DESIGNING WILDERNESS AS A PHENOMENOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE: DESIGN-DIRECTED RESEARCH WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF NEW ZEALAND'S CONSERVATION ESTATE.

Mick Abbott

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at Lincoln University, New Zealand, 2008.

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This research operates at both the meeting of wilderness and landscape, and also landscape architecture and design-directed research. It applies a phenomenological understanding of landscape to the New Zealand conservation estate as a means to reconsider wilderness' prevalent framing as an untouched 'other'. It does this through enlisting the designerly imperative found within landscape architecture as the means by which to direct this research, and through landscopic investigations located in the artefacts of cooking, haptic qualities of walking, cartographies of wilderness and a phenomenological diagramming of landscape experience. The results of this layered programme of research are four-fold.

First, it finds that a landscopic interpretation of wilderness, and its tangible manifestation in New Zealand's conservation estate, has the potential to suggest a greater depth of dialogue in which both ecological and cultural diversity might productively flourish.

Second, it finds that landscape architecture has significant potential to broaden both its relevance and types of productive outputs beyond its current intent to shape specific sites. It identifies that artefacts and representations – such as cookers, track markers and maps – can be creatively manipulated to design alternative formulations of landscape.

Third, through self-critique the potency of a programme of design-directed inquiry is demonstrated. In this dissertation new knowledge is revealed that extends the formal, diagrammatic and conceptual dimensions of wilderness, New Zealand's conservation estate, and a phenomenological expression of landscape. This research illustrates the potential for design-directed research methods to be more widely adopted in ways that extend landscape architecture's value to multi-disciplinary research.

Finally, it finds a pressing future direction for landscape architecture research is to further identify and develop techniques that diagram landscopic practice and performance with the same richness and detail that spatially derived descriptions currently offer. It is the considerable distance between the spoken and written poetics of phenomenology and the visual and diagrammatic articulation of these qualities that is identified as a problematic and also productive site for ongoing creative research.

KEYWORDS: landscape design; wilderness; New Zealand conservation estate; research methods; phenomenology; outdoor equipment; path making; cartography; landscape visualisation.

…if we can no longer separate the work of proliferation from the work of purification, what are we going to become?

Bruno Latour[1]

1 Latour, 1993, We have never been modern, p12.

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Wilderness by Emmylou

Wilderness by Nat

A NOTE ON TERMS

In this dissertation the term *landscopic* is used when I am wanting to foreground landscape's instrumentality. While it could be suggested that landscape-like might suffice such a term alludes to a metaphorical connection with landscape but does not explicitly refer to landscape's instrumentality. Similarly *designerly* is used to describe an approach that is embedded within design and is more emphatic than the similarly metaphorical design-like.

In this dissertation landscape is often qualified by the term *phenomenological*: as in the title 'Designing Wilderness as a Phenomenological Landscape'. However it should be noted that my use of the term phenomenological - rather than being definitive – is used to embrace the instrumental and immersive qualities of landscape that this research identifies with: in other words a *landschaft* rather than *landskip* underpinning of landscape.[1] As Merleau Ponty states phenomenology "is a philosophy for which the world is always 'already there' before reflection begins. – as an inalienable presence; and all its efforts are concentrated upon re-achieving a direct and primitive contact with the world, and endowing that contact with a philosophical status… It also offers an account of space, time and the world as we 'live' them".[2]

Finally in this dissertation my preference was to refer to this country as Aotearoa New Zealand, as such a term might "signal cultural complexity and present commitment to biculturalism".[3] However, while the ambition of this research is to unbind some of the qualities inherent in the ideation of wilderness that travelled here, this county's histories of wilderness belong firmly in the process by which New Zealand, and not Aotearoa, came into being. Hence, except when I shift the focus of the research both forward and wider, I use in my discussion the term *New Zealand*.

1 See Olwig, 2002, Landscape, nature, and the body politic : from Britain's renaissance to America's new world, p214-219.

2 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, (1962) *Phenomenlogy of Perception*, pvii. Cited in Tilley, 2004, The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology, p1.

3 Kirby, 1997, Heritage in place, p2.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

'Wilderness' and 'landscape architecture' are both concepts that at first seem benign and taken-for-granted. Yet, within each field are potentials and understandings that are precluded by an ingrained apprehension of what one is, and what the other does.

In the case of wilderness, its phenomenological richness and multivalency has been progressively diminished as its understanding as an *other* to civilisation and culture – as 'unspoilt', 'untouched' and 'remote' – has increasingly defined how national parks and conservation parks are understood and consequently engaged.

And for landscape architecture, the potential richness in the recognition of design as a research methodology and not simply a subject of study has remained largely untapped. Instead landscape architecture research deploys the methodologies of other disciplines to investigate its own processes, products and contexts. Consequently landscape architecture has largely overlooked the academic possibility of the designerly dimension inherent in the discipline as being its distinctive research methodology.

These two potent nexuses – of wilderness and landscape, and landscape architecture and design-directed research – form the location for this dissertation's programme of research. The work is grounded within New Zealand's conservation estate, particularly the south of the South Island, and this adds further dimensions to the critical and investigative potential of the research.

The impetus for this research comes from Paul Carter's call to creatively interrogate intersecting fields, utilising design-directed research approaches as a means of identifying 'imaginative breakthroughs'. While a traditional programme of research in the discipline of landscape architecture might adopt methods such as data analysis through quantitative or qualitative approaches, discourse analysis, or a comparative evaluation of differences through a case study approach, what Carter advocates is inherently designerly at the very point of method itself. The dissertation therefore identifies that a critical characteristic of designerly thinking is a drive to synthesis and hybridisation or what Bruce Mau calls the 'third event'. To this end a research strategy has been adopted that might allow multiple and diverse qualities associated with the research context to be teased out and later recombined.

The strategy for research is therefore tuned towards these ends. First, it identifies reasons why the discipline of landscape architecture has mainly ignored wilderness as a creative context in which to operate. It also identifies in these reasons what opportunities within wilderness' current ideations might exist for the landscape architect. Second, it investigates the possible shape of a design-directed research programme in landscape architecture and in particular those that are based in the creative imperative inherent in the term landscape design. Third, it explores dimensions of wilderness specifically within New Zealand's conservation estate and indicates shortcomings in approaches by other non-design disciplines including those based in aesthetics, environmental history and leisure studies. And finally, it seeks to extend the potential of wilderness through its reconsideration as a phenomenologically dimensioned landscape.

Having prepared the ground for a design-directed study of wilderness as a phenomenological landscape, this dissertation then investigates specific

landscopic, or experientially multivalent, possibilities. These landscopic investigations are located firstly in the artefacts of cooking, secondly through the haptic qualities of walking, thirdly through the cartographies of Southern Fiordland, and finally through an exploration of how a phenomenological diagramming of wilderness might be manifest. In each discussion contemporary practices as currently evident in the New Zealand conservation estate are contrasted with the 'imaginative breakthroughs' that this research develops.

1.1 WILDERNESS

An understanding of wilderness as 'unspoilt', 'untouched' and 'remote' increasingly defines New Zealand's national parks and conservation parks. Yet despite efforts to find a "consensus on its criteria and definition" an embracing definition of wilderness is elusive.[1] Rather, "wilderness means something different to everyone".[2] Hence the timeless, unspoilt, humbling wilderness found in many descriptions of the conservation estate "exists where personal cognitions say that it might be".[3]

This variation in people's personal definition of wilderness, and also the evaluation of sites for their capacity to elicit such qualities has been, particularly in the 1990's, the topic of much ongoing academic and applied research at both national and international levels.[4] In the New Zealand context such work continues to come from the Tourism and Leisure Studies, Social Sciences and Management disciplines.[5] Also extensive work published in journals including *Environmental Ethics* and *Environmental History* has sought to consider both the heritage and definition of the wilderness idea.

However wilderness has increasingly become problematic. Renowned author Michael Pollan argues, from a North American perspective, that wilderness is

1 D. Henson in Molloy and Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand., 1983, Wilderness recreation in New Zealand : proceedings of the FMC 50th Jubilee Conference on Wilderness, Rotoiti Lodge, Nelson Lakes National Park, 22-24 August, 1981, p22.

2 Bing Lucas in the preface to Cessford and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2001, The State of wilderness in New Zealand, p xi.

3 Kearsley and University of Otago., 1997, Wilderness tourism : a new rush to destruction? p14.

4 In the New Zealand context see, for example, publications by K. Booth, J. Higham, G. Kearsley, A. Kliskey, and J. Shultis, while in Australia see C. Hall and in North America both the work of J. Hendee and G. Stankey and also the extensive papers published by USDA Forest Service Rocky Mountain Research Station. Hendee, Stankey, Lucas, International Wilderness Leadership Foundation. and United States. Forest Service., 1990, Wilderness management. ; Watson, Aplet and Hendee, 2000, Personal, societal, and ecological values of wilderness: sixth world wilderness congress proceedings on research, management, and allocation, volume II / compiled by Alan E. Watson, Gregory H. Aplet and John C. Hendee.

5 For a list of Outdoor Recreation Research Providers in New Zealand see Booth and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2006, Review of visitor research for the Department of Conservation, p44-46.

"a profoundly alienating idea, for it drives a large wedge between man and nature".[6] While wilderness may act as a lens for people to perceive nature, the presence of people in that nature can only be as agents of degradation, and not as contributing to an enhancement of wilderness value. It is for this reason that the environmental historian, William Cronon, notes that wilderness is a significant impediment to developing an "ethical, sustainable, honourable, human place in nature"[7] and that consequently it is wilderness that "poses a serious threat to responsible environmentalism at the end of the twentieth century".[8]

Realising that wilderness is a "profoundly a human creation … all the more beguiling because it seems so natural",[9] North American academics, such as J Baird Callicott, Michael Nelson, and Barry Smith have sought to distance nature reserves from wilderness by proposing terms like 'biodiversity reserves' and 'restoration ecology' be used.[10] Similarly, in the New Zealand context, wilderness is a term only rarely associated with the ecological and scientific attributes of landforms and endemic biological systems.[11]

However, while the biological sciences may have sought distance from the idea of wilderness, the same cannot be said for the many people who use the conservation estate as a place of recreation.[12] Whether overtly, as in the raft of pictorial publications that portray 'wild' New Zealand, or more covertly, as in the use of the term 'visitor' by the Department of Conservation to describe all people in the conservation estate, a conceptualisation as wilderness pervades the conservation estate.

Applied to the conservation estate wilderness suggests a nature separate from culture and a nature pure, pristine and intrinsically *other*. Hence,

6 Pollan, 1996, Second nature : a gardener's education, p196.
7 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p81.
8 Ibid, p81.
9 Ibid, p69.
10 For example compare the argument of Callicott, 2000, Contemporary criticisms of the received wilderness idea, with Foreman, 2000, The real wilderness idea, and Shepard, 1995, Virtual reality hunting in the forests of simulacra. Nor should the cultural foundation of biodiversity science be lost. See: Lorimer, 2006, What about the nematodes? Taxonomic partialities in the scope of UK biodiversity conservation. ; Waterton, 2003, Performing the classification of nature.
11 Though that said wilderness-like appeals of rarity, remoteness and being unmodified are routinely made when the findings of scientific research are publically disseminated; See, for example, *New Zealand Geographic*.
12 Nor does this mean just hiking, deer hunting or mountain climbing. For example the Fiordland National Park 2007 Management Plan refers to activities in the park as diverse as caving, rafting, kayaking, fishing, shoting water-fowl, education, abseiling, jet-boating, cycling, scenic flights, scenic cruises, scuba diving, nature-watching, sailing, camping, studying natural history, geology, ecology and history, and the like. See Department of Conservation, 2007c, Fiordland National Park Management Plan.

wilderness is not something people belong to but rather it is a place to be visited.[13] Yet such an understanding of wilderness in which all such locations become understood as *similarly other* diminishes differences in specific locales. In other words wilderness is a universalising concept, and as a consequence the application of the term across New Zealand's most indigenous lands can be argued to be a globalising of landscape.

