves to be particularly described. It is built upon the banks of the Waitangi, which are about fifteen or twenty feet above the level of the water, and most of the huts are constructed in such a manner as to have a very pleasing effect. I observed some which verged upon the extreme edge of the bank, having on the opposite side an agreeable prospect of a large enclosed field, with the appearance of an English meadow; beyond this field the level ground disappears, and the hills rising gradually one above the other, display, with interesting contrast, the wild luxuriance of the fern, and the picturesque grandeur of the towering pine. (quoted in Barton 1927, p. 23)

This extract comes from a description of locations in Northland, New Zealand. It was found amongst the papers of Reverend John Butler, one of the first clergymen of the Church of England sent to live in New Zealand in 1819. Yet the words are most probably those of his colleague Reverend William Yate, and not written until the early 1830s.[6] Yate's account provides an aesthetic interpretation of what he encounters, with his ideals of the 'picturesque' dictating which entries he feels deserve a more detailed description than others. Beauty is determined by Yate's personal cultural understandings, and in seeking to render the unknown familiar, he describes what he sees as being comparable to what he knows from England. Yate continues in his next entry by noting that:

> Should an extensive settlement be ever formed in New Zealand, this neighbourhood—Lake Morberree [Omapere]—would form an admirable situation, the extensive forests which line one side of it would afford an immense quantity of timber. The soil is luxuriant in the extreme, and would yield a supply of food, under mild and equitable government, and spirit of sustained industry. (quoted in Barton 1927, p. 24)

Yate invests this new place with his aspirations for future improvement, and the description highlights the central role that missionaries played in the colonial experience. An account composed by Australian settler Louisa Anne Meredith around the same time is significant in its synergies with Yate's description:

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[6] RJ Barton notes that these entries are from a 'miscellaneous paper found among Rev J Butler's papers' and attributes authorship to Reverend William Yate. It is assumed that Barton is the one who has bracketed in the second spelling of the locations that Yate describes. The list of mission stations are similar in writing style to another publication by Yate: *An account of New Zealand; and of the formation and progress of the Church Missionary Society's mission in the northern island* (London, 1835).

> In England we plant groves and woods, and think our country residences unfurnished and incomplete without them; but here the exact contrary is the case, and unless a settler can see an expanse of bare, naked, unvaried, shadeless, dry, dusty land spread all around him, he fancies his dwelling 'wild and uncivilized'. About some of the older houses in the colony a growth of fruit-trees, and often British forest-trees, has succeeded the despised aboriginal productions, and sometimes a few of the grand Norfolk Island pines tower above the lower groups. Ungrafted quince and peach trees form hedges in many places; and when not hidden in the thick coat of dust which covers everything near a public road, their greener hue is a pleasant change amidst the brown landscape. (Meredith 1973, p. 56)

While Meredith is not as pleased with her vista as Yate, what both accounts have in common is that their assessments are made according to English values. Their words demonstrate their belief in England's superiority in addition to their desire to transform the new surroundings into a replica of what they knew as settlers newly arrived from England. There is also the feeling that the authors were observing their 'scenes' from some external vantage point. The two interpretations, one from New Zealand, and one from Australia, alert us to a similar imperial mindset, which was central to how settlers determined what to value in their new countries.

The different ways that settler discourse has shaped heritage management in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States of America is the key theme of this chapter. The discussion begins by capturing settler perceptions and examining the influences and inspirations behind their development. It will discuss how these settler perceptions were embodied in a cadastral grid which when applied to the 'new world' worked to separate out natural/settler/indigenous categories. The chapter will then chart how the concept of heritage was 'reworked', and how through the 'settling' process settlers began to reconsider established imperial classifications of indigenous populations. I argue that this reconsideration of settler/indigenous relations marks a shift from the 'settler' to 'post-settler', and that post-settler societies are starting to emerge in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. At the forefront of the discussion will be the embedded binaries of western thinking, and my contention that divisions distinguishing between natural, settler and indigenous values are problematic for heritage management in post-settler societies.

Most significantly, this section sets the groundwork for the examination of the concept of cultural landscapes in the following chapters. The discussion uses the issue of the separate

natural/settler/indigenous heritage values to confirm the need for a new tool such as cultural landscapes, to take a broader approach to address heritage beyond compartments. My contention that new versions of heritage are being created in emerging post-settler societies that are increasingly at odds with the traditional nature/settler/indigenous categories introduced by the first settlers, promotes the view that the way that heritage is considered and managed in places such as New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States needs to adjust to be more aware of the heritage realities in these countries.

Settler societies

New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States are all 'settler societies' created as a result of European settlement overseas. Western Europeans motivated by the promise of new lands, raw materials and new empirical knowledge embarked upon a post-Renaissance colonial expansion that would set in motion what American historian Benjamin Kline (2000, p. 7) refers to as a 'migration of Europeans and the exportation of their culture on a global scale never seen before.' Australian Tom Griffiths (1997, p. 10) provides a useful definition of settler society as 'an invading, investing, transforming society with an internal frontier, both natural and cultural.' Griffiths takes an ecological-imperialist approach, following in the footsteps of famed ecologist Alfred Crosby, to highlight the connections that germinated across such countries as the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and Uruguay, where settlers from Europe developed these temperate countries into 'neo-Europes'. In the same collection of essays, English diaspora scholar, Thomas Dunlap (1997, p. 76) adds that Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States are 'colonies of settlement', the 'only ones, in which English-speaking settlers dispossessed and almost exterminated the earlier inhabitants, establishing a new society and government modelled on the old.' Dunlap locates this relationship as being in contrast to the 'colonies of empire' in India and South Africa—both locations where minority European populations took charge. Thus, while Dunlap's discussion appears to forget about places like Latin America, and the rest of Africa, his work has resonance here in its focus on New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. Dunlap suggests that it is useful to look at these four countries together, to get an understanding of the nature of settlement. He notes that all of them, even the United States which broke its political ties, still retain cultural ties to Britain.

Yet while the settler experience across these four countries has a lot of similarities, it is still important to outline some of the different nuances that exist between New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. Timothy Walker (2011, pp. 25-6) outlines how North America's 'salient language, religious doctrines, legal systems and ideas about government derived mainly from the practices transported across the Atlantic with English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh immigrants.' Yet Walker also notes that this English colonial dominance of North America was challenged in the beginning by the Spanish, French (continuing in Canada), and the Dutch. The interests and claims of these competing European nations are described by Walker as 'overlapping' in the seventeenth century, which led to conflict and open warfare. This kind of background, where colonies governed by different European nations materialised in close vicinity to each other dictated that the United States matured into a 'melting pot' of racial, religious and linguistic difference. And it is this diversity, which Susan-Mary Grant (2012) suggests contributed to the United States' imagining itself as possessing a 'civic nationalism', that was in contrast to the 'old world'—using this idea to connect the country's diverse multicultural settlements. In the case of Canada the legacies of diverse European metropoles, British and French, impacted upon the national polity and imagination (Grant 2012, p. 6). Colonisation of both the United States and Canada also began in the early seventeenth century, over 150 years before Australia's first fleet landed in 1788, and closer to 200 years before New Zealand's first missionaries reached its shores. Settlement of the United States also relied heavily on enslaved labour, in comparison to Australia (and later New Zealand), countries which were settled when the industrial revolution of the late nineteenth century was beginning to gather pace, so that 'industrialisation and colonization occurred almost coincidentally' (Griffiths 1997, p. 4).

However, the stark 'untouched' environmental contrast that existed in the four countries in comparison with the old world, along with the continuation of the North American colonisation into the nineteenth century, would bring about similar settler experiences across North America, Australia and New Zealand. Post-colonial theorists, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffins and Helen Tiffen (2000) accentuate the colonial connections between New Zealand, Australia, Canada and even the United States (with its Declaration of Independence of 1776), to the imperial centre of Britain. Ashcroft, Griffins and Tiffen (2000, p. 43) note that the granting of 'Dominion status or limited independence to white settler culture was the result of long constitutional and political struggles and was made

dependent on the retention of legal and constitutional links with the [British] Crown.' While New Zealander, Amiria Henare (2005, p. 12) situates her writing on the 'Scottish Diaspora' and the imperial exchange of artefacts as being part of a larger British exodus, noting in particular that 'although places like New Zealand, Australia and Canada are far from Britain they retain much 'cultural baggage' from their ancestral 'Home'.'

Yet perhaps the most significant element of settler society that existed across New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States, and the topic which will suffuse the discussion of much of this thesis, is the existence of indigenous populations who through the colonial process were dominated by what quickly became majority non-indigenous settler populations. And it is the sustained presence of these indigenous populations in settler societies which would motivate future questionings of what heritage encompasses and how it should be managed.

'Culture' and the order of things

In the preface to his second edition of *European Vision and the South Pacific,* Bernard Smith (1985, p. vii) remarks that 'seeing is conditioned by knowing.' Smith applies an anthropological-art-historian approach to explain that settlers to Australia brought with them a cultural understanding, which meant that the new world they encountered was checked and balanced against the kinds of experiences, standards of taste, judgement and acumen acquired through education in Europe. As a result, settler vision was coloured by memories from home—they saw some things and not others, and the unfamiliar was translated into the more recognisable. In his survey of Smith's work, Peter Beilharz (1997) makes a fine sketch of the settler discourse by noting that:

> …they brought with them not only a desire to dominate or a curiosity about the great south land, but they also brought something stronger, a homesickness for the old. They carried a nostalgia of vision; the human habit of recycling wisdoms from previous epochs was accentuated by the contact between new world cultures and the old. (Beilharz 1997, p. 29)

For settlers to the United States, Hans Huth (1957) suggests that the basic Christian ideals held by the first settlers were influenced by currents of thought transmitted from Europe. The most important of these thoughts, he suggests, were deism and rationalism, systems which aimed to 'build up religion on the basis of reason', and which revised prevailing ideas 'concerning the relation of mankind to the universe' (Huth 1957, p. 10). Roger Nash (1968, p. 3) adds to this that the settlers' Christian faith held at its core the belief that man's

environment existed solely for the satisfaction of 'man's immediate desires'. Environmental historian, Clive Ponting (1991, p. 142) explains that a central tenet of European Christian belief was that 'humans were placed on a higher plane than other animals with their ability to create their own world implying a superior position as a finisher of raw creation.' Ponting refers to the Book of Genesis to highlight how God created humans as the climax of his previous five days' work; man was created first, then the Garden of Eden with all the plants and animals created for the benefit of man, and then, women after that. Therefore, the Bible was seminal in setting up the relative places of humans (both man and woman) in relation to God and the natural world.

John Gascoigne (2002, p. 9) brings to the discussion illumination of the uneasy relationship that existed between the long entrenched religion of settlers and a growing engagement with the Enlightenment and its promotion of science and social improvement. Fellow Australians, Denis Byrne, Heather Goodall, Stephen Wearing and Allison Cadzow (2006) provide a more detailed description of the nuanced interaction between religion, nature and science that was at work in the new world. Byrne et al (2006) highlight how the Anglo-Celtic settlement of Australia occurred in a post-Reformation/post-Enlightenment western religious climate. The authors (Byrne et al. 2006) explain that this meant that Protestant rationalisation which had been informed by Calvinism along with capitalist influences, sanctified worldly economic effort at the same time as it renounced belief in the presence of magical and sacramental forces. Byrne et al suggest that Calvinist settlers viewed religion as a matter between one's soul and a god who dwelt in heaven, not in nature. Therefore the relationship of Australia's new settlers with God was a more intangible and utilitarian understanding than what had been the case in Europe.

As waves of new settlers reached the new world, the primacy of rational religious belief was soon displaced by the principles of evolutionary theory. Michael Adas (1989, p. 214) discusses how the mastery of nature became a critical gauge of human achievement, and it was common in the early 1800s to contrast the control of nature by Europeans with 'all non-Western peoples who, though they might have developed in some areas, had in this respect not risen above the level of savages.' Nicholas Thomas (1994, p. 77) adds that a shift occurred from the late Enlightenment onwards that moved away from the humanitarian 'religiously framed colonialism' towards 'new models for constructing otherness' that were couched in 'a narrative of natural history rather than salvation and

privileged distinctiveness in character and physique rather than faith.' These ideas helped justify the colonial process whereby settlers had the right to claim and develop the resources of areas inhabited by 'backward people who were unable to make use of them' (Adas 1989, p. 218).

Stephen Spencer (2006) explains that it was Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection,* published in 1859, which escalated the shift from Christian creation myths into the relative classification of different races. Darwin's work put forward the idea of the natural selection of characteristics, where all living organisms were in a struggle for survival, and where those best adapted to conditions were the ones that survived. Spencer explains that the concept of 'survival of the fittest' fed into the development of a racially stratified view of evolution, which became a useful justification for ethnocentrism, and the exploitation of people of other races. Thus when 'Social Darwinism' was applied to the experiences of settlers to the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, it justified the domination and even the assimilation of indigenous peoples as an inevitable natural process. Social Darwinism worked from the idea of a linear progression from civilisation at the top down to the more primitive at the bottom.

The concept of the 'nation' was an essential part of the imperial mindset that settlers brought with them to New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. Ashcroft et al (2000, p. 135) explain that the 'nation' was invented in the late eighteenth century, and locates its 'cultural provenance in a specifically European political and social environment.' Cultural geographers, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, p. 50) explain that at the heart of the 'nation' was the view that all people of 'a similar ethical rationality might agree on a system of norms to guide the operation of society.' The authors (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000) continue by noting that as the social construction of the 'nation' grew, it picked up various tools, including Social Darwinism, which evoked an attitude of western nation states as being superior over the rest of the world. In his explanation of the nature of nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1991) maintains that the nation is:

> …*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members… even the largest… has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations… It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in the age of Enlightenment and Revolution, [and] …it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that might

> prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. (Anderson, B 1991, pp. 6-7)

Ashcroft et al (2000, p. 135) provide a more post-colonial interpretation, detailing how the 'myth of nationhood, masked by ideology, perpetuates nationalism, in which specific identifiers are employed to create exclusive and homogenous concepts of national traditions.' Such signifiers of homogeneity, they argue, 'always fail to represent the diversity of the actual 'national' community for which they purport to speak and, in practice, usually represent and consolidate the interests of the dominant power groups within any national formation.' As a consequence, 'nation' could be applied to support a kind of 'us versus them' imperial binarism where settlers positioned themselves at odds with others, and selected the kind of national story that they wanted to dominate in order to promote the idea of a 'civilised' nation.

Consequently, Christian rationalism which stressed a separation of man from his natural surroundings, evolutionary theory with Social Darwinism, and the ethnocentric concept of the nation, were all fragments of the settler discourse which contributed to the belief that western settlers sat at the top of the order of things. In particular, the ideals of nationalism inspired the settlers to New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States to forge out an identity that had comparable depth and legitimacy to the places that they had left behind. Key to this process of national identity creation would be the idea of heritage, another concept brought from home and used by the settlers to determine what they should value in their new lands, and what would ultimately set them apart from the rest of the world.

'Culture' and the genesis of heritage

'Heritage', according to Kevin Walsh (1992) was in existence, although somewhat undefined, in Europe in the pre-modern era. Walsh sees the heightened pace of change generated by the constant social and political upheaval put in motion by the French and Industrial Revolutions as being responsible for propelling 'heritage' into popular use. Graeme Davison (2000, p. 110) defines heritage as an old word 'drawn from the vocabulary of traditional societies in which values were derived from ancestral relationships', and goes on to discuss the concept in relation to property or heirlooms that were passed down from parents to their children. Others, such as Graeme Aplin (2002) and Robert Lumley (2005), refer to various dictionary meanings of the heritage term to illustrate how the possessive

notions of inheritance and patrimony are widely held to be at the heart of the concept. Graham et al (2000, p. 50) summarise that the origins of heritage 'lie in the modernist nexus of European state formation and Romanticism, which is defined in political terms by nationalism.' More recently, Marie Louise Stig Sorenson and John Carman (2009) locate the origins of heritage in a shift in attitude from individualised interest in the past, to a more institutional and public concern.

Yet there is a tendency in the above scholarship, and in other key heritage studies sources, such as Laurajane Smith's (2006) *Uses of Heritage*, to use 'Europe' as a catchall in discussions of the genesis of the heritage concept, when the authors are primarily referring to Britain. The issue with this kind of interpretation is that it ignores the inconsistencies that existed between the growth of heritage beliefs in various European countries, particularly between England and France, and the differences that language contributes to this. However, focusing on the dominant British heritage narrative is useful for this study in its concentration on the knowledge that British settlers would have taken with them to North America, Australia and New Zealand. The establishment of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877 (the Society), and the British National Trust formed in 1895, are often featured as being seminal moments in the development of the international heritage movement. Chris Miele (2005) explains that the Society protected the physical authenticity of old buildings by doing the minimum necessary to care for and maintain the original fabric. Miele also notes that the Society were focused on visible cultural places, like churches, and that they did not work with the private, nor with the natural. Robert Hewison (1987) details how the National Trust was established to preserve access to common lands against enclosures for farming. The organisation started off with a focus on land, gaining its responsibility for buildings later on. Therefore, the Society and the National Trust provide glimpses into how British citizens rallied against the 'pillage and pollution of nineteenth century capitalism', resorting to an ideal of heritage as a collective institution that required protection (Hewison 1987, p. 56). Smith (2006) develops a wider critique of the kind of heritage management that the Society inspired—namely the focus on monumentality, aesthetics, material fabric, the patina of age, and its reliance on the knowledge claims of experts. As part of her critique, Smith contends that the Society, or SPAB as she calls it, instituted an 'authorised heritage discourse' or AHD, which infiltrated global heritage management on the shirt tails of British colonialism.

So ‘heritage’ was another component of the ‘cultural baggage’ brought by settlers to Australia and New Zealand, and a concept which North American pioneers also picked up. Astrid Swenson (2013) details how the leadership of Britain’s National Trust sought to create international contacts with preservationists in the United States by encouraging the development of the American Council of the National Trust in 1901. Settlers had been brought up with ideas of what heritage was in Britain: personal inheritances to be passed on to future generations, the tangible reminders of the past before industrialisation, and later on the monuments and public buildings lobbied for by organisations like the Society and the National Trust. Therefore the challenge that settlers faced when they reached the new world was reworking the heritage concept to be applicable to their new circumstances.

‘Culture’, ‘nature’ and ‘heritage’

Without the ancient monuments and works of high art so common throughout Britain and the rest of Europe, the settler societies of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand had to look elsewhere for their heritage needs. Griffiths (1996, p. 103) details how Australian settlers turned to the natural environment, but notes that ‘even those who were moved by the wonder of the land were depressed by what it was missing.’ Yet Julia Horne (2005, p. 12) adds more positively that Australia’s new experiences ‘could reveal whole new horizons of knowledge and turn existing wisdom upside down.’ What she means was that ‘back home’, Europeans long bereft of ‘pristine environments’ had turned for solace to pre-industrial cultural heritage. In contrast, the settler experience with its abundance of ‘pristine environments’—the scenery, flora and fauna and indigenous cultures—required settlers to make adjustments to European conceptions of aesthetics and heritage. Tim Bonyhady’s (2000) *Colonial Earth* provides a wide array of evidence of how Australia’s settlers were using the ‘heritage’ term in relation to requests that the country’s bush and other natural areas be preserved for the future. Attaching the concept of heritage to ‘nature’ is further examined by Horne (2005, p. 301), who reasons that ‘the pursuit of wonder’ was a driving force of travel and tourism in Australia. Tourists were encouraged to travel as a means of engendering colonial interest and pride, and Horne (2005, p. 8) explains that those settlers who were moved by the natural surroundings they encountered ‘crossed the line into wonder.’ This, Horne (2005, p. 144) claims, put in motion a kind of natural heritage ethic, where natural wonders with the power to inspire were preserved, and ‘their magic protected from the commercial interests of an industrial society.’

Huth (1957) proposes that the ethic of nature as heritage was a late consideration of the first pioneers to the United States (although 'late' here is the mid-to-late nineteenth century, which is still comparatively early in the settlement of Australia). Huth (1957, p. 2) positions the axe as a symbol of progress, noting that the clearance and settlement of 'land which only recently had been Indian territory, uncultivated plains or virgin forest', was an achievement to be celebrated. Huth, and more recently Kline (2000), argue that to early settlers of the United States the supply of timber was inexhaustible, and that there was no fear that the abundance would not last. It was only with the realisation that timber and other natural supplies were running out that nature 'conservation' and 'ecology' spread its wings. 'Conservation' and 'ecology' have since become the terms most commonly applied in relation to caring for nature, with 'heritage' being a term more prominently attached to culture than nature.

Donald Worster (1994, p. x) notes that the term 'ecology' did not appear until 1866, and it took almost another hundred years for it to enter the vernacular, but that the idea of ecology is much older than the name, beginning in the eighteenth century when it emerged as a more comprehensive way of looking at the earth's fabric of life. Australians Martin Mulligan and Stuart Hill (2001) add that when German biologist Ernst Haeckel—a strong advocate of Darwin's theories—coined the word 'ecology' in 1866, he framed it within the imperial tradition. 'Conservation' was officially used in the United States from 1875 in association with the creation of the American Forestry Association, and was made popular in 1908 as a term used by politicians Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot (Huth 1957). According to Kline (2000), legislators within the Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt eras (1900-1945) were inspired by ecology groups and instituted such reforms as creating national forests, fostering urban development, and protecting the waterways in an effort to conserve nature's resources. Similarly, Douglas Pearce and Gerard Richez (1987, p. 56) write that 'within New Zealand valuable interest and support for nature conservation came at an early date from a small group of active and influential individuals.' In Australia, the creation of groups like the field naturalists in Victoria in 1880 supports Bonyhady's (2000, p. 3) view that 'the settler's attachment to the colonial landscape was matched by their desire to preserve it.'

Therefore, while the focus of heritage in the settler societies of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand shifted from the cultural into the natural realm, growing

concerns surrounding the impact of settlers on the 'pristine environments' of the New World ensured that separation between the ideals of nature and culture continued to be entrenched in a cadastral grid overlay which dominated settler interaction with the new world. Ashcroft et al (2000, p. 18) define the 'binary logic of imperialism' as being a tendency of western thought to see the world in terms of binary oppositions that establish a relation of dominance. They (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffen 2000, p. 19) give the examples of centre/margin; coloniser/colonised; civilised/primitive; black/white, to illustrate the breadth of the binary routine. The idea that heritage was either natural or cultural also filtered into national identity making, and helped to reinforce distinctions between the settlers and all that they encountered. Hence, in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States we see more of an interest in natural heritage developing as a result of settlers viewing the nature of these countries as being exceptional, and perhaps also due to the example set by the English National Trust to try and limit the reach of nineteenth century capitalism. Nevertheless, this understanding would institute a perceived distance between nature and settlers that would become embedded in the ways that heritage was to be considered and managed in these countries into the future.

Natural/settler/indigenous categories of heritage

The account of the Māori village at the beginning of this chapter would have been somewhat out of the ordinary when compared with other settler diaries and journals. Yate's 'civilising missionary' role meant that his interpretation differed from other settlers, who were perhaps more inclined to simply ignore the existence of indigenous populations in their accounts. Spencer (2006) suggests that the nature/culture binary, evolutionary theory and nationalism all conspired in influencing settlers to discount the indigenous populations as part of nature to be 'vanquished'. Spencer (2006, p. 65) continues by describing how 'in the early maps of the Antipodes, Australia was labelled 'terra nullius' meaning 'the empty land', indicating that Aboriginal people were seen as having no prior claim over the land.' Geographers, Eric Pawson and Peter Holland (2005) highlight a similar occurrence in New Zealand, where the Torlesse Map of lowland Canterbury, in the country's South Island, represented the land as settlers then saw it: empty, yet full of promise and possibility for the future. This was despite the area being known to Māori as 'Ka Pakihi Whakatekateka a Waitaha', or 'the seed bed of Waitaha' (Pawson & Holland 2005, p. 169).

In terms of heritage, distinctions continued to be made between the natural and cultural in settler societies, but with a third category being created for all that was indigenous. The issue with this new category was that it had an uneasy relationship with settler heritage, in that it was there to illuminate all that settler heritage was not, but at the same time the indigenous could be subsumed within the natural category. Gavin McLean (2000) notes how New Zealand's settlers (and Australians did the same, according to Griffiths 1996) made lists of 'firsts', with their focus on local landmarks, old (settler) identities, and scraping out a pioneer history to be proud of. Anthropologist David Neufeld (2002) explains that it was a similar story in Canada, where 'heritage' reflected only that of the white European culture that had pioneered exploration and settlement in the east. Neufeld contends that the idea of heritage was closely connected to the exploitation of the country's natural resources, and as a result, the north of Canada was perceived only as a place subject to the interests of the core. This approach, writes Neufeld (2002, pp. 26-7) 'had significant consequences for northern aboriginal people' as 'they were either rendered invisible or incorporated as components of the national vision… There was no history in the north, and from the southern intellectual perspective, there were no aboriginal people there either.' Neufeld notes that there was also no sense that indigenous groups had any effect upon the course of history, with their apparently 'timeless lifeways' being only on the receiving end of alterations wrought by contact—through the likes of the fur trade with settlers. George Seddon (1997) discusses how place names played a significant role in displacing indigenous groups, even when settlements like Carnarvon, Albany and Northampton in Western Australia were all unlike their namesakes in Britain. Yet Seddon continues that the naming after influential British people was a kind of coping mechanism for settlers dealing with the unfamiliar, being a way of tying the unknown to the known, in addition to supporting the view that these 'new world' places were new and better versions of the old.

The development of the national park

The idea of the 'national park' became a central way of encapsulating the kind of 'natural wonder' heritage prevalent in the settler societies of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Park historian Alfred Runte (2010, p. xiii) contends that the original national park label 'is indelibly associated with inspiring scenery and expansive nature.' Runte notes that while Europe had been the initiator of the 'park' ideal in its creation of areas of respite in industrialised cities, the United States was the leader that took the

concept further, affixing 'national' to its preface. The national parks of the United States were about ensuring that the country's natural 'wonders' did not fall into the hands of profiteers as the frontier was opened to settlement. And more significantly, the parks were an ode to national identity, as the United States, like much of Europe, wanted to create a modern nation state. Thus while the United States did not have the depth of human history that Europe had (this is ignoring the existence of indigenous heritage), it did have amazing natural landscapes which were unparalleled in other parts of the world. The significance of the national park was recognised when American President Abraham Lincoln signed the *Yosemite Park Act* into law on 30 June 1864, and this was followed by the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 (Runte 2010). Yet the United States' indigenous population played no part in the creation of its national parks. In *American Indians and National Parks*, Robert H Keller and Michael F Turek (1998) explain that settlers sought complete removal of Indians from the path of national expansion. After the military conquest of the 1860s-70s, the late nineteenth century saw determined governmental and humanitarian efforts to assimilate Indians into Euro-American society through schools, Christian missions and industrial training (Keller & Turek 1998). There were treaties, but Keller and Turek insist that indigenous rights were often ignored. Neufeld (2007) adds:

> Thus by denying Indigenous peoples their histories, PHAs [public heritage areas—inclusive of national parks] are a potent expression of a belief system creating and maintaining a vision of the new world as empty land to be developed, a vision noting Indigenous peoples only in contrast to the strength and vigour of newcomers, a vision regularizing this state of affairs as the norm for its citizens. (Neufeld 2007, pp. 184-5)

Canada followed a similar approach to the United States, with national parks fitting within the country's expansionist nationalist policies. Historian Robert Craig Brown (1968) places the origins of Canada's national park policy in the exploitive economic programmes of Canada's MacDonald government from 1878. Brown (1968) argues that underlying Canada's parks policy was the assumption that parks were a composite of national resources, capable of exploitation under government regulation in partnership with private enterprise. Canada's first national park prototype was created on 25 November 1885 (after the United States and Australia, and just over a year before New Zealand). The park encompassed a small area featuring the hot mineral springs at Banff Station, Alberta, and it was set aside for public amenity reasons—to be of 'great sanitary advantage to the public' (Nicol 1968, p. 38). Nicol (1968) writes that two years later, the Banff Hot Springs Reserve was enlarged to an area of 260 square miles, and officially became Canada's first national

park in the *Rocky Mountains Park Act 1887*. According to Nicol, the Canadian government and railway companies worked together to foster an international tourist trade, and as a result of this a great many Canadians viewed national parks as being associated with recreation, scenic resorts and tourist attractions.

Like its North American predecessors, John Mulvaney (1990) explains that Australian parks existed to provide social and recreational activities, rather than to serve the cause of environmental conservation. Symptomatic of this view was the Deed of Grant for Australia's first (Royal) National Park, established south of Sydney in 1879. The grant empowered its trustees to improve upon nature in various ways, including the creation of racecourses, sports grounds, camping and bathing facilities, and stocking the Hacking River with European fish (Mulvaney 1990, p. 1).

While New Zealand's settler climate was comparable to North America and Australia, and followed ideas of scenery preservation and tourism, the point of difference in New Zealand was that Māori played a central role in the creation of the country's first national park. New Zealand established its national park system in 1887, with Māori chief Te Heuheu Tukino of Ngāti Tūwharetoa iwi (tribe) gifting to the New Zealand government the land around the mountains of Ruapehu, Tongariro and Ngauruhoe in the central North Island (Te Heuheu 1995).[7] Henare (2005, p. 11) notes that 'unlike the Australians, Māori were admired for their military prowess and skill in the subtle arts of bargaining and exchange. With assistance from missionary or imperial authorities, it was thought that they might be capable of governing themselves, and they retained sovereign authority for much longer than their Aboriginal counterparts.' Pearce and Richez (1987, p. 55) note that Tongariro National Park was formally established by an Act of Parliament in 1894, and the authors discuss the political nuances at work in the creation of the park, suggesting that 'Te Heu Heu Tukino's gift appears to have been prompted by attempts to rebuff rival claims for ownership of the land and possible European encroachment.' Pearce and Richez (1987) also highlight how despite its distinction in the role that Māori played in the development of its national parks system, New Zealand still sat closely aligned with the versions of national parks developed in North America.

[7] The establishment of Tongariro National Park in New Zealand will be covered in more detail in Part III Section One of this thesis.

The forced removal of indigenous peoples from lands taken by settlers for national parks, when added to the other initiatives for indigenous assimilation, brought with it the evolutionary expectation that the indigenous populations would eventually become extinct. Heather Burke and Claire Smith (2010, p. 23) see the settler vision of indigenous people as a 'dying race' as supporting a level of control where settlers were responsible for 'tending' the indigenous past that was to be 'excised and frozen in the glass cabinets of collectors'. An unexpected result of this kind of thinking was a burgeoning interest in the exotic otherness of indigenous artefacts, with McLean (2000) detailing how 'Maoriland' became a phrase coined very early on as a way of referring to New Zealand's indigenous and natural environment. Yet as New Zealand's Māori population failed to 'die off' as had been expected, this initial interest in the artefacts of a dying race grew into a fully-fledged tourism trade, with settler tourists interested in seeing and experiencing a traditional Māori village. New Zealanders, Roger Neich (2001) and Margaret McClure (2004) highlight the successful Māori tourist trade that grew around Rotorua in the central North Island of New Zealand, where Māori actively created carvings for sale to tourists. McLean (2000) notes that Māori artefacts were also collected for display in museums, with a national debate erupting during the First World War between the directors of the country's leading museums as to whether Māori items such as rock art should be removed for protection into the confines of the museum, or left in situ. This kind of interest in indigenous artefacts and ways of life demonstrates greater settler recognition of indigenous heritage as a category in its own right that existed closer to settler heritage than it did to nature. McLean makes the point that the 1918 Scenery Preservation Board's annual report detailed that 'in New Zealand 'historical monuments' would include aboriginal rock-paintings, earthwork of Maori pas, Maori or pre-Maori stone fences, battle-sites of Maori wars, redoubts, blockhouses and perhaps certain buildings erected by the early colonists'; this clearly demonstrates the relative place of interest at the time in indigenous heritage over settler 'historic' heritage. This kind of interpretation would also lead to the common belief that 'cultural heritage' in settler societies was primarily the preserve of indigenous groups and not so much of the settlers. Thus similar to the 'natural' wonders of national parks, indigenous heritage in New Zealand started to become an object of intrigue that was to be consumed and utilised as a way to distinguish settler identity from Britain and Europe.

This section has demonstrated how the development of national parks was an important first step in formal heritage recognition and management in the settler societies of the

United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The national park became a central marker of heritage in the new world, where its settlers took their new identity from the wild nature of their surrounds rather than from the monarchy or nobility as had been the case in the old world (Olwig 2008). Kenneth Olwig (2008, p. 73) suggests that the power of 'natural' landscapes 'lies in the idea that nature, commonly understood as the opposite of culture, can nevertheless provide a source of human identity.' Yet, as I have argued, settlers brought with them an imperial mindset which affected how they interacted with their new 'wild' surroundings, which led the governance of national parks to follow the same modernist vision of the nation state that had been instigated in Europe. Imperial ideals of progress also influenced how settlers 'tamed' the wilderness and packaged it into parks, while denying any legitimacy to the indigenous groups they displaced. With the added inscription of the national park concept into legislation, parks in settler societies were to take on a common static identity as areas set aside to be visited and described as if they were still devoid of human occupation.

Shifting from settler to post-settler

This chapter has made clear the kinds of economic, social and racial prerogatives that contributed to the imperial mindsets that settlers brought with them to the new world. Settlers arriving in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand had a set of beliefs about their relative place in the world, and they believed that these ideas would inform the creation of 'settler societies' or 'neo-Europes' in the new lands. Yet what they may not have immediately recognised was that from their first footsteps in these new lands, settlers were being affected and transformed by their surroundings.

Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (2010, p. 4) introduce their edited collection of essays on 'Making settler colonial space' by contending that 'notwithstanding the racial anxiety that inflected settler societies, new colonial polities that came to be imagined as hybrid spaces inevitably formed and confounded the most strident of settler rhetoric on racial purity.' Another way of putting it is that as the settlers became 'settled' in their new surroundings, 'settler societies' started to be re-imagined in more complex ways than the European cadastral grid had initially envisaged. Ashcroft et al (2000, p. 194) build on this by suggesting that as settlers were born within the settler societies they began to forge a distinctive and unique culture that is 'neither that of the metropolitan culture from which they stem, nor that of the native cultures they displaced in their early colonising phase.'

Mason Durie (2009, p. 3) discusses how New Zealand settlers 'drew on their experiences in Britain though soon discovered that neither agriculture nor commerce could be conducted in exactly the same way as they had practiced at home.' Durie (2009, p. 3) also notes that Māori 'found that while the shift to a cash economy would substantially disrupt their ways of life, engagement with settlers brought new technologies, education, and opportunities for trade on a larger scale than would have been possible in earlier years.' Durie's words accentuate how interaction between settler and Māori was not simply one-directional, and how Māori also played a significant role in the development of settler culture.

From these kinds of tentative beginnings, settlers and indigenous groups became more closely related, though power relations between them were never equal. Certainly in New Zealand this had a lot to do with living in close vicinity to each other, and whilst keeping their own distinct identities, there grew a level of interrelationship that I suggest throughout this thesis is indicative of an emerging post-settler society. King (1997, p. 115) discusses how by the beginning of the twentieth century in New Zealand, the 'two broad cultural streams: Pākehā and Māori' were being affected by a shift in power, with Māori leaders promoting increased Māori presence in the functioning of what had largely been a Pākehā-dominated society. Then the urbanisation of Māori from the 1950s was a key factor which facilitated growing recognition of the interaction between settler and Māori groups in New Zealand. According to Ranginui Walker (1989, p. 50), Māori became conversant with the techniques of metropolitan settler society, and thus more able to 'culturally assert their own distinct identity as tangata whenua [people of the land] in relation to the dominant Pakeha group.' But then King (1997) and many others suggest that the real Māori revival in New Zealand was in the 1970s and 80s. The 'Māori Renaissance' emerged in the 1970s, where increased Māori activism fostered by increasingly urban Māori populations motivated all New Zealanders to pay greater attention to Māori claims against the government to do with events that had taken place since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This is not to suggest that since the 1970s and 80s the relationship between settlers and Māori in New Zealand has followed an upward scale of improving cross-cultural partnership. Margaret Mutu (2011) illustrates that from 1994 to 2009 Māori and Pākehā relations have been closer, but that certain episodes over such issues as government support of Treaty of Waitangi settlements, the ownership of the Foreshore and Seabed, and the government's delayed endorsement of the Declaration on the Rights for

Indigenous Peoples (New Zealand did not endorse the 2007 Declaration until 2010[8]), have also polarised Māori and Pākehā. Banivanua Mar and Edmonds (2010, p. 6) suggest that 'zones of settler colonialism remain in constant negotiation as Indigenous peoples continue to resist and reclaim urban, rural and public places. Such actions have demanded an ongoing unsettlement and challenge to colonial society that has proven to be equally, if sometimes subversively, powerful.'

While New Zealand has become active in reinterpreting the developing relationship between its Pākehā and Māori populations, Michael Belgrave (2005) notes that other countries with similar colonial legacies have also been reinvestigating the histories of their indigenous and settler relations. Belgrave notes that following widespread Native American participation in World War II, the United States established the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) and began an examination lasting almost four decades into the way Native American land had been acquired for European settlement. The efforts of the United States to re-examine its settler/indigenous past have been further illuminated by Canadian Arthur Ray (2010), who views the establishment of the ICC by the United States Congress in 1946 as marking the beginning of the modern Aboriginal and treaty rights claims era. According to Ray, the commission acted as a catalyst for the development of 'ethnohistory', a multi-sourced and interdisciplinary approach to indigenous history in North America. Ray believes that ethnohistory shifted anthropologists' focus from seeing indigenous Americans as primitive cultures from a prehistoric time, to recognition of the dynamic interrelationships between indigenous groups and settlers. Ray also contends that the publication of the American researchers' findings in scholarly journals has fostered dissemination of ICC decisions to Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

Canadian legal historian Louis A Knafla (2010) notes how the recognition of Aboriginal land rights and self-government in international forums has encouraged indigenous peoples to negotiate new relationships with settler governments. The role of the state is reflected in Neufeld's writing on the commemoration of northern Aboriginal peoples by the Canadian government since the 1960s. According to Neufeld (2002, p. 31) 'there has been a gradual, though often grudging, federal recognition of aboriginal rights and cultural existence as

[8] The United States, Canada and Australia were also late endorsers of the Declaration, which was voted into existence on 7 September 2007. See http://www.parliament.nz/en-NZ/PB/Debates/Debates/6/5/a/49HansD_20100420_00000071-Ministerial-Statements-UN-Declaration-on.htm

treaties have been revisited and land claims addressed.' Knafla (2010) unravels how the *Calder* decision of 1973 recognised the existence of Aboriginal title in Canadian law, allowing the courts to consider First Nations as political entities, and conferring on them the right to seek remedies from the Crown for any failures to meet its obligations. Then when the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en peoples appealed to the Canadian supreme court in relation to the denial of their Aboriginal title, the *Delgamuukw* decision of 1997 was a milestone ruling that recognised Aboriginal title existed, and oral history could be used to prove it. Imperial historians William Beirnart and Lotte Hughes (2007) add the proviso that the *Delgamuukw* decision did not actually grant title to any First Nation, but that it created a test for proving it. From here, the 2004 Haida Nation action, where it was determined that the Crown must recognise the potential existence of Aboriginal Title to the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii, was a major judicial victory that, along with the earlier events, has been crucial in guiding Canada's changing mindsets in relation to its settler and indigenous populations (Knafla 2010).

In Australia, the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* was passed in 1976, only a few years after an 'Aboriginal Tent Embassy' was struck up on the lawns outside Australia's parliament in 1972. Christa Scholtz (2006) explains that the 1976 legislation established a negotiation policy for indigenous Australians in the Northern Territory, and it was not until 1993 that a nationwide land rights policy was passed. It took Torres Strait Islander Eddie Koiki Mabo a decade of litigation to prove that the Meriam people of the Murray Islands had a system of land ownership prior to European settlement. The 1992 *Mabo* judgment and consequent *Native Title Act 1993* rejected the idea of Australia as *terra nullius*, recognising that native title existed in 1788. However, Bruce Rigsby (2010) outlines how the 2004 *Yorta Yorta* decision elaborated on the evidential requirements mandated by the *Native Title Act* of 1993 (amended in 1998), requiring a very strict reading of continuous occupation, where an interruption or discrepancy in the history of an Aboriginal group's law could forfeit an indigenous claim to title. The difficulty of achieving the native title test has led to the development in some Australian states of an alternative, less litigious system for recognising rights for Aboriginal traditional owners. *The Victorian Traditional Owner Settlement Act 2010* allows 'the Victorian Government to make agreements with Aboriginal traditional owner groups to recognise their relationship to land, and provide for certain rights on Crown land and other benefits' (Department of Justice Victoria 2012). The Victorian Traditional Owner Land Justice Group acts as a support mechanism for the state-

based legislation, and in addition to providing a voice for each traditional owner group in Victoria has jointly developed with the Victorian government a Victorian Native Title settlement framework (Victorian Traditional Owner Land Justice Group).

Yet Australian scholars have shed light on the underlying tensions that continue to exist between indigenous and settler groups. Fiona Magowan (2010) notes that while settlers are increasingly supporting a relationship of co-existence with Aboriginal Australians, this is largely on settler terms. Michelle Langfield, William Logan and Mairead Nic Craith (2010, p. 13) also point out that it is not uncommon for settler groups to reject the notion of differentiated citizenship that is sought by indigenous groups, favouring instead 'the principle of universal individual rights—which runs counter to the indigenous people's aspiration for shared sovereignty and collective rights.' This has also been a central part of the debate surrounding the delayed New Zealand, Australian, United States, and Canadian endorsement of the Declaration on the Rights for Indigenous Peoples.

Therefore, even though Jeffrey Sissons (2004) locates the idea of 'post-settler' nationhood as something that is distinct from earlier colonial or 'settler' nationhood, it is not simply a progressive concept. Sissons' (2004, p. 29) notion of the 'post-settler' is as an indicator of contemporary times, particularly in New Zealand where the complexities of the country's 1840 Treaty of Waitangi are consistently being brought into the spotlight as a result of increasing Māori political mobilisation, and it is a notion that could be applied to other settler societies. Sissons writes:

> For Pakeha who seek their identity within this nation, the Treaty claims settlement process is more than a matter of law and economics. By exposing and acknowledging (with Crown apologies, ministerial tears and money) the dispossession at the heart of settler nationhood the process affirms a new post-settler nation in which post-settlers (i.e. these Pakeha) may now claim to legitimately belong. (Sissons 2004, p. 29)

More than simply being about land claims and legislation, Sissons demonstrates that the 'post-settler' is about a deeper change of attitude and approach. Though there exists an element of cynicism in Sissons' words, where post-settlerism might also be construed as Pākehā settlers simply going through the motions so that they themselves feel more at home in New Zealand. Australian Peter Read's (2000) publication on non-indigenous/settler 'belonging' shows how the recent focus on the relative place of Australia's indigenous population has impelled a level of questioning and examination of consciences by

[post]settler Australians. Analogous to Sissons, Read (2000, p. 223) sees this attitudinal change as being in relation to Australian settlers' own place in society, believing that settlers cannot fully belong themselves until they acknowledge the belonging of others. Hence, while 'settler society' might crudely be described as an era of the assimilation of indigenous into non-indigenous, in contrast, the 'post-settler' is emerging as an era that recognises indigenous as indigenous, and it is also an environment in which settlers can progressively create their own personal identities in relation to that of the indigenous population and the world that they live in. Yet importantly, Read (2000, p. 16) recognises that this attitudinal change, and its consequences, are far from finalised or universal.

The discussion around the post-settler has brought to the fore the existence of fuzzy edges and overlaps that suggest that consideration of heritage as separate indigenous, settler and natural categories ignores the complexities of the mutual constitution that is occurring between these heritage values. Therefore, in emerging post-settler societies where we are becoming more comfortable with recognising cultural exchange, we need to move our heritage understandings away from compartments, to explore how different groups and heritages come together. There will be challenges around how to balance and represent divergent voices, yet this thesis suggests that the concept of cultural landscapes might be a way of encompassing broader perceptions and articulating the complex interactions of natural, settler and indigenous heritage values.

Broadening perceptions of heritage

Earlier I traced the origins of the concept of 'heritage', outlining how the term developed in the modern era as a way of encompassing a particular understanding of the notion of inheritance. I also explained how settlers in the United States and Canada looked to Britain for guidance on what heritage was, and how settlers to Australia and New Zealand brought their ideas about heritage with them as part of their 'cultural baggage'. The discussion then highlighted how settlers to all four countries had to readjust their knowledge of heritage as cultural artefact, to accommodate the more natural surroundings they encountered. What the discussion draws attention to now is just how much the concept of heritage has continued to be redefined, and how the term is increasingly understood as a concept which mirrors the mounting complexities of surrounding social and economic forces.

The exponential increase in what now fits under the broad ambit of 'heritage' is generally attributed to the post-World War II world, and it was in this tumultuous era that the concept of heritage started to receive closer scrutiny. The process began with the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (The Venice Charter 1964) which was developed by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) to establish a common set of international heritage guidelines (International Council on Monuments and Sites 1965). The Venice Charter had its origins in an earlier 1931 'Athens Charter', though its immediate genesis was the post-World War II 'restoration' efforts in the war-ravaged cities of Western Europe which required the development of a set of universal heritage management guidelines. The Venice Charter is regarded as the first of a range of international charters established to define the concept of heritage and its application, and its principles have flowed through into the World Heritage listing process which developed after 1972 (Logan 2004). Davison (2000) outlines how by the 1970s the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), as the organisation responsible for the World Heritage List, had enlarged the concept of heritage from a familial or national setting to an international one. Yet alongside the international scope of the World Heritage List, UNESCO divided 'heritage' into the two categories of the natural and the cultural.

By the late 1980s Robert Hewison (1987) argued that Britain was being overexposed to 'heritage', and that a 'heritage industry' was stifling economic development, absorbing resources and taking over from 'real industries'. Britain at the time was being led by a conservative government under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and it was struggling with economic recession. Hewison (1987, p. 9) asserted that Britain had become 'a country obsessed with the past, and unable to face its future.' The heritage industry was swooping in on people's insecurities and getting them to contribute money to 'attractive reassuring products, where the past is distorted', he claimed (1987, p. 141). His argument was reviewed by American cultural geographer, David Lowenthal (1988), who pointed out that heritage did not necessarily set out to be as 'sinister' or as 'inauthentic' as Hewison was asserting. While acknowledging that heritage can be used as a tool by those in power, Lowenthal was clear that 'heritage perversion' is not just restricted to one kind of government whether Tory, Labour or Conservative.

The growing use of the 'heritage' term in the nineties prompted further debate about its underpinnings. Authors like Raphael Samuel (1994) offered discussion on the different nuances of heritage, noting that the concept could be more than a controlling force employed by a right-wing elite, and that heritage might also be utilised by groups who had traditionally been excluded from power. With the growing awareness that heritage could belong to many different groups, the ability of the concept to align or divide people was initially raised in Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) work on heritage dissonance. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2005, p. 34) suggested that the condition refers to the 'discordance or lack of agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage. Dissonance arises because heritage actively or potentially disinherits those who do not subscribe to, or are embraced within, the terms of meaning defining that heritage.' Graham Ashworth and Tunbridge argued that while heritage dissonance could be destructive, it was also, paradoxically, a condition for the construction of pluralist, multicultural societies, provided differences were accepted.

By the end of the twentieth century, the concept of heritage had grown to be recognised as both a social and a political construct. This change broadened what had largely been a western concern with material culture including architecture, monuments and archaeological sites, leading to one of the biggest 'formal' re-evaluations of the cultural heritage concept—the 2003 UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, which entered into force in 2006. According to the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 'intangible cultural heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage…' (UNESCO 2003). More than 100 countries were party to this new guiding document, although New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States were amongst a group of countries who abstained from voting (Smith, L & Akagawa 2009). The sanctioning of intangible heritage at an international level has facilitated the idea to spread around the world, stimulating debate, while at the same time highlighting the reach of UNESCO.

As intangible heritage entered mainstream dialogue on heritage management the concept grew to be about more than the UNESCO convention. Of particular note is the idea that the very distinction between the tangible and intangible may not be very helpful. Laurajane

Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (2009, p. 6), for example, argued that 'heritage only becomes 'heritage' when it becomes recognisable within a particular set of cultural or social values, which are themselves 'intangible'.' The idea that the division between tangible and intangible forms of heritage might be obstructive was also picked up by Denis Byrne (2009), who suggested that the idea of intangible heritage was a mixed blessing, as while it had the potential to bring more focus to the social dimension, intangible heritage management was still led by the need to inventory items into the kinds of lists used for tangible heritage.