However the conservation estate is of profound importance to this country and its people. Its scale and quality, and also *uniqueness* is pivotal in New Zealand's sense of identity, and especially in embodying its 'clean and green' image to the world. Given the conservation estate's importance, and also the potency of the wilderness idea that runs through it, where might purchase for a programme of research be found? While Cronon's perception that wilderness is more part of the problem than part of the solution may well be justified, his conclusion, that of "practising remembrance and gratitude"[14] and "decid[ing] what kind of marks we wish to leave",[15] is unconvincing. This position will be discussed more fully in Chapters Three and Four but for now, suffice to say, his difficulty in formulating a forward-looking response potentially comes from a disciplinary adherence to Environmental History which, while being adept at looking back and looking for and interpreting the marks left, struggles to look forward and anticipate the type and range of possible marks that could constructively be made in the conservation estate.

Deciding what marks to make, rather than which to leave, suggests a more active and positive orientation to investigating wilderness' relationship with the conservation estate. And certainly, as I will argue, such an inquiry – one that seeks to imagine and anticipate what the conservation estate and wilderness might potentially become, and further what a local and sustainable relationship with it might be – is an avenue of inquiry ideally suited to the discipline of landscape architecture.

13 As Yi-Fu Tuan states that as "a state of mind, true wilderness exists only in the great sprawling cities". Yi-Fu Tuan, 1974, Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values.
14 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p90.
15 Ibid, p88.

1.2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE AND WILDERNESS

Embedded within people's personal and collective images of the conservation estate and wilderness are implicit, and revealing, attitudes to landscape. David Eggleton states "the landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand is our cultural centre of gravity, our leading literary theme, our dominant metaphor. We inscribe it with our hopes and dreams: the land is our waka, our location beacon, a site of layered history… It is a map of our assumptions, desires and projections… To describe New Zealand is to invent it".[16] Likewise differing conceptualisations of the conservation estate, reveal not so much the inherent qualities of a landscape 'out-there', but rather their own authors' culturally-bound positions from where they form an understanding of the land: an understanding that consequently shapes how different communities of interest engage it. Or in other words, and adapting Eggleton's claim, 'to describe the conservation estate is to invent it'.

While Eggleton's understanding of landscape is derived from a literary model, where do the concepts embraced by landscape architecture stem from? Landscape architect James Corner considers landscape architecture to be located in the meeting of ecology and creativity. While a role of the landscape architect might also be to understand landscapes, and professionally at times assess them, he notes the discipline's critical characteristic is "how creative practices of ecology and landscape architecture construct – or, more precisely, enable – alternative forms of relationship and hybridisation between people, place, material and Earth".[17]

Therefore could understanding the conservation estate as 'landscape', rather than as 'wilderness', open up deeper cultural potential in the conservation estate? And could working from the designerly imperative that is bound up in landscape architecture suggest certain interventions, and marks to be made, through which innovative, sustaining and forward-orientated relationships with the conservation estate could be fostered? Or put more straightforwardly: how could landscape architecture interrogate wilderness and the conservation estate, and what would it find?

16 Potton and Eggleton, 1999, Here on earth : the landscape in New Zealand literature, p7.
17 Corner, 1997, Ecology and landscape as agents of creativity, p105.

It is this question that forms the foundation of this dissertation. Yet surprisingly, while concepts of wilderness and landscape often coalesce in both academic research and management strategies, the current interest in wilderness and locales like the conservation estate by the discipline of landscape architecture is slight.

Within landscape architecture's peer-reviewed discourses there is little evidence of an explicit concern with wilderness. For example, both *Landscape Journal* and *Landscape Research* have each published only one paper on the topic during the last ten years, while in *Landscape Review* none relate directly to wilderness.[18] And on the other hand, in discourses of wilderness and landscape, landscape architecture is almost absent. For example in a recent North American conference of the George Wright Society, whose theme was "Rethinking Protected Areas in a Changing World", only one of the over four hundred papers presented had an author who identified themselves as coming from the landscape architecture discipline.[19] Likewise in New Zealand the Conserve-Vision Conference, which celebrated twenty years since the founding of the Department of Conservation by exploring the future of the conservation estate in New Zealand, only the paper I presented came from a landscape architecture perspective.[20]

Given the historical role of landscape architecture and landscape architects like Frederick Law Olmsted in the establishment of North America's first national parks – within which was contained an early expression of the modern wilderness ideal – the current ambivalence of the discipline to wilderness is, at first glance, surprising.[21] Why then this current lack of interest?

First, is it possible that wilderness' value to the discipline of landscape architecture lies more in its paradigmatic qualities of being untouched and

18 Further, both papers are considering the place of wilderness in urban context rather than in its more common national park setting. See Hester, Blazej and Moore, 1999, Whose Wild? Resolving Cultural and Biological Diversity Conflicts in Urban Wilderness. ; and also Jorgensen, 2007, Ambivalent landscapes—wilderness in the urban interstices.

19 Snyder, Miller, Skibbe and Haight, 2007, Using Decision Support Tools to Assist in Open Space Land Acquisition in an Urbanizing Landscape.

20 Abbott, 2008, Designing participation through innovative paths and way-finding systems.

21 Olmsted's role in 'emparking nature' is discussed in Olwig, 2002, Landscape, nature, and the body politic : from Britain's renaissance to America's new world, p192-203. Also Carr discusses the role of landscape architecture in North American National Parks in Carr, 1998, Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service.

remote, and less as a site of landscape architecture practice?[22] Is its role to act as a polar extreme by which to externally reference other landscape-based investigations? Michael Pollan argues that the primary purpose of landscape architecture is to formulate mutually beneficial dialogues between people and nature. Such thinking leads him to conclude that the garden, and not wilderness, is where both conceptually and physically, a sustaining environmental ethic may be established.[23] It is "the garden as metaphor or paradigm, as a way of thinking about nature that might help us move beyond the either/or thinking that has historically governed the American approach to the landscape: civilisation versus wilderness, culture versus nature, the city versus the country".[24] In wilderness, it seems, there is a lack of conceptual and formal fuzziness with which to negotiate such absolutes as absence, untouchability and primaevalness. If, as Pollan argues, landscape architecture is about articulating "the idea of a 'middle landscape' – of a place partaking equally of nature and culture"[25] then wilderness could be considered at best a distant waypoint by which to chart local progress and at worst a conceptual impediment to designing.

Second there is a sense that wilderness is an indulgent framing of landscape as a recreation resource that is becoming increasingly irrelevant to the concerns and lives of most people. According to John Beardsley, contemporary relationships with nature are as likely to be found in the products, environments and simulations of the shopping mall as in the elitist, gentrified and equally commodified landscapes of a national park. In his analysis he notes three classes of nature-based landscape experience that are emerging. In the first "the affluent will make their eco-tours to the remaining fragments of pristine habitat; the middle classes will visit simulations; everyone else will inhabit marginal landscapes, salvaging and recycling to survive".[26]

22 Jan Birksted notes in modernist architecture emphasised "the opposition between the designed and primordial, between untouched wilderness and the purity of architecture". Birksted, 2004, Modernism and the Mediterranean : the Maeght Foundation, p155.

23 As John Dixon Hunt asserts "the most sophisticated form of landscape architecture is garden art". Dixon Hunt, 2000, Greater perfections : the practice of garden theory, p10. Olwig also develops this distinction when considering 'landscape at microscale – home and garden' in Olwig, 2002, Landscape, nature, and the body politic : from Britain's renaissance to America's new world, pxii-xiii.

24 Pollan, 1998, On design: beyond wilderness and lawn, p70.

25 Ibid, p70. Geoff Park makes a similar call in a New Zealand context and this will be discussed more fully in Chapter Four.

26 Beardsley, 2000b, Kiss Nature Goodbye, p66. JB Jackson makes a similar argument. In a chapter titled 'Beyond Wilderness' he concludes "the wilderness experience is always an interlude, a moment of new insights. It is time it

As a result Beardsley demands landscape architecture be focused on only the most pressing issues if it is to remain relevant. It is in restoring toxic industrial sites, revitalising urban centres, developing green infrastructure for "improved energy efficiency, storm water management, waste water treatment, bioremediation, vegetal roofing, and recycling", grappling with suburban and exurban sprawl, and providing green space for a rapidly urbanising global population that have far greater potential for productive and meaningful outcomes.[27]

Third, there is a sense that the romantic and picturesque aesthetics that underpin wilderness lack substance. Corner, discussing the need for a more immersive sense of landscape, critiques the pictorial impulse found in nature reserves and national parks. The production and repetition of vantage points objectifies landscape while detaching the viewer. Lost in the scenic overlook "one can survey the land with detached and distanced safety, caught momentarily in the dreamy and idealized presence of a harmonious and pleasing past… Here, landscape is nothing more than an empty sign, a dead event, a deeply aestheticised experience that holds neither portent or promise of a future".[28]

Corner argues that, as a product of a nineteenth Century landscape aesthetic, many of these 'natural' landscapes are rooted in a nostalgic production of scenery that is irrelevant to the expanding ambit of the discipline of landscape architecture. But worse – framing landscape as scenery diminishes landscape's capacity to be an active cultural agent: where landscape is not only shaped by people, but also shapes people.

It is for these reasons one might consider the readiness of the discipline to perceive wilderness, and national parks of the indigenous flora and fauna kind, as culturally shallow. Working at a theoretical level, a focus on wilderness by landscape architecture might impede the discipline's current urge to shrug off its aesthetic shackles. And on a professional level, because of wilderness' need to maintain places with minimal intervention, such locales offer little purchase for the modification of the sites, surfaces and ecologies by which the profession gains its revenues.

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came to an end, time that we undertook the reconstruction of our desolate cities and the reinvigoration of our rural communities". Jackson, 1994, A sense of place, a sense of time, p91.

27 Beardsley, 2000a, A Word for Landscape Architecture, p58.

28 Corner, 1999a, Eidetic Operations and New Landscapes, p156.

However, despite Pollan's claim on the garden as landscape architecture's realm of influence, or Beardsley's directive that landscape architecture focus on environmental mediation, or Corner's consigning of wilderness to the empty site of the scenic, I consider that the relationship between wilderness, the conservation estate and landscape architecture is worth closer inspection.

Pollan's discussion of the garden – being the meeting of wilderness and civilisation – assumes wilderness itself cannot be regarded as either 'civilised' or as a garden. Yet in many ways, and particularly in the New Zealand context, it is even more so. With extensive pest and invasive plant species eradication programmes involving aerial and ground applied poisons, spray, trapping and grubbing covering thousands of hectares and hundreds of staff, one could argue that New Zealand's conservation estate is highly cultivated. Currently $137m dollars is spent annually to sustain the ecological integrity of the conservation estate's 'natural heritage'.[29] An additional $119m, is spent to provide facilities like huts, tracks and bridges, so "people enjoy and benefit from New Zealand's natural, historic, and cultural heritage and are connected with conservation".[30] Other than an almost total focus on endemic species, a similar level of distaste for the exotic, and also differences of scale, it is hard to distinguish the activities in the conservation estate with those undertaken in numerous botanical gardens, wildlife parks and zoos around the world.

I would argue that Pollan's conclusion – that it is in the metaphorical garden that a future between people and nature must be formed – is equally as apt for locations like the conservation estate, as it is for the space behind his figurative house. Given that backyards often have had any traces of prior ecologies removed when land is cleared during subdivision, and that the conservation estate is likely to be the more intrinsically indigenous and ecologically local, one could suggest that finding and understanding a local relationship with landscapes may be more likely to occur in the conservation estate than in those more generic formulations, put together from the local plant warehouse and found in many suburban gardens. And further, might the iterative constitution of the garden – of an unfolding conversation between people and nature – be a beneficial lens to look for the same

29 Department of Conservation, 2007h, Statement of Intent 2007-2010, p71.
30 Ibid, p74.

dialogic qualities, both real and possible, between people and the conservation estate?

Addressing Beardsley's concerns one notes his stratification of nature-based locations into three typologies – of elite eco-tours, simulations and marginal landscapes – can all be found within almost all national parks. It is the level of disjunction between a tour of a pristine habitat with the environmental cost of provisioning such an experience that envelops the national park with all three characteristics. For example many 'eco-tours', as well as the ubiquitous café, also require sewerage, roading, waste and aircraft facilities to transport and accommodate people, as well as visitor centres (simulations) in which such experiences are packaged and sold along with the T-shirts, maps, picture books, posters, fluffy toys, souvenirs and so on. It is the sense of dyslexia, and confused reading, that these different evocations of nature once recombined create, that offers such fertile material in a landscopic-based study of people and nature in the conservation estate.[31]

Beardsley concludes his paper with a sustainable vision for the shopping mall in which an explicit relationship with nature generates its form and functioning. He asks "can we imagine a mall that is also a working landscape – that is energy self-sufficient, that treats its own wastewater, and that recycles its own materials?"[32] Yet couldn't such an image serve also as a vision for a sustaining, sustainable conservation estate where facilities such as visitor centres and huts, infrastructure such as waste and sewage, and also modes of transport used both to and within the national parks respond similarly? And again, because the conservation estate is intrinsically local and in most ways ecologically indigenous, could such an exploration uncover ways of engaging with landscape that avoids the sameness and placelessness that is common across many malls regardless of their cognisance of environmental concerns. Indeed could such an approach also unsettle the conservation estate's ideation as an intrinsically untouched and untouchable other'?

Corner's issues are of the most consequence. In his research he uses the concept of a scenic landscape, viewed from the archetypal lookout, to prepare the ground for a consideration of landscape's strategic instrumentality.

31 See Hull, 2000, Moving beyond the romantic biases in natural areas recreation.
32 Beardsley, 2000b, Kiss Nature Goodbye, p66-67. For a human-centred framing of this issue see Hester, 1995, Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Sustainable Happiness.

Because the scenic overview "displaces viewers, keeps them at a safe and uninvolved distance, and thus presents the landscape as little more than an aesthetic object of attention"[33] it mutes landscape's potential. The lookout forces a separation between viewer and the viewer. It renders the natural supine.

However one must be wary of this analysis. Corner describes national parks in such a way that they appear without temporalities or dialogue. A "sadly sentimental and escapist understructure … pervades their viewing; *there is simply nothing to look forward to*".[34] Implicit in this analysis is an understanding of national parks, and in a New Zealand context the conservation estate, without the concomitant comings and goings of life, movement and activity.

Unfortunately, by structuring his argument to emphasise scenic landscapes as a 'still life', Corner ignores the same scene's deeply processual qualities. What Corner wants the reader to note and reject is the landscape formed through the gaze, rather than the other one equally implied in his description. Removed are the contexts of the particular journeys these people are making, the content and flow of the conversations made, comparisons discussed, and later reflections made. Indeed this is somewhat ironic given that the conclusion Corner asks his readers to draw is an acknowledgement of landscapes' (other than those relating to scenic lookouts) deeply processual, and hence instrumental, qualities. What Corner emphasises is the landscape imaged from the site, rather than the landscape constructed on the site through the activities on the site.

However, considered through the lens of performance, much more is happening in Corner's scenic landscape. Pervading the lookout is a web of practices that are leading people towards and away, as much as around, such places. In such an interpretation the carpark and viewing platform are rhizomatic nodes for interconnected behaviours and agencies: of taking paths, closing doors, locking cars, adding or removing layers of clothing, taking images, conversing with companions, picnicking, and monitoring the personal narratives of place; of interactions with carparks, automobile travel and roads, one in which the signs, intersections, fuel economies, people's various bladder

33 Corner, 1999a, Eidetic Operations and New Landscapes, p156.
34 Ibid, p156. (Corner's emphasis)

capacities and the location of suitable toilet and refreshment facilities; of making, recalling and connecting practices; and indeed also a deeply processual landscape with strong qualities of instrumentality.

Thus, if it is considered as a landscape of behaviours, rather than as a container of simple and completed meanings, the scenic is also the complex and multiple working landscape Corner argues for. If, for a while we lock the car and head off for a walk into the landscape that Corner wants his reader to consider only as scenery to be appraised from a lookout, it too can also be phenomenologically understood in terms of particular practices and landscape's agency. Could the back-country path also be considered a working landscape? One that is also 'processual' as the choreography of quickly dissipated movements: of the sense of someone's previous journey gleaned from the chance finding of a food wrapper made hidden behind a tree; the knowledge that now nameless groups of people sometimes rested here; and also located between a host of practices and navigations, that were as much a response to, as a directive imposed on a landscape, and that are lost as quickly as they are left behind.

Rather than accepting Corner's position I would argue that his desire for a visualising of landscape to "emphasise the experiential intimacies of engagement, participation, and use over time"[35] can equally be directed to understanding those landscapes that exist in Corner's image of the scenic overview. Perhaps, because of the delicacy of the dialogue between both landscape's and people's agency, is it even possible such places offer greater purchase for a highly reflective consideration of such concepts. Indeed, could places like the conservation estate suitably provide the very locations needed by Corner to test his theory? For this is the risk in Corner's work. As Richard Weller states, "Corner's project of developing contemporary landscape architecture theory will cancel itself out if it cannot find grounding within the design process".[36]

The wilderness landscapes that Corner, Beardsley and Pollan choose to present are *landscapes of closure*. There is an unwillingness to note that these landscapes too are also under continual negotiation. Or that in the past,

35 Ibid, p159.
36 Weller, 2001a, Between Hermeneutics and datascapes: a critical appreciation of emergent landscape design theory and praxis through the writings of James Corner 1990–2000 (part one), p1.

wilderness' potency has been based on what Yi-Fu Tuan calls its 'generativity'.[37] In the arguments they put forward there is a strong sense that wilderness, national parks and the like are being enlisted as the straw-person in another set of debates.

As a result, the current lack of interest by the discipline of landscape architecture has led to debates about the conservation estate and wilderness being conducted without bringing to the discussion a creative consideration of landscape. Consequently most investigations are formulated according to management and organisational planning-based understandings rather than through a designerly engagement of landscape's potential. In other words, the conceptualisations of wilderness as 'other', and as a cultural void, has precluded sites such as the conservation estate from the creative potential of landscape architecture.

1.3 SUMMARY

Rather than being an impediment to a landscopic examination of wilderness the issues that Beardsley and Corner identify in their studies offer a rich set of questions that could be applied to wilderness and the New Zealand conservation estate. For instance, after Pollan, how could the conservation estate be conceptualised as a 'middle landscape'? And after Beardsley how could it be understood, in terms of people's activities there, as a sustainable and sustaining landscape? And after Corner how could it be understood in terms of its temporal, performative and experiential qualities? And also how could wilderness and the conservation estate be framed as landscapes with instrumental qualities that are not only shaped by culture, but also shape culture?

For could landscape architecture, working in the context of wilderness and the conservation estate, give effect to its landscopic agency, and therefore negotiate in wilderness and the conservation estate scope for creativity? For reasons that will be developed in the course of the next chapter I am wary of framing these questions so tightly that any answers can already be found contained in the question. However behind such prompts can be discerned the two significant questions for this research, and the ones from which this dissertation will develop from:

37 Tuan, 2002, Foreword, pxix.

First, how might wilderness and the New Zealand conservation estate be designed as a phenomenological landscape?

And second, how could the designerly imperative found within landscape architecture be the method for such an inquiry?

Hence in Chapters Three and Four I will look more closely at issues of temporality and agency as they might be applied to wilderness and the conservation estate. Recent work on landscape, across a number of disciplines, will assist such a line of inquiry. For example, studies in anthropology, cultural geography, and political science undertaken by Crang, Ingold, Lorimer, Massey, Michael, Milton, Turnbull and Wylie (among others), which in turn are derived both from a phenomenological conception of environment as developed by Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, and also a more performative understanding of space developed in turn by de Certeau, and Deleuze and Guattari, offer considerable assistance in conceptualising agency, practice and performance in landscapes. In particular Ingold's and Massey's work will be progressively considered in subsequent chapters and applied to both the conservation estate and the discipline of landscape architecture. For what does a landscape architecture of wilderness that emphasises performance and temporality entail? What does a landscape architecture primarily motivated to generate instrumentality rather than formal outcomes produce?

In this sense the choice of the conservation estate, as a location for such research, can be considered apt. Its subtle nature means even the slightest footprints (or is that a foot-in-boot-print, ecological footprint or a proprietary commercial imprint) are worthy and capable of closer inspection: both in terms of examining the person making it and also the landscape affording and accommodating to such a mark being made.

Wilderness also has much potential. While in each specific conceptualisation it has lacked a certain flex, its application to the conservation estate over time reveals more mutable and contingent qualities. The current conception of wilderness is no longer the heathen ungodly place of Christ's temptation. Nor with its introduced species, extensive and expensive management strategies, along with the impact of carbon and other pollutions, can places like the conservation estate be considered pristine. Also it will be argued that the

current interaction between the conservation estate and wilderness is but a loose amalgam of a number of shifting and conflicting constructions that include sublime, ecological, frontier, adventure and touristic framings.

However, before being able to embark on identifying what a landscape architecture of temporality and agency might 'recover' in wilderness and the conservation estate, it is necessary to consider what research founded in landscape architecture entails. For it has to be stressed that this inquiry does not only travel in one direction – where landscape architecture informs wilderness and the conservation estate. As will become clearer both the methods to be followed and the findings that result, have important implications for the discipline of landscape architecture.