Nevertheless, the acceptance of the existence of intangible heritage facilitated the ability of indigenous groups to assert that they too have 'heritage'. This idea was already in place even before the advent of the 2003 Convention. For example, Ken Gelder and Jane M. Jacobs (1998) suggested as early as 1998 that there was a change in how heritage was being considered in Australia which was having a big impact on the relative place of Aboriginal heritage in relation to the more dominant settler or historic heritage field. Gelder and Jacobs noted how this change was allowing Australians to take legitimate charge of their past for their own purposes and to reconnect with land not as a commodity, but as the heritage of their community.

If relationships to land have been altered in response to the recognition of intangible forms of heritage, the process has also been helped by the fast-paced change of the last half of the century which has contributed to changing perceptions about the use of the world's natural resources. David Harmon (2007, p. 381) suggests that 'human activity has mounted to the point where we have literally transformed the planet… we have arrived at an unprecedented moment in history: there is now no place so remote that it escapes, in the words of Wallace Stegner, 'the marks of human passage'.' Harmon (2007) continues by pointing out how today's nature conservation largely deals with issues generated by culture. Both cultural and natural heritage, according to Harmon have the 'shared ethic' of stabilisation in the face of decline, in that anthropologists and site managers are deeply concerned about declining cultural diversity, just as ecologists and biologists are deeply concerned about declining natural diversity. Thomas Heyd (2005) and Nicholas Smith (2011) provide an extension to Harmon's discussion in their critical analyses of the mode of thought which positions preservation and revegetation of native plants as a purely natural heritage act, when they each suggest that these processes turn nature into cultural artefact. Interaction of natural and cultural heritage is taken further by Bridgewater, Arico

and Scott (2007) who contend that conservation of nature is at the heart of the cultures and values of indigenous peoples. Bridgewater et al (2007, p. 406) discuss how indigenous world views work from the belief that the earth and its resources are sacred heritage inherited from ancestors, and that indigenous groups have trans-generational obligations to look after the natural, just as biologists and ecologists have their responsibilities. The topic of indigenous groups' relationships to nature will be discussed further in the subsequent parts of this thesis, yet what this literature reveals here is that it is becoming increasingly difficult to make a clear distinction between the realm of natural heritage and the realm of cultural heritage.

In 2003, Peter Howard (2003, p. 1) suggested that 'heritage is taken to include everything that people want to save, from clean air to morris dancing, including material culture and nature. It is all pervasive, and concerns everyone.' This kind of broad generic description was emulated by a group of heritage scholars, five years later, in the introduction to *The Heritage Reader*, an extensive publication where the editors detail that 'heritage is no longer about the past, but draws on the power of the past to produce the present and shape the future' (Fairclough et al. 2008, p. 1). Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson and Schofield (2008, p. 1) continued their discussion by noting that 'new forms of diasporic and trans-national communities, with mass mobility and cyber-cohesion (the new relationships that transcend place),' will continue to shape and extend understandings of heritage in the twenty-first century.

What all this discussion points to, is that the concept of heritage has grown in definition over the last 60 years to encompass a myriad of meanings. While this has been positive for minority groups, particularly indigenous communities, the issue that is now of more concern is how to ensure that the management of heritage keeps up with the term's growing complexity and fluidity in meaning. Crucial to this endeavour, I will argue, is a more nuanced understanding that employs the concept of cultural landscapes.

Heritage management in post-settler societies

As the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand increasingly redefine heritage in the emerging post-settler era, the question is whether heritage management is keeping up with all the change. Australian heritage professional, Jane Lennon (2005) has spent much of her career alerting Australians to the existence of a natural/historic/indigenous split in

Australian heritage management. In her 2005 PhD thesis, Lennon explained that the focus on heritage 'features' has led to protecting cultural heritage as 'islands in a sea of nature' rather than managing the heritage items and places in their historical context. Lennon (2005, p. 122) suggested that 'a key issue for conservation of heritage values in the Australian landscapes is the integration of natural, Indigenous and historic values identified and assessed under different criteria, and often under different jurisdictions, but for the same place.' Lennon's views on the impractical divisions in Australian heritage management were held by other heritage professionals as well, with Aplin (2002) voicing his concern in relation to the distinctions made between natural and cultural heritage. Aplin (2002, p. 12) positioned demarcations made between the natural and cultural as 'frequently meaningless and almost always blurred', but stated that 'Australians, along with practitioners and the public in some other 'new world' countries, have the desire to keep national parks as 'natural' and as free from obvious human impact as possible.'

Alongside the critique of the separation of natural and cultural heritage values, there also developed a relatively new critique of the isolation of indigenous heritage values. For example, Byrne (2003a, p. 188) contends that a focus on sites without attention to their spatial, temporal, and social context generates a kind of 'spatial containment' that erases Aboriginal heritage from the larger Australian cultural landscape, restricting it to the places where setters rarely went. Smith (2004) adds to this the political nature of archaeology, where she distinguished a gulf between what archaeology set out to achieve, particularly in relation to the control of data, and what indigenous groups set out to achieve. Rachel Mason (2004, p. 52) discusses how the United States National Register of Historic Places which is sanctioned by the United States National Park Service ignored 'many culturally significant ethnographic landscapes used in contemporary times.' Because the criteria that determines eligibility are focused on historic built structures and objects almost always older than 50 years, and because an 'ethnographic landscape may lack material artifacts or written documentation, its value for preservation can be more difficult to determine than a historical structure', claims Mason. In the same edited volume, Tonia Woods Horton (2004, p. 65) explained that the US National Park Service is an institution whose sense of heritage 'is splintered between an array of departments charged with resource protection along the problematic fault lines of 'natural' and 'cultural'.'

When it comes to New Zealand, Harry Allen (1998) was critical of how the country's heritage management systems were failing to keep up with the growing diversity in heritage definition. While Allen's work was published over fifteen years ago, his evaluations are still very applicable today. Allen (1998, p. 3) acknowledged the existence of 'some discomfort' with the separation of the cultural from the realm of natural resources, yet he stated that this division 'represents the reality of heritage management in New Zealand today.' While New Zealand had been redefined as a 'bicultural' nation, as 'a unity composed of Māori and a predominantly British immigrant culture', Allen suggested that there was a lot of complexity that sat under this 'label' that was not addressed by the country's existing and largely monocultural heritage management systems. Central to Allen's (1998, p. 45) arguments was the claim that New Zealand's segmented heritage management systems 'fall well short of Māori expectations'; in particular, that the legislation did not fully provide for the relationship of Māori with their ancestral lands and sites. For him, New Zealand's systems were incapable of recognising the more social side of heritage—whether it be natural or cultural, as for Māori there is no separation. The important point that Allen notes here is that New Zealand's heritage management systems follow general heritage procedures that are applied around the world. 'These procedures', state Allen (1998, p. 45), 'have been extended to include Māori places but were not developed with this in mind. Māori heritage management has come as something of an afterthought.'

The demarcations that exist within New Zealand heritage management were further emphasised in *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, a collection of essays written by academics and professionals working in heritage. The main focus of the edited work is built heritage from a mainly Pākehā viewpoint, yet it does make a strong case for a more integrated heritage management approach, stating that 'current thinking amongst archaeologists and historians supports a move from investigating only single sites, objects, and structures to relating to and interpreting history in a broad spatial context, and to thinking thematically' (Barber & McLean 2000, p. 105).

The growing recognition of the plural societies of the twenty-first century is placing pressure on heritage management systems in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to cater to more diverse heritage values and to recognise that there is a significant amount of cultural overlap and sharing occurring. This section has shown how a reliance on

management strategies determined by the settler imperial mindsets has meant a continuation of traditional management systems, even when ideas of what heritage encapsulates are expanding. It is not that there is no interest in new ways of managing heritage; Morgan et al (2010) stress it is just that there needs to be more encouragement to keep on moving away from traditional systems with heritage categories. Critique of current heritage management is gaining momentum around the world, particularly in the United Kingdom and Australia with the work of the 'critical heritage studies' scholars. Yet this thesis suggests that determining what to do with future heritage management is not a matter of simply critiquing current systems. The way forward will be about experimenting and trying to steer a path that caters to the wider manifestations of heritage currently being expressed, and which considers theory alongside the realities of heritage management in practice.

Conclusion

This chapter has clearly illustrated that while the countries of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand provided new environments, settlers faced the new and the foreign with a set of ingrained beliefs that were initially little changed by what they encountered. The chapter has revealed that when it came to ideas of heritage, the settler imperial mindset worked from an embedded nature/culture dichotomy, which as the settlers became 'settled' was added to by a third category. Recognition of the category of indigenous heritage was a way of dealing with all that was outside of the realm of the settler, and more interestingly, the indigenous category could also be considered to be part of the natural heritage. While this tripartite system underlies heritage management across the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the changing cultural and national identities of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have meant that the idea of heritage is becoming markedly different from what was considered to be heritage in the era of the first European settlers. With the notion of settler societies becoming post-settler societies and as settlers and indigenous groups find that their life-ways are more closely connected than initially thought, this shift has brought with it a powerful impetus for change in the arena of heritage and indigenous human rights more generally.

Yet the discussion has also demonstrated how heritage management in emerging post-settler societies is continuing to follow out-dated systems, despite changing mindsets, and as a result heritage practice is failing to keep up with exponential growth in all that the

heritage concept encompasses. One of the key challenges is how to facilitate a relationship between an entrenched settler point of view (which restricts its ideas of heritage into mutually exclusive boxes, even though deep down there exists an awareness that heritage is more complicated) and indigenous communities, who bring a more comprehensive and holistic understanding to the table. Today's complex societies cannot simply be organised into superficial categories to be compared, contrasted and managed separately. Post-settler societies are creating new versions of heritage which are increasingly at odds with traditional nature/settler/indigenous categories. Thus while the restriction of indigenous heritage as being only about prehistoric archaeology might have been useful for managing heritage when national parks were first created, greater recognition of diversity in heritage has added another level of complexity, whereby today more than ever, the natural/settler/indigenous requires a more dialogic relationship. Change is fostering the sentiment that the world does not so easily fit within the margins of static categories.

Nevertheless, while categorised heritage management is failing to stand up to the multiplicity of contemporary societies, this does not automatically mean that all existing heritage management systems are ineffective and need to be discarded. What needs to be recognised instead, is that change in how we understand heritage as a concept brings the need for change in how we manage it. There is an urgent need for more serious re-evaluations of heritage management systems in countries with settler and indigenous populations, and the idea of 'cultural landscapes' might be a way out of established static systems. The concept of cultural landscape is particularly attractive as a means of dismantling the different categories of heritage and shifting the focus away from sites as dots on maps, towards a broader and more meaningful concern with the whole-worldly experience—the social, intangible, and spatial—everything that is in between and inclusive of natural and cultural heritage. Cultural landscape transcends the conceptual and practical boundaries established between nature and culture, and gives no pre-eminence to a certain type of heritage. The concept of cultural landscape can also accommodate the living conditions of indigenous peoples, especially their special sacred attachments to land, water, and continuing interactions with the natural environment (Titchen 1996, p. 44).

Byrne sees renewal through reinterpretation as a useful way forward:

> The 'site' concept, which has always done violence to Aboriginal concepts of land and country, could be abandoned in favour of an understanding of cultural

> landscapes as artifacts in which the same physical places are experienced and signified differently to different groups. This would be part of a general reversal of the heritage industry's prioritising of materiality over meaning. (Byrne 1996, p. 102)

Cultural landscapes are more than nature and culture, and the tangible and intangible. The concept captures the interrelatedness of land and life, and of people and places, and it will be the topic of further discussion in the next section.

Part I Section Three: Locating cultural landscapes approaches

The preceding chapter has clearly expressed how our shifting perceptions of what 'heritage' encompasses is a reflection of our kaleidoscopic twenty-first century world. The discussion has emphasised how interactions between Pākehā and Māori populations in New Zealand are creating an emerging post-settler society where there is growing recognition of settler and indigenous cultures as being mutually constituted, and located closer to nature than past understandings have contended. This exchange is highlighting the challenges of trying to 'fit' increasingly diverse heritage values into a heritage management system still heavily influenced by the cadastral grid. Despite changing notions of heritage, what is commonly occurring in countries like New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Canada, is that heritage values are being considered in compartments for the purposes of management. This kind of approach usually means that the natural is separated out from the cultural, and that settler heritage is identified at a distance from indigenous heritage. This section submits that a 'cultural landscapes approach' might provide a more cohesive way of addressing the heritage values of emerging post-settler societies.

This part of the dissertation will build on the definition of cultural landscapes presented in the introduction to examine what the concept means in relation to heritage management. Central to the discussion will be how World Heritage has been a strong influence in the way that cultural landscapes are being considered today for heritage management at national and more local levels. The chapter will then move on to deliberating the notion of a 'cultural landscapes approach' as a way of focussing on the nexus between how cultural landscapes are being thought about at the theoretical level, and how the concept is being employed in the practical management of heritage. I contend that despite widespread application there exists a level of ambiguity around what a 'cultural landscapes approach' is, and that viewing it as a 'social system' is a way of making sense of its different elements. I submit that a 'cultural landscapes approach as a social system' is made up of a realm of ideas, a realm of policy and a realm of practice, and that the relative interaction and weighting of these three realms generates different results for heritage management. The discussion will unpack the concept of 'landscape' in relation to the key ideas of 'culture', 'vision', 'place', 'heritage', 'more-than-representational theories' and 'indigeneity'. It will also highlight how the ideas that the cultural landscapes approach are grounded in are central to the kinds of interpretations that follow in policy and in practice. The chapter will

close with my contention that while World Heritage-inspired cultural landscapes have made a useful contribution, our thinking on cultural landscapes needs to continue to develop, so that we recognise a cultural landscapes approach as being more than simply a bridge between the traditional nature/culture divide. A new cultural landscapes approach for New Zealand needs to take a more nuanced view of the ideas, the polices and the practices, so that we see cultural landscapes as being a way of dealing with the interrelationships between natural/settler/indigenous heritage values, in addition to the interrelationships between heritage theory and practice.

The genesis of World Heritage cultural landscapes

> The conceptual origins of the term as now understood and practised for World Heritage purposes, but not the actual phrase, lie in the writings of German historians and French geographers in the mid-later nineteenth century. 'Cultural landscape' as a term was apparently invented in academia in the early twentieth century. The term, and a particular idea it embraced, was promoted by Professor Carl Sauer in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s. It only came into accepted professional use in conservation circles in the 1990s (Jacques, 1995), not least through its adoption by the World Heritage Committee and promulgation through the world by the World Heritage Centre… (Fowler 2003a, pp. 16-7)

While countries like the United States and Australia were experimenting with the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management from the 1980s, the way that the world has come to know the concept of 'cultural landscapes' is generally attributed to World Heritage. The *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (the World Heritage Convention), is an international agreement that was adopted in 1972, which establishes a World Heritage List for the 'identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value' (UNESCO 2013). The World Heritage Convention and the World Heritage List are administered by the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) World Heritage Committee, an elected body comprised of representatives of 21 state parties (UNESCO member States that have ratified the World Heritage Convention). The 1972 text of the World Heritage Convention is supported by the periodically revised *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (*Operational Guidelines)*. In 1992, adjustments were made to the *Operational Guidelines* so that 'cultural landscapes' could be introduced as a new type of property on the World Heritage List. Despite initial expectations, there had been limited recognition of

interaction between natural and cultural heritage values in World Heritage properties.[9] There were 'mixed' properties (in addition to the more well-recognised 'cultural' and 'natural' sites), yet these required that both natural and cultural criteria were met, and did not necessarily require there to be interaction between the two sets of values. According to Lionella Scazzosi (2003), 'cultural landscapes' developed out of a wish to bring the natural and the cultural elements more closely together than World Heritage 'mixed sites' allowed for. This would then allow properties which had 'outstanding universal value' through a combination of cultural and natural values, and which assessed separately might not meet the criteria for cultural and natural sites, to be able to be considered for World Heritage status. Sophie Boukhari (1996, p. 7) reflects that 'when, in 1992 [the 20 year anniversary of the World Heritage Convention], the hour came to review the Convention's achievements, its anomalies also came clearly into focus.' Boukhari suggests that the review revealed that the text of the World Heritage Convention with its *Operational Guidelines* appeared to favour 'a 'monumental' vision of heritage, corresponding to western aesthetic canons.' Boukhari continues:

> A close examination of the List revealed, for example, many disparities both in geographical distribution and with regard to properties themselves: a preponderance of European and North American sites (over half); of historic cities and religious edifices; of Christianity (72% of religious sites) and of defunct civilizations, to the detriment of living cultures. This analysis also shed light on the disproportion of cultural (78%) and natural (22%) properties and the necessity to break down divisions between the two categories. (Boukhari 1996, p. 7)

Boukhari explains that the introduction of cultural landscapes came prior to a new 'global strategy' for World Heritage, with a new philosophy intent on including the social, cultural and spiritual significance of a site, in addition to recognition of a property's form. Yet the inclusion of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List was not a straightforward matter, with its development taking many years to determine how best to include the concept within the existing World Heritage system. Harald Plachter and Mechtild Rössler

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[9] Sarah Titchen (1995, pp. 206-8, 17) reveals that the demarcation between natural and cultural heritage criteria has not always been so strict in World Heritage. She notes that when the World Heritage Convention was drafted in 1972, the definition of 'monuments' under the cultural heritage criteria had originally been intended to refer to combinations of natural and cultural features. Titchen also notes that up until 1992, the natural heritage criteria for World Heritage listings did in fact make mention of the cultural, with references to 'man's interaction with his natural environment' and 'exceptional combinations of natural and cultural elements' being part of the texts of criteria ii and iii of the *Operational Guidelines.* The revisions to the natural heritage criteria were made in accordance with recommendations made at the Fourth World Parks Congress in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1992. It was considered that cultural landscapes would provide a partial solution to the removal of the references to these natural and cultural interactions.

(1995, p. 17) recall that it took 'about fifteen years and intensive discussion' before the concept of cultural landscapes was accepted by the World Heritage Committee. Their observations are expanded upon in the recent work of Christina Cameron and Rössler on the early years of the World Heritage Convention. Cameron and Rössler (2013) note that by the early 1980s there was a real impetus to include greater numbers of natural sites on the World Heritage list. IUCN (the International Union for Conservation of Nature, and the natural advisory body to the World Heritage Committee) released a global inventory of the world's greatest natural heritage sites in 1984 to assist with the identification of potential World Heritage properties. Yet the inventory was limited to 'pristine' natural areas, and as such, some countries complained that IUCN had failed to list natural heritage sites where human beings had modified the environment. In the same year, a member of the French delegation introduced the notion of 'rural landscapes' into the debate, with the aim of opening up the World Heritage Convention to ancient rural areas prevalent in Europe. 'Rural landscapes' was promoted as an 'in-between'—not quite of the ilk of monuments, but then not like the wilderness of the American national parks, which IUCN's natural list appeared to favour. Sarah Titchen (1995) details that the Lake District National Park in the United Kingdom was nominated to the World Heritage List as part of an attempt to define 'rural landscapes' for World Heritage, yet it failed to resolve questions concerning the property's natural and cultural heritage values and was deferred by the World Heritage Committee in 1987. According to Cameron and Rössler (2013), while ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites, the cultural advisory body to the World Heritage Committee) supported the inscription of the Lake District as a cultural property, IUCN was unable to make a decision on whether the Lake District was a true 'natural' site in the sense of article 2 of the World Heritage Convention. Cameron and Rössler (2013, p. 66) note that it was at this point that the new term of 'cultural landscapes' 'curiously replaced the term 'rural landscapes' without explanation.'

It was in this climate that IUCN began working on the related concept of 'protected landscapes' to conceptualise a natural environment more obviously affected by culture (Phillips, A 2002). IUCN promoted protected landscapes as being about 'high scenic quality, diverse associated habitats, flora and fauna, in addition to unique or traditional land-use patterns and social organisations as evidenced in human settlements, local customs, livelihoods and beliefs' (Lucas 1994). Protected landscapes were lived in, working landscapes, reflecting a long relationship between people and the natural world. And even

though PHC (Bing) Lucas' work suggests that IUCN were becoming increasingly open to cross-overs between the natural and cultural, Nora Mitchell and Susan Buggey (2000, p. 35) reflect that 'in protected landscapes, the natural environment, biodiversity conservation, and ecosystem integrity have continued to be the primary emphases.'

ICOMOS, on the other hand, chose to continue with the term 'cultural landscapes', and selected to utilise the kinds of framings that were already being applied in the field of cultural heritage management—namely 'human history, continuity of cultural traditions and social values and aspirations' (Mitchell, N & Buggey 2000, p. 35). David Jacques (1995) details how ICOMOS United Kingdom launched the ICOMOS Landscape Working Group in early 1991, which determined that the 'protected landscapes' approach was not suitable, citing its 'ecological' terminology as being too difficult to measure and monitor. The alternative approach suggested by ICOMOS was to keep cultural landscapes within the cultural, 'to be judged by cultural criteria alone' (Jacques 1995, p. 98). Hence, the World Heritage Committee determined that ICOMOS should have the sole responsibility for evaluating cultural landscapes under cultural criteria, and IUCN a consultative role. Yet Cameron and Rössler (2013) remind that this decision would further distort the question of balance between cultural and natural sites, since cultural landscapes were to be counted as cultural sites on the World Heritage List.

Towards the end of 1992, the World Heritage Committee convened a meeting in La Petite Pierre, France, to address the development of World Heritage criteria for cultural landscapes. The meeting was attended by ICOMOS, IUCN, UNESCO and IFLA (the International Federation of Landscape Architects), with representatives from eight state parties (including Australia, Canada and New Zealand). New Zealander, Bing Lucas was in attendance representing IUCN, and recollects that 'unlike all previous attempts to discuss cultural landscapes, the group did not propose a separate new cultural landscapes category but, instead, proposed a number of subtle but important revisions to the criteria for cultural listings' (Lucas 1994). The La Petite Pierre meeting also developed three categories of cultural landscape which are defined as: (i) the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man, such as garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons; (ii) the organically evolved landscape, which falls into two sub-categories of relict (or fossil) landscape—where the evolutionary process came to an end but can still be seen in material form, and a continuing landscape, which retains an active social role in

contemporary society; (iii) the associative cultural landscape, in which the natural element has powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent (Fowler 2004).

The revision of the *Operational Guidelines* with the three new cultural landscape categories was adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its sixteenth session in Santa Fe in December 1992 (UNESCO 1992c). Paragraph 47 of the *Operational Guidelines* defines:

> Cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the 'combined works of nature and of man' designated in Article 1 of the *Convention.* They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal. (UNESCO 2013)

An expert meeting on World Heritage cultural landscapes quickly followed in Templin, Germany, in 1993. The meeting was organised at the request of the World Heritage Committee to provide further guidance on issues related to the inclusion of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 1993a). Topics for discussion included the development of thematic frameworks for the evaluation of cultural landscapes, in addition to the recommendation that further regional expert meetings be held to develop comparative case studies. A significant contribution was made at this meeting by Tumu Te Heuheu on behalf of the New Zealand Māori iwi (tribe) of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Tongariro National Park in New Zealand was being proposed as an example of the 'associative' cultural landscapes category, and Te Heuheu spoke on what Mount Tongariro meant to his people. Te Heuheu's whaikōrero (speech) set the benchmark for how the World Heritage List, via its new cultural landscapes property type, might better recognise indigenous values. In addition, Te Heuheu's speech also worked to promote to those regions that were under-represented in World Heritage, that the World Heritage List now had scope to better recognise their heritage values (Te Heuheu, Kawharu & Tuheiava 2012). More will be said about the nomination of Tongariro National Park in Part III, nevertheless it is important to note here that Tongariro National Park in New Zealand, already inscribed on the World Heritage List for its natural values, became the first cultural landscape inscription in 1993, included as an outstanding universal example of a cultural landscape strongly associated with Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The New Zealand nomination was closely followed in 1994, when Australia's Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park (also initially listed for its natural values) became

the second cultural landscape on the World Heritage List, acknowledging the associative cultural values of the Aṉangu traditional owners.

Aurelie Gfeller (2013) contends that the criteria designed in 1992 for World Heritage cultural landscapes instituted a change in power relations from continental Europe to an 'Anglo-North American agenda'—where countries like New Zealand, Australia and Canada took leadership roles in the development of this new kind of World Heritage property. Gfeller (2013, p. 485) notes that World Heritage cultural landscapes 'developed in the post-colonial context of post-settler states in Oceania—one designed to take account of indigenous perceptions of the past.' I have also found that the scholarship demonstrates that while 'rural/cultural landscapes' might have first been considered for World Heritage by Europeans, it was the Australians, the New Zealanders, and the Canadians, in particular, who worked to make cultural landscapes (especially the associative kind) a reality for heritage management at the World Heritage level. Gfeller (2013, p. 497) singles out Australian archaeologist, Isabel McBryde, as being primarily responsible for 'the subcategory of cultural landscapes that created an opening for indigenous people as 'associative cultural landscapes'.' McBryde represented the intellectual milieu of Australian heritage management of the late 1980s and early 1990s where the *Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*, with its grounding in 'place', promoted a wide framing of Australian heritage that was inclusive of the country's indigenous heritage values. The 1979 *Burra Charter* supported the recognition of the setting that a cultural item was located within, in addition to allowing 'for those situations where traditional values and intangible aspects were more important than the physical fabric, and where cultural values are attached to natural landscape features' (Logan 2004, p. 4). Revisions to the *Burra Charter* in 1988 extended the definition of 'place' further to include 'landscapes modified by human activity' (Lennon 2004, p. 20).

Moreover, in the early 1990s Australia and Canada hosted two of the formative World Heritage cultural landscapes meetings, with the 'Heritage Canals' meeting held in Canada in September 1994, and the 'Asia-Pacific Workshop on Associative Cultural Landscapes' in Australia in 1995. These events promoted the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management further, while facilitating Australian and Canadian interest in developing ways of introducing the concept of cultural landscapes into heritage management within their own national heritage management systems.

Therefore, cultural landscapes experienced a period of high interest and optimism in the early to mid-1990s as the concept grew in prominence within the World Heritage system. Adrian Phillips, of IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas projected his optimism in cultural landscapes for the future, with the comment he made in 1998 that:

> The significance of this development is not confined to the relatively few sites which will be recognized under the convention. Just as important in the long run is the encouragement that the international interest in World Heritage cultural landscapes will give to the conservation of landscapes generally and to the collaborative working between experts in cultural conservation and the conservation of natural values. (Phillips, A 1998, p. 29)

World Heritage cultural landscapes beyond the optimism of the 90s

However, it was not long before the initial wave of optimism attached to World Heritage cultural landscapes began to be destabilised. An analysis conducted by the World Heritage Centre ten years after the introduction of the new site type (when 30 cultural landscapes had been inscribed on the World Heritage List) found that 'far from being a liberating mechanism' the cultural landscapes category was actually being avoided. The report's author, Peter Fowler (2003b, p. 22) pointed out that of particular note was China, where nine of its nominations could have been cultural landscapes, but that none had been nominated as such. Similarly, Fowler notes that fourteen possible cultural landscapes from the Asia/Pacific region were inscribed on the World Heritage List between 1992-2002 as natural or cultural sites. Fowler questioned whether the reluctance to use the category had to do with a perception that it was more challenging to put together a successful World Heritage cultural landscapes nomination dossier than one for an 'ordinary' cultural or natural site. Fowler also suggested that other possible reasons behind the limited application of cultural landscapes might have to do with the view that more sophisticated management is required for cultural landscapes than is the case with a straightforward monument.

As a concept on paper, cultural landscape suggests innovation in bringing the traditionally demarcated natural and cultural heritage values together, and broadening notions of heritage beyond 'dots on a map'. Yet the major challenge for cultural landscapes is working out how to translate these confident ideals into the practice of heritage management—a point which I will address further in this chapter and throughout this thesis. Nevertheless, it is important to quickly note here a few of the different landscape initiatives which did develop in the years following the initial World Heritage conversations on cultural

landscapes. The *European Landscape Convention* (ELC), adopted in 2000, and brought into force in 2004, was designed to respond to pressures on landscapes as a result of development, neglect and abandonment, pollution and resource abuse across Europe. Analogous to World Heritage cultural landscapes, the ELC grew out of concerns around the protection of countryside landscapes, yet contrary to World Heritage, landscapes recognised by the ELC do not necessarily have to be of 'outstanding universal value', and can include the more every day. The ELC employs the term 'landscape' minus the prefix of 'culture'—which according to Kennith Olwig (2007, p. 581) has to do with the ELC's definition of landscape as being more than a 'given assemblage of physical objects, which can be objectively analysed by the natural or social scientist. It is rather a creature of changeable cultural perceptions and identities', suggests Olwig, who notes that people in the landscape will know how to manage, and generally know what to do with landscapes, more so than experts. Adopted in Florence, Italy in 2000 (enacted in 2004) by the Council of Europe, the Convention's focus is cultural and economic good, and the promotion of a sustainable relationship between social needs, economic activity and the environment (Déjeant-Pons 2006; Mitchell, N, Rössler & Tricaud 2009). The *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (Faro Convention, 2005) is another European initiative which has at its heart strengthened citizen participation, and recognition of 'the inseparability of human and natural influences in the landscape' (Council of Europe 2005).

Other UNESCO and ICOMOS initiatives have worked to further explore and promote the different complexities and challenges associated with wider thinking around landscape ideas for heritage management. The 2003 UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* has been widely promoted as having synergies with World Heritage cultural landscapes in relation to the recognition of intangible and living cultural heritage (Mitchell, N, Rössler & Tricaud 2009). The *Nachitoches Declaration on Heritage Landscapes* (2004) was instituted by a US/ICOMOS international symposium to promote interdisciplinary approaches between natural and cultural heritage professionals and organisations. The *Xi'an Declaration of the ICOMOS General Assembly* (2005) acknowledges the contribution of setting to the significance of heritage monuments, sites and areas. Then there was the *Vienna Memorandum* of 2005, developed to promote a more integrated approach to the heritage of cities that links contemporary architecture, sustainable urban development and historic buildings and areas (UNESCO 2005b). The *Vienna Memorandum*

works to open up the thinking around cities to consider them more as historic environments, rather than as a collection of different buildings and monuments.

UNESCO has also released guidance documents to assist with conceptualising and employing cultural landscapes for heritage management at World Heritage levels. *World Heritage Papers 7: Cultural Landscapes the Challenges of Conservation* (2003) and *World Heritage Papers 26: World Heritage Cultural Landscapes a Handbook for Conservation and Management* (2009) include case studies from around the world to assist with identification and addressing issues related to on-the-ground management of cultural landscapes. Yet while different initiatives continue to build on understandings around cultural landscapes for heritage management at World Heritage levels, some key systemic constraints within the World Heritage system remain. While the cultural landscapes property type is supposed to be about the merging of culture and nature, World Heritage cultural landscapes nominations have continued to be evaluated under cultural criteria (i)-(vi) in the first instance, of which ICOMOS carries out technical evaluation, and with IUCN to review the natural values (criteria vii-ix). The enduring demarcation between ICOMOS and IUCN has increasingly been brought into question, with comments made at the 2014 Round Table event organised by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage contending that culture and nature have become more formally separated now in World Heritage, than back in the 1980s (Denyer 2014).[10] At the Round Table event, Kristal Buckley (2014, p. 107) outlined a history of ICOMOS–IUCN relations as including 'phases of distant regard to prickly contestedness, to side-by-side silos.' While noting that ICOMOS and IUCN were restricted by the World Heritage system that they worked within, Buckley explained that the two advisory bodies were working to start a shift in conceptual and practical arrangements for nature and culture within the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. To work on this shift, ICOMOS and IUCN have selected the concept of 'biocultural diversity'.

Therefore, while cultural landscapes for World Heritage inscription experienced widespread optimism in the early to mid-1990s, the work around World Heritage cultural landscapes,

[10] The 2013 decision of the World Heritage Committee to defer the mixed property nomination of Pimachiowin Aki, Canada, for the World Heritage List has brought the focus onto the questioning of the separate evaluation for natural and cultural heritage, the wording of the natural and cultural heritage criteria in the World Heritage Convention, and the recognition of links between people and nature in large protected areas.

since then, has involved more pragmatic initiatives to try and determine how the concept of cultural landscapes can be translated into heritage management, and how/whether it can really encompass the 'combined works of nature and of man'. These different initiatives have produced a growing lexicon of 'cultural landscapes'-related terms, including 'protected landscapes', just 'landscapes', and 'biocultural diversity', which leads to the questioning of whether one term is more appropriate than the others. It is at this juncture that it is useful to consider the potential to find innovation for cultural landscapes outside of the World Heritage system. Perhaps it is now time to turn the tables from national and local heritage management taking its cues from World Heritage, to national and local heritage management systems developing innovations which might then feed back into the application of cultural landscapes at the World Heritage level. Before this can be done, however, there needs to be a focus on the full spectrum of cultural landscapes as ideas through to cultural landscapes as practices.

A cultural landscapes approach

The adoption of cultural landscapes into the World Heritage system signalled the introduction of a framework which many believed was broad enough to be applied to heritage management anywhere. Australian heritage professionals Jane Lennon, Brian Egloff, Adrian Davey and Ken Taylor were of the opinion that:

> This approach which represents a major attitudinal change will be picked up in the immediate future by nation states who are signatories to international conventions, treaties and agreements concerning heritage conservation and protection. This will filter down to other levels of government. (Lennon et al. 1999, p. 65)

Indeed it did not take long for World Heritage cultural landscapes to 'filter down' to heritage management at more local levels. A key initiative in the translation of World Heritage cultural landscapes into the national and local arena was the development of 'An Approach to Aboriginal Cultural Landscapes' by Canadian, Susan Buggey, in 1999. Buggey developed a report to address the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada's request for 'an appropriate framework to assist in determining the national designation of [sites related to Aboriginal peoples], a sector of Canadian society whose history does not conform to the traditional definition of natural significance as used by the Board' (quoted in Buggey 1999, p. 1). Parks Canada as the federal agency responsible for the management of the National Historic Sites of Canada had developed a broad definition for cultural landscapes in 1994, yet it was found that further work was required to ensure that Canada's

engagement with cultural landscapes was more closely enmeshed with the country's local circumstances. Buggey (1999, p. 13) suggests that the World Heritage cultural landscapes type, which sets out the three categories of designed, organically evolved and associative landscapes, provided 'an elementary identification of types that can encompass the wide range of cultural landscapes around the world.' Buggey (1999) employs the category of 'associative cultural landscapes' as a means of recognising indigenous heritage values, and she develops a relationship between this World Heritage category and her suggested 'aboriginal cultural landscapes' for Canada. Aboriginal cultural landscapes are presented by Buggey (1999, p. 36) as meeting grounds between the mandate of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and indigenous heritage values. What also stands out about Buggey's report is her way of addressing how other countries were engaging with cultural landscapes, detailing the existence of a 'Canadian approach', an 'American approach', an 'Australian approach', and a 'New Zealand approach'.

Buggey's use of the term 'approach' in conjunction with 'cultural landscapes' has made a useful contribution to thinking about cultural landscapes for heritage management. The nexus between the idea and the practice of cultural landscapes is well-rehearsed in the heritage scholarship, with the likes of American landscape architects, Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick (2000, p. 20), underlining the existence of 'a creative tension between thinking about and doing cultural landscape preservation'; and Randall Mason (2008, p. 182) adding that 'it is a sizable leap from understanding landscapes to preserving and managing them. But it is a critically important leap.' And while Buggey is more than likely not the first to promote the idea of a 'cultural landscapes approach' as a way of applying cultural landscapes to heritage management, the profile of her work is such that she has been a central player in ensuring a place for the phrase within the wider heritage lexicon. Today it is not uncommon to hear heritage practitioners propose 'let's apply a cultural landscape approach' or 'sounds like you're suggesting a cultural landscape approach', with the added 'approach' being a way of distilling how the idea of cultural landscapes might be considered with more practical heritage management concerns in mind.[11]

[11] There is a lot of variation around the use of 'cultural landscape' and 'cultural landscapes'. I have found that 'cultural landscapes' is the term more commonly applied, and as such, I have selected to employ 'cultural landscapes approach' throughout my own discussion. However there will be the odd instance of usage of both terms in this thesis, where I use the term as it has been employed by different authors.

Yet, where we see the most concentrated use of the phrase 'cultural landscape approach' is in the academic and policy writing of Australian archaeologist and cultural heritage researcher, Steve Brown. Brown's (2007, 2008, 2010, 2012; Moylan, Brown & Kelly 2009) scholarship builds on the early reporting of Jane Lennon, who played a formative role in Australian thinking around how to translate the concept of cultural landscapes into heritage management in parks. Lennon's contribution of over 40 articles and reports since 1974 that address the presence of cultural values in protected areas more well-recognised for their natural values, has provided a robust foundation for Brown to launch his investigations from. Brown (2007, pp. 33-4) locates a 'cultural landscape approach' as providing 'an opportunity to move away from a focus on objects and sites as ends in themselves, towards managing the material record in its historical and broader landscape context.' He suggests that different agencies utilise different approaches and that 'these approaches tend to reflect the specific operational contexts of the agencies' (Brown, S 2007, p. 36). Brown also proposes a move away from looking to World Heritage cultural landscapes for guidance, and instead his work suggests that local circumstances should influence considerations of cultural landscapes for heritage management. Brown (2007, p. 36) stresses that World Heritage cultural landscapes are about identification, adding that the way that properties are managed 'has not in fact been fully realised.' Brown continues on this topic in his 2012 paper suggesting that the World Heritage process for cultural landscapes does not stipulate on-ground management practice in any great detail, and noting that 'there is a divide in this system between the cultural landscape concept and operational management' (Brown, S 2012, p. 99).

Other scholars have been critical of World Heritage cultural landscapes (Harrison 2013b; Reeves & McConville 2011); of note is the work by Canadian Lisa Prosper (2004), who argues that the inclusion of cultural landscapes in the World Heritage cultural criteria has created a conceptual paradigm that restricts cultural landscapes to practices and frameworks that have been designed for other types of cultural heritage. Making cultural landscapes align with the 'practices and frameworks that have been designed for other types of cultural heritage', notes Prosper (2004, p. 5), 'is problematic in as far as it may lead to an undervaluing of many of the inherent qualities and characteristics that make cultural landscapes a unique type of heritage and an important addition to the activities of World Heritage.' Prosper is primarily concerned that Aboriginal cultural landscapes might be overlooked when there is a focus on the built, or visual/morphological dimensions of

cultural landscapes. In addition, the scholarship of Ken Taylor (2009) highlights how Southeast Asian ideals of cultural landscapes have different nuances to the more well-known and largely western World Heritage cultural landscapes.

The promotion of a localised cultural landscape approach over the more universal World Heritage model is further encouraged by Brown as the lead developer of a policy document for the New South Wales Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water (now Office of Environment and Heritage): *Cultural landscapes: A Practical Guide for Park Management*. The 2010 report defines a cultural landscape approach as having five general principles related to landscapes as living entities with complex interactions with diverse peoples and communities, and being in contrast to a site-specific management approach. According to Brown (2010, p. 4) a cultural landscape approach offers 'an opportunity to integrate natural and cultural heritage conservation by seeing culture and nature as interconnected dimensions of the same space.' Brown elaborates on his cultural landscape approach discussion by including a quote by Susan Buggey and Nora Mitchell, which states that:

> A cultural landscape perspective explicitly recognises the history of a place and its cultural traditions in addition to its ecological value… A landscape perspective also recognises the continuity between the past and with people living and working on the land today. (quoted in Brown, S 2010, p. 4)

In this section I have outlined some of the different efforts to translate World Heritage cultural landscapes into heritage management more locally, and how the expression a 'cultural landscape approach' has been employed as part of these efforts. I have also illustrated how 'cultural landscape(s) approach' has become a way of framing cultural landscapes for heritage management that takes into account the 'doing' component of cultural landscapes. Yet the issue is that 'cultural landscapes approach' has so far been articulated with very little consistency across academic scholarship and management policies. The kinds of contradictions that exist can be seen in the introduction to the collection of essays *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, where editor, Richard Longstreth (2008), applies the terms 'cultural landscape perspective', 'cultural landscape analysis', along with the 'concept of cultural landscape brings to the fore…' in the same chapter. The uncertainty surrounding the discussion of cultural landscapes for practical application is common, and generally appears to be accompanied by different ways of expressing 'landscape'—whether it be 'cultural

landscape', 'historic landscape' or 'heritage landscape'. While we can infer what the variations in terminology might mean in relation to surrounding discussions, this lack of clarity creates ambiguity for anyone attempting to investigate the 'sizable leap from understanding landscapes to preserving and managing them' (Mason, Randall 2008).

Rethinking cultural landscapes approaches

This research project aims to build upon the existing attempts to employ cultural landscapes outside of the mechanisms of World Heritage and to navigate the nexus between cultural landscapes as an idea for heritage management and cultural landscapes as an approach for heritage management. Buoyed in my efforts by Brown (2007, p. 37), who suggests that 'opportunities exist to further develop and implement cultural landscape approaches to the management of conservation reserves across Australasia', I have looked to 'social systems theory' to assist me in my work. My interest in 'social systems' was spurred by my finding that there were three common threads to my investigations of cultural landscapes for heritage management. Firstly, there are the *ideas* that I was reading about in the scholarship, hearing about at symposia and conferences, and taking on through conversations with people. These ideas were not purely 'academic'—they came from a myriad of sources, and significantly included indigenous perspectives. Then there was what I was finding in *policies*—in the planning documents which guide the management of protected areas in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. Thirdly, there was what was happening in *practices*, which I found out about by speaking with people who worked in operational roles within protected areas. I have personal experience working in an operational role in protected areas management in New Zealand, and this background has also contributed to how I considered the interrelationships between these elements. In order to then gather up the three elements, and to view them as contributing to a whole, I began characterising them as making up a 'system'.

German sociologist Niklas Luhman contends that there are 'social systems', and that these systems are distinct from the surrounding 'environment'. Social systems are bounded in contrast to the open environment, yet they still have a relationship with, and are influenced by the environment (Luhmann 1995). Social systems are therefore a way of ringing off an area for concentrated focus, while acknowledging that the surroundings make an important contribution to the enclosed. This kind of thinking suggests that a social system might be useful for considering the ambiguity of what a cultural landscapes approach involves.

Luhmann (2013) makes clear that social systems require a process of reduction to set up a clear demarcation between what a social system contains and what it does not. Luhmann (2013) adds that systems are more than a connecting 'andness' or the sum of its parts, and that a type of operation is required to produce the system. 'Communication' is central to how social systems function, reproduce and change their own structures. Luhmann (1995) argues that this communication is made up of the three elements of 'information', 'utterance' and 'understanding'. 'Information' has to do with a selection from a range of referential possibilities, 'utterance' is a selection from a range of intentional acts, and 'understanding' is the consequence of how the information is uttered or conveyed (Knodt 1995; Luhmann 1995). Central to Luhmann's social systems is the idea that communication happens externally from the individual, so that it can be between people, but also between events. Luhmann's model of communication within a social system informs my thinking on the three realms that I had initially identified in relation to cultural landscapes approaches. The realms of policy and practice require both 'utterance' and 'understanding', but more significantly they also require the 'information' or ideas to determine the shape that they take.

Unpacking the ideas behind the cultural landscapes approach as a social system

Thinking about a cultural landscapes approach as a social system requires considering how the realm of ideas, policies, and practices come together. The next chapter will look to real life case studies in order to investigate the interrelationships of the three realms, but for now, this chapter will concentrate on ideas found in the scholarship which might inform cultural landscapes approaches. The realm of ideas is of central importance to the cultural landscapes approach as a social system, because the ideas are the content which the policies and practices draw on. This section aims to highlight the significance of the ideas, noting that we can sometimes get carried away with management for the sake of management, and that it is important to take a step back and examine why we are doing the heritage management in the first place. 'Landscape' in relation to 'culture', 'vision', 'place', 'heritage', 'more-than-representational theories' and 'indigeneity' will be explored to illustrate how different understandings of these ideas can generate different cultural landscapes approaches.

Landscape

'Landscape' has a long history of meanings. Denis Cosgrove (1985) locates the emergence of landscape as a way of seeing the external world in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Simon Schama (1996, p. 10) argues that the colloquial English word 'landskip' is likely to have developed during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from a blending of two other words—the Germanic 'landschaft' which signified an agrarian unit of human occupation and the Dutch 'landscap' which referred to rural areas. Kenneth Olwig (1993) adds that the word 'landscape' shares a lot of similarities with 'nation' and 'nature', and details how different versions of the 'scape' suffix signal creation by shaping or 'carving out'. 'The various usages of the term landscape', claims Olwig (1993, p. 311), 'suggest that the landscape is an area carved out by axe and plough, which belongs to the people who have carved it out. It carries the suggestion of being an area of cultural identity based, however loosely, on tribal and/or blood ties…' Then there is landscape as an artistic genre, which David Lowenthal and Hugh Prince (1965, p. 187) claim that in England this was informed by the 'bucolic', or 'the countryside as the essential nation.' Yet all of these 'landscapes of the past' are increasingly under scrutiny within contemporary reinterpretations of landscape. The current interest and questioning of landscape is well covered in the introduction to a recent collection of essays on *Landscape and Identity in Aotearoa New Zealand*, with editors Janet Stephenson, Mick Abbott and Jacinta Ruru submitting that:

> What do you mean by the word *landscape,* if not scenery? The short answer is 'we don't know yet—but we'd like to find out'. We're not being evasive here. It's just that 'landscape' is one of the most complex and multi-faceted words in the English language. For several hundred years it has had a meaning equivalent to 'scene', but it still carries echoes of its earlier roots in a concept similar to 'place'. Recent decades have seen an abundance of new applications and interpretations. (Abbott, Ruru & Stephenson 2010, p. 14 authors' emphasis)

I suggest that contemporary re-imaginings of 'landscape', or more fittingly 'landscapes', are prompted by the growing acceptance of diversity in a globalising world, debates on sustainability, a widening understanding of heritage, and in countries like New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Canada, the way we are interpreting landscapes is being affected by the development of post-settler ideologies or outlooks. However, before this section can unpack current re-imaginings of landscapes, it needs to first retrace its steps, back to the early twentieth century, when the term 'cultural landscape' first came into prominence in the work of American cultural geographer, Carl Sauer. Sauer's scholarship is

the catalyst which has provoked in-depth investigation of landscape that has continued amongst the humanities throughout much of the twentieth century, and into the new millennium.

Landscapes and culture

Sauer developed 'cultural landscape' as a counter to the dominant 'environmental determinism' adhered to by the majority of American geographers in the 1920s. Environmental determinism was based on the view that 'man is a product of the earth's surface', so it was concerned with mapping environmental influences, such as climate, terrain, soil and vegetation upon the development, evolution and migration of human cultures in various parts of the world (Wylie 2007). In his 1925 publication, *The Morphology of the Landscape*, Sauer sought to stress the ability of humans to not only adapt to, but to actively shape and change their natural, physical environment. Thus the reasoning for the 'cultural' prefix was to highlight the role that humans played in shaping what had up until that point been considered to be the domain of the natural. This 'new' relationship stressed that human and physical processes would then create/shape a cultural landscape. To examine the 'morphology of the landscape' was to observe physical forms such as built structures, settlement and land-use patterns; 'the cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area the medium, the cultural landscape is the result', asserted Sauer (1925). Sauer's influence spread as he promoted field work and interdisciplinary study as fundamental to studies of cultural landscape throughout his 30-year tenure at the head of the Department of Geography at the University of California Berkeley (Parsons 2009).

Sauer's scholarship on cultural landscapes was extended by the 'Berkeley School', a group of scholars affiliated with the University of Berkeley's geography department. The Berkeley School's 1979 collection of essays *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* examines what lies in the 'eye of the beholder', with the essays being grounded in the contention that different people are responsible for different 'readings' of landscape. Yi Fu Tuan (1979, p. 96) calls this our 'mind's eye' and details that when we look at a landscape 'our eyes have automatically combined visual data to form a stereoscopic image, and our mind has integrated, with little conscious effort, diverse clues and experiences to give rich meaning to that image.' Donald Meinig (1979b) asserts in his introduction that the 'vitality of landscape' cannot simply be researched from inside the bounds of one discipline, and the

collection is notable for the comparisons made between WG Hoskins' British concept of 'landscape' versus that of American, JB Jackson. Hoskins' promoted a localist, empirical approach, where the landscape is an objective, external material assembly of facts which could be realised through direct encounter and observation. Jackson approached the concept of landscape in a slightly different vein, where it was not so much about external observation, as people were participants in the landscape and as such they should have a better understanding of how their local communities and rural country-sides were being affected by the rapid technological and social changes of the late twentieth century (Meinig 1979c).

Within the scholarship of the Berkeley School we see that the homogenous 'culture' employed by Sauer start to be broken down, with the recognition that different people can have different interpretations of landscape. We also begin to see discussion on personal positioning in relation to landscape, and a questioning of whether the observer can be inside, or is, instead, exterior to landscape. Moreover, what the Berkeley School and the subsequent scholarship bring to light, is that we must also be careful not to let our presentist understandings lessen Sauer's contribution. While today we recognise that there are many variances to 'culture' and that more often than not we are dealing with 'cultures', Sauer's focus back in the 1920's was on the bigger picture of pointing out the existence of how people as culture affect nature. Sauer's 'idea' of landscape has been extremely influential, so much so that today it is common to take the cultural element of landscape for granted, making the cultural prefix redundant.

Nevertheless, criticism of Sauer's superorganic culture, along with his more material-based approach to landscape, has stimulated an extensive amount of scholarship. Cultural geographer, Don Mitchell (2000), argues that taking culture as a given and not subjecting it to further theoretical scrutiny means that issues of difference, power and conflict go unrecognised. In juxtaposition to Sauer's fixed culture governing humans, the 'new cultural geographers', a group of largely British scholars active from the 1980s, encouraged a view of 'culture' as 'a dynamic mix of symbols, beliefs, languages and practices that people create' (Anderson, K & Gale 1992, p. 3). The new cultural geographers worked to position the socio-cultural at the forefront of any examination of cultural landscape, which signalled a growing opposition to the study of landscape as primarily being about material culture (Jackson, P 1989; Robertson & Richards 2003).

Landscapes and vision

A central theme throughout the scholarship of Denis Cosgrove is that landscapes revolve around vision (Cosgrove 1985, 2003a, 2003b). Yet Cosgrove is quick to point out that this does not mean that landscape is confined to visible topography alone, but that in addition to something that is seen, landscape is also significantly, a 'way of seeing'. 'Sight, vision and seeing—as such varied words imply', writes Cosgrove (2003a, p. 250), 'involve much more than a simple sense response: the passive, neutral imprint of images formed by light on the retina of the eye. Human sight is individually intentional and culturally conditioned.' Others including Gillian Rose (2003) and John Wylie (2007) add that representations are co-produced and co-constructed through continually emergent, interactive relations between the visual and the material. Wylie (2008), in a later paper, hones in on what he sees as a tension between materiality and perception, noting that there is frequently a demarcation made between landscape conceived as a material entity and landscape as idiosyncratically located in the eye of the beholder. Wylie suggests that:

> A more productive agenda for landscape geographers lies in abiding within and creatively using this tension between materiality and perception. As I've written elsewhere, landscape isn't simply something we see, nor a way of seeing: landscape is rather the materialities and sensibilities *with which* we see. (Merriman et al. 2008, p. 203 author's emphasis)

In the previous chapter, I detailed how settlers brought to countries like New Zealand imperial mindsets from the places they had left behind, which conditioned them to see the world through particular lenses. As such, early settlers explored and surveyed their new environments with European ideals which located them beyond the scenes that they were seeing. Yet it is this differentiation between the observer and their surroundings which is interesting to examine, especially the ways in which settlers have engaged with their surroundings has changed over time—as they have become settled in their new homes. Cosgrove (2003a, p. 265) recommends revising the role and meaning of vision in landscapes to reconsider the role of the 'observer', and to 'move landscape beyond the confines of the visual towards more imaginative and encompassing embodiments that are at once sensual and cognitive.'

Landscapes and place

Prosper (2004, p. 21) draws attention to the leading role that the discipline of geography has played in the scholarship on landscape by submitting that geographers have opened 'the door for an approach to cultural landscapes that does not begin with the material, but

rather with the mental'. These cognitive ideas of landscape have become central to the more recent scholarship, with seminal works including that by historian, Simon Schama. Schama's *Landscape and Memory* contends that to perceive a landscape is to imagine it; 'scenery is built up as much from the strata of memory as from layers of rock' (1996, pp. 6-7). It is our 'shaping perception', Schama (1996, p. 10) (1995, 10) asserts, that converts the raw material into what we recognise as landscape. Yet it is Schama's (1996, p. 61) comment, '…that once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their ferments of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery', which is suggestive that the cognitive must still have a connection with the real-worldly or material. British cultural geographers, Iain Robertson and Penny Richards (2003, p. 2), propose that 'landscapes, then, can be physical, iconological and ideological. They can also be representations, and landscapes can themselves represent the processes out of which they have emerged.' Paul Carter's (1987) *The Road to Botany Bay* takes the relationship between the cognitive and the real-worldly further in his consideration of 'place' as part of his wider examination of Australian landscape history. According to Carter, 'place' does not exist waiting for people. Instead, place is brought into being through the actions of exploring, travelling, and settling. Thus as space becomes humanised, it is translated into 'place'. Carter writes around this idea further in scrutinising the naming practices of Australian explorers, and in drawing attention to how naming transformed the unknown into the known. He also suggests that symbolic boundaries were created through naming, which also worked to turn place into property.

What, then, distinguishes *place* from *landscape*? Brian Wattchow (2013) emphasises the centrality of lived-experience and embodiment in the experience of place, and encourages those engaging with landscape to become 'empathetic insiders'. Wattchow's scholarship suggests that place is about the inside and landscape about the outside, but that those on the outside should try and become insiders of landscape. Wattchow (2013, p. 91) contrasts this idea of place with the 'landscape gaze of the picturesque and the sublime', which he argues that settler societies must move on from. Others suggest that the difference between place and landscape has more to do with plurality, noting that landscape is rarely referred to in a personally possessive sense, but is often used in a communally possessive sense (Stephenson, Abbott & Ruru 2011, p. 209). Then there is discussion as to the spatial differences of place and landscape; 'landscape is sometimes used interchangeably with

place, but usually indicates something more physically extensive' (Stephenson, Abbott & Ruru 2011, p. 202). Stephenson, Abbot and Ruru (2011) continue by suggesting that landscape reveals the more removed influences of law, politics and decision making processes. Therefore, does this mean that landscape should be more like place? Or again is it more that there should be a 'landscape scale', where ideas of landscape can range from 'a way of experiencing' to being 'a way of seeing'? (Wattchow 2013). Tim Cresswell (2008, p. 194) adds to the discussion his contention that the 'classic definition' of landscape as something material that is seen from a slight distance 'gets dissolved, to some degree, once we start—as I think we should—talking about the ways that people do things in landscape.' Wylie (2008) contributes how landscape tensions exist between 'perceiver and perceived, subject and object'. 'Landscape is precisely the tension through and in which there is set up and conducted different versions of the inside and outside—self and world…' claims Wylie (2008, p. 202). Wylie (2008, p. 203) also makes the distinction between place and landscape by locating place, colloquially, as 'more circumscribed and definite, a settling-down, something you are either in or out of, something that's yours', whereas he positions landscape as working amidst and through the presence of space and the absence of place.

Therefore, the scholarship presents 'place' as a more subjective and intimate personal experience than 'landscape', and while scholars from cultural geography have worked to stress the role of the cognitive, and to locate landscape and place more closely together, it appears that the 'landscapes of the past'—the ideas around landscape as scenery 'out there' to be painted—still affects the interpretations of the present.

Landscapes and heritage

The relationship between theoretical and empirical landscapes is a point which needs to be touched on relative to the phenomenon of heritage. The previous chapter has outlined how settlers to New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States were brought up with specific ideas of heritage as personal inheritances to be passed onto future generations, as the tangible reminders of the past before industrialisation, and as the monuments and public buildings lobbied for preservation by organisations like the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the National Trust. Arrival in the new world then necessitated a reworking of these ideas of heritage, to cater towards the different, more 'natural' surroundings. Yet a constant throughout these changing perceptions has been a view of heritage that positions the tangible at its core.

Robert Melnick (2000, p. 22) discusses how 'the fundamental goal of the preservation impulse has been to recognize and then protect significant and lasting features of our common or idiosyncratic pasts.' 'This attention to stability as opposed to change is at issue', continues Melnick (2000, p. 22), 'as historic preservation is commonly seen as an agent against change, rather than a progressive movement.' Melnick's discussion points out how heritage management has been traditionally grounded in a more static management of the physical, not so attuned to the intangible. Cultural geographer, Julie Riesenweber (2008, p. 25), is disapproving of the way that heritage preservationists in the United States 'treat landscape as a material thing and stress the impact of culture on nature'. Riesenweber submits that few cultural geographers have been involved in discussions about cultural landscape preservation, and she points out that not long after heritage preservationists picked up the cultural landscape term in the 1970s—basing their conceptualisations primarily on Sauerian morphological landscapes—cultural geographers in the 1980s started re-examining their craft. Thus Riesenweber's scholarship is suggestive of the view that the field of heritage has restricted itself to a narrower and more tangibly focussed concept of cultural landscapes, which has not kept up with the dialogue that has been developed within the discipline of cultural geography.

The backlash against what some pose as the unquestioned tangible focus of heritage is a topic that has been attracting much coverage in the scholarship of the growing field of heritage studies over the past fifteen years. Central to this dialogue has been the scholarship of Harvey (2001) on 'heritage pasts and heritage presents', and the key publications of Smith's (2006) *Uses of Heritage* and Harrison's (2013b) *Heritage: Critical Approaches,* who promote heritage as process over the dominant heritage as product. Heritage studies scholarship is also currently engaging with addressing the nexus between the intellectual study of heritage and the practice of heritage, with two editions of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* in 2013 directly related to rethinking heritage theory and practice (see Harrison 2013a; Harvey, DC 2013; Howard 2013; Shackel 2013; Silverman 2013; Smith, L 2013; Tunbridge, Ashworth & Graham 2013a, 2013b; Warren-Findley 2013; Waterton & Watson 2013; Winter 2012, 2013a; Winter & Waterton 2013; Witcomb & Buckley 2013). From within this selection, Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (2013 authors' emphasis) make an interesting review of the existing heritage theory, suggesting that there have been 'theories *in*, theories *of* and theories *for* heritage'. And it is their concentration on theories *for* heritage which will be discussed further here to

illustrate where ideas of heritage might be heading. Waterton and Watson (2013) illuminate the role played by the personal, the ordinary and the everyday, within spaces of heritage, to ask questions about the kinds of emotional engagements that people have with heritage. The authors acknowledge that investigations of this kind are challenging when located alongside the need to unpack notions of 'practice' and 'process'. They also point out that ideas on emotional engagement with heritage are also 'difficult to pin down, methodologically and conceptually' (Waterton & Watson 2013, p. 552). 'Affect' is the notion that Waterton and Watson (2013, p. 554) employ as a means of expressing the 'non-representational', and they signal how this kind of thinking is associated with phenomenology.

Within cultural geography, Wylie is well-known for identifying how phenomenological approaches to landscape are about embodied experiences and practices of interaction with and through landscapes. However, like Waterton and Watson, Wylie (2013) also expresses concern around phenomenological investigations:

> It appears, to some at least, to be at once too intimate and too abstract. Too intimate in that, by focusing on lived encounters from which individualized subjects and landscapes emerge, it neglects, or even neutralizes, broader critical questions concerning the cultural, political and economic forces which shape landscapes, and shape perceptions of landscape also. And too abstract in the sense of being overly preoccupied with philosophical considerations around subjectivity, perception and so on, and thus insufficiently tethered to the historical and material specificities or landscapes. (Wylie 2013, p. 59)

Yet Wylie (2013, pp. 61-2) also suggests that 'studies of landscape informed by phenomenology have begun to find ways in which to shuttle between 'embodied acts of landscaping' and issues of power, memory and identity, by focussing upon 'affectivity' rather than 'subjectivity' so that the investigation is about the trans-personal and non-subjective.' And within this same collection of essays on landscape, Waterton (2013) submits that the challenge lies with figuring out how to access the unspeakable agency of landscapes, affect and sensuous experience, of which she then goes on to suggest that new approaches and vocabularies are required to do this.

Landscapes and the more-than-representational

If 'landscape' is indeed more than a scene 'out there', if it is more than a vision to be viewed, more than a combination of 'ways of seeing'—people's perceptions, lived experiences, imaginations, memories, embodied feelings, which are then connected to the

physical through people's actions and encounters—or the ways that people practise the world; then the way that we consider, assess and manage landscapes needs to be informed by wider 'more-than-representational' understandings. Nigel Thrift (1999, pp. 296-7) locates 'non-representational theory' as developing out of the observation that we cannot extract a representation of the world—from the world, because we are in the middle of it, co-constructing it with numerous human and non-human others. In this sense, Thrift (1999) applies 'theory' as the theory of practices or poetics. He outlines non-representational theory as a plea for geographers and other social scientists to rethink their understandings of textuality, (re)presentation, and materiality, and to engage with more performative methods around people's actions (Thrift & Dewsbury 2000). The non-representational is about moving the emphasis from a science of discursive meaning, to the use of the full range of senses to engage the world rather than study it from afar (Thrift & Dewsbury 2000, p. 427). To this, Hayden Lorimer (2005, p. 83) offers that because 'non-representational theory has become an umbrella term for diverse work that seeks better to cope with our self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds', then perhaps 'more-than-representational' is a more appropriate phrase.

It is from this platform that scholars, such as cultural-feminist, Gillian Rose (1993), have worked to shift the more-than-representational debate out of a predominantly masculine white, western orbit. Gender, transnational and ethnic identities and issues around power and social positioning, are factors which geographers are now questioning through a critical engagement with embodied practices. Kay Anderson and Susan T Smith (2001, p. 7) discuss how thinking emotionally has traditionally been considered as 'a source of subjectivity which clouds vision and impairs judgement, while good scholarship depends on keeping one's own emotions under control and others' under wraps.' Nevertheless, Anderson and Smith go on to suggest that an emphasis on emotionally heightened spaces may provide the experience and expertise researchers need to track emotional geographies into some less obviously emotional domains of life. For example, the authors note that 'what happens at work may depend on the most personal, private and emotionally-present intricacies of a worker's complex life. To leave these out of the productivity equation is to leave half the analytical challenge unmet' (Anderson, K & Smith 2001, p. 8).

Yet more-than-representational theory is not only about embracing emotions; there is also another significant sphere of the theory that 'marks a conceptual break with emotions' (Pile

2010, p. 8). Steve Pile (2010, p. 8) describes 'affect' as 'a quality of life that is beyond cognition and always interpersonal. It is, moreover, inexpressible: unable to be brought into representation.' Unlike emotion, 'affect' is considered to be beyond cognition. Affect is a way of knowing that depends on direct experience more so than reflection, abstraction, translation and representation (Anderson, K & Smith 2001, p. 9). Therefore, while 'affect' is one of the most difficult aspects of the more-than-representational to try and quantify, it does share with the more-emotional the potential to express the intimate experiences of the body, which lends itself to conveying the hard to define agencies of landscapes that I have been describing in this chapter.

Scholars of more-than-representational theories suggest that landscape research needs to be 'attuned to different shadings of subjectivity and identity' to recognise the different ways that people and landscapes are co-constituted (Lorimer 2005, p. 89; Merriman et al. 2008). Rose (2008, p. 202) contends that 'people come differently to the spectating of landscape, and they both make it and are made by it differently.' She continues by noting that 'exploring those different modes of being a spectator is just as important as thinking more carefully about landscape' (Merriman et al. 2008, p. 202). More-than-representational theories are encouraging us to be more aware of our habits of thinking in line with the immediacy of people's corporeal experiences, while at the same time they can also privilege those encounters and interactions that may not ordinarily be visible. Consequently, opening up the current ways we consider, assess and manage landscapes to allow for the importance of emotion, intuition, and belief in the unfolding of our worlds, might assist us to more comfortably engage with cross-cultural dialogues and contact zones. Thrift (2004, p. 83) argues that 'Euro-American cultures are naturally perspectivist, that is they try to make the whole world the singular object of the viewer's vision.' He goes on to suggest that such a mode of thought has been an important 'impediment to cross-cultural translation' (Thrift 2004, p. 83). Thrift then adds that non-representational theory thinks differently—it recognises that there can be more than one solution—which suggests that there can be more than one interpretation, more than one culture, more than one heritage, more than one landscape.

Landscapes and indigeneity

Consideration of landscapes needs to be cognisant of who the interpretation and grounding ideas are coming from. Anthropologist, Tim Ingold (2012), suggests that we cannot separate

a reality out there that we see, from our own mental representations bequeathed by culture and convention. Australian anthropologist, Deborah Bird Rose, whose work spans both western and indigenous world views, provides an amusing example of the gulf that can exist between the kinds of ideas that academic scholarship applies to landscapes, and the kinds of ideas that indigenous people bring to landscapes. In 'Fitting into country', Rose (2013) describes going on 'walkabout' with Jessie Wirpa somewhere in outback Australia. Rose explains how as part of following, listening, and learning from Jessie, her western senses—more accustomed to the privileging of the visual—began to 'open up' to Jessie's indigenous world view. Rose explains that Jessie was a stern teacher, and she imagines a hypothetical conversation between Jessie and well-known landscape historian Simon Schama. Schama is well-known for his scholarship on landscape as a product of seeing, and his distinctions between people's 'shaping perceptions' and the 'raw matter' of the landscape they encounter (Rose, DB 2013, p. 9). Rose notes:

> In my imagined conversation, Jessie brings her gruffest voice to the fore and tells Schama that in *her* country there's no such thing as raw matter. She would tell him about country that flourishes through looped and tangled benefits. The world is alive, she would be saying, and the living beings as well as the landforms and habitats have learned to fit together. (Rose, DB 2013, p. 9 author's emphasis)

That indigenous ideas on landscape sit somewhat out of kilter with what the key academic scholarship on landscape submits, is not unexpected. Yet, just as there is much to gain from considering academic ideas on landscape alongside the practices of heritage management, there is also a lot to gain from contemplating indigenous ideas on landscapes and cultural landscapes in conjunction with the ways that these concepts figure within heritage management. Prosper (2004, p. 121) suggests that the study of Aboriginal cultural landscapes can lead to an alternative way of conceptualising heritage value that is centred on dynamic spatial practices and performances. Prosper (2004, p. 121) submits that Aboriginal ideas on landscape 'often lack substantial material or morphological cultural artefacts normally ascribed to the concept of cultural landscape applied by non-indigenous heritage managers.' She also notes that tangible elements are just a part of the whole, not the 'ultimate expression' of where the significance comes from for indigenous landscapes.

In the United States, Deanna Beacham explains that her ideas on cultural landscapes grew out of an indigenous perspective with some influences from her experiences working with non-indigenous archaeologists and anthropologists. Beacham notes that when she

presented her ideas on what made an indigenous cultural landscape to the George Wright Society conference of 2011:

> Other Indians… essentially responded as if I was only talking common sense, which was exactly what I thought I was doing. …I was just doing what indigenous people do, which is try to explain our thinking about what they call 'resources' and we call 'relatives' (Pers comm with the author 13 March 2013).

Beacham (2013) explains that the idea of indigenous cultural landscapes 'arose from considering what an indigenous person's perspective of the Chesapeake Bay region might have been when John Smith first explored the Bay and its tributaries.' Beacham also highlights how the idea of indigenous cultural landscapes re-emphasises the values that American Indians have relative to natural resources, including an attachment to place, and how this can encourage others to formulate their own attachments. Beacham (2013) concludes that 'if we conserve for both indigenous cultural and ecological reasons, along with scenic and aesthetic reasons, we build a greater meaning for these landscapes, and for the people who were… and still are… attached to them culturally.'

Like Prosper and Beacham, New Zealander Merata Kawharu suggests that a more 'indigenous' grounding has a lot to offer a cultural landscapes approach for heritage management. Kawharu (2009) contends that 'ancestral landscape' would be more appropriate for acknowledging the heritage values of Māori, Pacific, and other indigenous communities, within the World Heritage system than the existing World Heritage cultural landscapes categories (designed by man, organically evolved and associative landscapes). 'Ancestral landscape', explains Kawharu,

> emphasises the centrality of ancestors as original trustees… the concept describes more than a site type, but also a wider geopolitical and spiritual context. Sites are part of a network of places and areas that were created or used by gods, mythological heroes, ancestors and their descendants. (2009, p. 322)

Kawharu (2009) contends that it is critical that interpretation of landscapes should occur within the local context so that landscapes are interpreted by those who know them—thus indigenous landscapes should be interpreted by indigenous people, and with the relevant cultural frameworks. Huhana Smith (2010, 308) adds that if a 'heritage landscape concept recognised and emphasised the intricacies of whakapapa as a genealogical reference system relating people to lands, waterways, ecosystems and areas of spiritual importance,

then laws might better reflect and respect the multiple narratives of iwi and hapu [tribe and sub-tribe] interaction with place.'

Yet to be able to recognise 'indigenous landscapes' there needs to be some kind of recognition of 'relationality'—the encounters and interactions between indigenous and non-indigenous groups—and this relationality needs to be considered in a more nuanced manner than viewing indigenous and non-indigenous as diametrically in opposition. For example, Michele Dominy (2001, p. 207) argues that the anthropology of colonialism and postcolonialism in New Zealand has tended to simplistically convey Pākehā conceptual systems as being 'primarily materialistic, individualistic, and homogenous', and she suggests that there is a need instead, to 'explore the ways in which elaborating the symbolic nature of land is shared' by Pākehā and Māori New Zealanders, although expressed differently by Pākehā. Dominy's (2001, p. 45) scholarship illustrates how high country farmers in New Zealand see themselves as an extension of the country that they farm, 'to such an extent that the inscriptive processes linking people to land and land to people seem ineluctable, unremarkable and generic to them.' So while indigenous considerations of landscapes are extremely valuable on their own, they still need to be recognised in conjunction with non-indigenous considerations of landscapes in post-settler societies. While it is easy to make demarcations, a far richer understanding of cultural landscapes for heritage management will be realised when the indigenous and non-indigenous values are considered at the same time.

Conclusion

The first part of this chapter explored the genesis of World Heritage cultural landscapes to identify how the concept has been introduced into the field of heritage management. The discussion noted that while the contribution of World Heritage cultural landscapes should not be downplayed, the way that we consider cultural landscapes for heritage management needs to continue to develop beyond the thinking of 1992, and beyond World Heritage. There needs to be continued debate and dialogue around how the concept of cultural landscapes is translated into the practice of heritage management, and I've suggested that a 'cultural landscapes approach' might assist with this. Envisioning a cultural landscapes approach as a social system provides a way of managing the ambiguity around cultural landscapes as a noun and a verb, and it organises the information so that there is consistency for comparative discussion.

The second part of this chapter has explored some of the key ideas which can inform the policies and practices of cultural landscapes approaches. By investigating the different nuances attached to landscape, landscapes and culture, landscapes and vision, landscapes and place, landscapes and heritage, landscapes and the more-than-representational, and landscapes and indigeneity, this section has illuminated the vast spectrum of ideas which can inform cultural landscapes for heritage management. As I mentioned earlier in the chapter, any cultural landscapes approach needs to be cognisant of where and from whom the ideas that inform the content of the cultural landscapes approach are coming from. This means more than simply laying out all the different ideas on landscape prior to launching into the policy and practice. It is more about utilising the ideas to inform the kinds of policies and practices that are enacted, and to interrogate the relationships between these different realms.

While this chapter has focussed mainly on the theory, Part II will now head to Australia, the United States and Canada to investigate the cultural landscapes approaches being employed by parks organisations within these countries. Part II will reincorporate the realm of the ideas with those of the policy and the practice, in order to examine the kinds of cultural landscapes approaches being applied. The findings of these real-life case studies will assist me to determine whether cultural landscapes approaches provide useful tools for the integrated management of the diverse heritage values of post-Treaty settlement New Zealand.

Part II: Approaching cultural landscapes away from home…

Part II surveys how the ideas associated with the concept of cultural landscapes discussed in Part I are translated into practical heritage management. Yet before the individual case studies are examined, it is first important to consider what it means to investigate the cultural in areas traditionally recognised for their natural values.

Protecting nature through 'aesthetic conservationism'

National parks, as introduced at the beginning of this thesis, were first established in settler societies in the late nineteenth century. The United States of America led the way with the invention of the national park idea, and countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand were quick to follow the American approach. National park historians, Warwick Frost and C Michael Hall (2009, p. 32), contend that because national parks were a 'New World invention', it was not surprising that they rapidly spread from the United States to similar settler societies. It was a common belief amongst settlers at this time that nature was a separate entity, with William Adams (2003, pp. 42-3) providing the insight that 'in the colonial mind, nature was 'out there, never 'in here', and the possibility of knowing human engagement with nature was rarely considered.' In addition, Michael Adams (2004, p. 5) explains that a key factor was the particular western construction of 'conservation', where 'once parks are gazetted, they were generally accepted as representing 'nature'.'

The earlier discussion in this thesis has also described how the natural construction of national parks led settler societies to want to remove any obvious trace of culture from within park boundaries, an action which would have damaging effects for indigenous peoples for decades to come, and which would eliminate their presence from within the management agenda of protected areas until the late twentieth century. Accordingly, with such a strict natural focus, it would be expected that the first professionals to work for the United States National Park Service would be biologists or ecologists, yet the reality was that they were engineers and landscape architects (Sellars 1997). Richard Sellars (1997, p. 51) clarifies that 'the resolve to blend new construction with natural surroundings—to develop the parks without destroying their beauty—formed the basis of landscape architecture's central role in the national park development.' This 'aesthetic conservationism' of the early US National Park Service involved preserving lands for scenic beauty, so that 'biological health was perceived in terms of attractive outward

appearances' (Sellars 1997, pp. 88-9). Nevertheless, the early management philosophies of the US National Park Service were heavily influenced by the nineteenth century theories of men touted as being 'the first major intellectual figures in the United States arguing for the protection of natural areas' (Primack 2002, p. 16). Ralph Waldo Emerson, was known for his promotion of natural beauty as an aid to spiritual enlightenment, and Henry David Thoreau, advocated nature as a necessary counterweight to materialistic society. The transcendental theories espoused by these men would also continue into the preservation ethic promoted by eminent American wilderness advocate John Muir in the first decades of the twentieth century. Muir is recognised as the first American conservationist to explicitly state that nature has 'intrinsic value'—value in and of itself—that is independent of human affairs (Primack 2002). In an article that investigates the genesis of American environmentalism, Ben Minteer and Stephen Pyne (2013) draw attention to Muir's role in the establishment of the natural enterprise of national parks, noting that Muir is remembered for a photograph taken with American President, Theodore Roosevelt, in Yosemite National Park in 1903. The image shows 'Roosevelt the President and Muir the Prophet standing atop Glacier Point with the great valley for a backdrop', with Minteer and Pyne (2013, p. 6) explaining that Muir and Roosevelt would have trekked through a fast industrialising Oakland, California, to reach Yosemite Valley. Thus according to Minteer and Pyne (2013, p. 6), the origins of national parks began with 'the choice between the wild and the wrecked', with their contention that Muir convinced Roosevelt to commit the federal government to the protection of the nation's natural heritage. It was out of these beginnings that the protection of nature was reinforced as being at the core of the national park idea.

However, Minteer and Pyne (2013) also highlight the divergence that existed under the umbrella of nature protection in the early 1900s. Muir's preservationist promotion of pristine national parks was challenged by American forester, Gifford Pinchot's argument for the rational use of nature as resources. Interestingly, the legislation that was developed to protect the nature of national parks, in the *Organic Act 1916* and the later *Wilderness Act 1964*, appears to address both of the Muir and Pinchot approaches, with the two Acts concerning the preservation of the 'integrity' of 'resources' (Buono 1994). Consequently, the US National Park Service followed the view in the early twentieth century that everything was subordinate to the need to faithfully 'preserve the parks in essentially their natural state' (Buono 1994, p. 51).

Protecting nature through an ecological land ethic

The US National Park Service continued to develop its philosophical approach to park management beyond the Muir and Pinchott era, when in the mid twentieth century it began following the teachings of Aldo Leopold. Leopold was a wildlife conservationist who advocated that the goal of conservation was to maintain the health of natural ecosystems and ecological processes (Primack 2002). A significant part of Leopold's philosophy was that humans should be recognised not as external, but as part of the ecological community. Leopold advocated that humans should be involved in land management, and he sought a middle ground between overexploitation on the one hand, and complete preservation of land with no human presence or activity on the other (Primack 2002, p. 20). The work of Aldo Leopold and his son Starker, led to the development of the 'Leopold Report' of 1963, which promoted an ecological land ethic where land should be preserved in the state in which settlers would have found it, and that in addition to protecting wildlife in designated protected areas, people also needed to actively maintain and restore populations of native species (Persinger 2014). The 'Leopold Report' would develop into the guiding philosophical document of the US National Park Service for the next fifty years following its publication in 1963.

By the 1970s, the world was starting to register the negative role that humans were playing in the destruction of habitats and the extinction of species. Famed biologist, Michael Soulé is known for the leading part he played in organising the first 'International Conference on Conservation Biology' in 1978, where he proposed a new interdisciplinary approach to save plants and animals from the threat of human-caused extinctions. 'Conservation biology', developed in the 1980s to combine the practical experience of wildlife, forestry and fisheries management with the theories of population biology and biogeography (Primack 2002). Conservation biology, as defined by Soulé (1985, p. 727), 'addresses the biology of species, communities, and ecosystems that are perturbed, either directly or indirectly, by human activities or other agents.' It is a 'mission-oriented discipline comprising both pure and applied science' (Soulé & Wilcox 1994, p. 1). Protected areas such as national parks were seen as locations where conservation biology could be applied and tested in this crisis environment, with Soule and Bruce Wilcox (1994, p. 4) contending that 'nature reserves are the most valuable weapon in our conservation arsenal.'

However, in the 1990s it became evident to conservation biologists that national parks and other protected areas, in isolation, may not always be able to protect all of their natural values. It had also become widely accepted in settler societies that indigenous peoples had lived in close harmony with the nature in the past, and that their traditional ecological knowledge might hold the key to how to get out of the environmental crises that the world found itself in (Department of Environment, Climate change and Water NSW, 2010). As such, non-indigenous conservation biologists investigated further ways that people might live more closely with nature. Australian scientist, Graeme L Worboys (2010) notes that a consensus emerged amongst the international nature conservation community that the conservation of biodiversity required large-scale interconnected natural landscapes with interconnected protected areas. The concept of 'connectivity conservation' was developed to use biodiversity conservation criteria, but also to include social and institutional dimensions. In addition to considering habitat, ecological and evolutionary processes, connectivity conservation was to include the connection of people to landscapes. Yet Worboys (2010, p. 7) states that connectivity conservation areas are not a substitute for protected areas, and that nations needed to finalise their reserve systems before connectivity conservation could be employed.

How the nature conservation background of park management affects the case studies

This short examination of the major philosophies that have informed the evolution of management practices of the US National Park Service (and parks organisations in other settler societies), evidences the central place that nature conservation has had within the thinking associated with protected areas management. For over a century, the term 'national park' has been synonymous with 'nature', and even as a new phase in conservation biology recognises the 'connectivity' of humans and ecological processes, national parks and protected areas continue to be primarily recognised by the natural sciences as places where the protection of nature has priority. Hence, any attempt to adjust this focus and consider cultural values as a priority for management alongside the park's natural values, has required, and continues to require, substantial changes to the conceptual frameworks that govern the management of national parks and other protected areas. The case study investigations that follow examine three protected areas, one from Australia's New South Wales Parks and Wildlife Service (NSW Park Service), one from the the United States Department of the Interior (US National Park Service) and one from Parks

Canada. All three examine current park management planning policies and interview staff about their management practices relative to policies and ideas associated with cultural landscapes.

For Royal National Park (the Royal) in Sydney, Australia, I interviewed six staff working across positions in visitor services/community relations, ecology and botany, planning for operations, senior management and one person who worked on a cultural landscapes policy report for the NSW Park Service. Interestingly, out of this broad spectrum of roles, only the author of the policy report on cultural landscapes (who was not a Royal National Park staff employee, yet who worked inside the same umbrella government department), had a tertiary qualification in cultural heritage. The majority of the rest of the staff interviewed had educational backgrounds in natural disciplines. Despite the predominance of expertise in the natural sciences, all of the staff that I interviewed spoke of their work in the management of both natural *and* cultural heritage values.

At Golden Gate National Recreation Area (Golden Gate) in San Francisco, in the United States, I interviewed seven staff who worked in roles across interpretation and education, in historical landscape architecture, cultural resource management, environmental protection, and in biological and physical sciences. Out of the seven staff interviewed; four had educational backgrounds in cultural disciplines and three in natural disciplines. A significant difference between Golden Gate and the Royal staff expertise, was that at the larger Golden Gate, there was a team of specialist cultural resource managers who worked within the park. Staff at Golden Gate worked in either natural or cultural resource management, according to the discipline that they had training in. Yet it also needs to be highlighted that cultural resource management is one of 13 divisions within Golden Gate, and that it has between 21 and 35 staff—depending on the season. This is a small number when Golden Gate employs a total of approximately 287 staff (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2013b).

The third case study of Rouge National Urban Park (the Rouge) in Toronto, Canada, is a very new park that was founded in 2012. The Rouge is the first of a new kind of protected area within the Parks Canada portfolio that has specifically developed legislation and management policies being designed to take into consideration the existence of the park within an urban environment. Due to this research project being undertaken while the park

was still in the process of being established, I was only able to interview three newly appointed staff members at the Rouge. Another seven interviews were undertaken with staff from the Parks Canada National Office who worked in senior policy, planning, legislation, management, consultation and engagement roles within cultural resource management and Aboriginal Affairs, and who had been working on different aspects of the development of the Rouge. The majority of the Parks Canada staff that were interviewed had educational backgrounds in cultural disciplines.

A central line of questioning across the three case studies was around whether the parks organisations that they worked for, and the protected areas that they worked in, made distinctions between natural, settler and indigenous heritage values in management policies and practices. Further questioning asked staff what they considered a landscape to contain, if they had heard of the concept of cultural landscapes, and how cultural landscapes were being employed in their workplace?[12] The analysis of the case studies is framed around the notion of a cultural landscapes approach as a social system, which allowed me to closely investigate the ways that cultural landscapes are being thought about as ideas by park staff, how cultural landscapes are being written about in park management policies, and how cultural landscapes are being actioned within the practices of heritage management on the ground.

Part II is made up of three sections, which explore policy documents, associated literature, and semi-structured interviews with park staff in order to unpack how the concept of cultural landscapes has made its way into practical heritage management in Australian, Canadian and American parks. The discussion will highlight how external factors along with more obvious internal influences specific to each case study, affect the kinds of cultural landscapes approaches being followed. And while the case studies offer only a snapshot of the ways that the different parks organisations are engaging with cultural landscapes, it is hoped that this will provide a window into how these countries are applying cultural landscapes for heritage management in protected areas more well-known for their conservation of natural values. In addition, the discussion also illustrates that while it might appear that the three parks organisations begin with essentially the same cultural landscapes concept, they each end up with three very different cultural landscapes approaches.

[12] The full lists of interview questions are included in the appendices to this dissertation.

Part II Section One: Royal National Park, Sydney

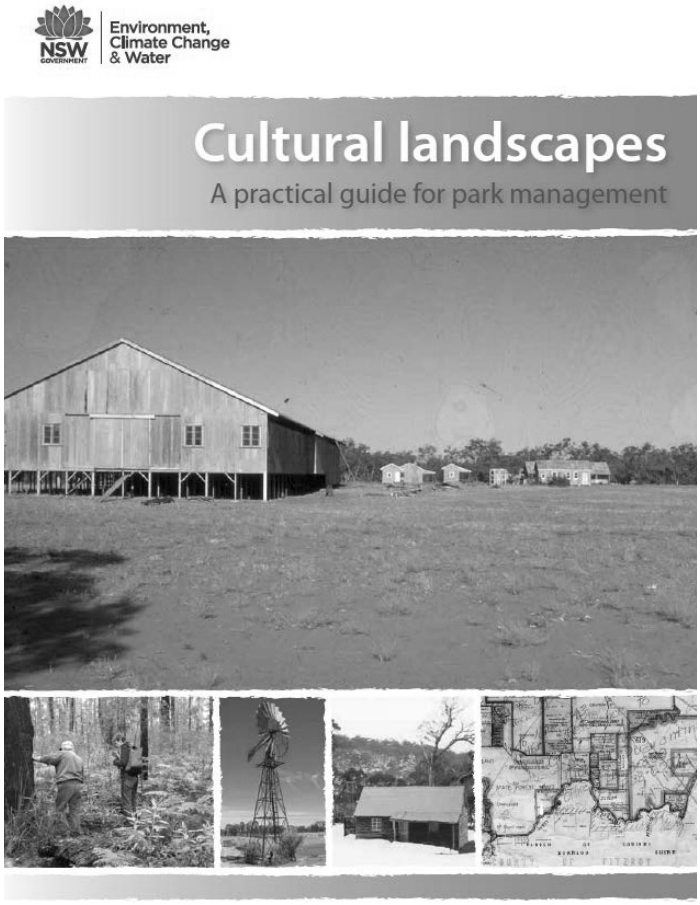

Figure 12: Advocating for the management of cultural landscapes within the New South Wales Parks and Wildlife Service

My investigation of Royal National Park in Sydney began with *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide for Park Management*. I had come across the resource in the initial weeks of beginning my thesis, and determined that I needed to examine a case study from within its scope. The author, Steve Brown, describes the resource as a guide. I describe it here as a policy document because it was prepared to promote a process for consistency around how park managers identify and plan for the management of cultural heritage places and landscapes within the New South Wales Parks and Wildlife Service (NSW Park Service) (Brown, S 2010). Certainly, it was proof that park management in Australia (unlike New Zealand) was engaging with cultural landscapes for heritage management at more local levels. I followed the criteria set out in my research design to find the most appropriate case study within the NSW Park Service, and narrowed down my selection to Royal National

Park (the Royal) as the Australian case study that would be examined alongside parks selected from the United States and Canada.

This part of my thesis sets out to decipher what kind of cultural landscapes approach is employed at the Royal. I use a Luhmannian-inspired cultural landscapes approach as social system to organise my findings, suggesting that the three-tiered approach of examining the ideas, the policies and the practices are useful for providing clarity around how the concept of cultural landscapes is being employed for heritage management. I will begin by describing the 'environment' of the Royal in order to give some context and to inform the kind of cultural landscapes approach that I encountered at the park. The discussion will analyse the text of the *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* along with other NSW Park Service management policy documents, and it will relate these policies to the practices of park management at the Royal. The responses to my semi-structured interviews with the Royal staff will also inform much of the discussion of the chapter.[13] Central to my investigation will be an examination of how a policy document like *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* is embraced by staff at the Royal, and what this reveals about how the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management is being applied by the NSW Park Service.

The 'environment' of the Royal

> Sydney's heritage listed Royal National Park is affectionately known to locals as the 'Nasho' or just 'the Royal'. Established in 1879, it's the world's second-oldest national park… Located near Cronulla within an hour's drive from both the Sydney CBD and Wollongong, the 16,000 ha Royal National Park is like a big beautiful backyard. Whether you come for a morning jog or a week-long camping holiday, you'll discover something new each time. (NSW Park Service nd)

Australia's first national park, gazetted simply as 'National Park' in 1879, was renamed the 'Royal National Park' after Queen Elizabeth's visit to Australia in 1954 (The State Records Authority of New South Wales nd). The description on the NSW Park Service's webpage implies that the Royal is a slightly out of the ordinary 'national park', in being more like a

[13] All discussion with staff from Royal National Park referenced and quoted within this chapter comes from a total of seven semi-structured interviews; five of which were carried out at the park offices at Farnell Avenue, NSW, and one at Hurstville, NSW, between Monday 20 August 2012–Friday 24 August 2012. The last of the seven interviews was conducted over the telephone between Deakin University, Melbourne, and Farnell Avenue, NSW, on Thursday 30 August 2012. All interviews, including the phone interview, were audio-recorded.

local ‘council park’, and ‘a beautiful big backyard’. This description sits in contrast with Warwick Frost and C Michael Hall’s (2009) description of the American national park model, where Yellowstone National Park has vast ‘scenic wonders’ and ‘wilderness’. Frost and Hall (2009, p. 35) suggest that Australia’s first national park ‘rapidly diverged from the standard US Yellowstone model’, because as ‘a large area of pleasant coastal bush, it was hardly monumental.’ Frost and Hall (2009, p. 35) continue by noting that ‘so different and so varied was the Australian experience with national parks that it is appropriate to term it the ‘Australian Anomaly’.’

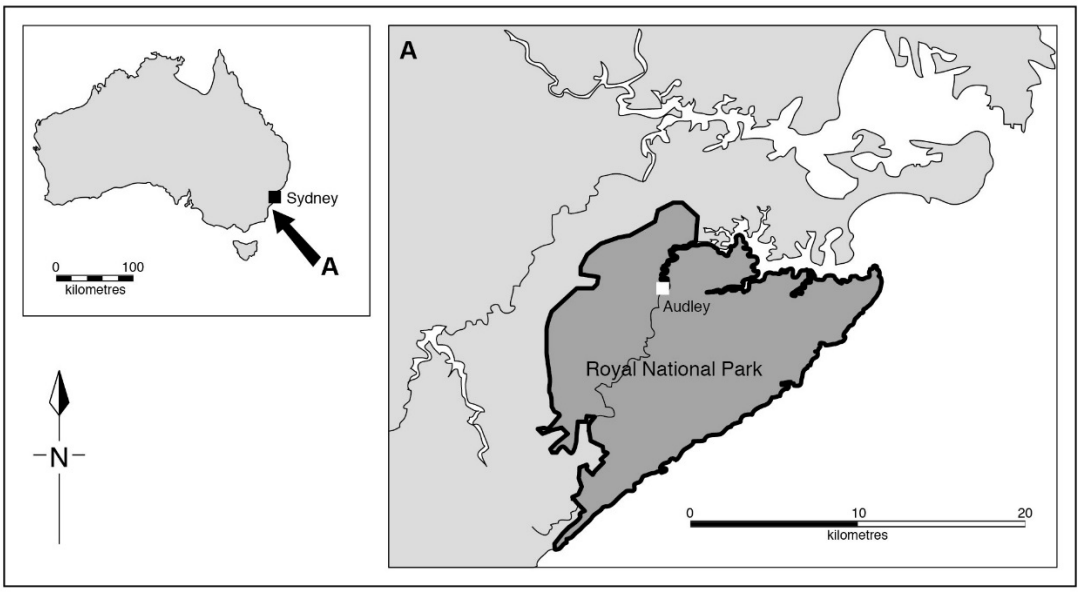

Figure 13: Locating Royal National Park in Sydney, Australia. Map by Jeremy Rolfe

What contributed to making the Royal such an ‘anomaly’ in national park terms was that it was created with a board of trustees empowered to set apart portions of the park for such uses as ‘ornamental plantations, lawns and zoological gardens, a racecourse, cricket or any other lawful game, rifle butt or artillery, exercise or encampment of Military or Naval Forces, bathing purposes, or for any public amusement…’ (The State Records Authority of New South Wales nd). This kind of direction prompted early developments in the park’s Audley Precinct, where mudflats and mangroves were replaced with grassed parkland and exotic trees, and where such animals as deer, rabbits and foxes were introduced (NSW Park Service 2009). All of the staff interviews described the Royal as historically being the ‘Lungs of Sydney’ (as it continues to be recognised today), an area of ‘nature’ where city dwellers could escape the overcrowded grime of urban living, for their health and wellbeing. The staff also noted that beyond the initial acclimatisation phase, there was a period of

extraction of materials, with timber and gravel being removed from the park in the early twentieth century. A more natural conservation focus developed in the mid-to-late twentieth century, where historic precincts and designed recreation areas such as Audley were returned to native/'natural' form. This era was then followed by a time of increasing acknowledgement of indigenous connections to the land and waters of the park, and all staff agreed that the contemporary era of management is focussed on recreation. One staff member provided the insight:

> We haven't come full circle, because now it's about balancing natural values and visitor opportunities… We are being required to support a lot more visitor needs than perhaps we were in the 80s and 90s, when my perception was that it was all about biodiversity, natural values and threatened species. Now, we're seeing that reversed, and it's about getting people in, and there's more compromise in relation to the natural and conservation side of things.

Discussions with staff about the park's history suggested that they recognised that the natural and cultural heritage values at the Royal are entangled with each other, more so than they are clearly demarcated. We discussed how exotic plants and animals were introduced to the Royal in the very early phases of the park's existence, and that the connection of the exotic species to the establishment of the park might suggest that these items would have high cultural heritage significance. Yet this is at odds with the natural 'wilderness' ideals frequently attached to national parks, and to the environmentalist 'social movement' of conservation biology in the second half of the twentieth century, when 'exotic' species became 'invasive' (Smith, N 2011). In recognition of the potential conflict, staff at the Royal explained that they were open to managing the diverse heritage values present in the park, with our interview discussions covering the daily negotiations that occur as part of their work:

> 15-20 years ago I would have said something different, but I have learned to love a lot of exotic plants in that time as long as they're not invasive and spreading beyond the cultural landscape that they were planted in. That's the distinction that I make as far as indigenous and invasive species go—exotic are fine as long as they stay where you want them.

Another staff member pointed out how at the Royal there is a 'really fine line between what is quite high quality natural bush land, and a heritage landscape—Audley is a good example of that, literally you've got a 130 year old house, and next to it you have an endangered heathland species.'

Yet at the same time as staff drew attention to the complexities of the heritage values of the Royal, they also noted how the legislation and policies that directs their work are not so amenable to the potential interactions between heritage values. 'The emphasis in the Act and in our policies,' explained one staff member, 'isn't very integrated with trying to manage the three heritage type elements: the natural, the indigenous, or the European/historic heritage. So it is quite difficult, and in many cases they do get managed in a stove-pipe type approach.' There are other instances where the heritage values of the Royal are separated out, such as within the 'statement of significance' and 'official values' for the 2006 National Heritage listing for the park. This formal recognition states that the Royal, and the contiguous Garawarra State Conservation Area, are extremely important as a centre of temperate animal species richness, and that they 'exemplify the biodiverse Hawkesbury Sandstone environment' (Australia Government: Department of the Environment 2006. no page). The national heritage listing continues with the recognition that the Royal was the first national park to be established in Australia, and that this event is seen as the beginning of the Australian conservation movement. In keeping with its more natural focus, the statement of significance deals with the recreational beginnings of the Royal, without reference to the exotic introduced species, focussing instead on how the park's establishment 'marks a time when public attitudes towards the Australian natural environment were becoming more appreciative' (Australia Government: Department of the Environment 2006). This preference for the natural is further reinforced by the NSW Park Service's definition of what national parks encompass, with its webpage stating that they are 'areas protected for their unspoiled landscapes and native plants and animals' (NSW Government Environment and Heritage 2013).

The tendency of the 'official' record to oversimplify or massage the heritage values of the Royal to highlight natural heritage values over others, indicates the continued dominance of a compartmentalised formula within Australia's national heritage listing process and also within the NSW Park Service. However at the same time as the nature/culture dichotomy exists, the NSW Park Service is also working through a 'reconciliation' process which brings into focus the way that indigenous heritage is managed. The NSW Park Service has a 'statement of reconciliation' for its staff which 'gives a commitment to invite greater involvement of Aboriginal communities in the management of all areas under NPWS [National Parks and Wildlife Service] control' (NSW Government Environment and Heritage 2012). The 'statement of reconciliation' for NSW Park Service staff states:

> As people working in a government land management agency,
> -we acknowledge a special responsibility in finding creative and positive ways to move forward together with a shared understanding of the past.
> -we recognise that the Aboriginal peoples of NSW, despite being dispossessed, maintain a diversity of living cultures and a unique and deeply felt attachment to the lands and waters of NSW. In our role of managing and conserving natural and cultural heritage we commit ourselves not only to respect this attachment but also to learn from it (NSW Government Environment and Heritage 2011).

This commitment by the NSW Park Service goes on to discuss how 'as a guiding principle we acknowledge that the Aboriginal peoples of NSW do not recognise the distinction between the natural and the cultural in relation to heritage.' Yet this acknowledgement is not related to the NSW Park Service's established management prerogative which appears to be grounded in a nature/culture split (NSW Government Environment and Heritage 2011).

My interviews with staff at the Royal highlighted how they felt that indigenous heritage values were a key part of the park dynamic. Staff outlined how there was a growing awareness of the indigenous heritage values of the Royal, and that the growth in their own personal understanding had a lot to do with the efforts of the park's Aboriginal Community Liaison Officer:

> Our own liaison officer here within the region, he's amazing. He speaks all the time about the Aboriginal culture and the natural landscape and nature itself, as inseparable, and that they shouldn't be separated, and can't be because it's from one that the other comes. The same with all of us—we need to make decisions based on the natural situation as well as the cultural significance for different groups; that's where it gets difficult within the Royal when there are so many different groups who have a vested interest in the place. So you may want to protect one aspect of it for one group of people, and other people think you're not protecting it enough, or too much. It's just balancing those things, and you can't do that without an integrated approach.