And so it is the issue of 'what research founded in landscape architecture might be' that the next chapter now addresses.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH APPROACH

The previous chapter concluded with the underlying two questions for this dissertation. First was how might wilderness and the New Zealand conservation estate be designed as a phenomenological landscape? And second, how could the designerly imperative found within landscape architecture be the method for such an inquiry? Implicit in these questions is whether such an endeavour might be fruitful not only for the discipline of landscape architecture, but also those other disciplines with interest in wilderness and New Zealand's conservation estate.

However before outlining the thesis content, and in particular the make up of each chapter, it is necessary to consider what research founded in landscape architecture is and how it could be applied to an investigation of the conservation estate, the conceptual dimension of wilderness, and specific sites of wilderness experience. Of particular importance is a discussion of whether landscape architecture only provides the context for this research or whether it also offers valid methods for the research. It is particularly this last issue, and its implications, that direct the purpose of this chapter.

2.1 DESIGN AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

According to Corner it is an awareness of landscape's processual qualities, such as temporality and agency, which has led the discipline of landscape

architecture to be increasingly located at the interface of ecology and creativity.[1] As he states, "ecology and creativity speak not of fixed and rigid realities but of movement, passage, genesis, and autonomy, of *propulsive life unfolding in time*".[2] Hence, while landscape as a field of academic interest has broad appeal – being discussed in disciplines as diverse as aesthetics, art history, environmental psychology, anthropology, ecology, theology, history, sociology[3] – only in landscape architecture and environmental art do landscape and creativity explicitly meet.

Embedded in Corner's various calls to 'recover' landscape to a position of cultural significance[4] is an understanding of landscape as a context with agency, and also an articulation of landscape architecture as both a discipline imbued with creative impulses and also as a method by which landscape's agency is released. And further for landscapes and landscape architectures to manifest such instrumentality they must be operative rather than representational. Hence, instead of portraying aesthetically determined ideas landscape architecture's role is to "engage, enable, diversify, trick, emancipate, and elude".[5]

As Corner convincingly argues the discipline of landscape architecture must orientate itself to the concerns of method and process rather than outcome. He notes that he is speaking "here of a landscape architecture that has yet to appear fully, one that is less preoccupied with ameliorative, stylistic, or pictorial concerns and more actively engaged with imaginative, enabling, and diversifying practices – *practices of the wild*".[6] Corner's call to consider notable North American poet and wilderness philosopher Gary Snyder's reflections on wildness is apt for this research project and will be discussed in Chapter Six during an examination of paths in the conservation estate. But for now what is pertinent is Corner's particular emphasis on how landscape and landscape architecture are produced and his call to shift from metaphors of artefact to instrument, and from a summative formalism to a performative programme. To this end Corner draws on a number of examples from other

1 Corner, 1997, Ecology and landscape as agents of creativity, p82.
2 Ibid, p81. (Corner's emphasis)
3 Janet Stephenson expands this list to also include geography, planning, urban design, nature conservation, heritage management, philosophy, archaeology and environmental history. Stephenson, 2005, Values in space and time: towards an integrated understanding of values in landscapes, p187.
4 *Recovering Landscape* is the title of a major anthology of essays Corner edited: Corner, 1999, Recovering landscape : essays in contemporary landscape architecture.
5 Corner, 1997, Ecology and landscape as agents of creativity, p105.
6 Ibid, p105. (Corner's emphasis)

fields, to illustrate how a creative engagement of landscape might be enabled. While he brings in work from artists and cartographers it is clear he finds the greatest affinity for his own work's direction, not in citing examples of landscape architecture practice, but instead from the field of architecture and especially the work of Koolhaas, Tschumi and MVRDV.[7]

However to suggest that a program that engages landscape's agency will develop out of the field of architecture has difficulties – both in terms of the disciplinary relationship between architecture and landscape architecture, and also in the semiotic positioning of architecture within the term 'landscape architecture'. To suggest, on one level, that landscape architecture can simply be split between its context (landscape) and method of engagement (architecture) revisits a barely disguised antagonism between two apparently unequal relations. John Dixon Hunt notes how "professional landscapers' inclusion of the word *architecture* seems largely the result of a feeling of acute inferiority, an inferiority that many architects have done little to relieve by their rather patronising assumption that landscape architects are the ones who put the flowers and shrubs around *their* finished buildings".[8] Nor, on a deeper level, is the suggestion of architecture embodying landscape architecture's creative mode that helpful. For the term architecture only further conflates both context and creative method into a single term.[9]

It is such issues that suggests design, instead of architecture, is a more useful term when discussing the creative processes of the discipline. While design might also be considered both a context and a method, the ease with which it can be expressed as a verb – as both active and processual – aids an inquiry of landscape architecture's methodological significance. Hence design, designing and designerly works well as an active and 'engaging' term while side-stepping any hint of disciplinary usurping by the field of architecture.

7 See Corner, 1999a, Eidetic Operations and New Landscapes, p164-167

8 Dixon Hunt, 2000, Greater perfections : the practice of garden theory, p1, Dixon Hunt's emphasis. This is not an uncommon sentiment. For example see Berrizbeitia and Pollak, 1999, Inside/outside : between architecture and landscape. ; Bishop and Bowring, 2001, Layering, Displacement, Dissolution: Mapping the Spaces Between Architecture and Landscape. ; Leatherbarrow, 2004, Topographical stories : studies in landscape and architecture. ; Meyer, 1994, Landscape Architecture as Modern Other and Postmodern Ground. Also note Hans Hollein's provocative statement: 'everything is architecture': Ockman, 1993, Architecture Culture 1943-1968, p460. Nor is landscape architecture alone in feeling subsumed by architecture. For an interior design perspective see: Benedikt, 2002, Environmental Stoicism and Place Machismo: A Polemic.

9 For a discussion of an 'everything is architecture' approach see Wigley, 1998, Whatever Happened to Total Design.

Design also unlocks inherent tautologies in the term landscape architecture. Rather than the indistinct 'landscape architecture produces landscape architecture by a method of landscape architecture'[10] one can argue landscape architecture produces designed landscapes through designing. Here landscape is both the context and outcome while design is the method by which such contexts are transformed. It is for reasons like these that – though landscape architecture is almost invariably used to describe the profession and its outcomes – landscape design is often used in academic papers and other publications to describe what the discipline actually does. In terms of this research the following distinction will be adopted: landscape architecture will refer to the discipline and its outputs, while the terms design and designing will refer to the methods and processes undertaken to generate such outputs.

2.2 LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE RESEARCH

An argument can readily be sustained that the practice and teaching of landscape architecture is directed and led by design. For example teaching programmes[11] and published monographs[12] emphasise the role of creative processes as the foundational method by which solutions are derived. Hence it is accepted that once a project brief is commenced the landscape architect should enlist design-orientated tools and strategies in order to bring together a productive and meaningful outcome. Yet the same approach is not the norm for landscape architecture's programmes of academic research. Surprisingly (at least on the face of it), having settled on a research question, there is far less readiness to enlist those same design-led and creative strategies when pursuing academic inquiry.

While much research discusses landscape contexts, as well as physical productions of landscape architecture, there is a tendency in this work to enlist any number of approaches other than those that are reliant on design. Given landscape architecture's dependence on its designerly attributes for its disciplinary distinctiveness this reticence is perplexing. Especially when creativity and design are often considered integral to research. For example

10 Or the similarly indistinct 'architecture produces architecture by architecture'

11 See, for example, descriptions of the programmes at Berkeley http://laep.ced.berkeley.edu/programs/undergraduate; PSU http://www.larch.psu.edu/AcademicPrograms/bla.htm; and Lincoln University http://www.lincoln.ac.nz/story3112.html : all accessed 21st March 2008.

12 See, for example Bonet, 2007, Urban Landscape Architecture. Wolff, 2002, Review of Charles Waldheim's Constructed Ground.

Michael Crang, whose research is based in the humanities and not a design discipline, supports a designerly orientation to research. He states, "producing order out of our materials, of making sense … is a creative process".[13] Similarly Sarah Whatmore, a geographer, considers the research process relies on "the creative and sometimes contrary possibilities generated in and by exchanges between researcher and researched".[14]

Paul Carter, an academic whose career has developed from fields in literature and history and now into urban design theory and practice, notes that " 'creative research' [is] a phrase that ought to be an acknowledged tautology. If research implies finding something that was not there before, it ought to be obvious that it involves imagination … [Hence] as a method of materialising ideas, research is unavoidably creative. This is why, Michel Serres claims, 'Invention is the only true intellectual act' ".[15]

However, as Carter continues, "while 'creative research' *ought* to be a tautology, in its present cultural climate it is in fact an oxymoron. A research paradigm prevails in which knowledge and creativity are conceived as mutually exclusive … A narrowly reductive empiricist notion of research, which, by insisting on describing the outcomes in advance, defines the new in terms of a 'present more extreme', now influences the framing of research questions across all disciplines. Interpretative sciences (traditionally the humanities), and even applied disciplines, architecture and design, find they can describe what they do only on condition that they leave out invention".[16]

Arguably it is a lack of enthusiasm by design-led disciplines to use design as a method of inquiry that has limited their academic scope. The de facto outcomes are academic disciplines, such as landscape architecture, architecture, and design, are adept at providing distinctive contexts for research but do not provide distinctive methods for academic inquiry.[17]

Landscape architecture academic Catherin Bull notes this results in a situation where "scholarship and research in these fields, where it does occur,

13 Crang, 2003, Telling Materials, p117.
14 Whatmore, Ibid.Generating Materials, p103.
15 Carter, 2004a, Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research, p7.
16 Ibid, p7-8.
17 There are of course some obvious exceptions, though it must be noted they are exceptions rather than archetypes. Such work includes that by Halprin from the 1960's and more recently Berger, Corner, Dee, Fine, and Getch-Clark. This work will be brought into the discussion in Chapter Six.

is "about" them, rather than "of" them".[18] In other words the discipline's body of research, while concerning the context of landscape architecture, doesn't depend on those design-focused methods developed within it and also practised and taught by it. Instead the research methods most commonly adopted, and the researcher expertise employed, are founded in the domains of the humanities and sciences: in logic and reasoning; criticism and interpretation; and qualitative and quantitative analysis. Absent in the methodological mix is the very characteristic that make the creative disciplines distinct – namely design. As a result there is a sheer paucity, in the field of landscape architecture, of scholarly research that attempts to use design as their primary research method: an absence that tends to be self-perpetuating.

Klaus Krippendorf notes "probably the most notable pathology of design discourses is its openness to colonisation by other discourses".[19] Hence historians, plant ecologists, social scientists, educators, geologists, planners, mathematicians and geographers while competently exploring topics of landscape architecture do so from a methodologically external position – where the corpus of landscape architecture is understood, and defined, from the outside looking in.[20] While such a ecumenical approach can be considered a positive expression of multidisciplinarity less certain is the reception upon a reversal of roles: for example where methods particular to a design-led discipline like landscape architecture are applied to contexts of interest to academic approaches beyond landscape architecture, and other related design disciplines – such as, in the case of this research, wilderness and the New Zealand conservation estate.