Staff contrasted their current approach to indigenous heritage values with past management policies at the Royal, which tended to regard Aboriginal heritage within scientific, western discourses. For example, 'Section 4.2.2 Aboriginal Heritage' from the *Royal National Park, Heathcote National Park and Garawarra State Recreation Area Plan of Management* identifies Aboriginal heritage as primarily archaeological or engravings sites that are 'important for research and for education of the general public, especially increasingly for cultural tourism' (NSW Park Service 2000, p. 38). Staff said that they are working to adjust this kind of reference in the new park management plan currently being developed, noting, 'a significant part of the new plan for Royal is to shift the emphasis to

focus more on Aboriginal cultural heritage, and not items particularly, but the attachment to this reserve.'

Yet while staff at the Royal are working to update their management policies to include a broader interpretation of Aboriginal heritage, they also spoke of the kinds of pressures they felt to better practically engage with the Aboriginal heritage located in the park:

> Even when we are aware of sites like Jibbon engravings—to get them protected is such a horrendous process that even though we have been aware of the need to do it for over two decades, it hasn't been done. The emphasis on European heritage certainly used to take precedence, let's just say it's easier to spend money on a building because we know we can fix it up, stabilise, or repair it, and interpret it, because it's *our* history… Even those like myself who want to try and do the best possible thing, we can have all the training in the world, and all the advice, and yet it's still a very large challenge to understand how best to manage the sites, and as a result many of my peers and counterparts within the NSW Park Service, we don't touch them.

Here we see that the Royal staff are adjusting their ideas and the park management policies and practices to try and embrace a more holistic approach that takes into account the intangible indigenous connections with the park. When I met with representatives from the La Perouse Local Aboriginal Land Council (LPLALC)[14] they said that they believed staff at the Royal were well-intentioned when it came to the management of Aboriginal heritage values, yet at the same time, they explained that good intentions were not adequate on their own.[15] They believed that there needed to be more resourcing and support directed to the Royal from the NSW government so that their heritage was properly cared for. Their main concern was that the dominant heritage management system of the NSW Park Service was not supportive of Aboriginal heritage values, pointing to how the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* treats Aboriginal culture and heritage as the property of the Crown. The representatives from the LPLALC explained that they see their role as being the voice between their Dharawal community and the NSW government, and they made clear their frustrations with their cultural connections to Country (they preferred Country, suggesting that 'heritage is the past, Country is now') being recognised primarily as archaeological

[14] The La Perouse Local Aboriginal Land Council is the collective that represents the local Aboriginal community for the north of Royal National Park, and the Illawarra Local Aboriginal Land Council represents the Aboriginal community of the south of the park.

[15] I made a presentation to the La Perouse Local Aboriginal Land Council (LPLALC) at their offices in Yarra Bay House, 1 Elaroo Avenue, La Perouse NSW on 6 June 2012. Interviews were carried out with two representatives of the LPLALC at Yarra Bay House on Thursday 23 August and Friday 24 August 2012.

sites. They handed me information pamphlets from the NSW Aboriginal Land Council about a campaign urging for changes to the current protection of the culture and heritage of Aboriginal Australians throughout NSW. The LPLALC representatives also expressed concern that Aboriginal places were being left uncared for because Royal staff did not know how to manage them (a point which could be attributed to staff at the Royal not having specialist training in cultural heritage management). The LPLALC believed that park policies were limiting their community's ability to stay culturally connected with the Royal, and they said that they wanted a role in the management of the park 'that is more than tokenistic advice'. They are aiming for a future where 'our people have a major say, we're not saying total control, but a major presence as our own identity.' The LPLALC representatives suggested that they needed their people to be involved at a higher level than the current Aboriginal community liaison officer position at the Royal, so that they might facilitate a more centralised recognition of Aboriginal cultural values within park management.[16]

All of this suggests that in addition to an underlying nature/settler/indigenous framework within the NSW Park Service, there is an added demarcation between state and local approaches to heritage management. The LPLALC recognise that local staff are well-intentioned, yet its representatives felt that there is only so much that the Royal staff, as a local office of the NSW Park Service, can do relative to the management of their heritage without the sanction/leadership of the wider state-led parks organisation. Therefore, the complex background of the Royal, with its diverse heritage values not so easily split between heritage categories in practice, and the divergences between the management agendas of the Royal staff with those of the wider NSW Park Service, sets up an intricate 'environment' from which the cultural landscapes approach of the Royal takes shape. The next segment will outline how cultural landscapes figure within state-wide NSW Park Service policies, and more localised policy developed specifically for the Royal.

[16] On 29 September 2013, the New South Wales government released a proposed model for a stand-alone Aboriginal cultural heritage legislation which suggests removing all Aboriginal cultural heritage provisions from the current *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* and creating a new Act for Aboriginal cultural heritage. See: http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/achreform/ACHproposedmodel.htm

Figure 14: A tree designed and carved as part of the recent renovation project for the Audley area to give acknowledgement to the Aboriginal community of Royal National Park. Photo by the author

Cultural landscapes in policy

Section 72 of the *New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* requires that all parks be managed to conserve their cultural values, inclusive of the conservation of 'landscapes of cultural value' (interestingly, this is not promoted as part of the NSW Park Service definition of a national park on their website). It was around the time of this legislation that the NSW Park Service developed its capacity in historic heritage, which is detailed in the report *Challenges in the Landscape: Memories of conserving historic heritage in the NSW park system 1967-2000.* Central to the report's discussion are the kinds of tensions that have existed within the NSW Park Service in relation to natural and cultural heritage management. The report notes that from the late 1980s the concept of cultural landscapes 'began to be explored and promoted by NPWS [National Parks and Wildlife Service] heritage professionals who were active in Australia ICOMOS' (Ford 2009, p. 35). Yet it was not until the 1992 inclusion of cultural landscapes as a new type of site on the World Heritage List, and the subsequent associative cultural landscape listing of Uluṟu Kata-Tjuṯa

National Park in 1994, that Australia (inclusive of NSW Parks) began to engage more formally with cultural landscapes for heritage management at national and local levels. A policy document was developed in 1996: *Cultural Landscape Management: Guidelines for identifying, assessing and managing cultural landscapes in the Australian Alps National Parks*. This would become a key policy initiative heavily referenced in future Australian reporting on cultural landscapes for heritage management in parks. That this 1996 report was commissioned by a joint New South Wales, Victorian and Australian Capital Territory parks collective signals that these parks organisations were interested in employing cultural landscapes for heritage management at this time. *Cultural Landscape Management* was prepared to assist parks staff to make decisions about cultural landscape management, and it worked from the definition that:

> A cultural landscape is a physical area with natural features and elements modified by human activity resulting in patterns of evidence layered in the landscape, which give a place its particular character, reflecting human relationships with and attachment to the landscape (Lennon & Mathews 1996, p. 4).

Analogous to the 1996 *Cultural Landscape Management* document, the more recent *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* (2010) was produced to assist park managers in identifying, assessing, managing and interpreting cultural values across landscapes. The central focus of the 2010 document is on expanding notions of heritage from single sites and monuments to landscapes, and educating staff who are more accustomed to recognising natural ecosystems to see that cultural heritage through cultural landscapes can also fit within this ecosystem idea. *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* defines cultural landscapes as:

> …those areas which clearly represent or reflect the patterns of settlement or use of the landscape over a long time, as well as the evolution of cultural values, norms and attitudes toward the land (Brown, S 2010, p. 4).

That this definition excludes direct reference to the natural suggests that the impetus of the 2010 document was to generate further awareness of the existence of the cultural within an organisation that has traditionally been more comfortable with focussing its management efforts within the natural realm. The rationale behind the development of *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* was further explained to me by Brown, who saw the guide as a way of drawing the wider NSW Park Service's attention to the fact that the 'natural and the cultural tend to be historically very siloed, through legislation, through internal policy and guidelines, and in practice.' Therefore, according to Brown, introducing

the concept of cultural landscapes was a way of assisting NSW Park staff to see an alternative way of approaching park management so that they might consider 'landscapes as human environment interactions'.

Yet when it comes to cultural landscapes in policy more specifically related to the Royal, we see that the park has been employing the term and ideas associated with cultural landscapes since before the development of the 2010 *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide*. The *Audley Masterplan: Incorporating the Conservation Management Plan and Visitor Management Strategy for Audley, Royal National Par*k, is a key document where the top objective is to 'provide the foundation for integrated management that enhances and preserves overall integrity' (NSW Park Service 2006, p. 7). Other objectives follow which are associated with contemplating the Audley Precinct within the greater context of the park. The objectives also note that community values were to be reflected in the preparation of the plan, with staff revealing that many meetings over a number of years were required to develop the *Audley Masterplan*. Staff interviews conveyed that the majority of the *Audley Masterplan* was led and written by Royal staff in conjunction with representatives from different community groups. The finalised document was then prepared with the assistance of Sydney consultancies, Context Landscape Design and Cab Consulting. The 2006 *Audley Masterplan* reviews and updates the earlier *Conservation Management Plan of the Audley Precinct*, and it notes: 'where the 1987 Plan focused on non-indigenous cultural heritage of the 'built environment' this Plan will integrate with the Master Plan to consider natural, indigenous and built heritage, alongside modern, visitor facilities and management action' (NSW Park Service 2006, p. 7). The term 'cultural landscapes' is applied within the 2006 *Audley Masterplan* as a descriptor for the Audley Precinct, and as a way of christening the examination of diverse heritage values, with the report stating:

> The Audley precinct is one of the significant cultural landscapes within Royal National Park. Commonly known as a pleasure ground, Audley is the oldest of the cultural landscapes within the park developed for recreational purposes (NSW Park Service 2006, p. xvi).

Another significant policy document created for the Royal which promotes the use of cultural landscapes for heritage management is the *Royal National Park Coastal Cabins Areas: Conservation Management Plan*. This policy document was produced in 2005 by a group of heritage consultants on behalf of the Royal, to clarify the heritage values of approximately 200 private coastal cabins located in the areas of Bulgo, Burning Palms,

South Era and Little Garie within the park. The reporting was particularly concerned to address options around whether the cabins should remain in the park or be removed. The *Coastal Cabins Areas* policy document frames its understanding of cultural landscapes from the World Heritage definition: 'as the combined works of nature and of man… illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces' (2005, p. 4). The policy document presents the heritage values of the cabins as being associated with more than the tangible structures, to include the coastal strip environment and the way that people have used the cabins and surrounding areas recreationally for generations:

> The cabins have local social significance for the cabins occupants and users, many of who have been associated with the place for a number of generations. An appreciation of the dramatic setting, common lifestyle values and shared obligations for issues such as track maintenance and surf-lifesaving, have enhanced a sense of community among the majority of cabins occupiers. (Graham Brooks and Associates et al. 2005, p. 100)

The policy document then sets out the expectation that the NSW Park Service:

> Shall manage the cultural landscapes of the cabins areas and the broader natural and cultural landscapes of the coastal edge, including places of Aboriginal heritage significance, to protect and conserve significant features in an integrated manner (Graham Brooks and Associates et al. 2005, p. 153).

Cultural landscapes: from policy to practice, or is it practice to policy?

The *Audley Masterplan* and the *Coastal Cabins Areas Conservation Management Plan* both recognise the need for integrated approaches which cater to the practical management concerns encountered 'on the ground' at the Royal. A staff member at the Royal explained:

> The Audley project is a good example where we have tried to pull the natural, the indigenous and the European/historic together, in that as part of the project we did revegetation, and we also looked at protecting some of the indigenous sites around there, and interpreting them, and as well as getting some of the local Aboriginal elders to do a carved pole, and that was with some of our indigenous trainee field officers…

The *Audley Masterplan* in particular was a way of documenting staff thinking and their desired integrated management approach. At Audley, local circumstances determined heritage management criteria, more so than staff setting out to ensure that their management approach matched existing heritage management criteria developed at the

state level of the NSW Park Service. It is the practice of park management at the Royal which has determined the kind of cultural landscapes approach being enacted. This has meant that in some respects the 2010 *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* report came too late for the Royal, and as a result it has not experienced the kind of uptake by its staff that the report's creators might have hoped for. At the time of the release of *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide*, staff at the Royal were already recognising that demarcations made between natural/settler/indigenous heritage values entrenched within the NSW Park Service structures for management were not addressing the complexities that they faced in their everyday work. To address any perceived inadequacies within the NSW Park Service management systems, staff at the Royal were developing their own local initiatives to work within the wider rules of the parks organisation. For example, staff at the Royal explained that they are transplanting their thinking and learning developed by the *Audley Masterplan* into the new park management plan that is currently being developed. It was explained to me that NSW Park Service plans of management normally follow a 'template approach', and are traditionally organised by separate sections on natural, historic and indigenous heritage. Instead, staff at the Royal have determined:

> Now in Royal National Park we've had an opportunity not to pursue that template, which has given us more scope to work in a more integrated way, which is great, but it's also a challenge as well, because there's not much out there that provides us with a template of how to do that.

Due to the accomplishments of their own local initiatives, when the Royal staff received the *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* they were unsure as to what they were supposed to do with it:

> It's something we just got sent out in the mail and we don't quite know if we're being asked to implement it, or if we've been given it for our information. …a lot of people will attempt to use it, or pull out relevant elements of it. But at the end of the day, if they're saying that it is one of the key tools for us as an organisation to integrate better with the indigenous community in management, then it needs to have both the 'stick and the carrot'. It needs to have the mentoring and the staff to help guide it in, and demonstrate how we can use it in our day-to-day activities as well as in our planning, like the plan of management. If it's not in the plan of management checklist, then it's unlikely to get touched more than a brief glance.

It appeared that the *Audley Masterplan* and *Coastal Cabins Areas Conservation Management Plan* policy documents demonstrated that the Royal was working with its own 'integrated cultural landscapes approach', where staff had determined organically through their work experiences that they needed to work across natural and cultural

boundaries, that they needed to attempt to include the more intangible cultural connections of the park communities, and that significant cultural heritage values were not restricted to individual items and sites. The staff interest in a more integrated approach to park management had most likely also been informed by the latest thinking on conservation biology and 'connectivity conservation', which evidences a shift away from preserving isolated pockets of nature separated from people, to supporting networks and corridors, and redesigning land-use strategies to involve and recognise the interaction of natural species, communities of people, and ecological processes. One of the staff interviewed explained how they had recently had the good luck of meeting Graeme Worboys in the street (an Australian protected areas management specialist, whose scholarship was discussed in the introduction to Part II), and who this staff member explained 'has written one of the bibles on protected areas management.' It was obvious the respect that this staff member had for Worboys, which suggests that they would be up-to-date with his latest scholarship on protected areas. Furthermore, ideas such as connectivity conservation have been created specifically in relation to protected areas management, while the concept of cultural landscapes, on the other hand, has its origins in cultural geography and cultural heritage. Therefore, the staff at the Royal, with their natural training would no doubt be more comfortable with applying ideas from within conservation biology than they would with ideas from cultural heritage—a field that they do not have training in. Nevertheless, I was surprised by the way that the Royal staff spoke of the 2010 *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide,* as though it was a peripheral document of little use when they were essentially already doing what it suggested. One staff member explained: 'I came across the document [2010 *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide*] by accident… I don't think it is something that rangers would be aware of necessarily. On initially looking at it as a ranger, I would have thought that's great, but now what do I do with it?'

Another interesting discussion point was that 'cultural landscape' was a term that the Royal staff did not speak easily of, with staff preferring to use 'integrated approach' when discussing their day-to-day work programmes. The interviews revealed that some staff considered 'cultural landscapes' to be the term selected by the NSW Park Service in its endeavours to be more inclusive of indigenous heritage values in parks. As a consequence, I tentatively wondered if staff were over-stating their commitment to the Aboriginal heritage of the Royal, as it appeared that most made an automatic connection in their interviews

between the concept of cultural landscapes and indigenous heritage. Yet when I queried further, I found that the majority of the staff saw cultural landscapes as being a broad amorphous concept open to more than one culture's heritage values. It was as though 'cultural landscapes' was seen as a way of allowing different heritage values for the same place to be seen and examined together, and this was an approach that staff at the Royal felt was more in tune with Aboriginal perspectives.

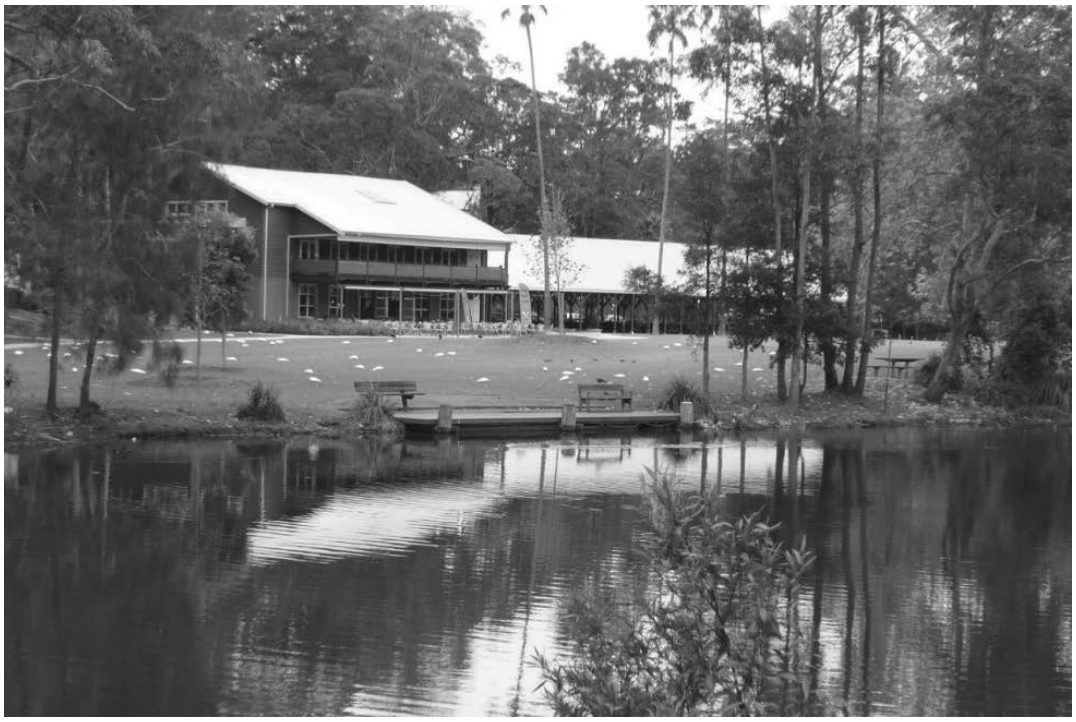

Figure 15: The focal point of the Audley Precinct is the visitor centre with café and picnic areas looking out over a wide expanse of lawn to the Hacking River. Photo by the author

It became clear in the interviews that staff at the Royal had not received any training targeted to the use of the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management, and some were even unsure if their personal understandings matched the intent of the NSW Park Service. The staff who had come across the term in their work in policy development were the ones who were the most confident in our discussions. The notion of 'integrated approach' on the other hand, appeared to be a common-sense term that all staff understood, and which sat more easily within a broader nature conservation lexicon. Certainly, the thinking behind cultural landscapes has synergies with the growing promotion of such ecological strategies as 'connectivity conservation', and the similarities between the latest thinking in nature conservation and cultural landscapes, seemed to encourage staff to support the need to continue to build the NSW Park Service's capacity

around cultural landscapes as a tool for integrated heritage management. It was put to me in response to my questioning around the potential for cultural and natural heritage management to be considered together, that: '…humans who are managing both of those aspects have similar priorities on wanting to maintain things and to protect them. So I think it's sort of convergent evolution really, you know we're coming to the same point from different directions.'

Staff at the Royal provided the example of the management of the Audley Precinct in their efforts to explain why more integrated approaches to management were required within the NSW Park Service. They discussed how the *Audley Masterplan*, in addition to being focussed on the Audley Precinct, was also about access to Audley, from the different roads, railway, and even the Hacking River. Yet this component of the plan had not been as successfully put into practice as the work around the precinct had. According to staff, the Audley Precinct has recognised boundaries, and when people speak of it within the park context, they generally understand what the area encapsulates. The Audley Precinct is also listed as a 'historic recreational complex' on the NSW State Heritage Register, with staff believing that this kind of recognition has made it easier to progress through management channels for funding. It was noted that in contrast, Audley's more amorphous access routes and junctions were not so easily recognised. Staff suggested that as a result, people struggled with seeing the connections between the access routes and the Audley Precinct, and that this made it harder to generate interest for funding for project progression of this component of the *Audley Masterplan*. Thus while the Royal staff see the access routes and junctions connecting the Audley Precinct with the rest of the park as being significant landscape components, they found that more work was required to encourage others within the NSW Park Service to embrace this way of thinking.

Therefore, policy documents such as the *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* have an important role to play in encouraging all NSW Park Service staff to recognise that 'just as there is connectivity between all parts of natural ecosystems, there is connectivity between cultural objects and places through past human behaviour patterns' (Brown, S 2010, p. v). Further promotion of the findings of the *Cultural Landscapes for Park Management* policy report amongst NSW Park Service staff would also assist in spreading the value of the kind of integrated management approach being followed at the Royal.

The ideas behind the policy and practice

If the staff at the Royal considered 'cultural landscapes' to be a technical term, I was intrigued to discover whether the removal of the 'cultural' prefix might engender different responses. Staff provided rich and detailed definitions when asked what they believed 'a landscape to contain'. Responses ranged from: 'the big picture' and 'everything …whatever is in that space'; to 'a landscape can go hundreds of miles… luckily I've been shown how to look at a landscape, and how that landscape will talk to you if you look at it the right way, a lot of people don't see that, they see what's in front of them…' Another staff member suggested that for landscape:

> It's about what you can see of it, it's about what's made it the way that it is, it's about any structures that are on that land, and increasingly it's about how people have interacted in that land as well, and whether that's resulted in physical reminders of that or not, there's a relationship between people and that land over time; so it's lots of things.

These broad descriptions of what a landscape contains illustrate how the staff did not think about, nor experience, landscape according to categories. Not one of the explanations of landscape was restricted by the categories of nature/settler/indigenous heritage values. And the descriptions from those who felt that they had a 'handle on' 'cultural landscapes' were very similar, with one staff member noting:

> Cultural landscape is looking at a picture, at an environment, and not just looking at the obvious detail. It's looking into how people over the millennia have used that environment, how they value it, what are the stories, what resources, what are the intrinsic emotional values?

I also wondered if the Royal staff felt the freedom to be open in their discussion on 'landscape' because the concept of 'heritage' was not mentioned. When 'cultural heritage' was raised in the discussion, the Aboriginal community liaison officer responded:

> Oh look, that's more of a government word, that's something that's thrown around in government. If I was to talk about that sort of stuff, I guess from an Aboriginal perspective, I'd be talking about the Dreaming and I'd be talking about my story and where I come from, and what I understand, and again that would be about identity and belonging.

This staff member also said of 'cultural landscapes' that:

> I've seen this stuff written, and to me it doesn't give true value to what they're trying to talk about. When they talk about 'intangible' and the 'tangible' stuff, words don't sort of count how important this stuff is, how important our natural

> environment is, how important mother earth is. And I do, I just look at it very differently to what is put in documents, but it's very hard to write that stuff.

Staff opinions on landscape and management terminology suggested that they developed their thinking on park management in close relation to their day-to-day work experiences. It also suggested that they found labels and categories distracting, and at times untrue to the realities of the environment of the Royal. The tone that came through the interviews was that staff were anti-categories, anti-binaries, and that they preferred to work away from the labels set by 'officialdom' external to the park. This kind of thinking provided further reasoning as to why staff at the Royal might be wary of 'cultural landscapes', seeing the concept as just another label created externally, when their own usage of 'integrated approach' was sufficient to describe the Royal's preferred management style.

Conclusion

The Royal may not stand out as a superlative example of how cultural landscapes are being employed for heritage management within the NSW Park Service, yet it does illustrate what is most probably a key issue for many parks around Australia (if not internationally)—the challenge of trying to 'fit' the more open concept of cultural landscapes within a relatively closed park system. It also demonstrates that the staff at the Royal were working on their own initiatives to try and embrace a more integrated approach to management. A valuable discovery from my investigations was that park staff perceived there to be a dialogic relationship between natural/settler/indigenous heritage values and were working to adapt management policies to match this thinking. The Royal case study also illustrates that cultural landscapes for heritage management are not unusual, with park staff at the Royal being aware of the latest thinking in conservation biology, and organically working out the kinds of thinking associated with cultural landscapes. As a result, they did necessarily need to recognise their work under the cultural landscapes label. Yet the problem with the Royal's local innovation was that it lacks the authority and resourcing which comes from management initiatives led by the larger NSW Park Service organisation.

While my investigation began with a policy document that I initially thought was going to play a seminal role in park management at the Royal, I soon realised that the *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* did not have the influence within the NSW Park Service that I thought it would. Discussions with Steve Brown revealed that while universities and researchers external to the NSW Park Service had provided positive feedback about the

efficacy of the policy document, the response from people whom the report was aimed at assisting—the NSW Park Service staff—had not been as positive. A key challenge that this policy document has faced is a level of ambiguity around what its function is—whether cultural landscape is simply a useful idea for park managers to consider, or whether it is an approach for management that is being embedded within the NSW Park Service's existing management systems. Staff at the Royal felt that they had received little clarification and guidance around what they should be doing with *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide,* and as such, they had not spent much time considering it. That *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* was developed in 2010 by a team of researchers from the New South Wales Department of the Environment, Climate Change and Water (which became the Office of Environment and Heritage within the NSW Department of Premier and Cabinet), who were external yet closely related to the NSW Park Service, was another limiting factor for park staff working 'on the ground', who felt that a report authored by external researchers would not recognise the kinds of issues that they faced. Even more foreboding for *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide* is that the research team which produced the 2010 policy document and other cultural heritage reporting for the NSW Park Service were disestablished at the end of 2013.

Therefore, when it comes to the application of cultural landscapes at the Royal, staff are employing an 'integrated cultural landscapes approach' which has developed out of working experiences rather than through policy directives. Thus while staff at the Royal recognise the important role that policy plays in guiding management decisions, and are working to create guiding documents such as the *Audley Masterplan,* further work is required to strengthen connections with other policy being created within the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage. The development of more robust relationships between on-the-ground staff and support staff who work on policy development away from NSW Park Service parks might also foster further reflection on the ideas which inform the practicalities of management. A dialogue that examines the ideas together with the policies and practices might then support a more effective transition from cultural landscapes as a useful but complex concept, into cultural landscapes as an approach for on-the-ground management which can be used across the protected areas within the NSW Park Service.

Part II Section Two: Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco

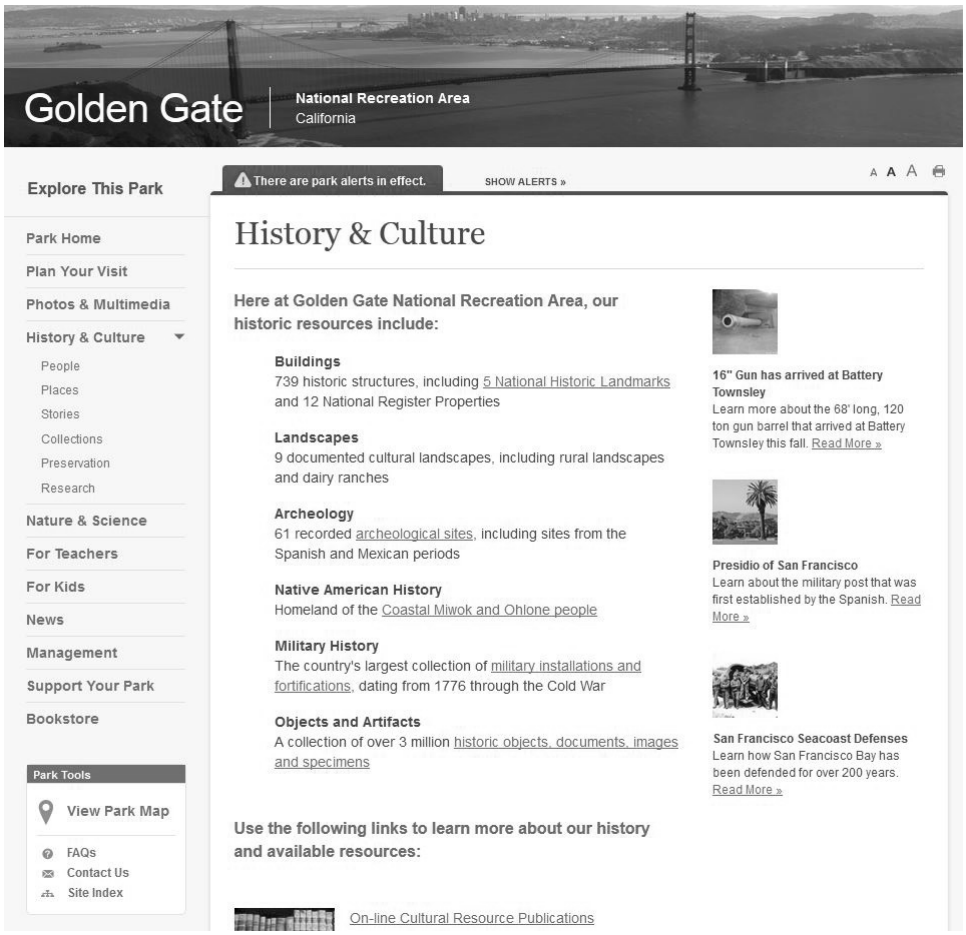

Figure 16: The 'History & Culture' webpage for Golden Gate National Recreation Area, see: http://www.nps.gov/goga/historyculture/index.htm

The National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior (US National Park Service) makes it very simple to access cultural landscapes policy documents online. Indeed, it was the ease with which I could download a number of cultural landscapes reports that encouraged me to select Golden Gate National Recreation Area (Golden Gate) as my American case study. This section will begin by describing the 'environment' of Golden Gate to detail some of the major forces that influence and shape the park's cultural landscapes approach. The discussion will examine the wider US National Park Service along with the more specific Golden Gate policies on cultural landscapes, and it will consider how these policies relate to the practical realities of park management. The responses to several semi-

structured interviews with Golden Gate staff will inform the majority of the discussion.[17] I will also tease out the key ideas informing the use of cultural landscapes at Golden Gate, and the section will close with my interpretation of the cultural landscapes approach currently at work within the park.

The 'environment' of Golden Gate

'Golden Gate National Recreation Area begins where the Pacific Ocean meets San Francisco Bay—but it does not end there' (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior nd-a). The 'Exploring the Parks' brochure encourages visitors to plan their time at Golden Gate carefully because there is a lot of sightseeing to get through. Main attractions north of Golden Gate include Muir Woods National Monument, Muir Beach, Marin Headland and Fort Baker. To the south there is Fort Point National Historic Site, Fort Mason, Crissy Field, The Presidio, Lands End and the Adolph Sutro Historic District, with Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay being a standout highlight for many visitors. Golden Gate spans more than 80,000 acres (approx. 32,375 hectares), the combined park areas receive over 20 million visitors per year, and all of this is 'located in the midst of a highly diverse metropolitan area of 7 million people' (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2013b).

The justifications for what makes Golden Gate unique range from: its location at the convergence of the San Andreas Fault, San Francisco Bay, and the California coastline; to how Golden Gate provides a continuum of park resources at the doorstep of the San Francisco Bay Area; to the credit that the park 'offers one of the largest collections of historic buildings of any national park' (Bishop & National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2010, pp. 1-7). Similar to the discussion around the role that the Royal National Park in Sydney plays for local urban dwellers, Golden Gate also promotes itself as a place for its urban neighbours to 'run, windsurf, walk your dog, and expose your kids to the area's nature and history' (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2013c).

[17] All discussion with staff from Golden Gate National Recreation Area referenced and quoted within this chapter was generated from a total of seven semi-structured interviews which were carried out at the park offices at Building 101, Fort Mason, and Building 1061, Fort Cronkhite, 25 February–6 March 2013.

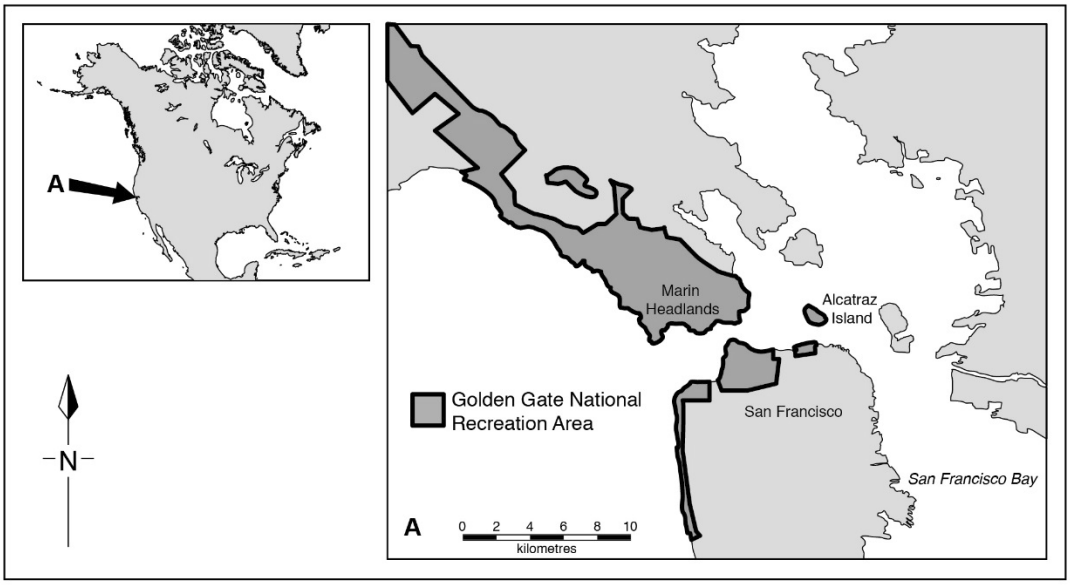

Figure 17: Locating Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Francisco, United States of America. Map by Jeremy Rolfe

Golden Gate was established by Congress in 1972 to open up much-needed recreational space in San Francisco. The 1980 *Golden Gate, Point Reyes: General Management Plan Environmental Analysis* provides a glimpse into the reasoning behind the park's creation. The report indicates that 'hot controversies' over the question of what to do with Alcatraz Island and the proposal to build a federal record centre in San Francisco 'precipitated a chain of events that rapidly swept into an unprecedented grassroots park movement' (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 1980, p. 7). Alcatraz Island had become surplus to government requirements in 1964, after the federal prison that occupied the island was closed down. In 1969, a group of Native American university students from around the San Francisco Bay area used the abandonment of Alcatraz as an opportunity to take the island in protest against the historically negative treatment of Native Americans by the United States Government. The occupation of Alcatraz Island from November 1969 until June 1971 is recognised as 'a powerful symbol and rallying point for unified Indian political activities' (Johnson 1997, p. 1), and it was an event which contributed to the decision for the US National Park Service to take over Alcatraz in 1972.

The Alcatraz decision came at a time when the US National Park Service was going through some changes. Hal K Rothman (2001, pp. 34-5), a historian of the US National Park movement, argues that while the development of the national park idea was grounded in the value of 'openness to all', 'historically national parks had served a much smaller

constituency: the privileged classes of the middle and upper-middle class who accepted the idea of conservation and enjoyed the wealth and leisure to enjoy the parks.' Rothman details how by the 1960s there was growing recognition that a re-evaluation of the national park system was required. J Glenn Eugster (2003, pp. 53-4) explains that there was a drive in the late 1960s/early 1970s 'for new ways to conserve landscapes.' The change, suggests Eugster, was led by public disenchantment with land development, which by this time had begun to outpace preservation efforts. Eugster (2003, p. 54) notes that the public wanted parks and special places 'to live in rather than just visit.' It was in this climate that the concept of 'parks for the people, where the people are' came into fruition, and urban national recreation areas developed to give recreation pre-eminence (Rothman 2001, p. 35). Rothman describes how Golden Gate was established with the view that the communities living in the area of the new park had to be a part of the management equation. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Golden Gate National Recreation Area is widely recognised as a 'national park', or more commonly the title 'Golden Gate National Parks' is used as a way of informally recognising the other park designations such as Muir Woods National Monument and Alcatraz Island and Fort Point National Historic Sites, which are managed under the Golden Gate mandate (Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy nd-b).

As one of the newer park models, Golden Gate has brought the US National Park Service into closer contact with its neighbours and other communities who also have a vested interest in the management of the park (Barrett 2005). The Presidio Trust, established by Congress in 1996, is a key partner of the US National Park Service, with the Trust responsible for jurisdiction over 80 per cent of the Presidio of San Francisco. The Presidio is a 300-acre (approx. 121 hectare) former military outpost, which became surplus to the requirements of the United States army in 1994, and is now one of the largest components of Golden Gate. Its infrastructure and streets of buildings have been repurposed and are occupied by around 7,000 people living and working within the Presidio (The Presidio Trust 2013). The Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy is another important partner (with a greater number of staff than the US National Park Service has for Golden Gate), which has been working with the US National Park Service since 1981. The non-profit organisation has provided over $250 million in support, has rallied more than 250,000 volunteers, and has pioneered innovative park stewardship and education programs (Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy nd-a).

Figure 18: Overlooking Fort Mason out to Golden Gate Bridge and beyond to Marin Headland. Photo by the author

Yet while Golden Gate has continued to have a powerful community base, the extent to which those communities and their relationships to the heritage values are currently being recognised and managed at the park is worth further examination. In the 1980 *General Management Plan* there is reference the 'prehistoric resources' of the northern California Indians who used to occupy the parklands (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 1980, p. 85). This recognition of the indigenous heritage values of the park is updated in the 2014 *Golden Gate National Recreation Area Muir Woods National Monument: Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement*, which demonstrates a shift from the consideration of indigenous heritage as resources from a past before settlers, to envisioning it as resources connecting past and living peoples. The 2014 *Final General Management Plan* recognises that:

> The natural features and resources of the park, along with its location on the San Francisco Bay estuary, sustained the Ohlone and Miwok people who lived on the lands now comprising the park for thousands of years before Europeans arrived. Archaeological sites in the park link to these pre-European inhabitants and to their descendants who retain a vibrant culture to this day. (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2014, pp. S-iii)

As part of my visit to Golden Gate I met with a representative of the Sacred Sites Protection Committee for the Coast Miwok tribe, who acts as the appointed park liaison for Golden Gate and the nearby Point Reyes National Seashore (Point Reyes).[18] He explained to me that his role was 'to guide, direct and correct their [US National Park Service] interpretation of the first people in these parks' and he conveyed a largely positive relationship, where he felt that staff at Golden Gate and Point Reyes were committed to providing an accurate portrayal of the local indigenous communities. Throughout our discussions, however, the Coast Miwok representative drew a contrast between the relationship that he had with Golden Gate, and the relationship that he had with Point Reyes. At Golden Gate he found his role to be primarily about negotiating works to historic buildings or structures which sat on top of potential Coast Miwok cultural sites. He suggested that the level of involvement in plans of management and projects was minimal at Golden Gate where his community was only ever asked to 'comment'. He contrasted this to the work that he was involved with at Point Reyes (located approximately 50km north of San Francisco), where he believed Coast Miwok interests had a more central role in projects, and where his community were asked to make 'contributions'. When I asked staff at Golden Gate about interaction with representatives of the local Native American communities, it was put to me that the associations of Native American groups with Golden Gate was different to other parks: 'we consult with them', but 'tribes have more of a presence at places like Yosemite.'

The current political situation is a significant contributing factor to the different relationships that Golden Gate and Point Reyes have with the local Native American communities. The Coast Miwok tribe is the only Native American group that Point Reyes has a formal relationship with. Golden Gate, on the other hand, has a formal relationship with the Coast Miwok in addition to the different factions of the Ohlone tribe of the southern shores of San Francisco Bay. A further issue is that the Ohlone are not federally recognised, while Coast Miwok, as the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, are—'only federally recognised tribes can resolve cultural preservation issues, obtain a land base,' and qualify for other rights relative to the United States federal government (Milliken, Shoup & Ortiz 2009, p. 229). Of the criteria that are required to secure federal recognition, the

[18] An interview and general discussions were part of a guided tour of the Coast Miwok tribal area Saturday 2 March–Monday 4 March 2013.

continuous community criterion has been particularly difficult for the Ohlone groups to prove (Milliken, Shoup & Ortiz 2009).

When I asked my Coast Miwok guide about what he considered a landscape to contain, he expressed that it was 'everything in the natural environment, our indigenous world. The tribe believes everything has a spirit, so everything in the land, the air, the water, the rocks, the trees, the animals, they are all spiritually connected to us.' I wondered how these all-encompassing cultural values might be recognised within the US National Park Service's cultural resource management systems. Patricia Parker and Thomas F King's *Bulletin 38* introduces 'Traditional Cultural Properties' (TCPs) as being a way for the US National Park Service to recognise heritage as 'places that count' or places of value to communities (Parker & King 1998). King (2003) describes TCPs as a cultural tool which uses the legislative powers of the *National Environmental Policy Act* (NEPA) and Section 106 of the *National Historic Preservation Act* (NHPA) to motivate federal agencies to pay attention to community values that are connected to properties which might be adversely affected by any proposed activities. Yet because TCPs have been developed in relation to the US National Register of Historic Places, there is the potential for people to misinterpret that TCPs only exist as part of that nomination process. King (2003, p145) adds to my concerns by making the point that 'one of the unintended consequences of *Bulletin 38*, and of the 1992 NHPA amendments that clarified requirements for tribal consultation, has been a deluge of notification letters coming through every Indian tribe's mail slot.' Occurrences like this suggest that instead of facilitating an opening up of existing cultural resource management systems to be more aware of cultural/social values, TCPs have the potential to do the opposite and make tribal and other community groups not want to publicise their social and cultural values. When I asked my Coast Miwok guide about this he said that he much prefers the use of 'Traditional Ecological Knowledge or TEK' as a way to express cultural connections to place. He said that his community struggled with the administrative processes of TCPs because they did not have the capacity to put together TCP nominations, and that requests for information were always a struggle as our 'cultural knowledge isn't as good as it should be; we get a lot of requests made and sometimes we have to let those requests go because we don't have enough people to interpret them.'

I found that TCPs are not included as a category heading under the Cultural Resource Management section of the *Management Policies 2006*, which is 'the basic Service-wide

policy document of the National Park Service'. But then I did find it listed in the glossary along with 'traditionally associated peoples', 'ethnographic resources', and 'land use and ethnographic value'. All of these definitions refer to some aspect of cultural/social connections with place, and they appear to be open to any community—not only Native Americans. When I quizzed Golden Gate staff about the usage of the term 'ethnographic' in their work, I was told that it was a term that was not frequently applied within Golden Gate 'because we are an urban park'. Some said that you do not really hear it, but that you would in a park like Yosemite, 'parks that have larger indigenous connections and populations.' Other associated responses included that 'ethnographic landscapes are more informed by the particular cultural values of a set of people—whereas our park landscapes are more functionally and programmatically used.' Staff explained that the idea of 'TEK' was being used at Golden Gate in relation to ecological restoration at Muir Beach watershed, a project which heavily involves representatives from the Coast Miwok tribe. It was in discussion about this project that staff suggested that engagement with indigenous groups at Golden Gate was happening more in practice than in policy documents, and on a project-by-project basis.

Therefore, it appears that while Golden Gate is working to ensure that its policy and management practices are inclusive of its local Native American communities (just as Golden Gate is recognised as being the result of a progressively open US National Park Service system), there appears to be a disconnection between the way that Golden Gate staff consider indigenous heritage and the way that local Native American communities consider their cultural/heritage relationships with the park. Yet it was not only Native American cultural/social values which were not being obviously recognised. Interviews with Golden Gate staff revealed that they considered the focus of their work to be managing the physical remnants of the past as cultural and natural resources, and as such there was little discussion around people's present day values and connections to the park. This lead me to question what had created the perception that the cultural/social values of Golden Gate as an urban park are different to/lesser than those of a more remote protected area, such as Yosemite National Park?

This section has provided a glimpse into some of the major forces affecting the way that Golden Gate is being managed, and more specifically how these forces are influencing the cultural landscapes approach that is being employed there. Key environmental forces

include Golden Gate's 'new age' underpinnings resulting from the park's establishment in 1972, which promotes people being a part of the park, and as a result we see that people are in fact living in areas like the Presidio. Yet these 'new age' underpinnings largely ignore the ways that people living closely with Golden Gate are continuing to interact with the park. It appeared as if the management focus at Golden Gate is about people relating to what already exists there—the historic buildings and infrastructure, more so than thinking of these people as contributing to the changing environment, and being a part of a living growing Golden Gate. The high proportion of historic buildings and structures, the complicated relationships with Native American groups, and the uncertain status of cultural/social values relative to the park's natural and built heritage resources—all of these factors thread their way into the analysis of the management policies that will be discussed in the next part of this chapter.

Cultural landscapes in policy

Cultural landscapes are recognised as one of five resource types under 'Cultural Resource Management' within the US National Park Service's *Management Policies 2006*. The other resource types are archaeological resources, ethnographic resources, historic and prehistoric structures, and museum management. According to Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick (2000) cultural landscapes were first recognised by the US National Park Service in 1981 as part of a programme to develop policy documents on the concept and expand its existing cultural resource management programme. The 1984 *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System* was a key initial policy document which investigated methods for the identification and evaluation of rural historic districts. In 1990, the *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* revised the 1984 policy document, contributing updates such as the development of 'landscape characteristics' to assist with evaluations (National Park Service U.S Department of the Interior nd). Additional policy initiatives such as the 1994 *Preservation Briefs No. 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes*, popularised the US National Park Service definition of a cultural landscape, outlining it as:

> A geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values. There are four general types of cultural landscapes, not mutually exclusive: *historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes* (Birnbaum 1994, p. 1 author's emphasis).

The dominance of the 'historic' immediately stands out in the above definition, with three of the four types of cultural landscape being a kind of 'historic' landscape. Birnbaum (1994, p. 10) contends that 'an understanding of the landscape as a continuum through history is critical in assessing its cultural and historic value.' This historic focus is also due to the cultural resource type of cultural landscapes being developed to work in with the already existing American National Register of Historic Places programme. Also prominent, is the development of a suite of technical terms to define what makes up a cultural landscape. In 1996 *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* introduced 'organizational elements' and 'character-defining features' as further techniques, alongside the more well-recognised 'landscape characteristics', for the management of cultural landscapes (Page, Gilbert & Dolan 1998). When I spoke with staff at Golden Gate in relation to my confusion around the different cultural landscapes terminology, they explained that 'landscape characteristics' were the major tool currently being used:

> The characteristics are just a way to put things in buckets. Obviously things cross over, for example a 'circulation feature' also establishes the 'spatial organisation'. But it's clearer to just identify things by their characteristics, by their most prevalent characteristic. It's an organisational method to think about and explain things.

However, in perhaps alluding to the density of the different components of the cultural landscapes policies employed by the US National Park Service, a staff member revealed that she keeps her 'Overview of Landscape Characteristics' 'cheat sheet' close by to assist her in applying the correct lexicon. Stephanie Toothman, Associate Director of Cultural Resources and Science for the US National Park Service, revealed at the 2013 George Wright Society conference (through a report read on her behalf) how the organisation is grappling with the challenges of cultural landscapes. Toothman (2013, no page) noted that 'while the designed landscapes were a relatively easy concept for our managers and constituencies to recognize, the vernacular and ethnographic concepts were not, and continue to pose a challenge.' Toothman (2013, no page) explained that in relation to ethnographic landscapes, 'the consultation skills and the research necessary to manage the resources associated with these communities and their values have not always been highly valued in our managerial ranks.'

So how do the broader US National Park Service policies on cultural landscapes translate into the more localised management policies for Golden Gate? The *Alcatraz Island National*

Historic Landmark Cultural Landscape Report employs 'landscape characteristics' as a way of dividing up the different parts of Alcatraz Island. For example, there are the 'spatial arrangements', 'historic buildings', 'historic structures', and 'historic small-scale features' landscape characteristics of Alcatraz, which are all considered separately, and distinguished from 'archaeological features' 'vegetation' and 'natural systems' (Bishop & National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2010). At Fort Mason, cultural landscapes are applied to identify the significance of a group of resources, with the report noting that 'the collection of military structures on site dating from between 1850s through the 1950s illustrates the evolution of landscape planning and architecture over a one hundred year period. While many of the individual structures are locally significant, as a collection their significance extends to the national level' (Hoke & Foulds 2004, pp. 1-2).

An intriguing point is that not one of the Cultural Landscape Reports (CLRs) available online for Golden Gate employs the landscape characteristic of 'cultural traditions'. 'Cultural traditions' is the only landscape characteristic which has a social/cultural values focus, although it is not made explicit as to what this characteristic encompasses away from the tangible, and whether it applies to both indigenous and settler heritage values. The US National Park Service defines 'cultural traditions' as 'the practices that influence the development of a landscape in terms of land use, patterns or land division, building forms, stylistic preferences, and the use of materials' (National Park Service U.S Department of the Interior nd, p. 8). The absence of the use of the 'cultural traditions' landscape characteristic at Golden Gate leads me to question whether this implies that the US National Park Service considers that 'cultural traditions' are not present in urban areas. Or is it that Golden Gate's recent creation in 1972 means that this is not considered a long enough amount of time for 'cultural traditions' to have evolved? Or is it because US National Park Service staff are not trained in the skills necessary to recognise cultural/social values (as Toothman observed), and so the landscape characteristic of cultural traditions is frequently overlooked? A member of staff explained:

> We have this list in the Cultural Landscape Reports that have all these landscape characteristics, so I run through all of those, and they include natural systems and features, spatial organisation, circulation, land use patterns, and there is one that speaks to cultural values—'cultural traditions' is how we talk about it—so that's certainly something that is fuzzier than the others.

The social term 'feeling' is used in the *Cultural Landscape Report for Fort Mason* in relation to 'a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period' (Hoke &

Foulds 2004, p. 214), yet this does not appear to be used in relation to connections to Fort Mason expressed by any social groups. Even the recent 2013 cultural landscapes reporting on the Golden Gate Dairy (Lopes Brothers Dairy, Ranch M) in Marin County does not contain the 'cultural traditions' characteristic, nor any discussion of the nearby Coast Miwok area of significance at Muir Beach. Coast Miwok heritage values are restricted to being part of the 'Archaeological Assessment and Treatment Report (AATR)' component, where they exist only as 'prehistoric or post-contact archaeological sites' (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2013a, p. 97).

Figure 19: Muir Beach, Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Photo by Karen Astwood

Cultural landscapes: from policy into practice

The previous section has made clear how the cultural landscapes management policies developed by the US National Park Service are dominated by guidance on how to manage the physical form of an assembly of cultural resources. The policy reports organise cultural landscapes into 'landscape characteristics' which recognise mainly visible, tangible aspects of landscapes. In addition, the US National Park Service considers cultural landscapes relative to historical significance, which means that certain landscape characteristics are promoted over others if they are identified as being connected to particular periods of

time. There appeared to be little recognition of how people today are adding to the historic significance of the historic structures of Golden Gate, and therefore little recognition of people's continued social values relating to the park.

The existence of a 'historic cultural landscapes approach' at Golden Gate was further emphasised when interviewees were asked about how they use cultural landscapes in their work:

> I would say we use 'historic landscape' maybe a little more than 'cultural landscape'. For me the difference with the 'historic landscape' is they're going for a certain period of time. So for out at Fort Cronkhite it's the WWII cantonment—they are trying to preserve that era... My impression of a 'cultural landscape' is that it is much more of the layers, and that you can identify a whole bunch of different periods of significance within it... It seems like the historic landscape is a little more restricted, or maybe prescriptive.

Interview responses intimated that the 'nature' of Golden Gate, with its extensive collection of built structures, supported the historic approach to cultural landscape management. When a staff member brought up the idea of 'sense of place' and people's connection to place, the discussion was in relation to his explanation of what he does in his job, and it appeared to be separate from our discussions on cultural landscapes. The staff member explained: 'there's something about a place that is powerful above and beyond facts or alleged facts… To interpret the National Park Service places is to try and connect people to that building, or that cell, or that rock, and it is going to differ depending on the person.' When I questioned another Golden Gate staff member about how they use cultural landscapes in their work, they said:

> When you say cultural landscape use at work, I immediately think, well do we have a cultural landscape report that we can refer to? That is the academic summary basically of whatever we know about the cultural history of that site and what features are significant, what features we should preserve, what the character is, what the feeling of the place might be, to looking at the specifics…

The Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) is described as the principal treatment document for cultural landscapes and the primary tool for the long-term management of cultural landscapes in the national park system (Page, Gilbert & Dolan 1998). From what I could tell, these documents were central to the US National Park Service's cultural landscapes approach, and that park staff were expected to follow these documents, even though many of them appeared to have little to no training in cultural landscapes. The sometimes uneasy

relationship that exists between the technical CLR and its practical application by operational park staff at Golden Gate was also made clear:

> We pay a lot of money to have these cultural landscape reports developed and it's not uncommon that we get them completed and then find out just operationally, that there are things in the cultural landscape report that aren't being followed for whatever reason… the expectation in my mind is high that people will have considered these [CLRs] because along the way in the creation of them, we invite everybody in—we invite the maintenance folks, we invite the natural resource folks. Everyone is invited to participate and comment on the cultural landscape reports. Unfortunately everyone is so taxed that we don't often get a ton of buy-in, we don't often get a lot of staff members showing up at those kick off meetings…

Another staff member recognised that CLRs were 'being used sometimes robustly, and sometimes they sit on the shelf.' And there was discussion around how policy-oriented staff and the more operational staff have different relationships with the CLRs, with a policy staff member noting:

> My ideal is that they [operational staff] would have read through the report; I don't know when they would even have time to do that quite frankly, but that they understand the gist of what it means. Then if they come into a situation that is unusual I would expect that they would take a minute to thumb through the report and see if there is something in it.

Yet the size of some of the CLRs was a further issue. For example, the Alcatraz Island CLR is apparently 'four inches thick', and policy staff recognise that operational staff are not necessarily going to look through the whole report. The operational staff interviewed agreed that while CLRs were useful, they also said that they found the size of some of the policy reports daunting. One staff member offered 'I bet you won't find a single person on this island that's read them all, in fact I'm sure you won't find a single person that's read them all.' The staff member continued by noting 'I always try to at least read the summaries of all those reports, just to get the gist of it. And if there's something there that gets my attention I'll dig down…'

Consequently, when it comes to cultural landscapes in practice, there appeared to be a disconnection between the operational and non-operational staff, between those who were trained in cultural landscapes who led the development of the cultural landscapes reporting, and those who received the reporting (who did not appear to have training in what it meant to practically apply the reporting, yet who were expected to operationalise the CLR. While the staff responsible for initiating the CLRs suggested that operational staff

were given plenty of opportunity to be involved in the CLR development process, the operational staff intimated that they played only a peripheral role in the creation of these CLRs for the locations that they worked at. Operational staff said that they were given the opportunity to be involved in meetings at the beginning of the process, or as peer review at the completion. It was also put forward that the more 'naturally' focussed staff viewed CLRs as primarily cultural resource documents in which their engagement was really only limited to peer review and not so much in the use of these guidance documents. One operational staff member noted, 'there's a lot of government documents that have things that academics maybe know what they mean, but when it gets down to us in the field, there may not be an awareness.'

The ideas behind the policy and practice

Nevertheless, while staff struggled with operationalising the cultural landscape reporting, when asked what they thought a landscape contained, it was quickly apparent that the majority of responses were in line with the tone of the US National Park Service's policy on cultural landscapes. Even the staff who were the least enthusiastic about cultural landscapes offered ideas that signalled that they had some awareness of how the concept of cultural landscapes was being used by the US National Park Service in policies and practices. For example, when asked what they thought a landscape contained, a staff member noted 'I would say a landscape contains the physical features, like the combination of the soil and the vegetation and any kind of built, man-made features, and then I would consider the view and the orientation to be part of it.' Layers of activity were also included in staff descriptions of what a landscape contains: 'I think of it from the ground up, the geologic underlying, layering on the anthropomorphic changes and the vegetation building up all of the layers, including the sounds, the smells, the sights, the night skies.' A potential explanation for the easy grasp of landscape, could again be that these staff have an awareness of the latest theories in conservation biology, such as 'connectivity conservation', yet others returned to the historic values:

> Landscape has a variety of meanings for people, but I think for us, for me, it's a holistic look at everything that's out there, from the viewshed to the site specific physical details. It's a sense of the natural environment blended with the human impact and the changes that occur because of that blending over time. It's how it has turned out now, as a snapshot in time; it's like a still in a motion picture that has frames that have come behind us, and we know it's going to evolve further in the future. I really think of all of our parks as landscapes… The cultural landscape is

> a landscape that has significant historic values, that has been clearly influenced by people…

Diane Lea (2003, p. 1) suggests that 'historic preservation has flowered and endured in the United States because the very concept incorporates some of this nation's most profoundly defining ideals.' Lea (2003) details how historic preservation is couched in ideas of 'a common heritage for all', that it has grown out of American interest in memorialising the heroes of the Revolutionary War, and that it started with such groups as the Mount Vernon Ladies Association with historic house museums, and with the outdoor museum villages in places like Colonial Williamsburg. The supremacy of buildings is key, with historic preservation widely recognised as being about cherishing the tangible historic and architectural heritage, and in some respects closing these items off to current processes, making them a museum artefact, or a beautiful piece of art. To evidence the role that the tangible plays in historic preservation, Robert E Stipe (2003, p. xiii) details a list of seven reasons why historic preservation is important, beginning with: 'we seek to preserve our heritage because our historic resources are all that physically link us to our past.' King (2003, 2011) adds to Stipe's dialogue by suggesting that government-sponsored historic preservation in the United States, and in other settler societies, has its roots in European common law's preference for scheduling/listing/registering. King argues that the central weakness of the formal recognition of historic places on some kind of list, situates these places within an authoritative context, where judgements are made by a select few, and where strict criteria and procedures are established creating bureaucratic structures—with all of this happening without much interface with the communities who wish to sustain the heritage in the first place. King (2011, p. 21) outlines how the United States National Register of Historic Places describes itself as 'the Nation's official list of cultural resources worthy of preservation,' and how this description suggests that one need only check the register to find out what is 'worthy'. Having the National Register at the heart of the US National Park Service's cultural resource management programme, suggests that those places which do not meet the strict scheduling criteria might not receive the same amount of attention for management as those which do. Stipe (2003, p. xv) warns that 'if preservation is not to fall into the black hole of total irrelevance … we must look beyond our traditional preoccupation with architecture and history, and beyond our elitist intellectual and aesthetic mind set.' Stipe suggests that our contemporary circumstances require that 'we must turn our preservation energies to a broader, more constructive and inclusive social purpose.'

American cultural landscapes commentator, Robert Melnick (2000), outlines why people struggle with understanding and preserving cultural landscapes in contrast with preserving buildings and structures, and how the official cultural landscapes lexicon can contribute to this misunderstanding:

> Indeed, the technical language used in cultural landscape preservation—especially in the documents prepared by government agencies and organizations—often poses problems, since many terms and definitions are borrowed directly from architectural preservation. In addition, the very concept of cultural landscape preservation may sound like an oxymoron to some people; because cultural landscapes are composed of natural elements that grow, mature, erode, move, die, and revive once again, how can they possibly be preserved? (Melnick 2000, p. 3)

Melnick (2008, p. 199) explains in a later publication that landscapes are inherently personal, and that he is 'personally troubled, yet professionally gratified, when we codify our love of landscape, when we insist on legislating the care that we have for such places.' Melnick's internal conflict over the codification of cultural landscapes, and his comments that 'we have imposed a landscape understanding that does not coincide with broader societal views', suggest that the way that the US National Park Service employs cultural landscapes for heritage management might require some rethinking (Melnick 2008, p. 200). Melnick contends that we need to inject more of the personal into our embrace of cultural landscapes. He also suggests that any broadening of ideas on historic preservation needs to engage with multiple pasts, and move away from ideas of absolute historic time.

In a recent cultural landscapes paper with Nora Mitchell, Melnick (2012) advances a future for cultural landscapes more in tune with the local, and where the US National Park Service might not need to have such a central role in the management of cultural landscapes. Melnick and Mitchell (2012, p. 239) suggest that 'the conservation strategies' of the designation of National Heritage Areas (NHAs) might be more suitable to recognise cultural landscapes as they 'are locally based, employing both traditional and innovative management systems and governance that enables them to work across jurisdictional boundaries and multiple ownerships.' While acknowledging the formative role the US National Park Service has had in the development of cultural landscapes for heritage management in the United States, Melnick and Mitchell discuss how it is the local people who value cultural landscapes, intimating that the future of cultural landscapes is with these people. According to the 'Heritage Areas 101' information sheet published by the US National Park Service, National Heritage Areas (NHAs) are:

> Designed by Congress as places where natural, cultural, and historic resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally important landscape. Through their resources, NHAs tell nationally important stories that celebrate our nation's diverse heritage. NHAs are lived-in landscapes. Consequently, NHAs entities collaborate with communities to determine how to make heritage relevant to local interests and needs. (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior nd-b)

NHAs are not national park units, and therefore, the kinds of social and cultural values which come together in NHAs are not necessarily based on the historic significance of the landscape and its special characteristics—the components which appear to be so central to the US National Park Service's cultural landscape programme. Eugster (2003, p. 50) suggests that as the numbers of NHAs increase (there are currently around 50), the American public is becoming more vocal and insistent on taking a central role in the management of their heritage, so that the heritage approach being followed is 'much more than historic preservation and cultural resource conservation.' Brenda Barrett (2002, p. 8) draws attention to how NHAs may include many features of everyday life that the National Register of Historic Places programme would identify as being intrusive, such as shopping malls or industrial parks, for example. Therefore, while the US National Park Service has been a proficient producer of cultural landscapes policies directing the ways that cultural landscapes are considered and employed for heritage management in the United States, a shift is occurring which promotes an alternative, more localised, cultural landscapes approach, which recognises social values as being just as important as historic values.

Conclusion

This section has outlined how the US National Park Service is engaging with cultural landscapes for heritage management at Golden Gate. It has illustrated how cultural landscapes are applied from the perspective of managing 'cultural resources', more so than managing 'cultural or social values'. Cultural landscapes are viewed as being made up of a collection of 'landscape characteristics' which, when grouped together, give a landscape its 'historic character'. Landscape characteristics range from large-scale patterns and relationships, to site details and materials, so that the different characteristics might provide an organised structure for reporting on heritage values. Yet what this section has also made clear is that while landscape characteristics act as useful organising tools, they essentially repackage a compartmentalised approach, where different heritage values are considered separately. In addition, the cultural landscapes approach promoted by the US National Park Service requires someone trained in cultural resource management with the ability to decipher the different nuances of the landscape characteristics set out in CLRs.

This approach essentially excludes all who are not trained in these methods—and perhaps most pointedly, it omits the involvement of communities who have connections with the cultural landscapes of Golden Gate.

The numerous policy documents and exacting terminology developed by the US National Park Service for cultural landscapes are also grounded in historic preservation, which sets up further restrictions. The most obvious limitations are the divisions that a historic preservationist framing set in place, in firstly, locating cultural landscapes at a distance from the natural resource management team of the US National Park Service, and secondly, in locking the cultural landscape off to a historic past, detached from present day. Cultural landscapes within the US National Park Service can also typically be cast to fit the already established scheduling criteria of the American National Register of Historic Places. This design essentially acts to constrain any opportunities for innovation in the way that the US National Park Service employs cultural landscapes for heritage management.

Therefore, the strong influence of historic preservation generates a 'historic cultural landscapes approach' for Golden Gate that is grounded in the requirement to protect and preserve cultural resources as monuments of the past. This style of thinking can create ruptures in the historical narrative as noted above, and it can also highlight certain moments in time over others. An approach like this also sits a little uncomfortably when, as a 'national recreation area', Golden Gate has been a part of the movement to expand the US National Park Service's mission to encompass more complex landscapes and partnerships. The NHA movement is growing in scope and popularity, and perhaps its successes are couched in its existence on the periphery of the US National Park Service mandate where it is not restricted by the federal systems that the US National Park Service is required by law to follow. Any future efforts to include greater promotion of social and cultural values within the cultural landscapes approaches of the US National Park Service might require new policies, or perhaps the course of action might be to not develop any more policies, but to open up the existing controls to accommodate the more esoteric heritage values recognised by the people and communities who have connections to the parks.

Part II Section Three: Rouge National Urban Park, Toronto

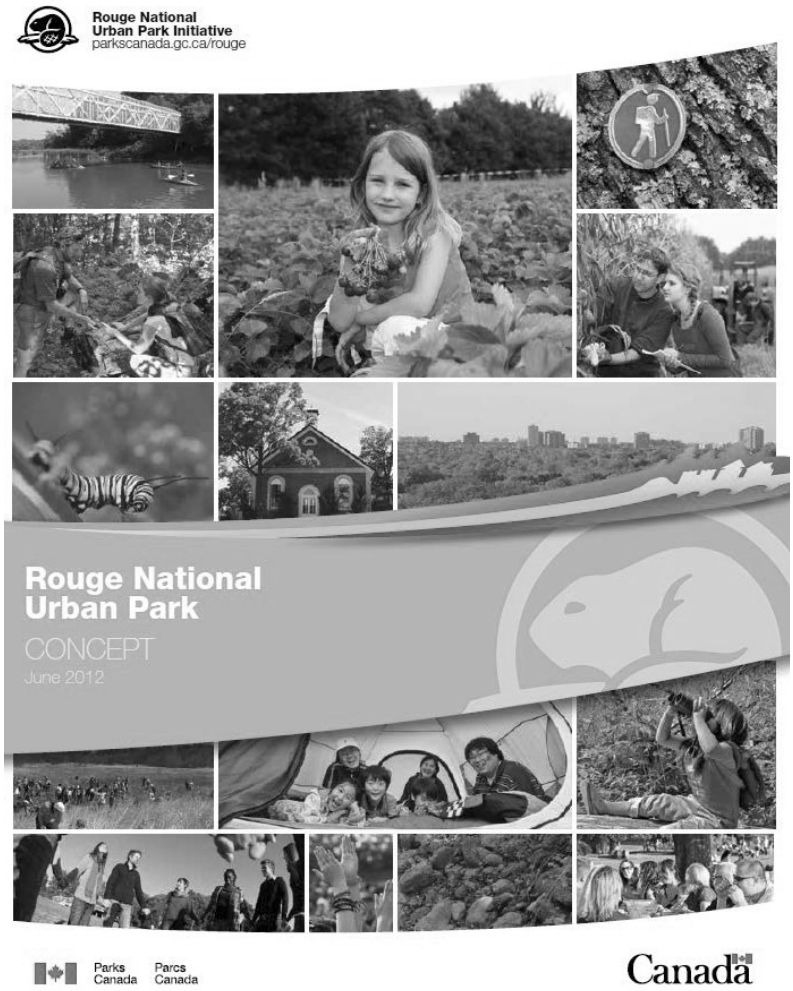

Figure 20: A new type of protected area for Parks Canada

In June 2011, the Government of Canada announced its commitment to work towards the creation of 'Rouge National Urban Park' (the Rouge), under the stewardship of Parks Canada (Parks Canada 2012). The new initiative enlarges the portfolio of protected areas managed by Parks Canada, with the Rouge to sit alongside the three typologies of national parks, national historic sites, and national marine conservation areas already in existence. This section begins by describing the 'environment' of the Rouge, detailing the major forces that are shaping a cultural landscapes approach for the park. Because the Rouge is such a new initiative, there is currently little established management policies or practices, which means that the park does not have all of the components—the ideas, policies and practices—required to generate what this research project contends is a 'cultural landscapes approach'. At the time of my field work, management policies were still being

written, staff were still being employed, and the legislation to enable/enact the Rouge was still being finalised. Nevertheless, I consider that what is currently transpiring at the Rouge ushers in an era of innovative change for Parks Canada when it comes to engagement with cultural landscapes for heritage management. Therefore I have spent time situating this case study within the wider Parks Canada discourse on cultural landscapes, while highlighting what I think the Rouge will bring to Parks Canada's current usage of the term. I had the opportunity to speak with a small group of staff at the new headquarters of the Rouge in Toronto in April 2013, and this discussion is supplemented with the interview responses of staff from the Cultural Resources Division and Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat based out of Parks Canada's national office in Gatineau, Quebec.[19] The findings of my review of the management policy documents and interviews with Parks Canada staff on how they go about their jobs, tempered with the conclusions from my Australian and American case studies, have assisted me to propose an interpretation of the kind of cultural landscapes approach which I see developing at the Rouge.

The 'environment' of Rouge

> Rouge National Urban Park celebrates and protects, for current and future generations a diverse landscape in Canada's largest metropolitan area. Linking Lake Ontario with the Oak Ridges Moraine, the park offers engaging and varied experiences, inspires personal connections to its natural beauty and rich history, promotes a vibrant farming community, and encourages us to discover Canada's national treasured places. (Parks Canada 2012, p. 6)

The Rouge is being developed out of an existing municipal park. The former 'Rouge Park' is located in the watersheds of the Rouge River, and Petticoat and Duffins Creeks, in the eastern sector of the Greater Toronto Area. Measuring 47km^2 (4700 hectares), the park was created by the Ontario Government in response to public concerns about the protection of the Rouge River valley in 1994 (Rouge Park 2010). A group of community partners, including representatives from the Government of Canada, the Province of Ontario, the regions, towns and cities of the area, along with organisations such as the Toronto and Region Conservation Authority, and Save the Rouge Valley System, came together as the Rouge Park Alliance (the Alliance) to manage Rouge Park. Yet while the Alliance was established as

[19] All discussions with Parks Canada staff quoted within this chapter were with ten staff from the Cultural Resources Division and Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat based out of the Parks Canada National Office in Gatineau, Quebec, and Rouge National Urban Park in Toronto, between 5 - 11 April 2013. The majority of interviews were approximately 25 minutes in length, with longer interviews being undertaken with staff at Rouge National Urban Park.

a direct result of 'the enthusiasm of the champions of the park', the group was originally created to provide only temporary leadership, and as such, it lacked the structure and direction of a more permanent organisation (StrategyCorp Hemson Consulting 2010). A 2010 review of the park's governance, organisation and financial structure concluded that a new model was required to give the park stronger leadership and accountability (Parks Canada 2012, p. 5).

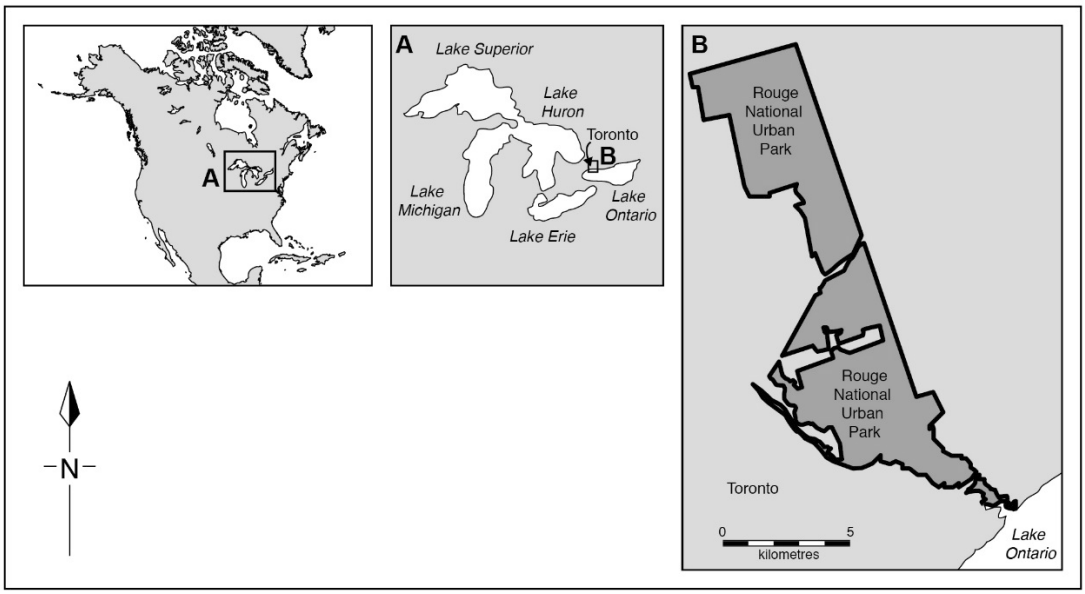

Figure 21: Locating Rouge National Urban Park in Toronto, Canada. Map by Jeremy Rolfe

Parks Canada was invited to take over leadership of the Rouge, with the June 2011 'Speech from the Throne' making public the Government of Canada's commitment to work towards the creation of a national urban park in the Rouge valley. As part of their wish to turn the municipal park into a federal initiative, Parks Canada explained that they were looking to maintain and enhance the current visitor experience, while investigating additional compatible experiences and third party collaboration to meaningfully reach Canada's growing and increasingly diverse urban populations (Parks Canada 2012). As part of their commitment to being inclusive, Parks Canada is working to establish a First Nations Council to 'provide advice and input on the planning and management' of the park and to 'ensure that the views of First Nations continue to inform our processes' (Parks Canada 2012, p. 14). Parks Canada staff explained that the partners of the Alliance continue to work with them in the visioning of the new park concept, and they will be a part of the strategic management plan and future governance of the park in its new form. This is despite the Alliance officially ceasing to exist at the end of July 2012, and the Toronto and Region

Conservation Authority taking over the responsibility for the day-to-day operation of Rouge Park while the park transitions into the care of Parks Canada. What is interesting about Parks Canada's handling of the creation of the (new) Rouge is that a park superintendent was installed very early on in the process, prior to the finalisation of the park's extended footprint (the park will grow from 4700 to 5500 hectares). Staff explained to me that this was done in order to confirm that Parks Canada was serious about the position that this new type of park is to occupy within its portfolio of protected areas. Parks Canada also made the symbolic selection of the superintendent of Canada's oldest national park to take on the role of superintendent of Canada's first national urban park. Furthermore, it was explained to me that the early presence of a park superintendent was also about signalling that Parks Canada recognised that relationship-building was central to the new initiative.

Staff described the Rouge as 'out of the ordinary', in comparison with the 'traditional' approach that Parks Canada usually follows during the creation of a national park. At the Rouge, Parks Canada is working with seven governments and ten First Nations, with staff suggesting that this was in contrast to 'one province or territory, and maybe one First Nation', as was normally the case with the creation of a national park. The Rouge was also being established within a shorter time frame than the normal five years taken for the creation of a national park. A Rouge staff member was of the opinion that:

> We're kind of taking the normal Parks Canada model and tailoring it to the Rouge. That's something that's great about a new initiative—is that we can create the structure and the practices, the policies, and the standards that work for this new entity known as the national urban park.

Parks Canada recognises the need for a brand new entity to cater to the 'urban setting and unique requirements, of the Rouge, providing flexibility to accommodate a variety of land and adjacent urban uses' (Parks Canada 2012, p. 5). Staff continued their explanation by noting that:

> …Canada's *National Parks Act* requires the first priority to be on maintenance, or restoration of ecological integrity. In an urban setting with an already much disturbed landscape with huge infrastructure: roads, utility corridors, communications corridors all running through the park—dealing with those, the extent of which, would not have been able to be done under the current *National Parks Act*… Normally we restrict where those [infrastructure] are—we wouldn't have them criss-crossing a park. But they already exist here, and if we're going to put this park together, we need flexibility.

In terms of the kinds of heritage values that exist in the park, the Rouge is regarded as 'ecologically significant' due its location on the eastern edge of the Carolinian Forest Zone, an ecologically significant area covering less than 1% of Canada. The Rouge is also 'home to 760 plant species, 225 bird species, 55 species of fish, 27 mammal species and 19 species of reptiles and amphibians' (Parks Canada 2012, p. 9). Yet the Parks Canada staff at the Rouge qualified that while the health of the park and the protection of natural resources is one of the park's four main goals, a strict focus on 'ecological integrity' was not the main priority of the new initiative. Other heritage values at the Rouge are related to 'a 17th century Seneca village, an associated burial area, and an Archaic period campsite dating from roughly 3000 BCE' (Parks Canada 2012, p. 11). There are portage routes connecting the different rivers, and also heritage farmsteads and ongoing agricultural use, which tell of centuries of land cultivation. Parks Canada staff at the Rouge highlighted that in managing the diverse heritage values of the park 'there is also the idea that we wanted to be different, we wanted to be recognisably different as a sign of coming into the place where 20 per cent of the Canadian population live.' And they continued to reference why the Rouge needed to be different in its management approach throughout our discussions, noting that '80 per cent of the Canadian population lives in urban centres now, and yet for the most part the places that Parks Canada run and operate are far from urban areas.' The Parks Canada staff at the Rouge also drew my attention to the large Chinese and Southeast Asian communities bordering the park, and how these populations were not part of the 'traditional' Parks Canada demographic. And it was noted that Parks Canada's protected areas were being visited by only a small percentage of Canadians: 'we're actually relying right now on 18 per cent of the Canadian population, only 18 per cent as our traditional parks visitors. So that requires a non-traditional approach…'

Cultural landscapes in Parks Canada policy

The way that Parks Canada engages with the concept of 'cultural landscapes' is influenced by the UNESCO World Heritage usage (Cameron 2010; Public Works and Government Services Canada 2007). Parks Canada defines cultural landscape as: 'any geographical area that has been modified, influenced, or given special cultural meaning by people' (Parks Canada 1994), and the organisation locates under this wide-ranging definition the three World Heritage categories of 'designed by man', 'organically evolved' and 'associative' landscapes (Public Works and Government Services Canada 2007). Yet more than one Parks Canada staff member suggested to me that this broad cultural landscape definition was

initially applied in a westernised manner, and that the framework for national historic sites did not adequately respond to the values of Aboriginal Canadians. So it was undertaken to develop policy around Aboriginal cultural landscapes, with *An Approach to Aboriginal Cultural Landscapes* published in 1999. The report worked to create Canada's version of associative cultural landscapes, with aboriginal cultural landscapes given the following definition:

> An Aboriginal cultural landscape is a place valued by an Aboriginal group (or groups) because of their long and complex relationship with that land. It expresses their unity with the natural and spiritual environment. It embodies their traditional knowledge of spirits, places, land uses, and ecology. Material remains of the association may be prominent, but will often be minimal or absent. (Buggey 1999, p. 30)

What appears to have resulted from this second definition is that while 'Aboriginal cultural landscapes' has gained esteem as a useful tool to articulate a conceptual bridge between Aboriginal world views and western heritage conservation management, at the same time it isolates an Aboriginal cultural landscape as something which is recognised to be different from western or non-Aboriginal cultural landscapes. I suggest that this has led Parks Canada to follow two separate cultural landscapes approaches: one led by settler heritage interests, and one led by indigenous heritage interests; with each of these cultural landscapes approaches evidencing two very different relationships between human activity and the natural environment.

The 'settler version' of cultural landscapes is located within the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (*Standards & Guidelines)*. The *Standards & Guidelines*, initially published in 2003 and now in its second edition, is a policy document that Parks Canada is responsible for, yet which other federal, provincial and territorial partners have also adopted. The policy document is a reference for practical guidance on the protection of the 'character-defining elements' of a historic place. An historic place is defined as 'a structure, building, group of buildings, district, landscape, archaeological site or other place in Canada that has been formally recognized for its heritage value'. The *Standards & Guidelines* set in place the view that the 'heritage value of an historic place is embodied in its character-defining materials, forms, location, spatial configurations, uses and cultural associations or meanings' (A Federal Provincial and Territorial Collaboration 2010, p. 254).

Cultural landscapes is located within the *Standards & Guidelines* as a category of historic place alongside archaeological sites, buildings and engineering works, with the explanation that 'any given historic place may be a mix of these four categories' (A Federal Provincial and Territorial Collaboration 2010, p. 41). A 'think tank' on where 'cultural landscapes' should be located within policy related to national historic site designation in 2007, reveals questioning of whether the 'cultural landscape guidelines' should be placed on a level above the existing categories of historic places, archaeological sites, landscapes, buildings and engineering works, with the report noting:

> From the idea that you begin with the big picture in site planning and design, there was support for moving the section on Cultural Landscape to the beginning of the Guidelines, before Archaeology. However, when it became clear later on that this option would separate the Cultural Landscape Guidelines from the Landscape Guidelines, there was little support from the landscape architects and other conservation professionals in the room. This was viewed as an artificial separation that would not be helpful. (Public Works and Government Services Canada 2007, pp. 5-6)

The meeting was part of the impetus for a revised *Standards & Guidelines* released in 2010 with 'cultural landscapes' replacing the 2003 'landscapes' section. It was suggested that this change was favoured for the sake of clarity and alignment with the UNESCO cultural landscapes categories (Contentworks Inc for Parks Canada 2010). Making the change from 'landscapes' to 'cultural landscapes' also firmed up connections with the terminology that the Canadian provinces and territories were using in their heritage legislation and policies. For example Nova Scotia uses 'cultural landscape' within its *Heritage Property Act 1989*, and the Government of Ontario's 'Provincial Policy Statement 2005' refers to 'cultural heritage landscape'. Ontario employs essentially the same definition as Parks Canada noting that a 'cultural heritage landscape' is 'a defined geographical area of heritage significance which has been modified by human activities and is valued by a community' (Ontario Ministry of Culture 2006). To this it adds that 'a landscape involves a grouping(s) of individual heritage features such as structures, spaces, archaeological sites and natural elements, which together form a *significant* type of heritage form, distinctive from that of its constituent elements or parts' (Ontario Ministry of Culture 2006).

The way that the Government of Ontario appears to treat the cultural landscapes in its policy is as 'an object external to perception but capable of description', which is analogous to the tone of how the *Standards & Guidelines* employs cultural landscapes (Ucko & Layton 1999, p. 2). The *Review of the Proposed New Chapter for Cultural Landscapes* report also

reminds that 'for all historic places, cultural heritage value is connected to a tangible entity with defined boundaries', and that the *Standards & Guidelines* 'seeks to conserve the physical manifestations of practices… not the practices themselves' (Contentworks Inc for Parks Canada 2010, pp. 4, 15). However, at the same time as Parks Canada's *Standards & Guidelines* asserts that it is primarily concerned with the tangible, a Parks Canada staff member from the Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat makes the point that:

> In North America, and I think in other countries also, a lot of the cultural values are built heritage; that is not the concept for indigenous people. The biggest cultural landscape we have is Saoyú-?ehdacho and it's a national historic site. There's actually no built heritage on the site, there might be tent rings, there might be food caches and things like that, but it's not a building. So I think for western people to understand what the concept of culture, and expressions of culture on the land, and what it means, I think that's where the cultural landscape theory came from.

While this interpretation refers to buildings and tent rings, you get the feeling that the tangible is not the primary focus of what this respondent means by cultural landscape here. In fact, this interview response brings to the fore how it is unclear whether the *Standards & Guidelines* apply to Aboriginal heritage values in addition to the more obvious settler heritage focus. The policy document has guidelines referring to 'evidence of traditional practices', which gives the impression that Aboriginal heritage might be considered within this section. However, the specially developed 'Aboriginal cultural landscapes' definition does not feature within the document's glossary, when the broad Parks Canada definition of 'cultural landscapes' does. I found there was some discussion within the 2010 *Standards & Guidelines* review document around if 'evidence of traditional practices' 'is the guideline that is intended to be crafted to embrace Aboriginal engagement with the land, then some more specific guidance needs to be crafted around that intention' (Contentworks Inc for Parks Canada 2010, pp. 16-7). There is a comment in the 2010 review document that 'with respect of Aboriginal cultural landscapes, use is overtaken by land claims and other agreements that trump policy instruments' (Contentworks Inc for Parks Canada 2010, p. 14). Perhaps this means that there is the expectation that Aboriginal heritage will be taken care of elsewhere? It is surprising that this is the case, when it was the lack of Aboriginal heritage 'historic places' which inspired the work on 'Aboriginal cultural landscapes' in the first place. Susan Buggey (1999, p. 1) explains in her well-known report that 'in November 1997 the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) requested '…an appropriate framework to assist in determining the national designation of [sites related to Aboriginal peoples], a sector of Canadian society whose history does not conform to the

traditional definition of national significance as used by the Board.'' By the end of the report Buggey concludes that:

> Aboriginal cultural landscapes are a way of approaching Aboriginal history that both relates to the HSMBC mandate and focusses upon the complex relationship that Aboriginal people have with the land. They are not relicts but living landscapes… Examination to date has shown that Aboriginal cultural landscapes are primarily associative cultural landscapes. Consideration of national significance must address the holistic relationship to the land of the people(s) long associated with it. (Buggey 1999, p. 36)

Just as a reminder, 'associative cultural landscapes', according to *The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* definition, is 'the inscription of such landscapes on the World Heritage List… justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent' (UNESCO 2013). This again underscores the relative incompatibility of this definition with the pan-Canadian *Standards & Guidelines*, yet it must also be noted here that the *Standards & Guidelines* are for heritage places which are already designated by some level of Canadian government, and it is noted that 'one of the strengths of the Parks Canada definition is that it does not limit the term to designated places only' (Public Works and Government Services Canada 2007, p. 4). This kind of reference is slightly obscure in that it suggests that Parks Canada takes a wider approach to cultural landscapes which are not listed, or in other words are not formally recognised.

In further unpacking the pan-Canadian *Standards & Guidelines*, the 2007 cultural landscapes 'think tank' report submits that the *Standards & Guidelines* are 'less prescriptive than its American counterpart', with the report suggesting that this means that the policy document 'is less frozen in time' (Public Works and Government Services Canada 2007, p. 1). Yet, to me, the Canadian *Standards & Guidelines* policy with its 'settler version' of cultural landscapes appears to be very similar to the US National Parks Service policy with its 'landscape characteristics'. The Canadian *Standards & Guidelines* have 'character-defining elements', which appear to separate out the various components of a landscape, so that the idea of cultural landscapes is not so much about examining how diverse heritage values come together as it is about grouping together collections of related heritage items. This point is backed up by comments from one of the Parks Canada staff members, who suggests that Parks Canada policy largely considers cultural landscapes from:

> A built, historic architect, building perspective—that's it. So now they're jumping onto the cultural landscape thing and what they're doing with the cultural landscape is they're now looking at the building, plus the outbuildings, plus the street and its position and space, and then trying to interpret it again.

In contrast this staff member suggested that for a cultural landscape:

> What you actually have is an interaction between people and their environment and it shapes them both; and it has to be that interaction. So is a historic district an actual cultural landscape? From my opinion I would say no—it's manufactured…

Therefore, if the settler-led cultural landscapes approach explained above 'treats landscape as an object external to perception but capable of description', in that a cultural landscape is viewed from a vantage point where heritage value is determined by the collection of leftover tangible remains, then the second cultural landscapes approach I will discuss below is more of 'an expression of an idea...' (Ucko & Layton 1999, p. 2). Using this fracturing of cultural landscapes, set out by Robert Layton and Peter J Ucko, I suggest that a second version of a cultural landscapes approach exists within Parks Canada, which is grounded in cultural landscapes as an overarching idea, where heritage is considered to be more of an integrated phenomenon, and not so determined by the tangible. Susan Buggey and Thomas Andrews assist me in setting up the context around this assertion with their view that:

> While the policies of Parks Canada and many provinces focus on the material attributes of a site, Aboriginal groups often see the land—evolved over space and time, as mapped by traditional knowledge—constituting the primary physical expression of cultural value and seek to have oral narratives, language and traditional practices associated with the land recognized as aspects of the landscape that must be maintained to ensure authenticity and integrity. (Andrews & Buggey 2012, p. 255)

I suggest that this 'indigenous version' of a cultural landscapes approach is being applied outside of the frameworks set in place by the national historic site process and the *Standards & Guidelines* policy. Buggey and Andrew's words are useful here also, in their explanation that:

> Aboriginal people have started to use cultural landscape, a Western concept, in advancing their own interests in protecting traditional lands from development pressures. This new approach to an old issue—competing interests in land rights—indicates how Aboriginal societies are turning the tables as it were, using concepts foreign to their own worldview to explain their position in land use planning and environmental assessment. (Andrews & Buggey 2012, p. 256).

With Buggey and Andrews' words in the back of my mind, staff from the Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat described to me how 'cultural landscape' is being used in conjunction with national park designation. When I analysed the policy, I found that 'cultural landscape' was being used directly in national park management plans. Torngat National Park is 'Canada's 42nd and newest national park, established to protect heritage resources and to provide opportunities for Canadians to connect to the Northern Labrador Mountains natural region—an Inuit homeland' (Parks Canada 2010c, p. 1). The Torngat Mountains National Park of Canada Management Plan utilises 'cultural landscape' as a section heading (closely followed by 'natural landscape' as the next heading), to describe that Inuit still maintain strong connections with the park area, and that they continue to journey to the Torngat Mountains region to hunt and fish. This usage of cultural landscape is heavily determined by local circumstances, yet it has an openness about it. Most obviously, cultural landscape here is simply used as an idea not controlled by any frameworks. It is current, without restrictions to a heritage of the past.

The way that cultural landscapes figure in the Torngat management policy has been heavily informed by the cultural landscapes recognition of Kejimkujik National Park, which is also designated as a national historic site. The Parks Canada website explains that in 1994, the Mi'kmaq First Nation, along with Parks Canada, made a submission to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada recommending that Kejimkujik National Park be designated as a national historic site of Canada (Parks Canada 2010a). The submission appears to have resulted from the national park designation of Kejimkujik focussing primarily on the ecological values of the park, with the cultural values of the Mi'kmaq not receiving the same weighting when it came to management. Back in 1994, national historic site designation, with its new category of cultural landscape, may have been the only way that the cultural could be acknowledged with the 'natural' national park. This is in contrast to the more recent Torngat National Park established in 2010, where the cultural was acknowledged as existing alongside the natural prior to the national park's creation. Buggey (1999, p. 22) provides the added detail that 'when the petroglyphs of Kejimkujik National Park, Nova Scotia, were initially identified for commemoration, they were seen as the primary cultural resources of the park. Consultation with the Mi'kmaq people reoriented the commemorative focus from the single resource type to the whole park area.' This shift, explains Buggey (1999, p. 22), was couched in a 'strong sense of connection between people and place'.

Interestingly, the recently revised 2010 *Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site of Canada Management Plan* does not refer to the park area as a 'cultural landscape'. This is even when the Mi'kmaq 'medicine wheel' for presenting the vision for Kejimkujik puts forward: 'Kejimkujik is a place where nature and culture are respected, intertwined, and inseparable' (Parks Canada 2010b). This absence of 'cultural landscape' suggests that reference to the terminology may not be all that necessary when it is simply stating the obvious, with one of my Parks Canada interviewees from the Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat explaining, 'in Canada, for indigenous people, it does not make any sense for us that we separate the cultural from the natural, so for us everything is a landscape in itself.'

Therefore this second 'indigenous-led' Parks Canada cultural landscapes approach is about recognition without having to expressly articulate the umbilical connection that exists between these indigenous groups and their local surroundings. This kind of approach necessitates keeping the policy open, with the expectation that the practice of heritage management will subscribe to the 'feeling' or 'tone' of the connection. Thus it is more about the 'idea' of this connection than any need to quantify the interaction in a tangible way.

When this 'indigenous version' of a cultural landscapes approach is added to the 'settler-driven' approach, it generates some confusion over which cultural landscapes approach applies to which kind of protected area in the Parks Canada portfolio. Staff suggested, 'often we're talking about the noun, but how actively, or how deliberately we're talking about cultural landscape as a management framework varies I think quite a bit.' The uncertainty also generates questions around whether non-indigenous heritage values can also connect to the more 'natural' national parks like the indigenous heritage values can. Nonetheless, I would add that the 'settler' and 'indigenous' cultural landscapes approaches have more in common than this kind of dichotomous relationship suggests, particularly in relation to the intangible connections formed between people and their surroundings. I suggest that no matter which culture you come from, or choose to represent, all people experience connection to their surroundings, and this connection is invariably not so straightforward to articulate. It is just that western heritage management has largely chosen to overlook this aspect of heritage, because it does not fit within the boxes of the colonial cadastral grid that has so far dominated heritage conservation and the wider organisation of settler societies. This point will be discussed further in the closing chapter of

this dissertation, but suffice to say here, that Parks Canada should work on bringing these two different cultural landscapes approaches closer together. I suggest that it is in initiatives like the Rouge where the innovation is to be found on how settler and indigenous cultural landscapes might be considered more closely together.

Cultural landscapes in the emerging policy of the Rouge

The *Rouge National Urban Park Concept* policy document looks to how cultural landscapes is already being employed by the Government of Ontario. Under the heading 'Conserve and celebrate cultural heritage landscapes', the park concept plan states: 'in Ontario, many municipalities have developed inventories and management plans for cultural heritage landscapes, which can be loosely defined as a means for preserving places that have special character and meaning to the community.' Significantly, the park concept plan adds to this established body of local policy, noting that cultural heritage landscapes have a role to play in guiding planning for the future, and also that 'inherent in the idea of cultural heritage landscapes is an understanding that these areas are dynamic and will change' (Parks Canada 2012, pp. 11-2). The concept plan also evidences an all-encompassing integrated approach to the management of the Rouge in the way that it works from four main park goals. Rouge staff explained:

> If you always keep the protection, education and visitor experience of our [Parks Canada] mandate in mind, with the four goals of the Rouge: they are conserving natural heritage, connecting people to nature, supporting a vibrant farming community, and celebrating cultural heritage character, and they are the manifestation of the vision of the Rouge; if you try and keep that in mind, it doesn't mean that sometimes you make a decision that on the surface is solely in support of one goal and not the other three… It's still integration because at every point you are considering all four, but how they come together, and how they affect and influence your decision, is what shifts.

Staff at the Rouge presented how the new park will be working from a management approach that lays out the diverse heritage values together so that informed practical management decisions can be made. And in this discussion, the staff pointed out that their promotion of the Rouge as the 'People's Park' 'does not mean that connecting people to nature takes priority over the other three of the goals… because ultimately it's not the presence of people, it's the need to have people involved, making decisions, becoming stewards and ambassadors, becoming aware and understanding.' In addition, the staff highlighted how they had the room to be able to consider the diverse heritage values of the park together because the Rouge was not restricted by the established structures of the

other Parks Canada protected areas; 'what makes the Rouge a little different from a national park and a national historic site is you start to see an entity which allows you to have very equal value on all of these things.'

Figure 22: Glen Eagles Vista, Rouge National Urban Park, Toronto. Photo by the author

When I asked them directly about the concept of cultural landscapes, the Rouge staff responded that the way that Parks Canada already applies cultural landscapes appears to be restricted to areas around structures, and that would not be so useful for the Rouge. In relation to the cultural landscapes term it was commented that:

> Words are very powerful and at the same time they can be misunderstood; sometimes we worry so much about what the definition is that we spend too much time on that and not enough time actually using whatever concept we're dealing with to really express what we're trying to do or to achieve a vision.

Instead, it was recommended that 'the best way to help people understand what a cultural landscape is—is to use examples. Tangible expressions of what we mean by this, or what this does include...' This paralleled the discussion around indigenous cultural landscapes, suggesting that the strict usage of the 'cultural landscape' term was not the key; it is the ideas behind the term which are deemed important. With this the Rouge staff proposed:

> …in our management plans now in Parks [Canada] we've tried to have a few big ideas, key strategies is what we call them officially, but they're big ideas, and from that flows objectives and actions…

Thus by positioning the usefulness of cultural landscapes as a 'big idea' concept, rather than as a strictly defined entity, Rouge staff surmised, 'we may be able to talk about cultural landscape without ever using the term cultural landscape—I'm not ruling it out, but I'm not saying that it's a term we might end up using, but I think the concept is definitely applicable and going to be used in the Rouge.'

In June 2014, Parks Canada released the *Rouge National Urban Park Draft Management Plan.* Central to this new policy document is how 'landscapes' appears to be preferred over 'cultural landscapes', with the latter used in a more controlled, technical way, within a section on the cultural heritage values of the Rouge (perhaps this is to fit in with the existing *Standards & Guidelines* notion of cultural landscapes?) Objective one of the first key strategy for the Rouge identifies: 'Rouge National Urban Park is a cohesive and evolving mosaic of diverse landscapes, demonstrating national leadership in the management of protected heritage areas in an urban context' (Parks Canada 2014, p. 15). Other references to landscape are broad and open-ended, around connecting the dynamism of the different heritage values of the Rouge with the four cornerstone elements of the park concept.

What is immediately obvious from the above discussion is just how many synergies exist between the way that the Rouge staff consider and project their future usage of cultural landscapes and the 'indigenous' cultural landscapes approach currently being applied by Parks Canada in places like Torngat National Park and Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site. It suggests that the 'big idea' conceptualisations of cultural landscapes are better suited than a prescribed policy framework focussing on tangible heritage elements. The contemporary complexities of a growing urban Canadian post-settler society, with increasingly visible indigenous and wider multicultural heritage values, cannot easily be restricted into a 'one size fits all' policy template. The discussion also suggests that the traditionally 'cultural' national historic site designation and the traditionally 'natural' national park designation are not as clear cut as they once might have been considered to be.