It is a sense of landscape architecture's insularity, coupled with a sentiment of being ignored by a wider world, that drives the tone of the edited papers included in Corner's seminal text *Recovering Landscape*. Yet though such discussions argue for a landscape architecture embedded in creativity they struggle to be made in a way in which the instrumentality of design is enlisted and not just described. Weller, as previously noted, states for Corner's theory to be relevant it must make sense in his designed outcomes. Yet perhaps the reverse could also be the case: would his theory be made more apt by the use

18 Carter, 2004a, Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research, p8.
19 Cited in Findeli, 2000, Some Tentative Epistemological and Methodological Guidelines for Design Research, p2.
20 See, for example, Foster and Lorimer, 2007, Cultural geographies in practice: Some reflections on art-geography as collaboration. ; Housefield, 2007, Sites of time: organic and geologic time in the art of Robert Smithson and Roxy Paine.

of designing in its development and final formulation. As Nigel Cross writes, "we must concentrate on the 'designerly' ways of knowing, thinking and acting … Design practice does indeed have its own strong and appropriate intellectual culture, and … we must avoid swamping our own design research with different cultures imported either from the sciences or the arts".[21]

If a major form of academic research in landscape architecture can be characterised as outside methods looking in, then, a second predominant approach attempts to explain specific processes and outcomes pertinent to the discipline. For example Mark Francis, in setting out a position for the use of 'a case study method in landscape architecture', argues for the case study as a means to "inform their colleagues and public about [the landscape architect's] work".[22] Here he proposes a template of common critical dimensions should be used when discussing specific 'best-case' outcomes of the discipline, so that both individual and comparative analysis might be better undertaken. Hence, he states, North American projects as diverse as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, Central Park in New York and the Stanford Campus Plan in California should be analysed across common characteristics including site analysis, cost, and criticism for example. Shortly I will discuss the suitability of case studies as a framework for research directed by design, but the point to be stressed here is that in this form of approach the research occurs *after* designing is finished. In an emerging academic discipline like landscape architecture this can result in positivist articulations of the already resolved (and often already built). For example "*Groundswell: Constructing the Contemporary Landscape* portrays the surge of creativity and critical commentary surrounding the contemporary created landscape".[23] Yet the conclusions in such reviews often elide the tensions, uncertainties, those aspects that couldn't be cohesively resolved, and designerly explorations of the possibility such difficulties offer. Instead the outcomes are 'spectacular', 'ingenious', bold', 'radical', and 'dramatic', and at least in creative if not ecological terms also complete.[24]

21 Cross, 2001, Designerly Ways of Knowing: Design Discipline Versus Design Science, p56.
22 Francis, 2001, A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture, p15.
23 Reed, 2006, Groundswell : constructing the contemporary landscape, p15.
24 Nor is this tendency restricted to landscape architecture. By far the bulk of publications in architecture, industrial design, and communication design take a similar approach in which highly pictorial monographs (many self-authored) and reviews assert in a manifesto-like style an effusive commentary on the designs and designers under discussion. See, for example,: Mack, 1996, Herzog & de Meuron : das Gesamtwerk = The complete works. ; Rashid,

Likewise when discussing the process of learning and practising design a similar sense of containment is evident. In these studies themes extensively developed in other academic paradigms, like post-structural philosophy, and concepts of narrative and semiotics[25], are each in turn explored so they can be incorporated into producing, either better formal and usually site-specific design solutions, or better processes to deliver such outcomes. However the specific intent of these studies is to bring these themes into the fold of landscape architecture, rather than look outwards and consider their application across other design-led disciplines and beyond.[26] Hence it is neither surprising, nor unusual, that Francis's argument for a case study approach ignores the possibility of linking his template with similar frameworks found in other design disciplines, or applying his concepts outside of landscape architecture productions. Is it possible such activity, by asserting the distinctive identity and value of each discipline, reinforces territorial disputes between architecture and landscape architecture? And why, for example, landscape architecture orientated conferences, are more likely to be attended by planners, ecologists and policy makers than architects, industrial designers, and communication designers – just as architecture and design conferences are similarly self-contained?[27]

These inward-looking attempts at disciplinary self-definition – whether derived from each design discipline marking out its territory, or the previously discussed efforts to examine design using methods that are founded elsewhere – can be characterised as research into the field of design. Following such an approach, in terms of this research, it might be possible to reintegrate wilderness as a theme into the discipline of landscape architecture. However such work, without an emphasis on designerly methods, is likely to interest only the field of landscape architecture and not

Antonelli, Olsen and Cohen, 2001, I want to change the world. ; Carson and Blackwell, 1995, The end of print : the graphic design of David Carson.

25 See, for example, Alon-Mozes, 2006, From 'Reading' the Landscape to 'Writing' a Garden: The Narrative Approach in the Design Studio.

26 The broad field of Urban Design could be considered an exception. For example the Urban Design Protocol Initiative by the New Zealand Government's Ministry for the Environment has been widely engaged with across a diverse mix of stakeholders. For the diverse list of signatories see: http://mfe.govt.nz/issues/urban/design-protocol/signatories.html : accessed 20th March 2008

27 See, for example, the list of attendees at the *Council of Landscape Educators 2007 Conference*, while having a number of landscape related disciplines represented had few related design and architecture disciplines represented. Similarly the New *Zealand Institute of Architects 2006 'Taking Stock' Conference* had very few related design disciplines represented. This insularity is also evident when reviewing the disciplinary backgrounds of contributors to academic publications in the different design disciplines.

wider audiences like, for example, the attendees of the previously mentioned George Wright Society Conference on protected areas.

Hence I consider that for the research in this dissertation to be both distinctive to the discipline, and also inform other academic disciplines then its research approach needs to be founded in landscape architecture. And for this to occur, for the discipline to be enabled to present innovative insights into wilderness and the New Zealand conservation estate to a wider academic audience, then design cannot merely be the context for this research but also a means of such an inquiry.

2.3 RESEARCHING AND DESIGN

In the previous section I argued that a creative and design-directed research strategy is needed to produce landscape architecture research (as distinct from landscape research) that can engage and inform non-design disciplines. However this begs the question: how might creativity be a method of research? Or put another way: what is design-directed, rather than design-focused research?

Alan Berger and his collaborators, writing about the peer-reviewed landscape design studio, point out that " 'research by design' is an emerging field with many questions to ask and traditions to establish".[28] However landscape architecture's nascent condition in the academy, as it shifts from its professional pedagogical purpose to one also with academic substance, means peer reviewed academic and post-graduate research, regardless of method, is relatively recent.[29] It appears that variety rather than clarity of methodological approach prevails. While such fluidity is generally unacknowledged it nonetheless means any substantial research in landscape architecture is likely to involve an implicit inquiry of method and not just the application of an already accepted approach. Hence a dissertation such as this, cannot aspire to assert a particular methodological approach without, in the course of the research, that approach being also the subject of scholarly inquiry. This echoes the situation for many design disciplines as they have sought to move from solely *practising* practice into exploring valid, and also distinctive, modes of academic inquiry. The result is considerable ongoing

28 Berger, Corkery and Moore, 2003, Researching the Studio, p2.
29 The first issue of Landscape Research was 1975, Landscape Journal was 1982, Landsape Review was 1995, and the Journal of Landscape Architecture was 2006.

academic debate into the relationship between practice and research as definitions of each iteratively reverberate off the other down through various academic channels.

There is a growing academic keenness to debate and investigate this situation. This is evidenced by ongoing activity such as: vibrant chat lists like *PhD-Design* whose central thread is the relationship between research, theory and practice; the growing number of papers in journals like *Design Issues*, *Design Research*, *Design Philosophy Papers, Architectural Design Research* and the *Journal of Architectural Education* that attempt to shape theoretical models for such work; and an expanding number of international inter-disciplinary conferences covering themes including 'The unthinkable doctorate'[30], 'In the making'[31] 'Research into practise'[32] and 'Practice as Research in Performance'[33].

A similar approach is also adopted to the processes and settings for landscape design. For example, over a number of journal issues, a series of papers presented examples of the design studio as an opportunity "to uncover and develop new areas of knowledge to inform the education and practice of design".[34] The *Journal of Landscape Architecture* and *Landscape Review* both include special categories of peer reviewed design-led research.[35] Also the current emphasis of linking institutional funding to measures of research performance has given the role of research further impetus, as academics have sought to secure resources by framing what might have been previously considered practice as research.[36]

Nonetheless, while such approaches occur, they are not the prevailing position. Paul Carter states that current thinking in "creative research … has been intellectually a rather under-resourced debate".[37] Rather than directing research using design, the intent of most studies, according to Carter, is to

30 Belderbos and Verbeke, 2007, The Unthinkable Doctorate Conference Proceedings.
31 see http://www.nordes.org : accessed 19th March 2008
32 see http://sitem.herts.ac.uk/artdes_research/res2prac/ : accessed 19th March 2008
33 see http://www.bris.ac.uk/parip : accessed 19th March 2008
34 Berger, Corkery and Moore, 2003, Researching the Studio, p1.
35 See the 'Refereed Studio' themed issues of Landscape Review – Vol 5(2) and Vol 8(1) – and also Journal of Architectural Education Vol 54(4) and Vol 61(1).
36 See, for example, in a New Zealand context: McCarthy, Walliss and Victoria University of Wellington. Faculty of Architecture and Design., 2003, Proceedings of the National Design Research Symposium. And in a German context: Hohne, 1998, Design Teaching and Design Research: Disciplines in their own right? In Diskurs: Journal of Design and Design Theory.
37 Carter, 2004a, Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research, p7.

'extend' and 'intensify' the already known. Hence the "criteria of success are simplification, resolution, closure. In the process of conducting research, new problems 'emerge'; but they are treated the same way".[38] It is this situation that leads Carter to provocatively declare that for many in our academic institutions "it is self-evident that a research question without a simple answer is not a proper subject for research".[39]

Certainly various papers relating to the effective completion of post-graduate study emphasise a sound organisational strategy. One justifiably points out "it's a PhD, not a Nobel Prize", though its tone is to ensure an inquiry that avoids the problematic.[40] Another describes how ideally such research should be "manageable, producing interesting results and a thesis in the shortest possible time",[41] and that it should be in "an area near the main streams of a discipline".[42] Deviation from these guidelines, if a successful and timely graduation is desired, is strongly advised against.