The ideas behind the emerging policy and practice

At the time of my fieldwork in April 2013, there was limited heritage management practice underway that followed the newly established Parks Canada regime for the Rouge. Therefore, this section will continue its examination of the 'big idea' conceptualisations for the Rouge in order to further illuminate the thinking behind the park's emergent cultural landscapes approach. On the topic of the ideas behind the future policy and practice of the Rouge, staff tendered:

> So a big idea we have for the Rouge is a kind of concept of the landscape, cultural landscape, and this idea of flowing. The fact that the Rouge is a river that has allowed people to settle on the river, and travel by the river, and make a living from the river, or experience and protect the river, disturb the river… And when you think about all of that, and the idea of flowing, it gives you the nice sense of evolution.

The decision to have the river that the park is named after frame the management approach at the Rouge is again reminiscent of the tone of the management approaches for Torngat Mountains National Park of Canada, and Kejimkujik National Park and National Historic Site. 'Management direction 1: new gatherings in a timeless place' at Torngat underscores the continued significance of the park as a meeting place (Parks Canada 2010c, p. 24). And for Kejimkujik, the vision for the park emphasises the existence of a symbiotic relationship between the park environment and the people connected to it. The management plan comments 'the rich diversity of forests, lakes, and streams of the interior to the beaches and dunes of the rugged coast, this is a place where the people have shaped the land and the land has shaped the people since time immemorial' (Parks Canada 2010b, p. 14). Additionally, the Rouge has a similar realisation of the continuous relationships between people and park, with staff noting:

> Cultural landscape is probably one of the best concepts we've been able to find that inherently brings in the idea of evolution—cultures evolve, cultures are about past, present and future. Cultural landscape brings in the idea of the spirit of the land and its people. If you want to bring together the land with the people, then you start to use the concept of cultural landscape.

Further discussion with Rouge staff and the rest of my Parks Canada interviewees generated reflection on how the thinking around 'indigenous cultural landscapes' appeared to non-indigenous Parks Canada staff to be more dynamic than the way that the concept was being applied to non-indigenous or settler heritage values. The view was also expressed that indigenous cultural landscapes were largely restricted to Canada's north.

And this contrast between the northern and southern Parks Canada protected areas was continued by members of the Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat in their discussion of indigenous involvement in park management: 'in the northern parks, especially because of the land claims that we have, it's a lot easier.' They explained the relationships between indigenous Canadians and Parks Canada:

> In what's considered the southern parks, a lot of it is still under the influence of the field unit superintendent. So what we strongly encourage, and what we help to do here, is to create those links between Parks Canada and the communities, to be able to go to the community and start talking and asking about what communities would like to do. It's unfortunate but in some parks these links have been severed, so we have to help create them again.

The Rouge staff suggested that First Nation groups had a different connection to the Rouge, because many of them live hours away from Toronto. The staff felt that the geographic distance engendered a different relationship than might have been the case for a park more closely located to where the First Nation groups are based. A Rouge staff member suggested:

> I've experienced great differences depending on the proximity of the First Nations group to the protected place. The closer they are, the more interest they have in being here on a regular basis; the further away they are they look for maybe a different set of opportunities …many of the First Nations are travelling up to six hours to get to Toronto to get to our meetings.

Yet at the same time Rouge staff underscored that this 'different' relationship in no way lessened the involvement of First Nations in the future management of the park, with staff acknowledging that the First Nation groups connected to the Rouge 'see themselves as living cultures, so living cultures need a different type of representation in a place like the Rouge.'

Continuing on the topic of indigenous versus non-indigenous cultural landscapes, discussion around the farming communities of the Rouge—inclusive of both the current non-indigenous, and the indigenous farmers of the past—drew attention to the idea that non-indigenous Canadians can also have associative landscapes. It was suggested that the non-indigenous associative landscape values could be located at the same place as the indigenous associative landscape values; 'there will absolutely be some overlap and there will be some areas where it isn't, and I think that may be telling of the cultural differences that there are, but I bet we see more similarities than differences.'

Figure 23: An example of the farming properties located within Rouge National Urban Park. Photo by the author

Another interesting finding was that when staff were asked about 'landscape' as opposed to 'cultural landscape', they gave far broader definitions and interpretations. I wondered if this was due to the 'baggage' that the term 'cultural landscape' carries. It was pointed out that the intangible element of cultural landscapes was a challenge for Parks Canada, with the analogy given that the government can protect the rock that evokes a story, but at the same time the government should not be responsible for managing that story. However, when the discussion turned to 'landscape', the dialogue opened up to include definitions such as:

> The landscape, it's all the world around us... we are interwoven in nature, it integrates nature, integrates all forms of human occupation, agricultural, built environment and also the associative cultural dimension. It's how we interact with our space, how we build relationships with the space, and how it influences our day-to-day work. So for me it's really a global concept, it's larger than what the heritage field considers to be of interest in the landscape.

This broad understanding was continued:

> I like to think of a landscape as a place, not so much a physical place, but a landscape is everything; what's contained above and below land, what people are living on the land, what resources are found there, the built heritage—for me that whole thing represents the landscape. It's kind of what you see, what you feel, what you hear, what you smell, what you touch, for me that's really what a landscape is. I think many of us, we started off using landscape as being formed by

> the paintings that we saw, and so it was very visual; if we really looked at the way some people painted they would show things that wouldn't be obvious, and so you think of that: the obvious and the not obvious, that's part of the landscape to me.

Staff from the Parks Canada Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat suggest a slightly different nuance in their descriptions of landscape as 'people, activities, everything. It's like when I go up north and you look at it, and it looks like ice and snow—well it's not, there's a lot of things going on there, the same thing with a landscape, but it's brought out by people.' Another Aboriginal Affairs staff member mused, 'I see it very much from a people point of view; it's how people have related over time, and how they see themselves. It's almost like a world view, which is very site and culturally specific.' Central to both of these responses is people, and it was interesting that these two descriptions were in contrast to the non-indigenous staff members who positioned 'landscape' as a kind of spatial reality. The proceedings from the 2007 cultural landscapes 'think tank' (dominated in attendance by landscape architects), evidences the tendency of the 'settler cultural landscape approach' to acknowledge the place of the intangible, while at the same time admonishing its presence within formal heritage management. The 'think tank' reported:

> There was also concern expressed that there could be a danger of writing guidelines for intangible values that might seem strange, and bring discredit to the *Standards & Guidelines* as a whole. However, it should be recognised that almost all Cultural Landscapes have intangible values (Public Works and Government Services Canada 2007, p. 8).

At a subsequent meeting to discuss cultural landscapes, Christina Cameron, the convenor and Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage at the University of Montreal, set the tone of the *Conserving Cultural Landscapes Round Table* held at Montreal University, where her words present quite a different stance from that which was reported at the 'think tank':

> The objective of this Round Table is to focus on the challenges of conserving cultural landscapes. They are not museums, tightly controlled and well protected. Cultural landscapes are dynamic systems. People have to be at the centre of landscape protection. The characteristics that require conservation are not only physical but intangible attributes like feeling and meaning. (Cameron 2010, p. 12)

Therefore, in addition to the apparent differences between indigenous and non-indigenous cultural landscapes, there also appears to be some discrepancies between the views of heritage professionals from different disciplinary backgrounds. One of the interviewees submitted, 'I know for a fact, having dealt with it [cultural landscapes] in an operational way within Parks Canada, that there are different concepts of what cultural landscape is

between different sub-disciplines within the heritage field.' There is also confusion around language translation between English and French in Canada, in that within Quebec, several terms, notably 'paysages humanises' and 'passage culturels' are used when the term 'cultural landscapes' would be used in English. It was noted at the 2007 cultural landscapes 'think tank' that 'these terms have connotations that may not be equivalent to meanings that have accrued to the term 'cultural landscape' in English' (Public Works and Government Services Canada 2007, p. 4).

Conclusion

In summing up, the Rouge comes onto the scene as a new initiative for Parks Canada; one which has the potential innovation to bring together the disparate cultural landscapes approaches currently being followed by the organisation. Not only does the 'national urban park' concept set up a bridge between the traditional 'cultural' national historic site and the 'natural' national park designations, it also has the possibility of working from an open policy base whereby cultural landscapes is employed as a 'big idea' concept. Working from an overarching 'big idea' allows the Rouge the space in its management policy to consider the park's diverse heritage values as a collective. This means that rather than nature and culture, indigenous and non-indigenous heritage values existing in exclusivity, they instead become components caught up together in the same protected area. The emergent 'big idea cultural landscapes approach' of the Rouge is especially positive in the synergies that it expresses in relation to approaching the management of indigenous and non-indigenous heritage values. This kind of cultural landscapes approach, therefore, makes the existence and subsequent management of indigenous and settler heritage values located in the same area a situation which can be embraced rather than shied away from. A cultural landscapes approach which welcomes the contemporary complexities of a growing urban Canadian post-settler society, rather than one which looks to simplify the complexity into one kind of dominant heritage value, reflects a positive direction for heritage management in the twenty-first century, and one which should be emulated.

Part III will return to New Zealand in order to relocate the research problem amongst the findings of the international case studies discussed here in Part II. The cultural landscapes approaches found in Australia, the United States and Canada each provide different shades of guidance to advise the formulation of a cultural landscapes approach for the management of the diverse heritage values of post-Treaty settlement New Zealand.

Part III: Approaching cultural landscapes at home…

Part III returns to New Zealand to highlight the relative obscurity of cultural landscapes for heritage management when compared with the various ways that Australia, the United States and Canada are engaging with the term. The Australian case study of Royal National Park in Sydney illustrates how 'cultural landscapes' are opening up the Royal's management policies to be more inclusive of the park's indigenous heritage values. And while staff are struggling with how to translate this into practice, their efforts suggest aspirations to create an 'integrated cultural landscapes approach', which considers the Royal's natural/settler/indigenous heritage values together when management decisions are made. At Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Francisco, cultural landscapes are a way of articulating a cultural resource type, and are being used to consider the areas of the park with complex composite elements, such as Alcatraz Island. Golden Gate's 'historic cultural landscapes approach' works to compile the different components of its cultural landscapes under a standardised list of characteristics for collective analysis and preservation. The cultural landscapes approach at Rouge National Urban Park in Toronto is developing out of cultural landscapes as a 'big idea' that informs the wider park management framework for the new park. In this way, the Rouge is unlike the Royal and Golden Gate parks, which insert their cultural landscapes approach into already established management structures. The cultural landscapes approach at the Rouge also aspires to relate to the contemporary complexities of an urban Toronto environment, with established infrastructure, agricultural areas, and increasingly visible indigenous and wider multicultural heritage values.

The Sauerian influence

The international case studies illustrate that the concept of cultural landscapes is being employed for heritage management primarily as an organising and analytical tool that is focussed on the visual 'reading' of a 'tangible, measureable ensemble of material forms' associated with a superorganic homogenous 'culture' (Cosgrove 2003a, p. 249). The Australian, American and Canadian (not so much what appears to be developing at the Rouge, but the wider Parks Canada) cultural landscapes approaches, follow the influence of cultural geographer, Carl Sauer, whereby the 'cultural' prefix appears to be restricted to highlighting the fixed role that humans play in contrast to the nature that they are shaping. In these cultural landscapes approaches, there is limited consideration of the complexities

of what the 'cultural' might entail. For example, the 'cultural' of the landscapes at the Royal are recognised primarily by staff as an amorphous Aboriginal heritage, which fortifies an indigenous/settler demarcation, while primarily restricting the 'cultural' of settler heritage to the tangible built remains in the park. At Golden Gate, the 'cultural' is used to underline how the 'national recreation area' has been established in an urban 'cultural' landscape in contrast to the remote 'natural' landscape of a traditional American national park. This 'cultural' distinction is expressed by how the US National Park Service markets Golden Gate as having 'one of the largest collections of historic buildings of any national park' (National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior 2013b). The US National Park Service also works to align the components of its cultural landscapes with a list of landscape characteristics for analysis. The majority of the characteristics defined within *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports* (Page, Gilbert & Dolan 1998) are determined by the sight/vision of the assessor. These landscape characteristics include: spatial organisation, land use, cluster arrangement, topography, views and vistas, buildings and structures, and small-scale features. Only the characteristic of 'cultural traditions' and perhaps 'circulation' bring the more intangible and social into consideration. However, as the discussion in Part II has detailed, I found that 'cultural traditions' was not a landscape characteristic employed in any of the cultural landscape reports that I accessed for Golden Gate.

Unpacking the 'vision' behind cultural landscapes for heritage management

The prominence that the Sauerian influence places on the observation of morphological forms such as built structures, settlement and land-use patterns of a fixed culture, counters 'new cultural geographer' Denis Cosgrove's (2003a) contention that 'cultural landscape' is a tool developed within cultural geography to recognise the 'techniques and meanings of seeing' behind landscape. Cosgrove (2003a, p. 250) recognises that 'sight, vision and seeing—as such varied words imply—involve much more than a single sensorial response: the passive, neutral imprint of images formed by light on the retina of the eye.' He instead suggests that sight brings in 'various expressions of relative space, defined by culturally diverse coordinates of human experience and intention' (Cosgrove 2003a, p. 250). Relating Cosgrove's considerations of vision to the analysis of the cultural landscapes approaches of the Australian, American and Canadian case studies encourages a questioning of the viewer agency behind the cultural landscapes assessment. It could be suggested that for Royal 'National' Park, Golden Gate 'National' Recreation Area, and Rouge 'National' Urban Park, that the potential diversity of viewer agency in determining the cultural landscapes

approach is not readily promoted, because that would undermine the central 'national' idea being elevated. The inscription of the national park idea into legislation from the end of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries across Australia, the United States and Canada, has meant that parks in these settler societies have had a tendency to take on a common European political and social identity—as areas set aside to be visited and described as if they were an absolute geographical space conceptually rooted in the measurable physical natural environment that is external to the human body (Cosgrove 2003a). Yet as this thesis has discussed in Part I, 'such signifiers of homogeneity', claim Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffen (2000, p. 135), 'always fail to represent the diversity of the actual 'national' community for which they purport to speak and, in practice, usually represent and consolidate the interests of the dominant power groups within any national formation.'

Australians Denis Byrne, Heather Goodall and Allison Cadzow (2010, p. 19) contend that the 'idea of a park as a single landscape was a convenient fiction in the minds of an earlier generation of park managers, one that allowed them to manage the park on the basis of the way they saw it and understood it.' Byrne et al submit that this kind of understanding needs to be adjusted so that national parks are no longer regarded as places where nature and identity are fixed and constant. Yet the authors suggest that any shift will need to first work around the assumption that park management is 'a universal practice rather than a culture-specific one' (Byrne, Goodall & Cadzow 2010, p. 24). Their scholarship goes on to suggest that the 'identities' of national parks in Australia, while indeed emerging out of an Anglo-Celtic perspective, have been shaped and added to over the years by Australia's migrant communities, and they use the example of how people of Arabic and Vietnamese backgrounds are attaching new meanings to national parks in the vicinity of Sydney. This leads Byrne et al (2010, p. 19) to contend that 'from a cultural perspective, then, a national park is not a single landscape. Rather it is a collection of different socially constructed landscapes that coexist in one place.' This contact zone can generate encounters, overlaps and even contestation, with the authors' suggesting that their case study research 'reflects a consciousness of the way that other versions of a landscape are 'layered' below those of the present; but that these older layers, rather than being sealed off from later ones, continue to have effects that percolate up into the present' (Byrne, Goodall & Cadzow 2010, p. 18).

Recognising cultural landscapes in post-settler societies

What does all of this mean for approaching cultural landscapes at home/in New Zealand? It demonstrates that while Sauer's attention to the bigger picture of how people as a superorganic culture affect nature was an important premise in its day, contemporary considerations of cultural landscapes for heritage management need to take a more nuanced approach that subscribes to the variances of 'culture' while also including the subjective agency behind the vision that determines heritage value. It is time to take our considerations of cultural landscapes for heritage management further, and while I do not propose removing the Sauerian influence altogether, Part III suggests that recognition of the morphological forms of a cultural landscape needs to be enhanced by consideration of the cultural 'envisioning' of that landscape.

Moreover, in the introduction and Part I of this thesis, I signalled that there is an emerging post-settler ethic in New Zealand where land is becoming increasingly recognised by the popular consciousness as more than a resource simply to be controlled. While it can be argued that the majority of Māori New Zealanders have always asserted the view that they are tied to the land, water and life around them, and that many Pākehā (settler) New Zealanders have views that are not dissimilar, the Treaty of Waitangi settlement process has given a wider public profile to these ideas. For example, some of the first Treaty settlements in the early 1980s revolved around environmental claims, such as those against the discharge of effluent into New Zealand's coastal areas and waterways. By pointing out that the discharge was likely to prejudice the spiritual or cultural values of the Māori claimants, not to mention its effect on the shellfish and fish that they had traditionally gathered from the affected areas, the Waitangi Tribunal's report set the tone of focus on environmental standards, while stressing Māori connections with their surroundings (Sorrenson 2014). This formal recognition of how these kinds of issues challenged the spirit of what was promised to Māori in the Treaty of Waitangi widely disseminated the view that the natural and cultural might not be so disparate after all, and that the health of *all* New Zealanders (not just Māori) was in fact closely related to the health of nature. Since these beginnings over thirty years ago, New Zealand's post-Treaty settlement environment has contributed to a 'shifting' in the envisioning of the relationship of New Zealanders to their surroundings, and there is a growing recognition of the intimate connections that New Zealanders have with nature.

Therefore, any cultural landscapes approach employed in New Zealand needs to consider the kinds of ideas being generated by the post-settler/post-Treaty-settlement situation. It needs to take into account the more than aesthetic, the more than material, and engage with the connections between the material and the perceptual. The discussion at the end of Part I highlighted how relating 'heritage' to ideas of landscapes and non-representational theories opens up the field of investigation for consideration of more than the one-dimensional 'things' and 'sites', to include three (and perhaps four) dimensional constructions. It is here that David Harvey (2013, p. 156) suggests that there is room 'for both the bounded, artefact-based and representational, and the relational, fluid and phenomenological. Indeed, their co-existence and contradiction may produce an energizing space.'

The associative cultural landscape of Tongariro National Park

However, before I can begin suggesting what a 'beyond Sauerian' post-settler cultural landscapes approach for New Zealand might 'look' like, I first need to explain that New Zealand does already engage with cultural landscapes for heritage management to some extent. In 1993, Tongariro National Park (Tongariro) became the first associative cultural landscape to be inscribed on the World Heritage List under the revised cultural criteria. The inscription was an innovative step for 'opening up' the World Heritage List to spiritual and intangible heritage values, and it also signalled that New Zealand had the potential to be an international leader in recognising and managing more intangible cultural heritage values associated with people's interactions with their surroundings. The Department of Conservation (DOC), New Zealand's major parks organisation, has not employed cultural landscapes beyond its management of Tongariro, and this lack of national endorsement and application has led to cultural landscapes only being picked up for heritage management in a piecemeal fashion by community groups around New Zealand. Yet the fact that some New Zealand groups are engaging with the concept of cultural landscapes without any kind of national leadership suggests that it is a concept that resonates with New Zealanders.

Part III Section One will use the World Heritage cultural landscape listing of Tongariro to consider how the more-than-representational can make an important contribution to revealing the extent of cultural landscapes. It suggests that the more-than-representational can hook into, and pick up on an important element of cultural landscapes—the intimate

connections that people have with their surroundings—which might not be so obviously recognised if an interpretation is only made on the basis of aesthetic and material characteristics accessible through a visual mode of analysis. Thus in Part III Section One, I contend that heritage practitioners/professionals need to be reflective of their sensorial and cognitive responses when they engage with the different communities who value the cultural landscape that they are assessing and managing.

Part III Section Two will examine the interview responses of a group of New Zealand heritage professionals in relation to the rest of the findings of this thesis to propose the key touchstones of a cultural landscapes approach for New Zealand.

Part III Section One: What about Tongariro? Opening up cultural landscapes approaches to the more-than-representational

E ua e te ua e tāheke
Koe ki runga rā;
Ko au ki raro nei riringi ai
Te ua I aku kamo.

Moe mai, e Wano i Tirau,
Te pae ki te whenua
I te wā tūtata ki te kāinga
Koua hurihia.

Tēnei mātou kei runga kei te
Toka ki Taupō
Ka paea ke te one I Waihi,
Ki taku matua nui,
Ki te whare kōiwi ki Tongariro.

E moea iho nei
Hoki mai e roto ki te puia,
Nui, ki Tokaanu,
Ki te wai tuku kiri o te iwi
E aroha nei au, ī.

Oh sky, pour down rain
from above,
while here below, tears
rain down from my eyes.

Oh Wano, sleep on at Mount Titiraupenga
overlooking the land
near our village
that has been overturned.

Here we are beyond
the cliffs of western Lake Taupō,
stranded on the shore at Waihi
near my great ancestor Te Heuheu Tukino
Lying in his tomb on Mount Tongariro.

I dream of
returning to the hot springs
so famous, at Tokaanu
to the healing waters of my people
for whom I weep.[20]

The hum of the waiata (song) takes over the room. I am sitting in the offices of Te Whare Aronui o Tūwharetoa, with Sir Tumu Te Heuheu, the ariki (paramount chief) of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and the tribe's kaumātua (elders): Hopa Hepi, Te Rangikamutua Downs and Te Ngaehe Wanikau; with Te Kenehi Teira from Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga (formerly the New Zealand Historic Places Trust). I am meeting with these men to find out more about the World Heritage cultural landscapes listing of Tongariro National Park (Tongariro). At the completion of the waiata, the kaumātua tell me that they sang their version focussing on the verses related to Tongariro. They also note how the rain is a

[20] *E pā tō hau* is a waiata (song) of lament for Ngāti Apakura, a Māori tribe of Waikato in New Zealand's North Island. Ngāti Apakura had their lands confiscated by British troops during the Waikato Wars in the mid-1860s and were forced to leave their homes. Te Wano, Ngāti Apakura's leader at the time, led the group south and asked his people to climb with him to the top of Mt Titiraupenga so that he could gaze once again upon his former home. Sadly, Te Wano died at the mountain's summit and was laid to rest in a cave there. The remaining Ngāti Apakura refugees travelled south to Lake Taupō, settling at Waihi and Tokaanu on the southern shores of the lake. There they were struck down by an epidemic, and most of them died. The excerpt of the waiata I have quoted laments the fate of the Ngāti Apakura people and speaks of their connections with Tongariro (Archer 2013; Maori Affairs Department 1964).

central part of the waiata, 'e ua e te ua e tāheke', and they make the connection between the waiata and the rain pouring down outside our meeting.

Whilst my thesis is concerned with how heritage is managed in local and national contexts, I would be remiss if I did not include the World Heritage cultural landscape listing of Tongariro in my discussion of New Zealand. Tongariro is important to New Zealand's heritage management story, and it provides useful insights to assist me in getting to the heart of my research question of whether cultural landscapes approaches provide useful tools for the integrated management of the diverse heritage values of post-Treaty settlement New Zealand. This section will investigate the road to World Heritage cultural landscapes status for Tongariro, it will examine the kinds of heritage values attributed to the Mount Tongariro, and it will discuss how these ideas shape the policies and practices of management at the park. This section gives an account of the kinds of issues that New Zealand's post-Treaty settlement situation is generating, and it will show why New Zealand must move away from the nature/settler/indigenous compartments that currently organise heritage management. Most significantly, it contends that a post-settler cultural landscapes approach needs to enlarge the dominant heritage interpretation of cultural landscapes beyond the measurable ensemble of material forms viewed in a geographical area (Cosgrove 2003a) to include the 'more-than-representational'. As introduced in Part I, the 'more-than-representational' encompasses that beyond the textual, linguistic, and the visual; and it focusses on the 'emotional underwiring' and the 'imaginative enactments' of one's body (Pile 2010; Rose, M 2006). And while it is not uncommon for ideas, and sometimes policy, around cultural landscapes for heritage management to pick up on people's emotions and cultural connections to heritage, the case studies discussed in Part II revealed that this is not commonly being translated into heritage practice. Cultural geographer, Tim Ingold (2000), encourages taking more of an experiential approach to considering cultural landscapes with his reflection that:

> The landscape, in short, is not a totality that you or anyone else can look at, it is rather the world in which we stand in taking up a point of view on our surroundings. And it is within the context of this attentive involvement in the landscape that the human imagination gets to work in fashioning ideas about it. (Ingold 2000, p. 207)

I will use my experiences from a meeting with the leading members of the Māori iwi (tribe) of Ngāti Tūwharetoa at Turangi, in the shadow of Mount Tongariro in the central North Island of New Zealand, to show that taking into account the sensorial, embodied forms of

knowledge that I accessed as part of this encounter has heavily shaped my understanding of how Ngāti Tūwharetoa values Tongariro as a cultural landscape. Through detailing my experience as a heritage researcher investigating Tongariro, I will underline my contention that the more-than-representational needs to come into the practice of a cultural landscapes approach. I contend that those who are responsible for the practice of managing Tongariro need to 'inhabit and process … rather than behold' the landscape that they are working with and caring for (Wylie 2005). This way landscape shifts from 'a distant object or spectacle to be visually surveyed, to an up-close, intimate and proximate material milieu of engagement and practice' (Wylie 2007, p. 167).

The majority of this section will centre on Tongariro, and how the World Heritage cultural landscape listing has influenced the management of the park. The examination will be enhanced by interview insights from Sir Tumu Te Heuheu and the kaumātua of Ngāti Tūwharetoa[21], and also by reference to UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) World Heritage documents, New Zealand legislation, Tongariro management policies, and other scholarship. In addition, the discussion will shed light on why the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management does not experience the same level of application in New Zealand as it does in the case studies discussed in Part II.

What I mean by the more-than-representational

Before I return to Tongariro, I need to first clarify what I mean by my call for inclusion of the more-than-representational into post-settler cultural landscapes approaches. My interpretation of the more-than-representational brings in Maurice Merleau-Ponty's elevation of the significance of the body, where the body is the basis and conduit of knowledge (Wylie 2007). Merleau-Ponty works from a phenomenological perspective where if the body takes on greater significance then landscape ceases to define a way of distanced seeing, and instead becomes potentially expressive of being-in-the-world itself. This way, landscape becomes a world to live in, not a scene to view. Thus 'Merleau-Ponty explicitly seeks to redefine vision in corporeal terms' (Wylie 2007, p. 150). The visible

[21]The interview data used in this chapter is all derived from one meeting on Wednesday 6 November 2013, held in the offices of Ngāti Tūwharetoa iwi (tribe) in Turangi, in the central North Island of New Zealand. The interview was planned to be only with Sir Tumu Te Heuheu as one of my set of ten New Zealand heritage professionals interviews, yet through the process of organising this meeting with Te Kenehi Teira from Heritage New Zealand, it worked out that Sir Tumu's kaumātua were to be a part of our interview as well. Deakin University's ethical approval protocols were followed in relation to seeking permissions to record and use the information from our meeting in my research project.

landscape, for Merleau-Ponty, is neither the field of vision of an observer, nor the sum total of external visible things. The visible landscape is instead an ongoing process of 'intertwining' from which one's sense of self as an observer emerges (Wylie 2007, p. 152).

Whilst grounded in the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty, my thinking is also influenced by a set of phenomenological accounts which base their studies in the notion of the 'co-presence of self and landscape' (DeSilvey 2012; Ingold 2000; Lorimer 2005; Merriman et al. 2008; Rose, M 2006; Wylie 2005, 2006, 2009). A significant piece of scholarship within this group is John Wylie's 'narrating self and landscape on the south west coast path'. Wylie (2005, p. 242) uses the 'corporeal rhythms' of walking to challenge the 'spectatorial epistemology' of the viewer, and to instead contend that there is more of a 'double movement' whereby the corporeality is mixed with the surroundings seen, so that it is 'less a distanced looking-at, and more a *seeing-with*.' Thus according to Wylie, a close awareness of corporeality can adjust the way that we 'see'.

The developing vocabularies, arguments and techniques, such as Wylie's narrative of walking, to address this 'performative turn', come under the ambit of 'non-representational theory'. Hayden Lorimer (2005, p. 83) notes that 'non-representational theory' relates to a body of diverse work that seeks to better cope with the 'more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds'. In addition, Lorimer suggests an alternative phrasing, which I have adopted here: the 'more-than-representational'. This thesis has shown how the representational—the textual, the symbolic, the material that is viewed—is a significant part of many current cultural landscapes approaches, and I do not want to diminish this. Hence my preference for 'more-than-representational' over 'non-representational'. Thus, my agenda is to recognise the significance of corporeality, <u>along with</u> the material forms viewed. This way I am not ignoring the social constructionist roots of this research project, but more working to add to them.

In addition to the consideration of people's embodied encountering of landscape, I also wish to bring the notion of 'affect' into my discussion of what I experienced at Tongariro, suggesting that this is another component of the more-than-representational that can enhance a cultural landscapes approach. Steve Pile (2010, p. 8) locates 'affect' as 'transpersonal, fluid and mobile, and, importantly, always, inexpressible'. And according to Emma Waterton (2013), who draws her perspectives from the scholarship of Nigel Thrift,

‘affect’ is a kind of atmosphere, floating between bodies, and between action and conscious sensation. Listening to the muted tones of the men singing the waiata by way of introduction to our hui (meeting) in Turangi, it was as though the waiata was tuning us all into each other—that is, those of us sitting in the meeting room, and also the tūpuna (ancestors) of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, the spirits of the mountain, whose contributions throughout the meeting could be recognised by the rain and hail breathing onto our window. In fact, the weather was making such a racket that Te Ngaehe smiled and pointed to the window: ‘Tongariro is this—we begin a hui and Tongariro comes to our window and drops hail… It’s not geography, and I dare say there are more majestic mountains in the world than Tongariro, but not to us. There is no Tūwharetoa without Tongariro.’

In this way, the landscape was certainly ‘answering back’ as Waterton (2013, p. 70) alerts might happen. Mitchell Rose (2006, p. 538) suggests that, ‘the landscape is not an object whose presence needs to be explained but a presence whose object-like appearance needs to be thought.’ Not dissimilar to Rose’s thoughts, and to give some more context to the rain and hail that was falling at the Turangi meeting, New Zealand Māori scholar, Hirini Moko Mead (2003) explains that the wairua (soul, spirit) of departed ancestors are an essential part of the Māori environment and universe. According to Mead (2003, p. 58) ‘wairua comprise the spiritual world that most of us cannot see’, and he notes that ‘some [wairua] become very special spiritual ancestors who will assist in the affairs of the living when appealed to by their descendants.’

There was a palpable something hanging in the air, which I felt as soon as the ariki, Sir Tumu, walked into the room. This part of my encounter sits more closely aligned with the work of Gilles Deleuze, where the ‘more-than-representational’ is considered to be more about the circulation of non-human affects and forces, and is supposedly at odds with the notion of ‘being-in-the-world’ promoted by the phenomenological scholars (Wylie 2006, 2007). Yet it is important at this point in the discussion to heed the words of Mason Durie (2010), who warns that problems can arise ‘when the criteria adopted by one system of knowledge are used to decide on the validity of another system that subscribes to different criteria.’ In addressing Durie’s concerns, I see the ‘more-than-representational’ as not so much about striving for complete understanding or ‘validity’, but more about opening people up to appreciate, respect and acknowledge a different set of values and knowledge systems. By reflecting on our lived, embodied and affective encounters, we are essentially

reflecting on our own sense of self. Thus even if someone does not subscribe to, or understand the kinds of heritage values that they are encountering in a cultural landscape, being open to the phenomenological will at least create a window into the kinds of feelings that anyone can connect to these places. In Peter Read's (2000) evocative book on non-indigenous belonging in Australia, he ties the way we think about others to our own sense of belonging. He notes how one of his interviewees, who has had a long career working with Aboriginal Australians, explains his feelings about a lack of traditional knowledge of Australia's 'Country': 'I've got perhaps ten per cent of the feel; so it does give you more of a respect, but it's an unknown book that you don't know how to read' (Read 2000, p. 19). And Read (2000, p. 15) reflects on his own sense of self by noting, 'I want to feel I belong here while respecting Aboriginality, neither appropriating it nor being absorbed by it.'

Therefore, I suggest that any practitioner involved in 'assessing' cultural landscapes needs to build into the practice of their cultural landscapes approach room to acknowledge the more-than-representational 'sensations' that they personally experience in the course of their work. Time taken to recognise these corporeal elements will assist practitioners to gain a meaningful understanding of what they are engaging with (not to mention that it might assist them to grasp more about themselves), and even if, as above, they only get 'ten per cent of the feel' of the heritage, this at least gives them some insight in which to make more comprehensive management decisions that take into account the full range of the textual, the linguistic, the visual, and beyond. While the ideal situation is that the communities who are connected with cultural landscapes will have a leading role in the research and management of their heritage, this does not always happen. This is particularly the case when governing agencies such as the Department of Conservation (DOC) in New Zealand have legal responsibility for management. My experiences at Turangi provided my cultural landscapes recognition with a deeper dimension than what I had developed through gazing at Tongariro, or reading the literature and management policies. I also believe that this awareness developed through my corporeal experiences has adjusted the way that I 'see' Tongariro as a cultural landscape. The Turangi meeting got me thinking about whether my encounter might have been similar had I met with the other Māori tribes who have connections with Tongariro and the other mountains of the national park, and it also got me thinking about myself. What was my connection with Tongariro—as a settler, or Pākehā New Zealander?

Significantly, there have been other New Zealand researchers, before me, who have promoted how phenomenological perspectives support researchers and heritage practitioners in developing closer relationships with what/who they are researching/assessing. Heritage planner, Janet Stephenson (2005), uses phenomenology as a 'way in' to conceptualising cultural values in landscapes, and promotes how this thinking might make its way into New Zealand's planning schemes. And heritage professional Elizabeth Pishief (2012), who is influenced by Christopher Tilley's (2004) performative landscape archaeology, brings the phenomenological into her recommendations on how heritage should be 'practiced' and managed in twenty-first century New Zealand. Pishief in particular draws attention to how phenomenological perspectives can be complementary of indigenous world views. Pishief (2012, pp. 174-9) develops 'the Connect', which she describes as an intangible entity floating over the physical material world, that unites person and place in intangible networks of emotion and meaning—'from physical to spiritual and back again.' She also contends that 'the Connect' is not well appreciated by Pākehā New Zealanders, who are ignoring a practice which could assist them to better understand who they are, where they belong, and which might also help them to appreciate Māori feelings of place, so that they might better talk with, rather than 'talk past' Māori.

Durie (2010) provides a useful contribution to a dialogue on the synergies between the more-than-representational, which aims to collapse Cartesian dualities, and indigenous views of the world, which work to connect mind and body, subject and object, nature and culture. Durie contends that it is possible to identify an 'ecological synergy spiral' underlying the world view of indigenous people. The spiral is dependent upon relationships that are complementary and mutually reinforcing, and it moves as an outward flow of energy, from the small to the large, from individuals to groups, and from people, plants, fish and animals to the earth and the sky. An important part of Durie's (2010, p. 242) narrative is his discussion on how 'within the spiral, knowledge comes from locating matter and phenomena within wider ecological contexts rather than attempting to understand and value objects and systems solely according to their intrinsic component parts.' This de-centring of the 'intrinsic' values of objects and systems will be returned to later in the chapter, particularly in relation to the way that DOC recognises heritage values.

This section has made the initial proposition that the more-than-representational can be a useful way of generating a deeper awareness of cultural values than what is traditionally accessed through 'reading' cultural landscapes. It has also touched on how embracing the sensorial might also be a way of generating cross-cultural appreciation, respect and acknowledgement. The narrative will now move on to exploring the genesis of the World Heritage associative cultural landscapes listing of Tongariro, to further build my case that the more-than-representational needs to come into the practice of post-settler cultural landscapes approaches.

The road to World Heritage cultural landscape status for Tongariro National Park

Tongariro holds the prestige of being the first World Heritage cultural landscape. It was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1993 for its associative cultural landscape values in relation to how 'the mountains that lie at the heart of the Tongariro National Park are of great cultural and religious significance to the Maori people and are potent symbols of the fundamental spiritual connections between this human community and its natural environment' (ICOMOS 1993). Tongariro is also described as being part of the south-western terminus of the Pacific 'Ring of Fire', with the volcanoes of Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu, standing tall amongst lahar debris, crater lakes, and reaching down to alpine gravelfields, shrublands, beech forests, and lowland podocarp/hardwood rainforest. Birds, including the New Zealand kiwi, the kaka, the North Island robin, and mammals such as the long and short-tailed bat, are recognised as key species within the park (IUCN 1990).

Tongariro was nominated by the New Zealand government for inclusion on the World Heritage List as both a cultural and a natural World Heritage property in 1986. The UNESCO World Heritage Committee gave preliminary consideration to the nomination but deferred final consideration pending clarification of a number of issues related to the park's management plan. The World Heritage Committee required further information on how New Zealand would place limits on ski developments, and how Māori cultural values could be better reflected as part of the management concept (Titchen 1995; UNESCO 1988, p. 10). As the organisation legally responsible for the management of Tongariro on behalf of the New Zealand government, DOC went away and made amendments to its nomination (Forbes 1993). In June 1987 the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee deferred making a decision about the nomination of Tongariro, as did the World Committee in December later that year. Sarah Titchen (1995, p. 227) notes that the Bureau of the World Heritage

Committee again deferred its decision in 1989 pending examination of the Park's revised plan of management.

In 1990, the World Heritage Committee finally approved the listing of Tongariro National Park as a World Heritage property, under the natural criteria (ii) and (iii), (now (vii) and (viii) since the revision to the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* at the end of 2004 adjusted the six cultural and four natural criteria to one set of ten criteria), relating to the 'ongoing geological processes of the park's volcanoes', and the 'superlative natural phenomena and natural beauty' (IUCN 1990). However, recognition of the cultural values continued to be deferred for re-examination at a later stage.

In October 1992, a group of World Heritage experts, including ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature), IFLA (International Federation of Landscape Architects), and representatives from eight State Parties, met to consider how the *Operational Guidelines* might be revised so that 'cultural landscapes' could be included as a new type of property on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 1992a).[22] As Part I Section Three of this thesis has explained in detail, the changes recommended at the La Petite Pierre meeting were adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its sixteenth session in Santa Fe in December 1992 (UNESCO 1992b, pp. 54-5). The 1992 La Petite Pierre meeting also developed the three sub-categories of World Heritage cultural landscapes: i) the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man; ii) the organically evolved landscape, which falls into two sub-categories of relict (or fossil), and a continuing landscape; and the iii) associative cultural landscape. The associative category, in particular, opened up new territory for the World Heritage List, bringing into consideration the intangible heritage values of people's spiritual and cultural connections to their surroundings. The World Heritage Committee had become interested in Tongariro as an example of this new associative cultural landscape category and requested that New Zealand provide further supportive material on the cultural

[22] New Zealander, Bing Lucas, was in attendance at the expert meeting in October 1992 representing IUCN. It was Lucas who pushed for the development of IUCN's complementary 'protected landscapes' category alongside cultural landscapes, with UNESCO's Mechtild Rössler (1995) singling out Lucas for his 'influential' work. In addition, Sir Tumu Te Heuheu notes that Lucas had a good reputation within Ngāti Tūwharetoa, with the evidence suggesting that Lucas would have played an important role in Tongariro National Park being proposed for consideration as the first World Heritage associative cultural landscape.

aspects of Tongariro in order to again study the possibility of a cultural listing (Forbes 1993). In July 1993, the New Zealand government presented a revised nomination for Tongariro as a cultural landscape in light of the adjusted cultural criteria. ICOMOS carried out a site evaluation at Tongariro in November 1993 and it strongly recommended the inscription of the property under World Heritage cultural criterion (vi): 'to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance' (UNESCO 2005a), relating to the unbroken linkage of Ngāti Tūwharetoa cultural identity with the mountains of Tongariro National Park (ICOMOS 1993).

The seventeenth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee Bureau then reviewed the revised nomination, and not ready to set a precedent on associative cultural landscapes, referred the decision to the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO 1993b, p. 8). Henry Cleere (1995, pp. 55-6) notes how ICOMOS' recommendation that Tongariro be inscribed on the List on the basis of cultural criterion (vi) in addition to the natural criteria gave rise to a prolonged debate at the meeting of the World Heritage Committee at Cartagena (Colombia) in December 1993, due to the *Operational Guidelines* prescribing that 'this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria.' Cleere explains that because Tongariro was 'a mountain range sacred to the Maori people', it did not qualify under any of the other cultural criteria, yet it was eventually agreed that it was valid when used in conjunction with natural criteria. Thus 'after careful consideration', the World Heritage Committee decided to inscribe Tongariro National Park under cultural criterion (vi) at the seventeenth session meeting in Cartagena in December 1993 (UNESCO 1993c, p. 39).

With the rain pouring down outside at our meeting in Turangi, Sir Tumu spoke of how he presented a paper at a World Heritage workshop in Templin, Germany, in October 1993 (only a few months after New Zealand's submission of the revised Tongariro cultural landscape nomination, and prior to the World Heritage Committee's decision to inscribe Tongariro as the first associative cultural landscape on the World Heritage List). The Templin meeting had gathered representatives from 19 State Parties (including New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States), along with ICOMOS, IUCN and IFLA, to consider examples of cultural landscapes around the world (UNESCO 1993a; von Droste, Plachter & Rössler 1995). Sir Tumu explained, 'the paper that I gave was to seek recognition

for Tongariro and in particular for its cultural values', and it was to 'open up the thinking' on World Heritage sites'. He detailed:

> Suffice to say that I gave the history of Tongariro, and the relationship that Tūwharetoa have, and stated that it was also the burial place of one of our forebears, and for that reason, the mountain was held in high esteem by the people. I said nothing else really about the mountain, other than to recap on the cultural history. My closing statement was to say that I was not seeking approval from the meeting for my story; my story wasn't reliant, or dependent on other people. And I left it at that.

Sir Tumu reflected that the Templin meeting went into a tea break straight after his presentation, and that after that tea break, there was 'a rush of delegates from different countries, simply to say that they also had a culture.' The hail started outside (in Turangi), and Sir Tumu continued: 'the only issue that arose was from the United States of America, because they said that if they approve the cultural designation for this mountain [Tongariro], then they would need to do the same for their own people in America, and they were not keen for that to happen.'

The evidence indicates that Sir Tumu's presentation came at a critical point in time to ensure the cultural values of Tongariro were recognised at the World Heritage level. Tongariro's cultural values had been deliberated by the World Heritage Committee at its meetings for over seven years, showing that the Committee was more comfortable with recognising the 'outstanding universal values' of Tongariro's natural heritage than its cultural heritage values. It took the momentum generated by the incoming new property type of cultural landscapes, and the testimony of the cultural values by Sir Tumu in person, to assist the World Heritage Committee to be able to rationalise how these intangible 'relational' values of Ngāti Tūwharetoa with Mount Tongariro might be recognised within the World Heritage system. Susan Forbes, the consultant who prepared New Zealand's nomination for the World Heritage associative cultural landscape listing in 1993, makes the observation in her report to DOC, that:

> The new criteria for nominating World Heritage cultural sites (namely the cultural landscape categories) is a major step for enabling spiritual and cultural sites to be recognised. However, World Heritage is still primarily concerned with the 'big and mighty' which could present problems for subsequent nominations from New Zealand and other Pacific countries. New Zealand could take this opportunity to shape the criteria into something appropriate for Maori and thereby establish clear guidelines for other countries to follow. (Forbes 1993, p. 3)

The recommendations made by Forbes signal that New Zealand believed that it could be a leader in developing cultural landscapes for heritage management, because it saw cultural landscapes as a way of opening up the World Heritage system to be more inclusive of the kinds of cultural values that New Zealand identifies with. In alluding to New Zealand's 'different' cultural values, Forbes (1993, p. 3) called for oral presentations to be allowed for cultural nominations to the World Heritage List. Poia Rewi (2010, p. 7 emphasis in the original) enlightens how '*whaikōrero*—the world of Māori oratory' involves much more than mere 'speech.' Rewi (2010, p. 8) explains that 'when a speaker delivers *whaikōrero* with conviction and gains a high level of respect, then they make the occasion an important one that is imbued with greater *mana* [prestige, authority, power, influence] that in turn is accorded to all the people present.' Certainly, Sir Tumu's whaikōrero at Templin, with its 'tea break response', appears to have activated a kind of fluid transpersonal circuitry that charged the Templin audience to reflect on how they personally considered cultural values in relation to the established World Heritage criteria. What occurred at the Templin meeting can also be appreciated alongside Andrea Witcomb's (2014, p. 41) recent investigation into how a new museum exhibition in Melbourne, Australia, called *First Peoples*, is making demands upon 'settler/culturally dominant audiences to modify their assumptions and belief systems'. Witcomb suggests that in asking its visitors to respond to the *First Peoples* exhibition in ways that tap into the personal sensorial experience, the museum is employing a 'pedagogy of feeling'. This strategy generates a reciprocal expectation that gets visitors to reconsider themselves within this exchange of knowledge, and Witcomb suggests that encouraging museum visitors to 'look, listen and feel' will assist them to be open to taking on the knowledge that is being conveyed. Witcomb's scholarship builds on James Clifford's (1997) seminal 'contact zone' perspective, which urges that contemporary museums be accountable to, and for, the more-than-representational cultural values attached to museum collections—just as they have been historically accountable for the tangible preservation of those collections. The related museum studies scholarship on testimony, by Roger Simon (2006, p. 194), also explains that 'to transmit a testament is not akin to simply passing a baton framed by the expectation of appreciation and preservation. Rather there is work that needs to be done to claim the testament granted as an inheritance, to receive it as a gift and transfer its title to one's own name'.

When all of this scholarship is considered together with Sir Tumu's whaikōrero, it suggests that there is growing recognition of the significance of including the more-than-

representational in considerations of cultural heritage values, particularly in contact zone situations, where 'disparate cultures are meeting and grappling with each other' (Pratt 1992). Yet while the international cultural heritage community went away from the Templin meeting reflecting on Sir Tumu's whaikōrero, with his testimony seemingly contributing to the introduction of cultural landscapes as a new type of property on the World Heritage List, at home in New Zealand, it appears as if the government, and more specifically DOC as the government's representative responsible for the day-to-day management of Tongariro's World Heritage listed cultural landscape, has not really done 'the work that needs to be done' to claim Sir Tumu's testament. That DOC has not appropriately 'claimed the testament granted as inheritance' from Sir Tumu is a significant issue that I will discuss over the course of the rest of this chapter (Simon 2006, p. 194).

DOC's role

Some context around DOC is valuable here, so that the organisation's response to the World Heritage associative cultural landscape inscription of Tongariro might be further investigated. DOC was established to be the lead central government agency responsible for the conservation of New Zealand's natural and historic heritage. Its legislative mandate is the *Conservation Act 1987*, and it has a duty to administer other statutes such as the *National Parks Act 1980* and the *Reserves Act 1977*, and to 'give effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi' (DOC nd-a). Jacinta Ruru (2004b, p. 247) draws specific attention to how DOC 'follows a singular mandate: conservation through the practice of preservation and protection.' This is evidenced in the 1987 Act's definition of 'conservation':

> The preservation and protection of natural and historic resources for the purposes of maintaining their intrinsic values, providing for their appreciation and recreational enjoyment by the public, and safeguarding the options of future generations. (*Conservation Act* 1987)

Ruru (2004b, p. 247) submits that 'this management ethic of preservation and protection was not introduced by the Conservation Act', but that it was inherited from the government departments of Lands and Survey and the New Zealand Wildlife Service, which existed prior to the establishment of DOC in 1987. In Part I, I explained how nationalistic ideas inspired settlers to New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States to forge an identity that had comparable depth and legitimacy to the places that they had left behind. Therefore, akin to Britain and the rest of Europe, 'preservation' soon became a key part of this national identity creation in the westernised 'new world', with the preservation of

artefacts and wonders lending continuity and tradition to these newer nation states. As a consequence, New Zealand has 'preserved' tangible places and objects which have been determined to speak for national identity, with its national parks selected as a key identifier of what makes New Zealand special. New Zealand geographer, Eric Pawson (2013) details how mountains and ranges assumed social and national significance in New Zealand, with Pawson also noting that the distinction between mountainous national parks and settled rural areas has reflected a sharp dualism of 'people' and 'nature', which is a characteristic that has dominated settler New Zealand.

The glossary of the *Tongariro National Park Management Plan: Te Kaupapa Whakahaere mo Te Papa Rēhia o Tongariro 2006-2016* defines 'preservation' as it relates to a resource, and that it 'means the maintenance, as far as is practicable', of the 'intrinsic value' of that resource. The way that the term is applied in the Tongariro management plan is exemplified in the plan's English overview (the plan is written in both Māori and English), where it notes that:

> In New Zealand, national parks are areas of publicly-owned land that are preserved in perpetuity for their intrinsic worth and for the benefit, use and enjoyment of the public. They consist of areas that contain scenery of such distinctive quality, ecological systems or natural features so beautiful, unique or scientifically important, that their preservation is in the national interest. (DOC 2006, p. 3)

The use of 'preservation' above indicates a separating off of national park areas from the rest of New Zealand, and 'intrinsic worth' suggests that natural resources within national parks are considered to have inbuilt values with fixed meanings. Accordingly, it is surprising that this part of the management plan is in both English and Māori when DOC's English interpretation appears to be at odds with Durie's (2010) words discussed earlier, where he suggests that for indigenous peoples, real knowledge and understanding comes from recognising wider contexts, rather than only focussing in on intrinsic values. The rest of the Tongariro management plan goes on to describe the park primarily as a natural area, with key management principles setting out a clear demarcation between nature/settler/indigenous heritage values. Well-known heritage commentator, David Lowenthal (1985) paints a rather austere picture of 'preservation', submitting that it generates a breakage between past and present. Lowenthal (1985, p. 405) notes that 'preservers destroy as they salvage' and 'what is deliberately withheld from the natural course of decay and evanescence, ceases to be part of a living entity and ends up as a fragment sundered from context.' Therefore, if Lowenthal's portrayal of 'preservation'

resonates at all with DOC's underlying preservationist tendencies, then it would appear that DOC's ideas on what Tongariro as a cultural landscape might mean, and then what this entails for management, is in potential conflict with Ngāti Tūwharetoa's relationship with Tongariro.

DOC's relationship with Tūwharetoa's relationship with Tongariro

At our Turangi meeting, Te Ngaehe argued that DOC is primarily about protecting the flora and fauna of Tongariro. The rest of the kaumātua around the table murmured and nodded in consensus, agreeing that DOC is indeed very good at looking after Tongariro's natural heritage. There was a contemplative pause, after which Te Ngaehe spoke again:

> But what of the people? The people of the land? Because we are not part of their brief, and neither should we be. In some instances we can be classed as detrimental to their brief. We become not an introduced species, but maybe we're not a species that's identified on their brief of what should be there. We understand the legislative commitments that DOC has to follow. Yet they spend year after year not having a clue about what that place really means to us. All they understand is that in certain instances we might have broken one of their laws. We don't fit. It's a source of tension.

Just as the rain outside of our meeting had grown in intensity as Sir Tumu spoke of the American response to his speech at the Templin meeting, the force of the rain became a crescendo in support of Te Ngaehe. In my own experience of this exchange, I became increasingly 'tuned into' the elemental fluctuations of the weather, especially Tongariro's response to Te Ngaehe's narrative, which heightened my feelings of sorrow and frustration on behalf of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Te Ngaehe reminded me of the Ngāti Tūwharetoa pepeha, a proverb which runs deep in the rohe (area) of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, to express the way that the iwi (tribe) is inextricably connected with the mountain and its surroundings:

> Ko Tongariro te Maunga,
> Ko Taupō te Moana,
> Ko Tūwharetoa te iwi,
> Ko Te Heuheu te tangata;
>
> Tongariro is the Mountain,
> Taupō is the sea (inland lake),
> Ngāti Tūwharetoa is the tribe,
> Te Heuheu is the Chief;

While outsiders may think this to be an overly simplistic interpretation of the heritage values of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Ngaehe explains: 'it is simple; it is our connection to

Tongariro, our inseparableness… our Tūwharetoa-tanga is tap-rooted in Tongariro—from deity in our creation story to mankind. Our participation in that crossover is through Ngatoroirangi.' Te Ngaehe then noted that he makes the comparison with Gallipoli for people who might have difficulty understanding. He notes that 'without the story and the history of Gallipoli it's just a beach in Turkey. So what causes that beach in Turkey for Kiwis to cry, to get the lump in the throat, and the hairs to stand up? What's the other dimension? It's the history and the stories… No culture exists without their stories.'

With the more-than-representational figuring so centrally in how Te Ngaehe conveys his connection with Tongariro, it would seem appropriate that any cultural landscape recognition of Tongariro, which includes the cultural values of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, would include the 'more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds' in the equation of management. Yet at our Turangi meeting, the kaumātua suggested that while paying lip-service to the World Heritage cultural landscape recognition of Tongariro, DOC management practice is far removed from how Ngāti Tūwharetoa believe the maunga (mountains) of the national park should be cared for as a cultural landscape. They also note that when it comes to any negotiations with the New Zealand government, these are usually weighed down by some kind of commercial benefit/cost analysis formula. The kaumātua lament that there is never any recognition of the 'formula that is the essence of Tūwharetoa-tanga.'

So there I was, 'in the midst of things, in the thick of earths and bodies,' I was 'pressed up against the landscape, at one and the same time part of it' (Wylie 2005, p. 240). My more-than-representational experiences at Turangi were leading me to the question: if my own tentative steps from this one short meeting were guiding me towards a greater awareness of the intimate connections of Ngāti Tūwharetoa with Tongariro (analogous to what appeared to have occurred for members of the audience at the Templin meeting), then why was it that DOC could not 'tune in' to the cultural heritage values that appeared to be so obvious?

DOC's interpretation of the cultural heritage values of Tongariro is primarily focussed on the park's genesis in the 'gift' of Tongariro to the Crown, by the ariki of Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Te Heuheu Tukino IV (Horonuku, Sir Tumu's great, great grandfather) in 1887. The 'gift' narrative dominates, with DOC stressing how unique it is that the nucleus of the national

park was the gift to the nation of New Zealand from an indigenous people, and the significance of this event is promoted in the Tongariro management plan:

> Tongariro and Ruapehu are mountains sacred to the Māori who have lived at their feet for many hundreds of years. In 1887 Te Heuheu Tukino IV (Horonuku), the paramount chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, gifted on behalf of his tribe the summits of Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and part of Ruapehu to the people of New Zealand, so that their tapu [sacredness] might be protected for all time. (DOC 2006, p. 19)

By focussing the cultural values of the park on the significance of the gift of Tongariro as a historic event of the past, DOC is essentially promoting a rupture of the cultural values of Ngāti Tūwharetoa with Tongariro. This has had the associated outcome of promoting the cultural heritage values of Ngāti Tūwharetoa as being different 'pre-gift' from what they are today. This view has then generated the inference that the contemporary connection of Ngāti Tūwharetoa to Tongariro might not be of the same depth or intensity as what it was in the past. In a recent paper which compares how Tongariro and Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa in Australia have been historically represented to tourists, Jillian Walliss (2013, p. 6) writes that 'the reduction of Maori cultural connections to the celebration of the gift provided the park with a unique foundational narrative while leaving the landscape unencumbered to meet the recreational needs for skiing, climbing and wilderness encounters.' Most interestingly, Walliss contends (2013, p. 6) that this 'rapid erasure of Maori connections differs markedly to the development of Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park, where the traditional owners have been considered by European Australia as 'ancient and timeless as the landscape itself.' Wallis also suggests that the decision to permit Peter Jackson to film the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy at Tongariro has led to its absorption into New Zealand's global branding as Tolkien's Middle Earth, which has worked to further obscure the park's Māori heritage values. Therefore, when all things are considered, DOC's interpretation and promotion of the gift of Tongariro has contributed to a level of confusion around the contemporary cultural values of the park.

DOC explains in the opening pages of the Tongariro management plan that 'there is a special relationship between the iwi of the Volcanic Plateau and the mountains of Tongariro National Park', and that this relationship 'is a direct connection between today's people and their ancestors' (DOC 2006, Preface). Yet the Tongariro management plan restricts any discussion of the cultural values of Ngāti Tūwharetoa into a 'cultural heritage' section which only focusses on Māori cultural values—particularly the iwi of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, with a reference to Ngāti Rangi, and a footnote on Ngāti Uenuku. A section on 'park heritage'

follows, which brings in a little on 'European' heritage values and the genesis of the infrastructure of the park; this is then followed by a section entitled 'physical environment'. There is little interaction between these topics, and there is also no reference in the Tongariro management plan to the World Heritage criteria (vi) inscription, in relation to how 'the mountains that lie at the heart of the Tongariro National Park are of great cultural and religious significance to the Maori people and are potent symbols of the fundamental spiritual connections between this human community and its natural environment' (ICOMOS 1993). The section in the Tongariro management plan which deals with the World Heritage cultural landscape status also notes that 'UNESCO views the park as a stable site in a protective legislative framework capable of having its attributes maintained in a pristine state in perpetuity' (DOC 2006, p. 26). The phrase 'maintained in a pristine state in perpetuity' appears to be a little at odds with the intent of the World Heritage associative cultural landscapes criteria, where the focus is more on 'the link between the physical and spiritual aspects of landscapes' (UNESCO 1995), and which suggests that in reality, the heritage values might be more amorphous and less tangibly controlled than the Tongariro management plan allows for.

DOC's predisposition towards the preservation of the intrinsic values of natural heritage, and its focus on the historic 1887 gift to address the park's Māori cultural heritage values has meant that the organisation does not fully acknowledge the continuing contemporary connection between Tongariro and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Thus DOC's interpretation of the World Heritage associative cultural landscape listing of Tongariro is a superficial version of what it potentially could be. The problem is not helped by the fact that DOC's management approach is heavily controlled by the *National Parks Act 1980*, the *Conservation Act 1987* and the *Reserves Act 1977*, with Ruru (2004a, p. 131) reminding that 'the provisions in the National Parks Act relating to preservation in the national interest will override any Treaty [of Waitangi] principle.' Yet this structure does not preclude DOC making the space to ensure that its staff come to grips with the contemporary cultural values of the park, so that their awareness filters into the way that the organisation goes about the practices of managing Tongariro, in a way which more closely identifies with the whaikōrero presented by Sir Tumu at Templin. It is at this point that the perspectives of those arguing for the value of including the more-than-representational come in. If DOC practitioners were encouraged to reflect on how they make sense of the world through their own embodied experiences as part of their daily work programmes, then this practice could be developed

to fit within a cultural landscapes approach that gets to the heart of the cultural values of Tongariro.

Challenging DOC's role

An alternative to the DOC-endorsed 'noble gift' narrative has been gaining currency in recent times, and it is a narrative which provides more detail into what happened directly as a result of the gift of Tongariro:

> The Crown became the legal owner of Tongariro in 1887, but the government of the day took some seven years to fulfil the condition of the gift to give the summit national park status. In the interim, the government unsuccessfully sought ownership from Ngāti Tūwharetoa of the surrounding Tongariro summit land for inclusion in the national park. The eventual Tongariro National Park Act 1894 allowed the Governor to forcibly take the land in return for monetary compensation, which was merely a phantom concession considering the government's perceived 'uselessness' of the area to Ngāti Tūwharetoa… Interestingly, the seven years statutory delay has today been all but forgotten. Accordingly, the country celebrated a centenary of national parks in 1987. (Ruru 2004a, pp. 122-3)

This view of events has also contributed to the recently completed *Wai 1130 Te Kāhui Maunga: The National Park District Inquiry Report*, compiled by the Waitangi Tribunal, and released in November 2013. The Te Kāhui Maunga report brings together 41 Treaty claims against the New Zealand government acting for the Crown, claiming that the government has committed numerous breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to the creation and subsequent management of Tongariro National Park. Those who make these claims against the Crown are from Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Haua and other Māori iwi who are 'bound together by connections to te kāhui maunga, 'the chiefly cluster or company of mountains' of Tongariro National Park (Waitangi Tribunal 2013, section 1.4).

Significantly, the Te Kāhui Maunga report finds that 'the noble gift' of the peaks which form the nucleus of Tongariro National Park was not a gift in the English sense of the term, but rather it was Horonuku Te Heuheu inviting the Queen to be a partner, or co-trustee of the mountains, to share the responsibility of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) (Waitangi Tribunal 2013, section 16.7). Mead (2003, p. 181) writes that an important point to recognise about Māori gift giving is that 'there is a tradition behind it, there are tikanga (Māori customs) involved in the exchange.' This means that there is the expectation of a return gift, and this return gift cannot be less in value than the initial gift. Mead (2003, p. 187) also notes that 'as taonga [highly prized], land was regarded as probably the ultimate gift. One could not

do better than receive a gift of land.' Yet the Te Kāhui Maunga report alerts to the different perspectives held by Te Heuheu, and the then-New Zealand Native Minister, John Ballance, who acted as the central brokers of the gift, and how these different perspectives of 1887 have essentially continued into the present:

> With hindsight, we can see that the minds of Te Heuheu and Ballance had not met, and there was a misunderstanding on the part of Ballance's agents as to how the agreement would be implemented. The Crown should have inquired into the conditions of the tuku [to let go, release, give up], and carefully recorded them at the time. When Ballance introduced the 1887 Tongariro National Park Bill in parliament, some Māori objected. The Crown did not explore or address these objections, or later complaints that arose in 1889. When the deed which defined the ownership of the peaks was drawn up to be signed in September 1887, the English text and the Māori text were incompatible. The Crown has conceded that the legal mechanisms which were used to give effect to the tuku were perfunctory. We agree. The Crown did not adequately consult with Horonuku Te Heuheu or Ngāti Tūwharetoa (still less with the other tribes of te kāhui maunga) or obtain informed consent when the Tongariro National Park Act was passed by parliament in 1894. (Waitangi Tribunal 2013, section 16.7)

The Te Kāhui Maunga report goes on to discuss how the New Zealand government has not fulfilled the terms of the 'gift' or 'tuku', noting: 'the Crown has sanctioned and supported a governance body which gave priority to non-Māori recreation use and enjoyment, and tangata whenua [people of the land] suffered the consequence' (Waitangi Tribunal 2013, section 16.11). The findings of the Te Kāhui Maunga report suggest that New Zealand through DOC is also not adhering to the initial expectations of the advisory bodies of the World Heritage Committee, which when making their submissions that Tongariro be included as the first associative cultural landscape on the World Heritage List in the early 1990s, were under the impression that 'by legislation, the Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe is guaranteed participation in policy making and management planning' (IUCN 1990).

The Te Kāhui Maunga report concludes by recommending that Tongariro National Park be held in joint title by the Crown and the iwi of te kāhui maunga, 'the chiefly cluster of mountains'. The report notes that this 'will require a new Tongariro National Park Act', and it suggests that it be made explicit that this situation has come about through a Waitangi Tribunal process. It also recommends that Tongariro National Park be taken out of DOC control and managed jointly by a statutory authority which comprises representatives from the Crown and ngā iwi o te kāhui maunga, the iwi of the mountains (Waitangi Tribunal 2013, section 16.12).

Tongariro is a clear example of how the Waitangi Tribunal process with its Treaty settlements is changing how heritage management is thought about in New Zealand. This section of the discussion has shown that, as a result, national parks and other areas managed by DOC can no longer carry on existing as separate entities, being managed as though they are cut off from the realities of the emerging post-settler New Zealand. DOC's continued focus on the intrinsic values of the natural heritage of Tongariro has meant that the organisation is not adequately addressing the care of the cultural values of the park, nor are they meeting the expectations of the World Heritage associative cultural landscapes inscription. The Te Kāhui Maunga report makes clear that the future heritage management of Tongariro must be open to the cultural connections of a number of Māori tribes who have connections with the park. I argue that including the more-than-representational into the practice of a new cultural landscapes approach for Tongariro would go some way to opening up current management systems to engage with and be more inclusive of the diverse Māori heritage values of Tongariro, while also opening up a space, or contact zone, for cross-cultural dialogue between Māori and non-Māori/Pākehā New Zealanders, in relation to the cultural values of the park area.

What about the role of 'settler' New Zealanders?

Throughout this chapter, discussion of the cultural values of Tongariro has been largely restricted to Māori values, and particularly those of Ngāti Tūwharetoa iwi. This focus has been due to my questioning of how the World Heritage associative cultural landscape listing is functioning. And while the Māori cultural heritage values are recognised at the World Heritage level, it does not mean that Tongariro is not valued by other New Zealanders as well. However, the relationship of many Pākehā New Zealanders to Tongariro, and the other mountains of New Zealand, can be quite challenging to articulate. Pawson (2013, pp. 172-3) discusses how while New Zealand's mountains have icon status as taken-for-granted national 'possessions', the majority of New Zealanders, as urban dwellers, have missed out on gaining much personal intimacy with the mountains. This interpretation of Tongariro as a landscape to behold from a distance has had a lot to do with the rules of the New Zealand national park system, and a country-wide dogma from the earliest days of settlement which has reduced land in New Zealand to spheres of production and conservation (Pawson & Brooking 2013).

Tongariro is well-known to many New Zealanders as a place to visit for recreation. It is a popular skiing destination, with Whakapapa and Turoa ski fields located on Mount Ruapehu within the national park; there is the Tongariro Alpine Crossing and other walks, campsites and huts, mountain bike tracks, and hunting opportunities. Yet whether partaking in these kinds of recreational activities can explain the extent of Pākehā cultural values connected to Tongariro is debatable. The scholarship of Geoff Park has been used throughout this thesis to suggest that Pākehā New Zealanders are increasingly recognising that they can also have intimate connections with their surroundings. Park (2006, p. 10) suggests that 'the landscape idea is becoming increasingly the matter of heart and home that whenua [earth, placenta] is'. And as a consequence of this, Park (2006, p. 93 author's emphasis) goes on to suggest that consideration of ecosystem and landscape ecology in New Zealand needs 'a paradigm shift from reading nature and country as a scattering of discrete objects and protected, pristine places to knowing it as a nourishing terrain that gives and receives life'.

Therefore, just as Māori cultural values need to be more closely understood relative to nature, the same goes for the cultural values of Pākehā New Zealanders. And a cultural landscapes approach that takes into account the more-than-representational could be a way to go about recognising these cultural and natural co-productions. Back in Turangi, with the rain pouring down outside, Sir Tumu explained his version of landscape to me:

> One of the important discussions that Māori make in terms of their association with landscape, both in time and place is through whakapapa, that's the family relationships. Whakapapa can take you right back to the beginning, or it can bring you right up to today and it starts to intermingle not only with ourselves as a tribe, but also with other tribes in terms of relationships. If you understand your whakapapa, you actually begin to breach the wall, in other words everything will open up, not only whakapapa, but also matters relating to the environment, landscape, place, as well as people.

Sir Tumu explained that an awareness of one's place in the world generates a wider understanding of the networks that people are part of, and while his words are directly related to Māori New Zealanders, his message is relevant to anyone. For Pākehā, reflecting more closely on one's own being-in-the-world will surely grow awareness and respect for one's self and others, in addition to the environment. Sir Tumu's words also have synergies with Ingold's scholarship, which notes that landscape:

> has both transparency and depth: transparency, because one can see into it; depth, because the more one looks the further one sees. Far from dressing up a plain reality with layers of metaphor, or representing it, map-like, in the imagination,

> songs, stories and designs serve to conduct the attention of performers *into* the world … At its most intense, the boundaries between person and place, or between the self and the landscape, dissolve altogether. It is at this point that, as the people say, they become their ancestors, and discover the real meaning of things. (Ingold 2000, p. 56)

Therefore, while as a Pākehā New Zealander, I may only get to the surface of what whakapapa entails, tuning into my affective experiences gives me a pass to feel, and opens me up to a space, or contact zone where others may be having similar experiences. Rose (2006, p. 538) suggests 'that the cultural landscape is not an object that reflects 'culture' nor a milieu where culture takes place but something that happens as we actively mark the world to orient our unfolding selves.'

Conclusion

The few short hours that I spent in Turangi with Sir Tumu Te Heuheu and the kaumātua of Ngāti Tūwharetoa iwi was enough to crystallise my thinking on the direction cultural landscapes for heritage management needs take in New Zealand. I was lucky enough to be privy to Sir Tumu and his kaumātua's meaning-making in relation to their connections with Tongariro, and this sensorial, atmospheric, more-than-representational encounter added a depth to my understanding of the cultural landscapes of Tongariro. As Sir Tumu and the kaumātua spoke of their understandings and beliefs, Tongariro spoke at the same time. The rain and hail ebbed and flowed outside our hui (meeting), generating an experience that I will never forget, and one which I am certain anyone—no matter their culture or creed—would have no trouble interpreting.

The Turangi meeting revealed that DOC's current engagement with the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management, while recognising Tongariro National Park as a World Heritage associative cultural landscape, is not doing enough to acknowledge and engage with how the cultural values of the different Māori tribes of the area are intimately connected with the park's natural qualities. The Tongariro situation suggests that post-settler cultural landscapes approaches need to cater to the more than textual, linguistic, visual, Sauerien 'reading' of the landscape, and bring ongoing and active engagement and connections into the practice of management. I suggest that heritage practitioners need to be open to examining the more-than-representational as part of their management practice, and that they feed what they are experiencing back into the mechanics of a cultural landscapes approach as a social system.

New Zealand has so far shied away from employing a formalised cultural landscapes approach within its nationally sanctioned heritage management systems. This point of discussion will be followed up in the next chapter, but suffice to say that this chapter has illustrated how DOC's engagement with the concept of cultural landscapes has essentially restricted the potential of what it might offer heritage management, with the consequence that it has not been translated from Tongariro into other areas of New Zealand's heritage management practices.

Just as our meeting began, we finish with a song. I am asked what waiata I know, and I suggest *Te Aroha*, which is about love, faith and peace. We sing, say our goodbyes, and then Te Kenehi and I leave. But then remembering that we missed a photo opportunity we rush back with our cameras to get photos with Sir Tumu and the kaumātua. After our impromptu photo session, Te Kenehi and I say our goodbyes again, and we head off on our four hour drive to back to Wellington. Heavy with feelings of responsibility to do justice to the testament that has been shared with me—what follows is my attempt to work with the gift that I was given. The next and final chapter of this thesis, then, will look to recommend what kind of shape New Zealand's cultural landscapes approach for heritage management might take.

Figure 24: Sir Tumu Te Heuheu, the author and Te Kenehi Teira in the offices of Te Whare Aronui o Tūwharetoa in Turangi, November 2013. Photo by Hinemoa Wanikau

Part III Section Two: Concluding remarks—Recommending a cultural landscapes approach for New Zealand

When I began this research project back in March 2011 I believed that I would find 'the answer' to how the heritage values of places like Matiu/Somes Island should be managed in post-Treaty settlement New Zealand. I was certain that the concept of cultural landscapes would play a central role in this answer, and I was resolute that as part of this process I would develop a set of guiding policies for heritage practitioners. Even as I got close to finishing this thesis, I still held tight to the belief that in its final pages I would chisel out the exact formula for New Zealand's cultural landscapes approach. Yet the more I tried to write a formulaic conclusion, the more I realised that perhaps this was not the answer at all, especially when I reflected on my experiences at Turangi in the shadow of Mount Tongariro. It was at this point that I realised that my former Department of Conservation (DOC) colleagues, and all the other heritage practitioners that I had met within New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Canada would be frustrated by my reticence. Many of them were expecting a list of directives for how to apply the concept of cultural landscapes into the practical arena of heritage management, not an amorphous set of key touchstones that shape an open-framed cultural landscapes approach that I am presenting here instead. However, for reasons that will be made clear throughout this chapter, I think that touchstones rather than a set of directives is the better way to go for a cultural landscapes approach in post-Treaty settlement New Zealand.

The first part of this chapter begins by examining how my Tongariro experience has re-shaped what I think about the New Zealand heritage management problem that I introduced at the beginning of this thesis. Then the second part of this chapter describes the touchstones that inform the ideas, policies and practices of my proposed cultural landscapes approach. The insights that I gained in Australia, the United States, Canada and from Tongariro, are developed further by the wisdom that I received from a series of semi-structured interviews that I undertook with New Zealand heritage professionals who have all had, and continue to have, long careers in the 'thinking' and 'doing' of heritage management in New Zealand. The interaction with these New Zealanders was very useful in helping me to re-centre my focus on New Zealand after my case study investigations overseas. I also found that the input of the New Zealand heritage professionals gave my research a peer review of sorts, in that it supported that the problem that I had identified

at the beginning of this research project was recognised as a significant issue by others, and that the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management might indeed be part of the solution.

What Tongariro taught me about heritage management in New Zealand

My research grew out of my concerns around the pervasiveness of a compartmentalised nature/settler/indigenous heritage management approach on Matiu/Somes Island in New Zealand. As part of my role as a historic ranger working for DOC, I had found this management approach to disregard the more entangled heritage realities of the island, and I believed that Matiu/Somes Island represented the issues facing heritage management within DOC and New Zealand more broadly. I was focussed on the need to develop an integrated management approach to address this problem and initially I was thinking about how adjustments could be made to legislation and management policies so that DOC might then lead a wider change for heritage management across the country. However, by the time I got to Tongariro I was starting to realise that there were a few other steps that needed attention before the integrated approach could eventuate.

I suggested at the start of this thesis that the effects of over twenty years of Treaty of Waitangi settlements have been increasingly proving the compartmentalised heritage management approach to be out of touch with the realities of post-Treaty settlement New Zealand. But what did I really mean by this? My initial thinking was that the main outcomes of the Treaty settlements were that they were elevating the place of Māori heritage and growing a greater acknowledgement of Māori world views in post-Treaty settlement New Zealand. I also considered that these outcomes had the effect of drawing attention to how the existing nature/settler/indigenous compartments for heritage management were out of touch with Māori concepts interrelating 'mana atua, mana tangata and mana whenua, the spiritual realm with the human world and both of those with the earth and all that is on it' (Selby, Moore & Mulholland 2010, p. 1). Yet I soon came to consider that this might only be half of the equation. Settlements address generations of Māori losses as a result of continued New Zealand government breaches of the Treaty, and they can lead to Māori iwi (tribes) receiving commercial and cultural redress, including the return of culturally significant areas of land and greater participation in the management of culturally important areas or resources. Frequently in New Zealand, we talk about Treaty settlements in light of the resources that are returned to Māori. Yet at the same time that the Treaty

settlements acknowledge the intense emotional connections that Māori have with these resources relative to narratives around loss, they also bring to the fore the relationships of Māori heritage values with settler heritage values. The New Zealand Government's acknowledgements and apologies on public record, and in the settlement legislation, are encouraging greater questioning of settler/Pākehā heritage and personal belongings in New Zealand. This suggests that any opening up of awareness of the intimacies of Māori heritage values relative to 'natural' resource values, is also inspiring an opening up around recognition of the intimacies of settler heritage values relative to natural and Māori heritage values. Debates, dialogue and action in relation to self-definition, sovereignty, and redress between Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders spurred on by the Treaty settlements, are working to build awareness and recognition to generate a deeper change of attitude to the way that Māori and Pākehā interrelate with each other and their surroundings. Therefore, in addition to the understanding that Māori heritage values cannot be reduced to a category of cultural heritage that is managed separately from natural heritage, there is also a gradually developing recognition that Pākehā heritage does not occupy a mutually exclusive category of heritage to be managed in isolation either.

One of the key things that I took away from my meeting at Turangi, was that my encounter there led me to question my personal heritage, my identity as a Pākehā New Zealander, and what this meant for my connection to Tongariro. Yet it was as though I needed the experience of getting to know the heritage values of Sir Tumu Te Heuheu and his kaumātua (elders) before I could better reflect on myself, or try to locate my own heritage values. And it is this relational 'post-settler' awareness that I believe needs to be at the root of any cultural landscapes approach in New Zealand. In his seminal *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape & Whenua*, Park (2006, p. 10) wrote that he thought a shift was happening whereby 'the landscape idea is becoming increasingly the matter of heart and home that whenua [earth, placenta] is.' I have come to realise that Park's (2006, p. 91) words which I included at the start of my introduction, namely that: 'the key to reimagining will be the landscape', have to do with how Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders relate to each other. It is through landscape that we might come to know each other and ourselves better.

I had not been expecting the deeply affective, sensorial experience that I encountered at Turangi. I had arrived ready to interview Sir Tumu Te Heuheu as part of my series of interviews with nine other New Zealand heritage professionals knowledgeable on topics

related to cultural landscapes. I was approaching the interview with my already programmed heritage expectations that I was observing the cultural landscapes of Tongariro and those who valued these landscapes. Yet, almost immediately, the situation that I encountered compelled me to adjust my bearings and consider myself as part of the landscape that I was researching—which made me a little uncomfortable. As heritage researchers and practitioners, we have a set of in-built ideas which can limit opportunities for new understandings and innovation. Opening up our considerations of heritage to what we encounter and feel is an area we need to investigate further if we are to find common points of convergences with others. Right from the waiata (song) that began our hui (meeting), I was transported away from my thoughts of policies and legislation, in fact, I felt embarrassed about the level of technocratic language in my interview questions. It was as though the waiata accompanied by the rain and hail, tuned each of us into Tongariro and each other. I heard narratives which explained how the identity of Ngāti Tūwharetoa is 'taprooted in Tongariro', and how whakapapa (genealogy) relationships were at the heart of this recognition. I could not help but be enveloped within the emotion expressed in the meeting in relation to the deep affection that Sir Tumu and his kaumātu have for Tongariro. Merata Kawharu clearly expresses the Māori cultural ethos that informed what I was a part of at Turangi:

> Present and future circumstances are made sense of by referencing the past and therefore all contained within it—ancestors, gods and spiritual powers. Past, present and future are collapsed into one. Interpreting 'environment' then, is not simply about considering a place or landscape in the present, but also about taking into account times past of history, and all that it contains. (Kawharu, M 2010, p. 222)

To assist me to bring my experiences into an academic frame, I looked to the scholarship on the more-than-representational. More-than-representational theories, as discussed throughout this thesis, are about the different ways that people practise the world—the more performative methods around people's actions. Lorimer (2005, p. 83) suggests that there has been 'a tendency for cultural analyses to cleave towards a conservative, categorical politics of identity and textual meaning.' This 'deadening effect', claims Lorimer, 'can be overcome by allowing in much more of the excessive and transient aspects of living.' The more-than-representational is starting to become a topic of enquiry within the field of museum and heritage studies, where there have been calls for how the recognition of the significance of emotion, intuition, and 'affective' experiences might also assist us to engage with the heritage of others. Byrne's (2012, p. 606) notion of 'empathetic

engagement' addresses how visitors can have a sensory engagement with the heritage sites that they visit, which can 'occasion moments of empathy with past others who have been within the affective aura or 'halo' of these things.' Byrne (2012, pp. 606-7) is careful to underline the caveat that 'object-mediated empathy of this kind does not put us inside the minds or bodies of others', but that this kind of empathy, does support a willingness and preparedness 'to imagine the situation of others, which establishes the possibility of community'. Byrne (2012, p. 607) also contends that by considering our own emotional histories 'we achieve a 'critical proximity' with others when we are able, even momentarily, to put ourselves in their position.' The work of other scholars, such as Waterton and Watson (2013) and Witcomb (2014) as already discussed in this thesis, promote the need for a reformulation of the scope of museum and heritage studies along with a reinvigoration of our methods to better cope with the complex nature of heritage, including cross-cultural dialogues. Therefore, I see the 'more-than-representational' as not so much about striving for complete understanding of the heritage values of others, but more about how when it is included in the way we consider heritage management, that it can open people up to appreciate, respect and acknowledge different values and knowledge systems.

In addition to my more-than-representational experience at Turangi, my understanding of the cultural landscapes of Tongariro were also conditioned by what I had read and my memories of what I had experienced at Tongariro in the past (I had completed the Tongariro Alpine Crossing walk a few years ago). During my Turangi visit I did not make a visual study of Tongariro (mainly because for most of the time that I was there, Mount Tongariro was behind a thick layer of low cloud). This underlines the view that the way that we consider and value heritage involves a more complex process than simply describing what we see of its tangible qualities. As part of my interviews with New Zealand heritage professionals, I spoke with Huhana Smith, who has been leading a research project working to enhance the health of coastal ecosystems for iwi and hapū (sub-tribes) in the Horowhenua region. Smith spoke at length in her interview around how heritage management in New Zealand is currently undertaken, and she made the following comment about existing practices:

> We like to bring an archaeologist in who will do the little looks in the ground for the dots on map approach—we shouldn't be doing that. We should be doing a comprehensive historical overview of people's intricate relationships with whenua [land, placenta] built up over a period of time, where it engages with that complexity, where it is not a timeline… How people relate is much more fluid, more

> dynamic and much more intricate—and our thinking, our approaches and policy development needs to reflect that. People might think that this is far too hard, but I think there are ways and means of doing this. (H Smith, interview at 658 State Highway 1 RD 20, Kuku, New Zealand, Thursday 18 April 2013)

Smith contended that DOC and New Zealand's other heritage management organisations have not been dealing with the complexity well enough, 'they've been relying on templates, it's been the one-stop-shop approach, and I don't think that has been smart enough' (H Smith, interview at 658 State Highway 1 RD 20, Kuku, New Zealand, Thursday 18 April 2013).

Therefore, what all of this has assisted me to realise, is that a cultural landscapes approach in post-Treaty settlement New Zealand needs, as Cosgrove (2003b, p. 250) suggests, to recognise the 'techniques and meanings of seeing' behind landscape, so that the art of 'sight, vision and seeing' is understood as involving much more than a single sensorial response. Another one of my New Zealand interviewees, Te Kenehi Teira, who is the Kaihāutu (leader) of the Māori heritage team of Heritage New Zealand, and who also accompanied me to Turangi to meet with Sir Tumu, made the insight that, 'the usefulness of talking about landscapes comes from not just the protection or the management, but also the understanding that the people have of their environment' (T Teira, interview at Antrim House, 63 Boulcott Street, Wellington, New Zealand, Saturday 27 April 2013).

What the next part of this final chapter will illustrate is that you cannot have appropriate and comprehensive protection and management of heritage without comprehensive awareness. Awareness requires getting to the heart of why the heritage is being protected in the first place, it involves taking into account all those who value this heritage, which is ultimately going to bring to the fore many heritage values all at once. This means that we need to recognise landscapes as 'contact zones' (Clifford 1997), as a field in which there are multiple players who are not necessarily pulling in the same direction at the same time, a factor that necessitates negotiation to generate greater awareness and understanding.

a) Cultural landscapes needs buy-in

One of the central touchstones of my proposed open-framed cultural landscapes approach for post-Treaty settlement New Zealand is the need for buy-in across the ideas, policies and practices of heritage management. I found in the course of this research project that the term 'cultural landscapes' written in a policy document did not in itself equal buy-in, and

that there could be different levels of engagement with the concept of cultural landscapes within the one parks organisation. What became immediately clear was how the concept of cultural landscapes was held in the esteem of the different parks organisations affected the way that it informed heritage management.

At Tongariro, the buy-in for cultural landscapes for heritage management is different to the international case study park organisations. It could be described as a more singular buy-in, where DOC is primarily concerned with applying the concept of cultural landscapes at Tongariro—in conjunction with the park's World Heritage associative cultural landscape status. DOC does not promote cultural landscapes for heritage management for its other national parks and protected areas.[23] In this way, cultural landscapes for heritage management is a subsidiary to the more established national park management framework that DOC applies at Tongariro. This pre-eminence given to the national park status suggests that DOC's consideration of Tongariro as a cultural landscape continues to separate the natural from the cultural heritage values. Tongariro was initially inscribed on the World Heritage List for its natural values, and the cultural landscapes status, appears to be registered by DOC as a means of elevating recognition of the Māori heritage values, rather than seeing the interactions between the natural and cultural heritage values. DOC's website and management plan for Tongariro, promotes the park as having 'dual World Heritage' status in more places than it locates the park as being a 'cultural landscape'(DOC nd-b). By continuing to manage the natural and cultural heritage values of Tongariro separately, DOC essentially ignores many of the intricacies which underline what Tongariro really means to Ngāti Tūwharetoa and other Māori iwi and hapū, not to mention the cultural heritage values of Pākehā New Zealanders.

[23] DOC has undertaken some policy reporting on cultural landscapes related ideas. One of my interviewees, Janet Stephenson, who is a planner, and Director of the Centre for Sustainability at Otago University, described how she 'led a little project' for DOC's national office, exploring heritage at a landscape scale (J Stephenson, interview at 21 Montgomery Avenue, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, Tuesday 4 June 2013). The 2004 *Bannockburn Heritage Landscape Study* developed a landscape methodology to guide the identification, conservation and interpretation of historic and cultural resources. Yet in a similar vein to the situation that developed around the NSW Park Service engagement with the 2010 *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide for Park Management*, the *Bannockburn Heritage Landscape Study* appears to have had limited application within DOC. The study has had more impact outside of DOC, where it has been identified by New Zealand's Environment Court as a method of identification and protection of heritage landscape values (McClean 2007).

Paul Dingwall, one of my New Zealand interviewees, and former science manager for DOC, helped me to understand some of the reasons for DOC's limited buy-in of cultural landscapes for heritage management. He explained that:

> Cultural landscapes came out of the United Kingdom Lakes District, with the 1987 Lakes District Declaration—that was the real beginning of cultural landscapes. It caught on around the world, including in New Zealand, but not within government, I wouldn't say within DOC. (P Dingwall, interview at 35 Cheshire Street, Wilton, Wellington, New Zealand, Friday 26 April 2013)

Dingwall explains that along with cultural landscapes for heritage management, New Zealand also did not embrace the international recognition of Biosphere Reserves. He is of the opinion that:

> The reason for this was because our political leaders felt that we had a sophisticated protected areas system that caters for all needs from scientific, through cultural, through educational, through utilitarian, through strict protection, through heritage needs; we didn't need another designation. So there is no real legislative basis or framework for the establishment of cultural landscape in the lexicon of protected areas in New Zealand. (P Dingwall, interview at 35 Cheshire Street, Wilton, Wellington, New Zealand, Friday 26 April 2013)

It is useful to make some connections between Tongariro and the Australian, American and Canadian case studies to further underline the significant role that buy-in has in the way that the concept of cultural landscapes is employed for heritage management. My investigations at Royal National Park (the Royal) in Sydney, Australia, revealed the concept of cultural landscapes to be embedded across all levels of park management. While the term 'cultural landscapes' was not often used, staff at the Royal spoke to me of their endeavours to consider the management of natural, settler and indigenous heritage values in a more integrated fashion in the practices of park management, and this was further identified in park management policies.

There were some challenges for the Royal when it came to the buy-in of cultural landscapes for heritage management within the wider NSW Park Service. While the Royal staff had developed their own 'integrated cultural landscapes approach', the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management had also been developed into a set of policy guidelines for inclusion within the wider NSW Park Service by an affiliated, but external, research team. Yet there was no directive made by the upper management of the NSW Park Service that the 2010 *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide for Park Management* policy document should inform park management. The response from the Royal staff when

I broached the topic of the 2010 policy document as part of our interviews, was that they already essentially had their own 'integrated cultural landscapes approach' for park management, but that they would consider incorporating some elements of the 2010 *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide for Park Management* into their work. This situation suggests that cultural landscapes for heritage management within the NSW Park Service will only ever continue to be applied in a piecemeal fashion by individual parks who determine that it is a useful idea to follow. Therefore, any innovation that cultural landscapes might bring to the way the NSW Park Service goes about park management will be limited because it will be reduced to park by park initiatives, rather than buy-in across all levels of the NSW Park Service. I also wanted to signal that a closer working relationship between heritage practitioners and those working in research positions developing policy documents, might generate more robust innovative outcomes for emerging concepts like cultural landscapes.[24]

My examination of the American case study of Golden Gate National Recreation Area (Golden Gate) revealed that cultural landscapes for heritage management had widespread buy-in across the US National Park Service. The US National Park Service recognises cultural landscapes as a resource type under 'Cultural Resource Management' within its *Management Policies* 2006—this is the service-wide policy document which basically sets out the national rules of the organisation. The significance of the placement of cultural landscapes in this central policy document aims to ensure that the way that cultural landscapes for heritage management is considered is consistent across all levels of the US National Park Service. The centralised policy also connects into other national policy reporting that provides more specific details around the use of cultural landscapes within the US National Park Service. At Golden Gate this meant that when I asked staff about how they engaged with cultural landscapes as part of their work, most immediately referenced a cultural landscape policy document: 'when you say cultural landscape use at work, I immediately think, well do we have a cultural landscape report that we can refer to?' In this way, the term 'cultural landscapes' had more of a presence at Golden Gate than the

[24] *Cultural Landscapes: A Practical Guide for Park Management* was developed by researchers from the Country, Culture and Heritage Division within the Office of Environment and Heritage in close conjunction with staff from three NSW Park Service case studies. Yet the policy document was disseminated to NSW Park Service staff only by email and post, with little discussion on how staff might incorporate its findings into their existing management practices. The Country, Culture and Heritage Division within the Office of Environment and Heritage within the NSW Department of Premier and Cabinet was disbanded at the end of 2013.

Royal—where the Royal staff recognised the ideas behind the concept of cultural landscapes, yet were not so comfortable with using the term.

Rouge National Urban Park (the Rouge) in Toronto, Canada is also designing its own cultural landscapes approach. Yet unlike the Royal, where the park's cultural landscapes approach still must ultimately fit within the wider NSW Park Service rules for national parks, the Rouge, as Parks Canada's first newly established 'national urban park' has more freedom in the way that it chooses to engage with cultural landscapes for heritage management. Hence, when it comes to buy-in, the Rouge has cultural landscapes ideas embedded within its 'big idea' framework, which will inform all areas of park management. The all-encompassing buy-in of cultural landscapes for heritage management at the Rouge sits slightly at odds with the wider Parks Canada cultural landscapes programme, where buy-in can, at times, be undermined by the existence of different 'indigenous' and 'settler-driven' cultural landscapes approaches.

Each of these parks across New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Canada engages with the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management to a different degree: Tongariro appears to see the concept of cultural landscapes as peripheral to its primary mandate as a national park, the Royal and the Rouge both employ broad overarching ideas of what cultural landscapes denotes and feeds these ideas into management policies and practices, and Golden Gate follows a definition of cultural landscapes that connects the way that it is considered within the US National Park Service to an extensive suite of policy reporting. The next section will consider the extent to which cultural landscapes for heritage management should be codified in legislation and management policies.

b) Cultural landscapes need codification—but not too much

> What we have yet to do is fully engage the complexity of our landscape world, the great variety of meanings, and the multiple landscape constituencies—especially in ways that get beyond the visual and historical narrative. We live in a broad pluralistic society, one that treasures differences. We must remember to value those differences and embrace them as strengths. There are many truths in any landscape. The codified expectation of finding only one truth threatens to divert us from our own feelings, our own understandings, and our own knowledge. We need to think about time, ownership, and nature, and we need to continue to expand our professional and personal landscape horizons. (Melnick 2008, p. 208)

Melnick has contributed to the US National Park Service cultural landscapes programme since 1980, and after 30 years he has come to propose that the codification of cultural landscapes can have limitations. It was made clear at Golden Gate, that codification, the systematic organisation of the terminology of cultural landscapes into legislation and management policies, ensures the comprehension of what the concept entails across all areas of the US National Park Service. In addition to the service-wide *Management Policies 2006*, the US National Park Service uses Cultural Landscape Reports (CLRs) to frame the way that the park organisation should engage with cultural landscapes. CLRs set out the long-term management and treatment decisions and they require cultural landscapes to be organised into 'landscape characteristics' which can include 'spatial arrangement', 'historic structures', 'archaeological features' and 'natural systems', for example. Yet while these CLRs promote clarity and uniformity, the landscape characteristics also essentially work to split cultural landscapes up. The landscape characteristics are focussed on the visible, tangible aspects, with only one out of the list of thirteen landscape characteristics of 'cultural traditions' being more obviously related to people's more intangible connections. A further issue is that it appears that the majority of the attention of the 'historic cultural landscapes approach' at Golden Gate was on the creation of the CLR reports, with less attention being paid to the different ways that these policy reports were being put into practice by staff.

Another outcome of the comprehensive codification of cultural landscapes within the US National Park Service, is the tendency for certain types of cultural landscapes to dominate. For instance, the US National Park Service's definition of cultural landscapes organises the concept into four general types: 'historic sites', 'historic designed landscapes', 'historic vernacular landscapes', and 'ethnographic landscapes', which supports the dominance of recognition of cultural landscapes with historic elements. A report read on behalf of Stephanie Toothman, Associate Director of Cultural Resources and Science for the US National Park Service, at the recent 2013 George Wright Society conference, indicated that while historic site and historic designed landscapes were relatively easy concepts for the US National Park Service to grasp, 'the vernacular and ethnographic concepts were not, and continue to pose a challenge' (Toothman 2013).

Furthermore, codification can generate distance while also advocating 'scientific accuracy', where the agency of the 'observer'/compiler of the policy is usually not transparent.

Distanced cultural landscapes assessments can perpetuate an ideology of cultural homogeneity and even cultural superiority that overrides the legitimation of diverse cultural epistemologies and cosmologies. Not one of the CLRs available online for Golden Gate employs the landscape characteristic of 'cultural traditions' which suggests that the US National Park Service is not recognising a key component of the heritage values of Golden Gate. The 'historic cultural landscapes approach' at Golden Gate with its focus on the recognition of significant periods of history and the tangible items which represent those eras, effectively sidelines the continuing social connections that different communities have with the park. When I questioned Golden Gate staff about the usage of the term 'ethnographic' in their work, I was told that it was not frequently employed within Golden Gate 'because we are an urban park'. Other associated responses included that 'ethnographic landscapes are more informed by the particular cultural values of a set of people—whereas our park landscapes are more functionally and programmatically used.'

At the Royal in Australia, detailed codification of cultural landscapes for heritage management did not appear to be such a priority. When it was discussed, staff brought up how challenging it was to include the right kind of language in their policy documents to articulate their developing thinking on ideas associated with the concept of cultural landscapes. Comments were made such as that by the Aboriginal Community Liaison Officer, who drew attention to how codification can be at odds with the dynamism of cultural landscapes:

> I've seen this stuff written, and to me it doesn't give true value to what they're trying to talk about. When they talk about 'intangible' and the 'tangible' stuff, words don't sort of count how important this stuff is, how important our natural environment is, how important mother earth is. And I do, I just look at it very differently to what is put in documents, but it's very hard to write that stuff.

In Canada, a staff member at the Rouge suggested 'we may be able to talk about cultural landscape without ever using the term 'cultural landscape'—I'm not ruling it out, but I'm not saying that it's a term we might end up using, but I think the concept is definitely applicable and going to be used in the Rouge.' The thinking behind this statement was that strict usage of the 'cultural landscape' term was not the key—it was more the ideas behind the term which are deemed important by the staff at the Rouge. Consideration of cultural landscapes for heritage management in this manner also has to do with the way that Parks Canada are already using the concept of 'cultural landscapes' in policy, which is more delineated than what the Rouge staff had in mind for the new national urban park

initiative. For example, Parks Canada follows the pan-Canadian *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (*Standards & Guidelines)*. 'Cultural landscapes' is located within the *Standards & Guidelines* as a category of historic place alongside archaeological sites, buildings, and engineering works. In the *Rouge National Urban Park Draft Management Plan 2014*, the term 'cultural landscape' is used sparingly within the document, and in a controlled, technical way. In contrast, the term 'landscape' is employed in a broad and open-ended manner, to refer to the dynamism of the different heritage values of the Rouge, and to relate these heritage values with the four cornerstone elements of the park concept: conserving natural heritage, connecting people to nature and history, supporting a vibrant farming community, and celebrating cultural heritage character. Recognising and valuing the way that people interact with their surroundings played a central role in the way that the Rouge staff contemplated the idea of cultural landscapes for heritage management in our interviews. The Rouge is being promoted as a 'People's Park' which staff explained 'does not mean that connecting people to nature takes priority over the other three of the goals… because ultimately it's not the presence of people, it's the need to have people involved, making decisions, becoming stewards and ambassadors, becoming aware and understanding.'

The across park discussion suggests that codification is a necessary part of park management, and that having cultural landscapes for heritage management within policy documents is a necessary requirement. Yet it is the level of codification which is at question. The Golden Gate case study suggests that the more dense the codification is, the less room there is available to consider the more intangible elements of cultural values. It was as though the codification for cultural landscapes at Golden Gate essentially removed what makes the concept of cultural landscapes different to traditional cultural heritage management—namely its ability to consider different heritage values together, its promotion of cultural heritage as more than sites, or man-made structures, and its more fluid take on recognition of the past and present, where cultural landscapes do not elevate certain historical periods over others. What the Royal and the Rouge brought to the discussion was that when the focus of the idea of cultural landscapes is on how people have been, and continue to interact with the park environments, then codification needs to be more open and flexible.