Does such advice, along with the uncertainty surrounding design's relationship with research methods mean I would be well advised to steer my own academic course elsewhere? Would it be sufficient to bring wilderness back into the landscape architecture consciousness just as, for example, Spirn has brought to the discipline a renewed awareness of linguistics while Potteiger and Purinton have engaged the discipline with a consideration of narrative?[43] However might sidestepping the problematic relationship between designing and research intellectually alienate myself from the designerly impetus that brought me to this discipline and topic, my own design-based expertise, and also my aspirations to further pursue designerly academic research at the completion of this study. Yet, to carry on down this path requires of myself, and also the readers examining this research, preparedness for a conclusion that embodies what Sarah Whatmore calls "the joy of *not* knowing".[44] For given the level of discussion and the shifting of

38 Ibid, p13.
39 Ibid, p13.
40 Mullins and Kiley, 2002, 'It's a PhD, not a Nobel Prize': how experienced examiners assess research theses.
41 Perry, 2002, A structured approach to presenting theses: notes for students and their supervisors, p2. This is a revised version of Perry, 1998, A structured approach to presenting theses: notes for students and their supervisors. In the paper Perry also proposes a research programme and chapter structure that targets completion in 27 months.
42 Ibid, p1.
43 See Spirn, 1998, The language of landscape. Potteiger and Purington, 1998, Landscape Narratives: Design Practices for Telling Stories.
44 Whatmore, 2003, Generating Materials, p98. Or what John Law lists as outcomes that might be "slippery, indistinct, elusive, complex, diffuse, messy, textured, vague, unspecific, confused, disordered, emotional, painful, pleasurable,

positions it would be overly ambitious to suggest that any attempt to apply a design-directed research methodology could be definitive. Indeed a more likely outcome might be the suggestion of possible and perhaps viable approaches and avenues for further inquiry alongside, what in terms of this study appear as dead ends.[45]

Confusing as it may seem, this is nonetheless what *design-directed research* currently is. It is the subject of much debate which shows no sign yet of coalescing. In an inquiry of 'Design as Research', in which the *Journal of Architectural Education* launched a new category of contribution, Lily Chi poses five interrelated questions for designerly research. These are: "[First] in what ways can design work's very specificity and finitude offer a medium of investigation for questions of broad concern? [Second] how do the creative and discursive interact? [Third] how does individual imagination figure in the deliberation of sociocultural matters? [Fourth] what role does the created artefact play in the conjectural process? [Fifth] how, in short, can design *as design* be practised – and read – as a pursuit of knowledge, understanding?"[46]

In the previous chapter I sought, much as Chi's first question directs, to articulate a context of broad interest that may benefit from an inquiry founded in landscape architecture – namely wilderness and the conservation estate. This chapter, so far, has attempted to prepare the ground for a discussion of Chi's second and third questions. It is the development of a framework for research that could allow these issues to be considered that the remainder of this chapter pursues. A crucial point is that the final two questions, along with the first, will form the substance of this dissertation –

hopeful, horrific, lost, redeemed, visionary, angelic, demonic, mundane, intuitive, sliding and unpredictable". Law, 2004, After method : mess in social science research, p19. Elsewhere Law states "the real chance to make a difference lies… in the irreducible. In the oxymoronic. In the topologically discontinous. In that which is heterogenous. It lies in a modest willingness to live, to know, and to practice in the complexities of tension". Law, 1999, After ANT: complexity, naming and topology, p12. Such an outcome, despite an air of ineffability (and even because of it), in all likelihood offers greater synthetic and hence designerly possibility for the landscape architect. For an a consideration of Rittel's framing such contexts as *Wicked Problems* see: Buchanan, 1992, Wicked Problems in Design Thinking.

45 Dorst notes considerable volatility in current design research. He considers "there is a build-up of anomalies; phenomena that cannot be explained within the conventional wisdom". Noting Kuhn he considers such flux occurs prior to a paradigmatic shift. See Dorst, 2008, Design research: a revolution-waiting-to-happen, p4.

46 Chi, 2001, Introduction: Design as Research, p250. A more recent review of this issue by the *Journal of Architectural Education* reiterates the tension between design scholarship and scholarly design: See, for example, Furjan, 2007, Design/Research. ; Powers, 2007, Toward a Discipline-Dependent Scholarship. ; Wortham, 2007, The Way We Think about the Way We Think.

and in a manner, as Chi concludes, such that "these questions invite not definitive answers, but reflection".[47]

2.4 DESIGNING

In as much as the previous section concludes that design-directed research is uncertain and potentially risky, the question as to what design-directed research specifically could be still remains. Perhaps it is best to further break down the issues: first, what sense of design is to be used in design-directed research; second, what are characteristics of a research framework that fosters such an approach; and third, in the light of the two previous questions, how should this specific research project be structured?

The first question, at its most bare, asks 'what is design?' In itself this topic has been the subject of much discussion and scholarly comment and has provided the substance for wider disciplinary discussions about its form, processes and design's expanding number of disciplinary fields.[48] As a research question it alone could suffice any number of doctoral dissertations.

John Heskett presents design's syntactical breadth with the statement "design is to design a design to produce a design"[49]. In the course of a sentence he shifts the meaning of design from a disciplinary field, to an active process, to a potential prototype, and a fully realised form. Design in this sense is ubiquitous in its use and invocation.

47 Chi, 2001, Introduction: Design as Research, p250.

48 Even the crudest measure of references in the *Google Search Engine* to the term 'design' returns 'about' 1470,000,000 usages, while the phrase 'what is design' returns 'about' 117,000 references. www.google.com accessed 19th March 2008.

49 Heskett, 2002, Toothpicks and logos : design in everyday life, p5.

Nonetheless in terms of this dissertation its scope can be narrowed. Design is inextricably tied to the notion of making. Making products, communications, places, and environments; and making marks and futures. For Heskett design is "the human capacity to shape and make our environment in ways without precedent in nature, to serve our needs and give meaning to our lives"[50]. For Simon it is the means by which we "change existing situations into preferred ones"[51].

It is not my goal at this point to labour different definitions. While each has merit I am cautious of a prolonged discursive analysis, as such a task in itself is not necessarily that designerly. Indeed much that is written about design's meaning comes from authors who themselves while attracted to the term come at it as non-designers working in the field. What often follows their enthusiasm to capture in words design's essence is a stifling of its instrumentality as it becomes burdened with what it is rather than what it is does. It is in this light that the definition of design that I am about to propose should not be considered as a thesis to be defended, but rather a point of departure into the wider research project.

Therefore in the context of further prompting research within the discipline of landscape architecture and also aspiring to use it to prise value from a context already of interest outside of design-related fields the following is put forward. *DESIGN is an iterative, associative and synthetic process that attempts to build possibility out of diverse elements.*[52]

The notion of synthesis is critical to this definition. Carter states to 're-member' disparity one "has to be a specialist in alloying"[53] and of combining elements together. Nor can like be readily mixed with like: "the dialogue has no purchase unless its materials are heterogenous".[54] Carter cites Heraclitus to evoke this spirit of the synthetic. "Things which are cut in opposite directions fit together. The fairest harmony is born of things different, and discord is what produces all things … Let us unite wholes and not-wholes,

50 Ibid, p7.
51 Simon, 1996, The sciences of the artificial, p112. Likewise Freidman considers design's meaning as a verb "takes precedence over all other meanings of the term". Friedman, 2002, Conclusion: Toward an Integrative Dsign Discipline, p200.
52 On the qualities of *iteration* see Bird, 2003, Chaos and life : complexity and order in evolution and thought, p3-22 and p236-269. Also I have at time considered replacing *possibility* with *innovation*. However in the later term I consider there could be a tendency to privilege *novelty* over *suitability*.
53 Carter, 2004a, Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research, p179
54 Ibid.

convergence and divergence, harmony and discord of voices".[55] Or as he states elsewhere: "invention, after all, depends on equivocation – the possibility that something might mean *something else"*.[56]

Carter terms this sense of emergence from the combination of two elements a 'third apprehension'. Others also articulate such a conception of hybridisation. Communication designer Bruce Mau calls it the 'third event': something that "occurs between images".[57] William Burroughs and Brion Gyson, term this bringing together as 'the third mind'.[58] For Whatmore the interface of the researcher and researched is a 'third party'.[59]

It is through 'alloying' and transformation that new possibilities develop. Possibilities that have "nothing to do with the actual physical character of the form but with something implied in the relationship between forms" and which, for architect Peter Eisenman, may involve 'blurring', 'twisting', 'interweaving' and 'displacing' among others.[60] It is in this process of building emergence from the bringing together of diverse elements that designing is at its most instrumental. Nor is such emergence necessarily sequential – from one form to the next then the next. Rather multiple and divergent possibilities may develop from a common inquiry. One only has to consider the diverse responses found across design competition entries to see the spread of understandings, interpretations and designerly strategies that might be enlisted and articulated.[61] It is in producing such a spread of possibilities, rather than the resolution of a single outcome, that suggests much depth and productivity for design-directed research approach.

The following example provides a helpful analogy. Given two pots of ink – one Cyan and the other Magenta – it is possible to define in ever greater precision specific and distinctive characteristics they each may hold such as qualities of hue and saturation. However from a designing perspective (if we ignore which print pieces might be more or less suitable to use such colours in) what is interesting is the range of colours afforded by different combinations

55 Ibid, p11.
56 Ibid, p10.
57 Mau, Maclear and Testa, 2000, Life style, p326.
58 See Burroughs and Gysin, 1978, The third mind.
59 Whatmore, 2003, Generating Materials, p99.
60 Eisenman, 1999, Diagram diaries, p52.
61 See, for example, the range of responses elicited by competitions like those found at www.designboom.com and www.thearchitectureroom.com

of the inks. While the chemical constitution of each ink can be quantified it is the capacity to mix new colours that might be considered the designerly potential of Cyan and Magenta. With the addition of a third colour – Yellow for example – a host of other possible outcomes arise as the series of swatches in Figure 2.4a show.

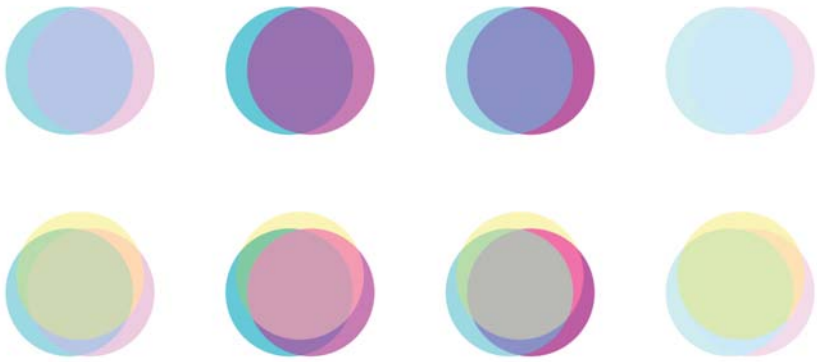

Figure 2.4a: Colour swatch of different mixes of Cyan and Magenta, and then those swatches with the addition of yellow

Of course this is rather a simplistic analogy. A richer articulation of such hybridity can be found in the work of artist Laurie Anderson who pursued the cut-up approach of Burroughs and Gysin. In Figure 2.4b can be seen the splicing together of the China Times and New York Times to create a third possibility out of the two front pages. In a creative sense the sum is different than the parts – in the act of synthesis a third element is formed which though clearly incorporating a sense of its genealogy is nonetheless definitely of itself.