My interviews with the New Zealand heritage professionals contributed further discussion around distinctions between national and local codification initiatives for cultural landscapes. All of the New Zealand heritage professionals were in agreement that codification, whether that be legislation or policy, was an important step for the greater recognition of cultural landscapes related ideas in New Zealand—with many suggesting that this needed to be happening at a national level. New Zealand landscape planner, Di Lucas was of the opinion that 'the confusion at the moment is purely because there is no statutory base, there is no official term' (D Lucas, interview at 351 Manchester Street, Otautahi, Christchurch, New Zealand, Friday 14 June 2013). Yet the interviewees noted that while New Zealand did not currently have the term 'cultural landscapes' within national legislation, there were many existing local initiatives including regional policy statements, iwi management plans and other conservation management planning that were including cultural landscape ideas within their local heritage management policies. However, New Zealand archaeologist, Mary O'Keefe cautioned that codification was only part of the process of employing a cultural landscapes approach:

> I would have thought it was a good idea. But writing it down just for the sake of writing it down is not good enough. So I guess the question actually is what do we need to be able to write this down but make it meaningful? I think there is both a fundamental change of approach and change of thinking, but then also some more specific tools and examples and guidance of how to make this meaningful. You've just written this term down in your plan, but what then does it mean for the day to day management of the geographic area that you're particularly managing. (M, O'Keefe, interview at 56 View Road, Houghton Bay, Wellington, New Zealand, Monday 27 May 2013)

Therefore, while codification is considered to be a central part of any cultural landscapes approach, it was widely recognised across the interviews that it was only a significant part of a bigger system. For it to be the most usefully employed, the codification/use of cultural landscapes in management policies and legislation needs to interrelate well with the ideas and the practices.

c) Cultural landscapes should not be grounded in preservation

An associated topic to the frameworks that codification can set in place, is how the ethic of preservation can also be restricting for cultural landscapes. The investigations of Tongariro and Golden Gate in particular, have highlighted how heritage management informed by preservation can affect the way that the concept of cultural landscapes is employed. The challenge of this kind of thinking, which has its roots in European common law's preference

for scheduling, listing and registering, is that it promotes the closing off of heritage items from the realities of the world that these items exist within. Preservation of heritage also creates ruptures between past and present. Well-known heritage scholar, David Lowenthal (1985), submits that our expectations around preservation are out of touch, when much of what we consider to be 'preserved' is more or less altered. Lowenthal suggests that conservation takes a more organic approach to heritage management, and he makes the connection with how living things keep their identity despite obvious physical changes:

> Trees annually lose and grow new leaves, are reshaped by growth and decay, and may be transplanted elsewhere; yet they remain recognizable entities. We too retain identities over a lifetime, experiencing remembered and present selves, however altered, as the same individual. The concept of conservation thus goes far beyond the acts of material preservation on which Western societies concentrate their efforts. (Lowenthal 1985, p. 405)

Lowenthal concludes that a fixed past is not what we really need, but that we require heritage with which we continually interact, and which fuses past with present.

A cultural landscapes approach informed by preservation also works from the idea that the tangible is at the heart of any consideration of heritage. The Royal, Golden Gate and the Rouge case studies brought to the fore the way that the concept of 'cultural landscapes' has a history within heritage management which has generated a specific way of thinking about cultural heritage as tangible items. Yet the challenge of any focus purely on the tangible, is that people's more intangible connections to these tangible items are not normally a part of the management equation. The discussion around the indigenous heritage of the parks across New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Canada, also highlights how for indigenous groups, the tangible is not the primary focus of the way they consider cultural landscapes. It was made clear within the Parks Canada discussion in Part II that the 'indigenous-led' Parks Canada cultural landscapes approach is about recognition without having to expressly articulate the connection that exists between these indigenous groups and their local surroundings. In New Zealand, Māori scholar, Merata Kawaharu explained in her interview with me that Māori is an orally based culture and as such:

> Concepts of cultural landscapes and ancestral landscapes for us emphasise the kōrero [speech, narrative] more than the place—well I can't say more than the place, but it would be equally with the place, to understand relationships between place and people. It's unpacking all of that kōrero over time, by that community and possibly others who have lived there, because there would be layers as you

> look at it from a whakapapa [genealogy] point of view. (M, Kawharu, interview at Te Tumu, University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand, Tuesday 4 June 2013)

At Tongariro, Sir Tumu and his kaumātua (elders) referred to the Ngāti Tūwharetoa pepeha (proverb) to express the way that the iwi is inextricably connected with Mount Tongariro. Therefore, similar to the Canadian discussion, a cultural landscapes approach that includes Māori heritage values in New Zealand would need to be open enough to acknowledge this kind of description of identity and heritage values and there would be the expectation that the practice of heritage management would subscribe to the 'feeling' or 'tone' of the pepeha. Kawharu adds that there can be multiple kōrero for the same area, 'for example, one group that has kaitiaki (guardianship, trusteeship) responsibility over an area, they will have their kōrero, but there will be others that may have lived within this area or in relation to particular places who have long gone or moved on' (M, Kawharu, interview at Te Tumu, University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand, Tuesday 4 June 2013). These arguments inevitably bring to the fore questions over how a cultural landscapes approach focussed on the preservation of heritage might generate conflict around which tangible heritage items should be preserved, and which should not.

Therefore, this touchstone continues to build the case that a new cultural landscapes approach for New Zealand needs to be different from traditional approaches to cultural heritage management. The proposed cultural landscapes approach must be open and dynamic enough to accommodate multiple personal and immediate connections with landscapes. These intangible connections must be allowed to inform the significance given to the tangible, more so than the physical forms of the tangible heritage resource in question determining the management approach in the first instance.

d) Cultural landscapes as a 'big idea' rather than categories or definitions

At the Rouge it was suggested that strict application of the 'cultural landscape' term was not the key' rather, it was more the ideas behind the term which were considered to be important. The Rouge staff proposed:

> …in our management plans now in Parks [Canada] we've tried to have a few big ideas, key strategies is what we call them officially, but they're big ideas, and from that flows objectives and actions…

At the Rouge, cultural landscapes is not a cultural heritage site type that sits alongside archaeological sites or historic buildings, nor is it a category of resource. Staff at the Rouge

view the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management at a higher overarching level. In my efforts to consider the ideas behind the term, I asked each of my interviewees in Australia, the United States, Canada and New Zealand specifically about 'landscape' in addition to our discussions around 'cultural landscapes'. I found that my respondents generally gave broader definitions and interpretations of 'landscape' than they did of 'cultural landscape', and this led me to question them about some of the different iterations of 'cultural landscape', such as 'historic landscape', 'heritage landscape' 'bio-cultural landscape'. Yet despite the discussion around many of these different terms, the general consensus was that the terminology was not what was important. Stephenson, made the point in her interview that:

> I would say two things, one is that landscape in and of itself can be of enormous heritage value and what that says is that we need to lift our eyes to that broader scale for thinking about how we might manage something for those values. And that's not to say that everything within that landscape would need to be preserved. But at least it says to us that there is value in the spaces and in the objects and in what is growing here, and what has grown here, and in what people have done here in the past, and what people are doing here in the present, and in the stories, and all of those things interacting. So landscape says: let's look spatially at those values and how do they interrelate with each other. (J Stephenson, interview at 21 Montgomery Avenue, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, Tuesday 4 June 2013)

What the Canadian and New Zealand narratives bring to the discussion is that the definition of 'cultural landscapes' should not be the priority of a cultural landscapes approach. Instead teaching through examples was promoted as a good way to continue to develop knowledge and practices of cultural landscapes for heritage management. The team at the Rouge are working with the 'big idea' of cultural landscapes and they are focussed on evolving what this means through management—they are 'knowing-by-doing'. Many of the New Zealand heritage professionals drew attention to how they believed that the local initiatives were having more success at employing the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management than the national. Dingwall, promoted local initiatives which are applying cultural landscapes for heritage management around New Zealand, and he suggested that these kinds of initiatives are focussed on management imperatives on the ground. 'Management is the overall guiding force in the landscape approach, it doesn't matter who owns the land, or what the tenures are, or that you have dozens of different types of legislation that apply' claimed Dingwall (P Dingwall, interview at 35 Cheshire Street, Wilton, Wellington, New Zealand, Friday 26 April 2013). The New Zealand heritage professionals

also suggested that it was the ideas behind the terminology of 'cultural landscapes' that New Zealanders were buying into, with the former Senior Heritage Planner for Heritage New Zealand, Robert McClean, noting that while the term 'cultural landscape' appeared to have minimal use, New Zealand does have a network of heritage landscapes/cultural landscapes. McClean suggested that it was just that 'we don't call them that and there's no official recognition of them. McClean goes onto note that:

> At the heart of it, Kiwis do care about places, not just sites, but also the surroundings associated with sites, whether it's their bach [holiday house] up in the Coromandel... So I think despite whatever party is in parliament there is a sense that this is important to the nation. The difficulty is getting that sense of worth or of importance to be put into legislation or some sort of national policy. So I suppose the result has been more action at the local or regional level, and maybe that will just have to continue as it is. (R McClean, interview at Antrim House, 63 Boulcott Street, Wellington, New Zealand, Friday 19 April 2013)

Here we see that in addition to the concept of cultural landscapes as a 'big idea', a cultural landscapes approach will be determined by 'the doing'—through the practices of management. And as such, this thesis contends that practice is where the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management will be further elaborated. The future for developing cultural landscapes approaches is in practitioners experimenting, and researchers like me returning to places such as the Rouge in five years time to find out what has been occurring. Therefore, this thesis has highlighted how mutually constituted heritage theory and practice need to be. I have used heritage practice as a way of opening up the theoretical framework to questioning and innovation and I have underlined the requirement for a closer working relationship between heritage researchers and practitioners. As I reach the conclusion of this thesis, I am happy to have returned to my starting point, and I put it to the heritage practitioners who might have had expectations of this thesis, that they will play a significant role in taking the research findings that I have presented here, to the next level.

Distinguished Professor in Anthropology at the University of Auckland, Dame Anne Salmond, made the insight in her interview, that for heritage management in New Zealand: 'we have to think and be differently'. I believe that paying attention to the concept of cultural landscapes for heritage management is a good place to start. Dame Anne also related to me how she was asked at a talk she gave recently, if she believed in anarchy. I refer to her response below because I think it speaks to where we are at in our deliberations on how to manage New Zealand's heritage values:

> The order of relations is structured, but it's not a grid and it's not about boxes and silos, but it's patterned, it's not anarchic. It's open-ended, it's dynamic, it's about networks of relationships and the creative things happen in the middle ground. We're not talking about chaos here. We're talking about a very powerful form of order. But then people need the boxes, life is so complicated, and there's so much information we have to use the boxes to try and organise it, but we shouldn't mistake that for the patterns of life itself. (A Salmond, interview 14 Glen Road, Stanley Bay, Auckland, New Zealand, Friday 21 June 2013)

Conclusion

In this thesis I have set out to investigate the research question of whether cultural landscapes approaches provide useful tools for the integrated management of the diverse heritage values of post-Treaty settlement New Zealand? I have come to the conclusion that—yes, cultural landscapes approaches do provide useful tools, albeit, they must have buy-in across ideas, policies and practices, they need to be codified—but not too much, they need to be grounded in conservation rather than preservation, and they need to work from cultural landscapes as a wide overarching 'big idea'. A post-settler cultural landscapes approach is lightly structured by codification and open to the visual, the material and the more-than-representational.

Accordingly, this thesis concludes that we could be more radical in the ways that the concept of cultural landscapes are employed for the management of heritage. Cultural landscapes is an enabling term—not a category or site type, and it is a more than a visual representation. Yet the park organisations discussed in this thesis are still largely trying to fit the concept of cultural landscapes within existing heritage management structures, which means that they are still essentially following a 'dots on a map', 'cultural heritage as site' approach. A post-settler cultural landscapes approach for heritage management encourages opening up the schedules, the registers and the lists of significant heritage items. These perspectives already do a good job at looking after particular kinds of heritage—namely buildings and other man-made structures—cultural landscape thinking does not diminish this, rather it adds to it, and promotes instead the need to take a wider consideration of what is valued.

A new post-settler age is dawning in countries like Australia, the United States, Canada and New Zealand where indigenous relationships with non-indigenous settlers are less premised on past injustices and more on how the past contributes to the promises of the future. Landscape thinking encourages us to be post-settler New Zealanders, Australians,

Canadians, Americans—people who are changing as the world changes, and people who are starting to recognise that understanding landscape will help us to recognise more about ourselves, which will then ultimately help us to better recognise the heritage values of others.

Postscript: Returning to Matiu/Somes Island

Figure 25: A view at sunset looking out across the harbour from Matiu/Somes Island to Wellington city. Photo by the author

I have had the opportunity to return to Matiu/Somes Island since leaving my historic ranger position with the Department of Conservation (DOC) in March 2011. My most recent trips involved a short visit with friends and family on a blustery Sunday afternoon in April 2014, and before that, a longer five week stay in April/May 2013. The five weeks on Matiu/Somes Island came after a busy few months collecting interview data in the United States and Canada, and the return to the island provided me with the pause that I needed to reflect on my wider research project. In addition to my thesis work, I also had tasks to do for DOC as part of my terms of accommodation, which meant that for a couple of hours each day I busied myself working on little projects that I had not had the time to finish before I left in 2011. Yet my favourite part of the day was always after the last ferry had left with the island's day visitors—this was the time to sit back and enjoy the sunsets, to relish the solitude, and delight in being on the contradiction of an isolated island in the middle of New Zealand's capital city.

When I looked around at what had changed on Matiu/Somes Island, I noticed the obvious things: for example, the island's renewable energy system, with its wind turbine and solar panels were operational and generating over 95 per cent of the island's power needs, there had been more plantings, some of the larger trees had been removed from near the wharf area and buildings had been painted. Yet when it came to the island's management approach, any changes were not so immediately obvious. I hoped that a new management approach might be in place which viewed the island's heritage values in a more integrated manner than had been the case back in 2011. I explained in the Prologue to this dissertation, that Matiu/Somes Island had been a part of a Treaty of Waitangi settlement in 2009 between DOC representing the New Zealand Government, and the Wellington-based collective of Taranaki iwi (tribes) and hapū (sub-tribes) known as Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika (Taranaki Whānui). The Treaty settlement transferred ownership of Matiu/Somes Island to Taranaki Whānui, yet the island remained a scientific and historic reserve under the *Reserves Act 1977*. DOC continued in its role as the manager of Matiu/Somes Island, with the establishment of a new Kaitiaki (governance) Board chaired by Taranaki Whānui. Therefore, being back on the island in 2013 gave me the opportunity to find out what had been happening as a result of the Treaty settlement in the two years that I had been working on my PhD in Melbourne.

One of the key developments had been the release of the *Wellington Harbour Islands Kaitiaki Plan* in December 2012. The development of the new management policy was led by representatives of Taranaki Whānui with assistance from DOC. The leadership of Taranaki Whānui in this process has generated a very different management policy from the previous *Matiu/Somes Island—A Plan for Conservation Management* (2000) which had been developed by DOC. The *Kaitiaki Plan* makes a start at redefining a management approach for Matiu/Somes Island that recognises the new era of ownership and governance. Most significantly, the *Kaitiaki Plan* promotes a refocus of activities and resource allocation from a 'planting/restoration/weeding approach to an environmental management model focused on strengthening the mouri (life essence) of the Harbour Islands' (PNBST & DOC 2012, p. 22). This wider management approach works from the vision that recognising and caring for the mouri of Matiu/Somes Island 'will revitalise and enhance the health and well-being of people and communities involved with the [Harbour] Islands, and be life-sustaining for all' (PNBST & DOC 2012, p. 16). The vision is then

underpinned by four values: kaitiakitanga (guardianship), manaakitanga (hospitality), rangatiratanga (leadership) and whanaungatanga (kinship).

This is a very exciting change for Matiu/Somes Island where Māori world-views are being introduced into the heart of the management approach, and as a launch-pad to encourage interaction in the consideration of the natural and the cultural heritage values of the island. Yet the main thing that stood out to me during my five-week stay on Matiu/Somes Island, was the uncertainty expressed by DOC staff around what this new policy document meant for the practices of managing Matiu/Somes Island. The *Kaitiaki Plan* makes the claim that the core values of the new management plan will be 'reflected in the day-to-day activities and decision-making' on Matiu/Somes Island (PNBST & DOC 2012, p. 16), yet I wondered what had transpired to ensure that this was the case.

My central critique around the processes of the Treaty settlement when I was working for DOC from 2008 to 2011, was the lack of support provided to operational DOC staff around what the Treaty settlement meant for day-to-day work programmes. I believed that there was not enough time taken to pause and consider what the Treaty settlement meant for everyone. Now with the *Kaitiaki Plan*, there needed to be another pause to recognise how operational DOC staff could correlate their traditional DOC management approach with its nature/setter/indigenous compartments, with the new interrelating 'mouri' focus of the *Kaitiaki Plan*. DOC runs a fantastic *Te Pukenga Atawhai* training programme where staff get the opportunity to live at a wharenui (meeting house) for a week to focus on the values and skills required to build and maintain effective working relationships with tangata whenua (local Māori). An initiative of this kind might have been a good idea on Matiu/Somes Island at the time of the Treaty settlement—and it still might be a good idea today. Matiu/Somes Island would need to be closed to the public, so that operational DOC staff and representatives from Taranaki Whānui could come together and get to know each other on the island. Central to this coming together is the opportunity to gain more insight into the landscapes of Matiu/Somes Island for DOC and Taranaki Whānui, and to ensure that the buy-in of the mouri vision is widespread across all who are involved in the island's management. A meeting of this kind on Matiu/Somes Island would also be a good opportunity to share personal stories about what Matiu/Somes Island means to the different parties. The meeting needs to be a time for negotiation to help generate greater

awareness of where the other is coming from, and to develop a more cohesive stance on the vision for future management.

Including a greater awareness of people's emotional connections to Matiu/Somes Island into management, will be a methodological as well as a conceptual challenge for DOC, but a challenge that needs to be engaged with in post-Treaty settlement New Zealand. An issue which might also hinder the changes that the *Kaitiaki Plan* is promoting has to do with the island continuing to be a scientific and historic reserve, which could anchor management to the more compartmentalised approaches of the past. Another challenge will be that the historic buildings and structures on the Matiu/Somes Island have been set out by the Treaty settlement to be the primary responsibility of DOC. This decision has the potential to disassociate these historic buildings and structures as items to be preserved in a vacuum away from the wider landscapes of Matiu/Somes Island.

In addition, DOC still needs to step back and learn to be facilitators more so than the owners that they were prior to the Treaty settlement. Taranaki Whānui need to be mindful that DOC have been working in established systems for many years, and any adjustments to management approaches and mindsets is going to take time and guidance. Both parties need to develop an environment on Matiu/Somes Island that is culturally safe and supportive. It will continue to be challenging times out on Matiu/Somes Island, but everyone who is a part of the management of the island needs to realise that they are a part of something that has the potential to be a leading example for the rest of New Zealand.

The new *Kaitiaki Plan* has set in place the makings of a cultural landscapes approach for Matiu/Somes Island. With its strong codification open to the 'big idea' vision of mouri with the four values that brings people's personal connections to the island into the management equation, it has the basis for a more integrated approach to heritage management. Yet the key that is needed to tie these touchstones together will be developing the buy-in to the vision for the future.

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Appendix One: Interview list

Royal National Park, Sydney, Australia

All discussion with staff from Royal National Park referenced and quoted in this thesis comes from a total of seven semi-structured interviews; five of which were carried out at the park offices at Farnell Avenue, NSW, and one at Hurstville, NSW, between 20 August 2012—24 August 2012. The last of the seven interviews was conducted over the telephone between Deakin University, Melbourne, and Farnell Avenue, NSW, on Thursday 30 August 2012. All interviews, including the phone interview, were audio-recorded. In accordance with Deakin University's ethical approval procedures no Royal National Park interviewees are personally identified in this research project.

Discussions were also carried out with two representatives of the La Perouse Local Aboriginal Land Council at Yarra Bay House, Sydney, on Thursday 23 August and Friday 24 August 2012.

Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, United States of America

All discussion with staff from Golden Gate National Recreation Area referenced and quoted within this thesis comes from a total of seven semi-structured interviews which were carried out at the park offices at Building 101, Fort Mason, and Building 1061, Fort Cronkhite, 25 February—6 March 2013. In accordance with Deakin University's ethical approval procedures no Golden Gate National Recreation Area interviewees are personally identified in this research project.

Discussions were also carried out with a representative of the Sacred Sites Protection Committee for the Coast Miwok tribe as part of a guided tour of the Coast Miwok tribal area 2 March–4 March 2013.

Rouge National Urban Park, Toronto, Canada

All discussions with Parks Canada staff quoted within this thesis are from ten staff, from the Cultural Resources Division and Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat based out of the Parks Canada National Office in Gatineau, Quebec, and Rouge National Urban Park in Toronto, between 5—11 April 2013. The majority of interviews were approximately 25 minutes in length, with longer interviews being undertaken with staff at Rouge National Urban Park. In accordance with Deakin University's ethical approval procedures no Parks Canada interviewees are personally identified in this research project.

New Zealand heritage professionals

Paul Dingwall, interview at 35 Cheshire Street, Wilton, Wellington, New Zealand, Friday 26 April 2013

Merata Kawharu, interview at Te Tumu, University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand, Tuesday 4 June 2013

Di Lucas, interview at 351 Manchester Street, Otautahi, Christchurch, New Zealand, Friday 14 June 2013

Mary O'Keefe, interview at 56 View Road, Houghton Bay, Wellington, New Zealand, Monday 27 May 2013

R McClean, interview at Antrim House, 63 Boulcott Street, Wellington, New Zealand, Friday 19 April 2013

Dame Anne Salmond, interview 14 Glen Road, Stanley Bay, Auckland, New Zealand, Friday 21 June 2013

Huhana Smith, interview at 658 State Highway 1 RD 20, Kuku, New Zealand, Thursday 18 April 2013

Janet Stephenson, interview at 21 Montgomery Avenue, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, Tuesday 4 June 2013

Sir Tumu Te Heuheu, Hopa Hepi, Te Rangikamutua Downs and Te Ngaehe Wanikau, interview at offices of Te Whare Aronui o Tūwharetoa, Turangi, New Zealand, Wednesday 6 November 2013

Te Kenehi Teira, interview at Antrim House, 63 Boulcott Street, Wellington, New Zealand, Saturday 27 April 2013

Appendix Two: Plain language statements and consent forms

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 1

TO: ***Park staff participant***

Plain Language Statement

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

---

The Research Project

I am a PhD Candidate in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. The project is examining the concept of 'cultural landscapes' in relation to heritage management in post-settler societies, with a particular focus on New Zealand.

The project is divided into two parts: the first will involve examining three case studies from Canada, the United States of America and Australia (one from each country), to investigate how natural, historic and indigenous heritage values are being managed, and to find out if cultural landscape approaches are being utilised in heritage management in these post-settler societies. I will examine management documents and conduct site visits to case study locations to observe management practices and to interview staff. I also hope to engage with the indigenous communities whose ancestral lands the case studies are located on.

The three case study locations are:

- Rouge National Urban Area, Canada
- Golden Gate National Park, USA
- Royal National Park, Australia

The second part of the project will involve interviewing up to ten heritage professionals in New Zealand to consider why the concept of cultural landscapes has received relatively little attention there when compared with Canada, the USA and Australia. Analysis of the data will then be used to develop a critical conversation on advocacy of change for future heritage management in New Zealand.

A research grant from Deakin University has enabled me to carry out this international research.

A potential benefit of this research is how the project will chart the use of cultural landscape approaches in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, placing the results of each country alongside each other for comparative discussion.

Your Involvement

If you give your consent to participate in this project, I will interview you at work – either in the office, or out in the field, for up to one hour, and the interview will be audio taped. Responses collected from you will form the basis of my research project and you will only be identified as a representative of your organisation. You will not be personally identified in this research project and an attempt will be made to generalise the issues in the write up of the data rather than attributing discussion points to individual voices. If the Superintendent of your workplace requests, they will be provided with a general overall report on the park responses – this report will not identify individual staff members' interview responses.

There are minor risks associated with being involved in this project. While you will not be personally identified in the research, you need to be aware that there is the risk that you may be identified by inference. It is hoped that my research focus on larger international trends in heritage management and the application of cultural landscape approaches across post-settler societies will limit critiques of individual case study locations, and therefore mitigate any potential risk to you as a participant. The benefits of your participation include: having your projects and efforts formally documented and published in an international context, and professional learning through shared information about other locations around the world with similar/dissimilar practices to yours.

Should you feel the need to withdraw from the project, you may do so without question at any stage. Data provided from a participant who withdraws from the research will be destroyed.

The thesis will be submitted for marking and deposited into the university library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals and for presentation at suitable conferences. Interview audio tapes and interview notes and transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet and will be destroyed after six years from the end of the project.

At the completion of the research I will send each participant a summary of the research and its outcomes. If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me at pwallace@deakin.edu.au or +61 4 507 11693; or my supervisor Associate Professor Andrea Witcomb, Director of the Cultural Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria 3125, andrea.witcomb@deakin.edu.au or telephone +61 3 925 17232.

You may also contact your country's contact person if you have any queries or concerns: *[Contact details]*

Complaints

If you have any complaints about any aspect of the project, the way it is being conducted or any questions about your rights as a research participant, then you may contact:

The Manager, Research Integrity, Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood Victoria 3125, telephone: +61 3 925 17129, Facsimile: 9244 6581; research-ethics@deakin.edu.au

Please quote project number [2012-***045].***

Thank you for taking the time to read this Plain Language Statement.

Yours faithfully

Paulette Wallace

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 1

TO: Park staff participant

Consent Form

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

---

I have read, or have had read to me the attached Plain Language Statement and I understand it contents.

I freely agree to participate in this project according to the conditions in the Plain Language Statement.

I have been given a copy of the Plain Language Statement and Consent Form to keep.

I understand that the researcher has agreed not to reveal my identity and that I will only be identified as a representative of my park organisation.

I consent to my interview being audio-taped.

I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher I understand that the audio tape recording of the interview will be stored in a locked cabinet by the researcher and will wiped after six years from the end of this project

Participant's Name (printed) …….

Signature …… Date ……..

Email address for a summary of the research to be sent at the completion of the project

……

After signing please scan this consent form and return to pwallace@deakin.edu.au or return this form to Paulette in person before the interview. If by post direct to: Paulette Wallace, c/o Cultural Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria 3125, Australia.

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 2

TO: New Zealand heritage professional participant

Plain Language Statement

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

The Research Project

I am a New Zealander undertaking a PhD research project leading to a thesis, in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia. The project is examining the concept of 'cultural landscapes' in relation to heritage management in post-settler societies, with a particular focus on New Zealand.

The project is divided into two parts: the first will involve examining three case studies from Canada, the United States of America and Australia (one from each country), to investigate natural, historic and indigenous heritage values are being managed, and to find out if cultural landscape approaches are being utilised in heritage management in these post-settler societies. I will examine management documents and conduct site visits to case study locations to observe management practices and to interview staff. I also hope to engage with the indigenous communities whose ancestral lands the case studies are located on.

The three case study locations are:

- Rouge National Urban Park, Canada
- Golden Gate National Park, USA
- Royal National Park, Australia

The second part of the project will involve interviewing up to ten heritage professionals in New Zealand to consider current heritage management practices, and why cultural landscapes has received relatively little attention in New Zealand in comparison with Canada, the USA and Australia. Analysis of the data will then be used to develop a critical conversation on advocacy of change for future heritage management in New Zealand.

A research grant from Deakin University has enabled me to carry out this international research.

Your Involvement

If you give your consent to participate in this project, I will interview you at a mutually agreed venue for up to two hours, and the interview will be audio taped. Any comments you make in the interview will be personally attributed to you in my thesis. To ensure the best level of accuracy you will receive by email a copy of your interview transcript for checking and amendment prior to my write up. This will be your opportunity to check the information and correct or delete anything that you are uncomfortable with me using in my research.

There are risks associated with being personally identified in this research. You need to be aware that any comments you make in the interview will be recorded against your name and will be available to others. You will therefore need to think about how you phrase your comments. It is hoped that the forward-looking focus of the research on ways to improve existing heritage management systems, rather than seeking to lay blame on organisations or individuals, will negate any potential risks associated with your interview responses. The risks may also be outweighed by the benefit, in that you have an opportunity to contribute to a unique piece of research and reflect on the state of the wider New Zealand heritage management systems. Discussion may lead to new insights, which may lead to improved heritage practice.

Should you feel the need to withdraw from the project, you may do so without question at any stage. Data provided from a participant who withdraws from the research will be destroyed.

The thesis will be submitted for marking and deposited into the university library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals and for presentation at suitable conferences. Interview audio tapes and interview notes and transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet and will be destroyed after six years from the end of the project.

At the completion of the research I will send each participant a summary of the research and its outcomes. If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me at pwallace@deakin.edu.au or +61 4 507 11693;
or my supervisor Associate Professor Andrea Witcomb, Director of the Cultural Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria 3125, andrea.witcomb@deakin.edu.au or telephone +61 3 925 17232

Complaints
If you have any complaints about any aspect of the project, the way it is being conducted or any questions about your rights as a research participant, then you may contact:

The Manager, Research Integrity, Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood Victoria 3125, telephone: +61 3 925 17129, Facsimile: 9244 6581;
research-ethics@deakin.edu.au

Please quote project number**2012-045**

Thank you for taking the time to read this Plain Language Statement.

Yours faithfully

Paulette Wallace

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 2

TO: New Zealand heritage professional participant

Consent Form

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Reference Number:

I have read and I understand the attached Plain Language Statement.

I freely agree to participate in this project according to the conditions in the Plain Language Statement.

I have been given a copy of the Plain Language Statement and Consent Form to keep.

I consent to my interview being audio-taped and the information or opinions which I have given being attributed to me in this research. I understand that I will have the opportunity to check the interview transcript to correct or delete anything that I am uncomfortable with before the data is analysed by the researcher. I also understand that I will be given a summary of the results of this research when it is completed.

I understand that the audio tape recording of the interview will be stored in a locked cabinet by the researcher and will be wiped after six years from the end of this project.

Participant's Name (printed) ……

Signature …… Date …….

Email address for sending interview transcript and summary of research

……

After signing please scan this consent form and return to pwallace@deakin.edu.au or return this form in person to Paulette before the interview. If by post direct to: Paulette Wallace, c/o Cultural Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria 3125, Australia.

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 3

TO: ***[Superintendent of Rouge National Urban Park];***
[Superintendent of Golden Gate National Recreational Area];
[Area Manager of Royal National Park];

Plain Language Statement

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

---

The Research Project

I am a PhD Candidate in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. The project is examining the concept of 'cultural landscapes' in relation to heritage management in post-settler societies, with a particular focus on New Zealand.

Cultural landscapes has been well-documented as a potential tool for integrating natural, historic and indigenous heritage values, and in recent years, interest has grown within heritage circles into the potential use of cultural landscapes for more integrated heritage management. The 1992 introduction of cultural landscapes as a new category to the World Heritage List encouraged countries around the world to develop their own cultural landscape approaches for heritage management. Canada, the United States of America and Australia have all, to varying degrees, engaged with cultural landscapes; yet New Zealand, a nation with a similar settler and indigenous background, has made little use of the cultural landscapes concept for heritage management.

The project is divided into two parts: the first will involve examining three case studies from Canada, the United States of America and Australia (one from each country), to investigate how natural, historic and indigenous heritage values are being managed, and to find out if cultural landscape approaches are being utilised in heritage management in these post-settler societies. I will examine management documents and conduct site visits to case study locations to observe management practices and to interview staff. I also hope to engage with the indigenous communities whose ancestral lands the case studies are located on.
The three case study locations are:

- Rouge National Urban Park, Canada
- Golden Gate National Park, USA
- Royal National Park, Australia

The second part of the project involves interviewing ten New Zealand heritage professionals to consider why the concept of cultural landscapes has received relatively little attention there when compared with Canada, the USA and Australia. Analysis of the data will then be used to develop a critical conversation on advocacy of change for future heritage management in New Zealand.

A research grant from Deakin University has enabled me to carry out this international research.

The project will chart the use of cultural landscape approaches in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, placing the results of each country alongside each other for comparative discussion.

Your Involvement

If you give your consent for your organisation to participate in this project, I would ask that you fill out the attached consent form, scan, and return it to me by email. In the same email could you please provide me with the name and a short role description of up to six of your staff who might be suitable potential participants for me to interview as part of my research. I plan to then approach the nominated staff members individually to seek their own personal consent before I undertake any formal interviews.

Staff will be interviewed in the park office or at a suitable location out in the field in the park. Interviews will take up to one hour for each staff member, and the interview will be audio taped. Responses collected from your staff will form the basis of my research project and staff will only be identified as representing your organisation, they will not be personally identified in this research project.

You will be provided with a general overall report on the response of your staff – at your request. This report will not identify individual staff members' interview responses.

There are minor risks associated with being involved in this project. It is hoped that my research focus on larger international trends in heritage management and the application of cultural landscape approaches across post-settler societies will limit critiques of individual case study locations, and therefore mitigate any risks to the reputation of your park or the staff relationships within your workplace. The benefits of your park's participation in the research include having your projects and efforts formally documented and published in an international context; and professional learning through shared information about other locations around the world with similar/dissimilar practices to yours.

Should any participant feel the need to withdraw from the project, they may do so without question at any stage. Data provided from a participant who withdraws from the research will be destroyed.

The thesis will be submitted for marking and deposited into the university library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals and for presentation at suitable conferences. Interview audio tapes and interview notes

and transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet and will be destroyed after six years from the end of the project.

At the completion of the research I will send you and your staff participants a summary of the research and its outcomes.

If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me at pwallace@deakin.edu.au or +61 4 507 11693;
or my supervisor Associate Professor Andrea Witcomb, Director of the Cultural Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria 3125, andrea.witcomb@deakin.edu.au or telephone +61 3 925 17232.

Complaints
If you have any complaints about any aspect of the project, the way it is being conducted or any questions about your rights as a research participant, then you may contact:

The Manager, Research Integrity, Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood Victoria 3125, telephone: +61 3 925 17129, Facsimile: 9244 6581;
research-ethics@deakin.edu.au

Please quote project number 2012-045

Thank you for taking the time to read this Plain Language Statement.

Yours faithfully

Paulette Wallace

DEAKIN UNIVERSITY AUSTRALIA

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 3

TO:
[Superintendent of Rouge National Urban Park];
[Superintendent of Golden Gate National Recreational Area];
[Area Manager of Royal National Park];

Organisational Consent Form

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Reference Number:

I have read and I understand the attached Plain Language Statement.

I give my permission for ***staff*** of ***[name of organisation]*** to participate in this project according to the conditions in the Plain Language Statement. This organisational consent does not in any way supersede or speak for the individual consent of my staff which the Researcher will need to seek from the individual staff members.

I have been given a copy of Plain Language Statement and Consent Form to keep.

The researcher has agreed not to reveal the participants' identities and personal details if information about this project is published or presented in any public form.

I agree that:

1. The institution/organisation MAY / MAY NOT be named in research publications or other publicity without prior agreement.

2. I / DO / DO NOT require a general overall report on the response of your staff. This report will not identify individual staff members' interview responses

3. I / EXPECT / DO NOT EXPECT to receive a copy of the research findings or publications.

Name of person giving consent (printed) ……

Signature …… Date …….

Email address for sending general overall report on the park responses

.....

After signing please scan this consent form and return to pwallace@deakin.edu.au or if by post direct to: Paulette Wallace, c/o Cultural Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria 3125, Australia.

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 4

TO: ***Indigenous park staff participant***

Plain Language Statement

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

---

The Research Project

I am a PhD Candidate in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. The project is examining the concept of 'cultural landscapes' in relation to heritage management in post-settler societies, with a particular focus on New Zealand.

The project is divided into two parts: the first will involve examining three case studies from Canada, the United States of America and Australia (one from each country), to investigate how natural, historic and indigenous heritage values are being managed and to find out if cultural landscape approaches are being utilised in heritage management in these post-settler societies. I will examine management documents and conduct site visits to case study locations to observe management practices and to interview staff. I also hope to engage with the indigenous communities whose ancestral lands the case studies are located on.

The three case study locations are:

- Rouge National Urban Park, Canada
- Golden Gate National Park, United States of America
- Royal National Park, Australia

The second part of the project will involve interviewing up to ten heritage professionals in New Zealand to consider why the concept of cultural landscapes has received relatively little attention there when compared with Canada, the USA and Australia. Analysis of the data will then be used to develop a critical conversation on advocacy of change for future heritage management in New Zealand.

A research grant from Deakin University has enabled me to carry out this international research.

A potential benefit of this research is how the project will chart the use of cultural landscape approaches in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, placing the results of each country alongside each other for comparative discussion.

Your Involvement

If you give your consent to participate in this project, I will interview you at work – either in the office, or out in the field, for up to one hour, and the interview will be audio taped.

Responses collected from you will form the basis of my research project and you will be identified as an indigenous representative of your organisation. You will not be personally identified in this research project and an attempt will be made to generalise the issues in the write up of the data rather than attributing the discussion points to individual voices. If the Superintendent of your workplace requests, they will be provided with a general overall report on the park responses – this report will not identify individual staff members' interview responses.

There are risks associated with being involved in this project. While you will not be personally identified in the research, you need to be aware that there is the risk that you may be identified by inference. You will be interviewed on your understanding of what issues exist for accommodating indigenous heritage values in park management. You will not be asked to provide direct criticism of individual staff performances or park programmes.
It is hoped that my research focus on larger international trends in heritage management across Australia, the USA, Canada and New Zealand will limit detailed critiques of individual case study locations, and therefore mitigate any potential risks to you as a participant. The benefits of your participation include: having your projects and efforts formally documented and published in an international context, and professional learning through shared information about other locations around the world with similar/dissimilar practices to yours.

Should you feel the need to withdraw from the project, you may do so without question at any stage. Data provided from a participant who withdraws from the research will be destroyed.

The thesis will be submitted for marking and deposited into the university library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals and for presentation at suitable conferences. Interview audio tapes and interview notes and transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet and will be destroyed after six years from the end of the project.

At the completion of the research I will send each participant a summary of the research and its outcomes. If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me at pwallace@deakin.edu.au or +61 4 507 11693;
or my supervisor Associate Professor Andrea Witcomb, Director of the Cultural Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria 3125, andrea.witcomb@deakin.edu.au or telephone +61 3 925 17232.

Complaints

If you have any complaints about any aspect of the project, the way it is being conducted or any questions about your rights as a research participant, then you may contact:
The Manager, Research Integrity, Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood Victoria 3125, telephone: +61 3 925 17129, Facsimile: 9244 6581;
research-ethics@deakin.edu.au

Please quote project number 2012-045

Thank you for taking the time to read this Plain Language Statement.

Yours faithfully

Paulette Wallace

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 4

TO: ***Indigenous park staff participant***

Consent Form

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

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I have read, or have had read to me the attached Plain Language Statement and I understand it contents.

I freely agree to participate in this project according to the conditions in the Plain Language Statement.

I have been given a copy of the Plain Language Statement and Consent Form to keep.

I understand that the researcher has agreed not to reveal my identity and that I will be identified as an indigenous representative of my park organisation.

I consent to my interview being audio-taped.

I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher.

I understand that the audio tape recording of the interview will be stored in a locked cabinet by the researcher and will be wiped after six years from the end of this project.

Participant's Name (printed) ……

Signature …… Date …….

Email address for a summary of the research to be sent at the completion of the project

……

After signing please scan this consent form and return to pwallace@deakin.edu.au or return this form in person to Paulette before the interview. If by post direct to: Paulette Wallace, c/o Cultural Central for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria 3125, Australia.

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 5

TO: ***Indigenous participant***

Plain Language Statement

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

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The Research Project

I am a PhD Candidate in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. The project is examining the concept of 'cultural landscapes' in relation to heritage management in Australia, Canada, the United States of America, and New Zealand – all countries that have similar settler backgrounds and indigenous communities.

The project is divided into two parts: the first will involve examining three case studies from Canada, the United States of America and Australia (one from each country), to investigate how natural, historic and indigenous heritage values are being managed and to find out if cultural landscape approaches are being used in heritage management in these places. I will examine management documents and conduct site visits to case study locations to observe management practices and to interview staff. As part of this I would like to speak to you as the indigenous communities whose ancestral lands the case studies are located on.

The three case study locations are:

- Rouge National Urban Park, Canada
- Golden Gate National Park, United States of America
- Royal National Park, Australia

The second part of the project will involve interviewing up to ten heritage professionals in New Zealand to consider why the concept of cultural landscapes has received relatively little attention there when compared with Canada, the USA and Australia. Analysis of the data will then be used to think about change for future heritage management in New Zealand.

A research grant from Deakin University has enabled me to carry out this international research.

A potential benefit of this research is how the project will chart the use of cultural landscape approaches in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, placing the

results of each country alongside each other for comparative discussion. My research also has the potential benefit of giving voice to concerns or advice you may have in relation park management when it comes to looking after indigenous heritage values.

Your Involvement

If you give your consent to participate in this project, I will interview you at a suitable location within the park.

You will be identified as being a member of your indigenous community. You will not be personally identified in this research project.

Any interview responses you make will not be reported to park managers, and the researcher will attempt to generalise you responses in the write up so that your responses cannot be directly put back to you.

There are risks associated with being involved in this project. While you will not be personally identified in the research, you need to be aware that there is the risk that you may be identified by inference – people might be able to work out that you were involved in the research, by the kinds of comments that you make to me in your interview.

You will be interviewed on your understanding of what issues exist for accommodating indigenous heritage values in park management. You will not be asked to provide direct criticism of individual staff performances or park programmes.

The benefits from being involved in this research include:
-you have an opportunity to have your views listened to and made known to others, and this may encourage changes in management your park in the future
-you may learn a bit more about park management in your park, and in other parks around the world in relation to indigenous heritage values

Should you feel the need to withdraw from the project, you may do so without question at any stage. Data provided from a participant who withdraws from the research will be destroyed.

The thesis will be submitted for marking and deposited into the university library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals and for presentation at suitable conferences. Written interview notes from discussion with you will be held in a locked cabinet in Paulette's office at Deakin University.

At the completion of the research I will send each participant a summary of the research and its outcomes. If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me at pwallace@deakin.edu.au or +61 4 507 11693;
or my supervisor Associate Professor Andrea Witcomb, Director of the Cultural Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria 3125, andrea.witcomb@deakin.edu.au or telephone +61 3 925 17232.

Complaints

If you have any complaints about any aspect of the project, the way it is being conducted or any questions about your rights as a research participant, then you may contact:

The Manager, Research Integrity, Deakin University, 221 Burwood Highway, Burwood Victoria 3125, telephone: +61 3 925 17129, Facsimile: 9244 6581; research-ethics@deakin.edu.au

Please quote project number 2012-045

Thank you for taking the time to read this Plain Language Statement.

Yours faithfully

Paulette Wallace

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM 5

TO: ***Indigenous participant***

Consent Form

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

I have had read to me the attached Plain Language Statement and I understand it contents.

I freely agree to participate in this project according to the conditions in the Plain Language Statement.

I have been given a copy of the Plain Language Statement and Consent Form to keep.

I understand that the researcher has agreed not to reveal my identity and that I will be identified as a representative of my indigenous community.

I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, and that any notes made by the researcher as part of my interview will be stored in a locked cabinet.

Participant's Name (printed) …….

Signature …… Date ……

Email or postal address for a summary of the research to be sent at the completion of the project

……

……

Please return this form to Paulette before the interview.

PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT AND CONSENT FORM

TO: ***Participant***

Withdrawal of Consent Form

Date:

Full Project Title: Cultural Landscapes and Heritage Management in Post-Settler Societies

Researcher: Paulette Wallace, School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Reference Number:

I hereby wish to WITHDRAW my consent to participate in the above research project and understand that such withdrawal WILL NOT jeopardise my relationship with Deakin University.

Participant's Name (printed) …….

Signature ……. Date ……

Please scan and email to: pwallace@deakin.edu.au
or post this form to:

Paulette Wallace
c/o Cultural Centre for Asia and the Pacific
Deakin University
221 Burwood Highway
Burwood, Victoria 3125
Australia

Appendix Three: Semi-structured interview questions

Park staff questions

1. Can you please state your job title, and tell me what this title means?
2. How long have you been in this role?
3. What did you used to do before taking up this role at ……..Park?
4. What kinds of jobs do you carry out on a daily basis in your role at …….. Park? What did you do yesterday?
5. Which other staff (by their roles) do you most often work with?
6. Has …….. Park's purpose changed since it was first established?
7. Do you think your role at ……Park has changed since you first started? Yes - Can you describe the changes?
8. Is your role at …….. Park influenced by distinctions made between natural heritage, settler or historic heritage and indigenous heritage? If YES - Can you provide me with an example to explain your answer?
9. Do you think that park management policies privilege some heritage values over others? Can you explain which and how? Why do you think this is the case?
10. How do you resolve the management of competing heritage values? ie., exotic versus native species
11. Do you come into contact with indigenous heritage in your role? What kinds of situations?
12. What do you consider a 'landscape' to contain?
13. Is landscape a term that you use in your role at …….. Park?
14. Have you heard of the concept of cultural landscapes? Where have you heard this concept being used and by whom?
15. Does …….. Park have any cultural landscapes?
16. Questions about particular park cultural landscapes policy reporting
17. Do you think the concept of cultural landscape is useful for park management? YES/NO why?
18. How would you like to see the future management …….. Park carried out?
19. Anything else to add?

Potential extra questions for the indigenous park staff

1. How does your personal indigenous identity inform your role?
2. What do you see as being the key issues when it comes to indigenous heritage management at …….. Park?
3. How do you see indigenous heritage management co-existing with the management of the natural and cultural heritage values at …….. Park?

General questions for informal meeting with indigenous communities

1. Can you tell me a bit about the indigenous organisation that you represent?
2. How would you describe your cultural relationship with the ……. Park? Has this changed over time?
3. Does the way that …….. Park is currently being managed, facilitate your cultural relationship?
4. What does 'heritage' mean to you?
5. Do you think some kinds of heritage are more important than others?
6. Do you think management at ……. Park is influenced by distinctions made between natural heritage, settler or historic heritage and indigenous heritage? If YES - Can you provide me with an example to explain your answer?
7. Do you think that park management policies privilege some heritage values over others? Can you explain which and how?
8. How do you feel your heritage is currently being interpreted at …… Park? Do you think visitors should be made more aware of your cultural relationship to the park area?
9. Has the way your heritage is being managed and interpreted changed at all from how it was managed in the past?
10. What kind of involvement does your indigenous organisation have with the management of …… Park?
11. Would you like have more/less involvement and why?
12. What do you consider a 'landscape' to contain?
13. Have you heard of the concept of cultural landscapes? Where have you heard this concept being used and by whom?
14. Does ……. Park have any cultural landscapes?
15. Do you think the concept of cultural landscape is useful for park management? YES/NO Why?
16. How would you like to see the future management of Royal National Park carried out?
17. Anything else to add?

New Zealand heritage professional questions

1. Can you tell me about your work in heritage management in New Zealand?
2. What are you working on now?
3. Do you consider there to be any distinctions made between categories of heritage in New Zealand? If so, where/how are the distinctions made?

   [If interviewees unsure - explain that personally believe there is a nature/settler/indigenous compartmentalisation across New Zealand heritage management]
4. Do you use/come across the concept of cultural landscapes in your work?
5. Can you tell me where the concept of cultural landscapes come from, and how did it come to be used for heritage management?
6. What do you consider a 'landscape' to contain?
7. I have found a list of different iterations of cultural landscapes being used in New Zealand:

   -cultural values in landscapes

   -heritage landscapes

   -historic landscapes

   -historic heritage landscapes

   -cultural heritage landscapes

   -ancestral landscapes

   Do these terms mean the same thing? If not which are the most useful for heritage management?
8. Can a cultural landscape be cross-cultural? Can Pākehā New Zealanders have ancestral landscapes?
9. Can you please describe what you believe to be the most useful about cultural landscapes for approaching heritage management?
10. Can you please describe what you believe to be the downfalls of cultural landscapes for approaching heritage management?
11. New Zealand has the first World Heritage associative cultural landscape in Tongariro National Park listed in 1993, what impact did this have on heritage management in New Zealand?
12. How is New Zealand currently working with cultural landscapes for heritage management?
13. New Zealand currently has no cultural landscapes on its Tentative List for World Heritage nomination – why do you think this is?

14. In Australia they have landscapes listed on their National Heritage List, and in Victoria they have landscapes listed on their heritage register, in addition to a useful 'Landscape Assessment Guidelines;
    In the United States of America the US National Park Service has Cultural Landscape Inventories and Reports;
    In Canada, cultural landscapes is a section of the National Standards and Guidelines for heritage management – this best practice policy is led by Parks Canada and applies to all federal and municipal heritage management levels – they also have World Heritage listed cultural landscapes;
    How does New Zealand formally integrate cultural landscapes (or iterations thereof), into heritage management?
15. Is cultural landscapes a tool that should have more profile in New Zealand heritage management? How?
16. Do you have any suggestions for what might make a good cultural landscapes approach?
17. Are there other tools that you think New Zealand should be using for heritage management looking to the future?
18. My research is concerned with promoting changes to protected areas management to cope with the changes being put in place by the Treaty of Waitangi Settlement process. I believe the relationships between Maori and Pakeha heritage are being made more conspicuous by this process – do you have any comments on whether we should be making changes to our heritage management systems for DOC managed areas as a result of Treaty Settlements?