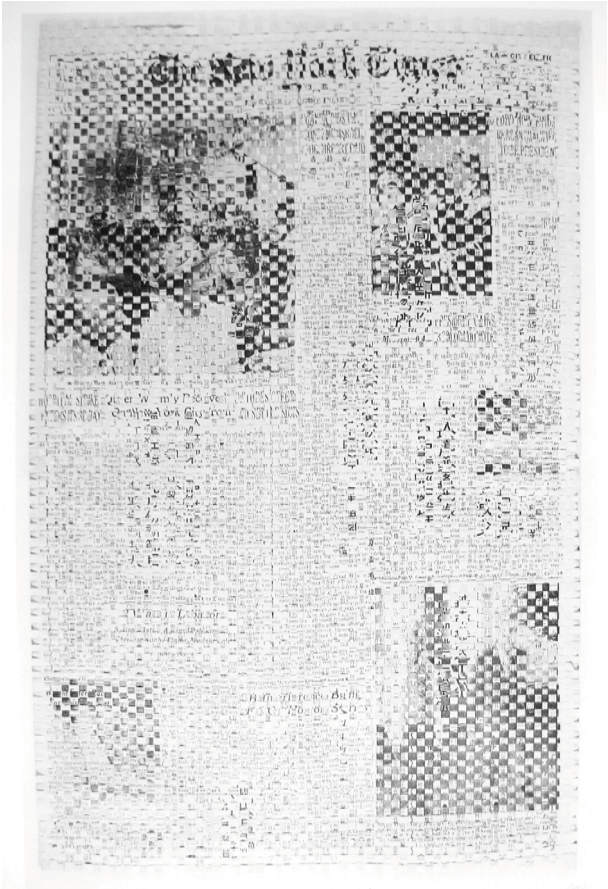

Figure 2.4b: Laurie Anderson 'cut-up' image of Hong Kong Times and New York Times[62]

While design in its professional guises realises its value according to *the designs produced*, in terms of a method of inquiry *the process of designing* takes precedence. And while producing designs and designing both require the capacity to select viable elements that might be alloyed – and also develop outputs with further potential – the goal of design-directed research is distinct to that of most professional design practice. For in the latter at some point the expectation is to come to a finished, singular production. But in design-directed research it can be argued that this is less critical than the identification of a number of *possibilities,* and in which it is not essential that one is identified as taking precedence over the others. Indeed I would argue that many multidisciplinary research efforts would greatly benefit from having a spread of possibilities developed through a design-directed research approach before being reintroduced as rich and tangible scenarios to be further examined using research methods more aligned with the social sciences, sciences and humanities. It is in this manner that methodological

[62] Sobieszek and Burroughs, 1996, Ports of entry : William S. Burroughs and the arts, p162

approaches and experiments developed using design-directed research could also be further orientated outwards to enhance research being undertaken in other fields

For in design-directed research it is a capacity to be continuously welding elements that enables design to find purchase in many situations. It can readily consider what might happen if different inks are combined with different paper stocks – or for that matter if other newspapers, music, Shakespeare sonnets, maps, buildings or landscapes are similarly 'alloyed'.[63] Instead of seeking to atomise contexts design-directed research seeks out connections. Rather than some formal outcome it is in the generation of a number of hybrids, and the enhanced possibility across such an emergent and interconnected web, that designing as a process and research method is articulated.

In the previous section it was suggested that concentrating on formulating an evermore 'precise' definition of design could deaden the very processual qualities essential to the definition of design that was proposed. In other words by putting more effort into entrenching a definition of 'what design is' there comes less opportunity for its qualities to shift during the process of researching.

Hence in this research my preference is to explore these dimensions of design through their application in landscopic contexts. My approach will be to enlist various design-led tools and strategies as they become required in the course of this investigation of wilderness and the conservation estate – rather than overly constraining it by further discussions about its definition or scope here. Indeed my intention is to wait until the end of the dissertation to reflect on design's properties within the landscape architecture discipline. For such a discussion of design's potential to engage landscape belongs after the research and not before.

63 For example Burroughs and Gysin join texts by Rimbaud and Shakespeare and splice taped sounds to generate unpredictable outcomes. For further applications of this approach see Burroughs and Gysin, 1978, The third mind, and Sobieszek and Burroughs, 1996, Ports of entry : William S. Burroughs and the arts. For examples drawn from a fine arts tradition see: Kelly, Cowart, Pacquement, Bois, National Gallery of Art (U.S.), Galerie nationale du jeu de paume (France) and Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster., 1992, Ellsworth Kelly : the years in France, 1948-1954. ; Poggi, 1992, In defiance of painting : cubism, futurism, and the invention of collage.

Given this, it now becomes relevant to consider what framework best enables this conception of design to be incorporated into a programme of research. How is an investigation that seeks to associatively and synthetically build possibility out of heterogeneity best fostered? What format might stimulate not only the generation of possibility, but also for such possibility to be both a point of arrival and also an opportunity, as a point of departure, for further iteration? Or specifically how might one structure design-directed research?

2.5 A CASE STUDY APPROACH TO DESIGN-DIRECTED RESEARCH

Landscape architecture's diverse spread of concerns across multiple contexts, environments, cultures, forms, processes and meanings suggests a case study approach to research could be adopted. Francis in advocating their use "offer[s] the following definition for use in landscape architecture: a case study is a well-documented and systematic examination of the process, decision-making and outcomes of a project, which is undertaken for the purpose of informing future practice, policy, theory, and/or education".[64] Likewise Swaffield considers them a means by which common 'categories', 'typologies' and 'archetypes' might be identified.[65] Generally a case study entails taking a comparable set of contexts, environments or meanings and then, by using a similarly applied approach, differentiates attributes into those that are common, distinctive and difficult to evaluate.

A case study approach could be applied to this specific research in a number of ways. Addressing the questions developed in the previous chapter I could, for instance, consider as distinctive cases the different framings of the wilderness idea – such as the godless wilderness of Christ's temptation, the frontier wilderness of the settler, the sublime wilderness of the visitor, or the adventure wilderness of the recreationalist. Alternatively different physical sites in the conservation estate could be considered in terms of their landscopic attributes of agency and temporality. Or different theoretical concepts of agency, landscape architecture, and/or temporality could be compared using examples drawn from the range of conceptualisations of wilderness and/or sites in the conservation estate. Or, in terms of the issues

64 Francis, 2001, A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture, p16. For further discussion of a case study approach see also: Breslin and Buchanan, 2008, On the Case Study Method of Research and Teaching in Design.

65 Swaffield, 2006, Theory and Critique in Landscape Architecture: Making Connections, p26.

forming in this chapter, different research methodologies, or different definitions of design, could be applied to the same context, environment or wilderness idea.[66] As can readily be noted even this cursory look has uncovered sufficient material to engage this researcher for many years to come. And, it should be noted, with no assurance that these multiple studies could be brought back together into some form of coherence. Swaffield identifies this methodological gap: "what appears to be needed is better synthesis of the conceptually driven approach to critique that is predominant in the 'subjectivist' parts of the [landscape architecture] discipline, with the more empirical stance promoted by Francis".[67]

Notwithstanding this consideration there are a number of advantages offered by utilising a case study approach. First, it provides sufficient structure so that an extensive research programme can be readily sustained and concluded. Second, provided sufficient difference can be identified, it is reasonably certain that comparisons can be made and conclusions formed. As Law notes, methods such as these are "a system for offering more or less bankable guarantees".[68] Hence a programme structured around case studies is often encouraged in post-graduate research project such as this.

Yet these strengths can also be perceived as weaknesses. It can be argued that it is in the initial framing of particular categories of cases that findings are locked-in, with the resulting research process and outcomes predetermined by procedures already set at the outset. What is found buckles to the structure and typologies inherent in the inquiry rather than its structure being derived from those findings. In such an approach the emphasis is on the rigour of specific operational processes.

Francis' definition emphasises a systematic examination of the process and outcomes of a project. Systems planner Charles Owen takes this approach another step when advocating the use of a structured planning model to not only understand design but also undertake it. In his model the processes by which outcomes are produced follow a series of predefined stages. These begin with a 'real context' then move to more 'abstract insights', then 'abstract ideas', before concluding the process with a 'real

66 For example (though not attempted here) a comparative study of attitudes constructed to nature in either the shopping mall or the national park visitor centre could be undertaken.
67 Swaffield, 2006, Theory and Critique in Landscape Architecture: Making Connections, p27.
68 Law, 2004, After method : mess in social science research, p9.

artefact/institution' as the solution (see figure 2.5a). In the steps between the analytical insight and the synthetic idea are to be found four further discrete stages: metaplanning, project planning, concept designing, and specification making (see figure 2.5b). "The two-step development process, as a step towards reformation, adds a *planning* stage before the *designing* stage, formally separating the process of concept formation from the process of turning a concept into a specification. Planning is where 'the right mountain' is discovered before the climb begins. Structured planning operates at this stage".[69] Owen's model works to contain creative processes within a planning methodology replete with distinct beginnings, sequences, stages, boundaries and end-points.

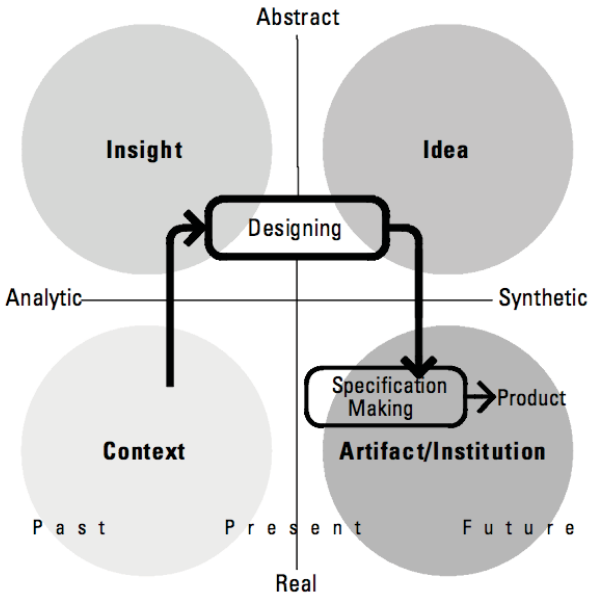

Figure 2.5a: One-step design process, Charles Owen.[70]

69 Owen, 2001, Structured Planning in Design: Information-Age Tools for Product Development, p32. This urge to organise the design tasks continues when in more detailed modelling on pages 36-37 Owen attempts to break down all known 'design factors' into a hierarchy of categories of either modes, activities or functions. Elsewhere Owen expands on this approach: Bezerra and Owen, 1999, Managing complexity in design: the role of computer-supported methods. ; Owen, 1998, Design research: building the knowledge base.

70 Owen, 2001, Structured Planning in Design: Information-Age Tools for Product Development, p32.

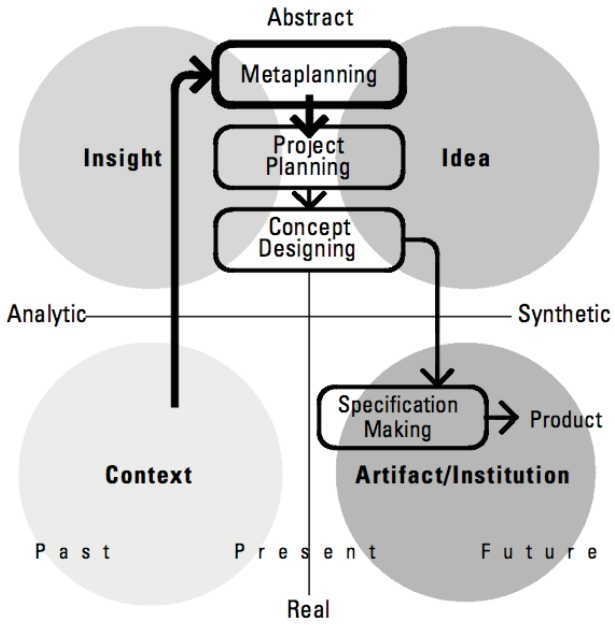

Figure 2.5b: Two-step development process, Charles Owen.[71]

In the same way that Owen seeks to regiment design activity Francis attempts to organise its forms and contexts "around the type of project, the problem, the geographical region, or the designer".[72] Additional categories that he considers as common across landscape architecture projects include: 'environmental sensitivity and impact', 'scale', 'infrastructure', 'baseline information' and 'financial'.

In both Owen's and Francis' work an analytical ordering of the creative is asserted. However in the process the reverse is impeded. For what possibilities could a synthetic and design-directed investigation of the analytic produce?

It is in the very nature of a case study to resist tailoring categorisations to the context as this makes comparative analysis difficult. In other words if one group were to follow Francis's categories while another adopted a completely different set it would be difficult to integrate the two studies into a single study. This lack of customisation makes a case study method less open to modification. This results in the cases being studied being availed of all manner of examination and manipulation while the methodological structure being applied is not.

71 Ibid, p32.
72 Francis, 2001, A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture, p20.

In these examples there is a sense of how creative approaches might be stifled. The tighter the adherence to a particular set of predetermined categorisations the more predictable the result. Indeed in many ways such findings only verify the diligence with which a method that was decided from the outset was pursued. For example Francis asks in each study of built form to have the names of the 'landscape architect(s)', 'client' and 'consultants' entered. Yet even this simple task structures in all studies a separation of roles between client and designer. Yet what say of the work that is developed within a participatory design framework?[73] How then can that relationship fit the predetermined categorisation of landscape architect and client? As Law compelling argues, "simple clear descriptions don't work if what they are describing is not itself very coherent. The very attempt to be clear simply increases the mess".[74]

At this point it is apt to reflect on Carter's previously noted comment that instead of revealing new understandings these approaches are adept at extending and intensifying the already known. In both Francis' categories and Owen's predetermined methods what is found and validated relates more to the qualities of particular typologies and methods than the context under examination. Inherent in this approach is an assumption that a context may be disciplined by a method while maintaining an unmodified and external stance. In such an approach only the method is active while the context under examination is rendered passive.[75]

Hence the case study approach presents a number of difficulties for a design-directed research framework. As Law notes "the world is not to be understood in general by adopting a methodological version of auditing. Regularities and standardisations are incredibly powerful tools but they set limits. Indeed that is part of their double-edged power. And they set even firmer limits when they try to orchestrate themselves hegemonically into purported coherence"[76] – such as the previous example that distinguishes between landscape architect and client.

73 For examples of approaches that a articulate participatory design sensibility within landscape architecture see: Hester, 2008, No representation without representation. ; Hester, 2006, Design for ecological democracy.

74 Law, 2004, After method : mess in social science research, p2.

75 See Cross, 2001, Designerly Ways of Knowing: Design Discipline Versus Design Science. ; Dillon and Howe, 2003, Design as Narrative: Objects, Stories and Negotiated Meaning.

76 Law, 2004, After method : mess in social science research, p6.

In the act of researching both the method being used and the subject being studied (and the relationship between them) are contingent on and modified by each other. Method and context are both active and both are co-produced. Whatmore states "many imaginations of the field have pictured it as static, as synchronic. A revision of that imaginary would make the field itself dynamic; and it would make field*work* into a relation between two active agents. It would recognise it as a two-way *encounter".*[77] In this sense the context interrogates the method with the same vigour as the method tests the context. Such a perspective reinforces in this dissertation a need to consider the research method adopted and the disciplinary framework from which it is derived is as much a topic for inquiry as wilderness and New Zealand's conservation estate.

This leads to a critical point for design-directed research, and one that adds further and also necessary complexity. For if method and context are in an ongoing and mutually transformative dialogue then where is the researcher to be located? For if the negotiation of contexts by different methods is driven by the researcher(s) it follows that in acts of researching (and necessarily also designing) there is a 'co-fabrication' in which its practice is a 'two-way encounter'. Hence wilderness and the conservation estate are not mute subjects in which, as Massey states, "the researcher does all the acting while the researched are merely acted on".[78] Nor should such an approach demand "the establishment of a gap in kind between the known and knower".[79]

Most disciplinary methods depend on a proficiency in the identification of difference. However design-directed research rests on a capacity to synthesise and hybridise such differences. Put another way instead of teasing elements apart, a designerly approach seeks to creatively manipulate already noted heterogeneity into further forms. Nor does only the context and the methodological framework suggest these possibilities. In the creative disciplines each researcher is an active participant who is explicitly and intimately involved in the field. Like the landscape in Corner's model, their instrumentality and particularity cannot be forgotten or replicated, and arguably should be celebrated by the likes of landscape architecture,

77 Massey, 2003, Imaging the Field, p86. (Massey's emphasis)
78 Ibid, p90.
79 Ibid, p75.

architecture and design researchers as their methodological point of difference.[80]

Therefore just as Corner (as was discussed in Chapter One) warns of a scenic lookout separating the viewer from the view – and the stance and site by which the view is formed remaining unexamined – it is also necessary to be wary of a research approach that allows the researcher to be located externally to the contexts under examination. For such an approach struggles to enable landscape, landscape architecture and design to have the agency that Corner's work calls to be recognised. Indeed to use a research framework that would diminish their agency cannot but change the outcomes of such a study.

This is of even greater relevance to my research context given its explicit consideration of both landscape and design's agency. Indeed to argue for an examination of landscapes' agency without also enlisting the instrumentality brought by the researcher and the research project would be contradictory. Like the alloying undertaken by the designer when designing in design-directed research, the researcher is an active participant that is also able to be alloyed in the course of the research.[81] As Carter states, on discussing the field of landscape design, "to go over the ground, as if for the first time, is not only to possess it, but also to be possessed by it".[82] And as Whatmore notes "both the scientist and his/her object of study are (re)constituted through the activity of research".[83] Hence in the course of this study both the researcher and the research have shifted and changed in relation and response to each other.

The purpose of this section is to argue that a research method that is embedded in design cannot be readily separated from either its context or the researchers. One does not precede the others. Like the choreographic pattern

121 Action Research can be considered to grapple with similar concerns in that it also considers the instrumental role of the researcher in shaping the research context. See, for example, Heron and Reason, 2006, Handbook of Action Research. ; Whyte, 1991, Participatory Action Research. This approach is well developed in research that relates directly to people and communities: for example in participatory design research. However less certain is how an Action Research methodology might be applied to landscopic attributes that, while also instrumental, and also capable of shaping the research and researcher, are not articulated by people.

81 Whatmore notes it is difficult to suggest that the researcher, by being instrumental in constructing the research focus, is not also part of the research focus. She cites Isabel Stengers comment that the goal must be to "string together at once all the phenomena and those who study them without distributing *a priori* … what is significant and interesting, and what … can be ignored". Whatmore, 2003, Generating Materials, p96.

82 Carter, 2004b, Nearamnew, p141.

83 Whatmore, 2003, Generating Materials, p97.

formed by a group of dancers each are produced in an iterative and open-ended dialogue.[84] The resulting pattern, and not the cases or typologies with which the research began, might be considered to constitute the research. Law again: "method is not … a more or less successful set of procedures for reporting on a given reality. Rather it is performative. It helps produce realities… It is also creative. It re-works and re-bundles these and as it does so re-crafts realities and creates new versions of the world. It makes new signals and new resonances, new manifestations and new concealments, and it does so continuously".[85] As Carter states "creative knowledge cannot be separated from the loom that made it".[86] Or as Law, drawing this time on the work of Latour and Woolgar, states, "in its practice science *produces* its realities as well as describing them".[87]

Such ideas on methodology are vigorously debated in the disciplines that researchers like Law, Whatmore, Stengers, Massey, Woolgar and Latour work in.[88] However I would argue they are far less contentious when considered from within a design perspective. Indeed the ease with which the instrumentality of research context, research method and researcher are accommodated when designing suggests design-directed research might both draw on and offer much to the methodological reflections and work undertaken in these humanities-based disciplines the above researchers work in. For isn't the embodied role they seek to assign to the researcher a description of the participatory sense a designer has when designing with communities of people, interests and contexts – where all aspects of the project are actors and agents working off and with each other?

Perhaps it is still possible to accommodate this interplay between researcher, method and context within a case study approach. For example rather than pursuing a number of cases, one could make an argument that for reasons of scope, a single case, whose shape will emerge during the research, will be

84 Schon notes designers "are in transaction with a deisgn situation; they respond to the demands and possibilities of a design situation, which in turn they help to create". Schon, 1992, Designing as reflective conversation with the materials of a design situation, p132.

85 Law, 2004, After method : mess in social science research, p143.

86 Carter, 2004a, Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research, p1.

87 Law, 2004, After method : mess in social science research, p13.

88 Given such fluidity could, at this point, a discussion of method be abandoned? At the University of Otago new supervisors are advised that for "many research studies, there is no particular research methodology since the research process is essentially one of reading, thinking and writing". Hence little on methodology might need to be discussed other than "to include a section here on general sources of data". See Higher Education Development Centre, undated, A generic framework for the research proposal.

studied.[89] Even this discussion of the case study could be considered as a specific case study on its own: likewise for the chapters that follow. Yet the purpose of this research project and that of the case study are at odds. Rather than synthesis and invention the underlying purpose with a case study approach remains elsewhere: to organise and compare.

While a case study method and one directed by design both value heterogeneity and difference, they do so for different reasons. In design-directed research their importance lies not in how elements might be categorised but in how they can be *used*. For as noted earlier a key attribute of design is to always look for opportunities to alloy heterogeneity and equivocation into third elements. Returning to the distinction Francis' categories assert between landscape architect and client, it can be noted that his purpose is to compare and contrast. In design-directed research the intent is to manipulate that difference by bringing it together in unexpected and at times innovative ways. For example what if the client was considered the landscape architect and the landscape architect the client? What outcomes might result? Or what if both were considered landscape architects, or clients, or consultants or project managers and so on.

What can be asserted at this stage (and to claim a phrase by Massey) is this research context relating as it does to wilderness, the conservation estate, landscape and design-directed research "is open and porous and connected by a chain of practices".[90] As a result the research project will be developed, not by how it might be categorised, but rather by a network of contingent and unpredictable relations by which context, method and researcher might be woven together.

It is for these reasons that in the context of this particular research, redolent with agentic conceptions of landscape, designing and method, a different framework around which to structure design-directed research could have greater potential. And it is the exploration of a methodological metaphor distinct from the case study that the discussion now turns to.

89 As Swaffield notes "a case study is therefore not selected to be a representative typical case, but either to be a deviant or compelling case. A sample may be selected theoretically, in a deliberate effort to find cases that invalidate a theory … Alternatively, a single, large and complex case study may be subject to successive analyses, providing maximised diversity *within* the single study… However, in this case, the 'experiment' forms the total concerns of the research". For a detailed discussion of the case study approach, and related issues of replication of research approaches see the Appendixes in Swaffield, 1991, Roles and meanings of 'landscape'.

90 Massey, 2003, Imaging the Field, p84.

2.6 RESEARCH ITINERARIES

In the maps that record the first European discoveries of Aotearoa New Zealand can be gleaned qualities that come from an unfolding, engaged, and participatory investigation. They document the journey and discoveries of Abel Janszoon Tasman and his crew of 110 men who travelled from Holland to New Holland and New Zealand in 1642 in the *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen*.[91]

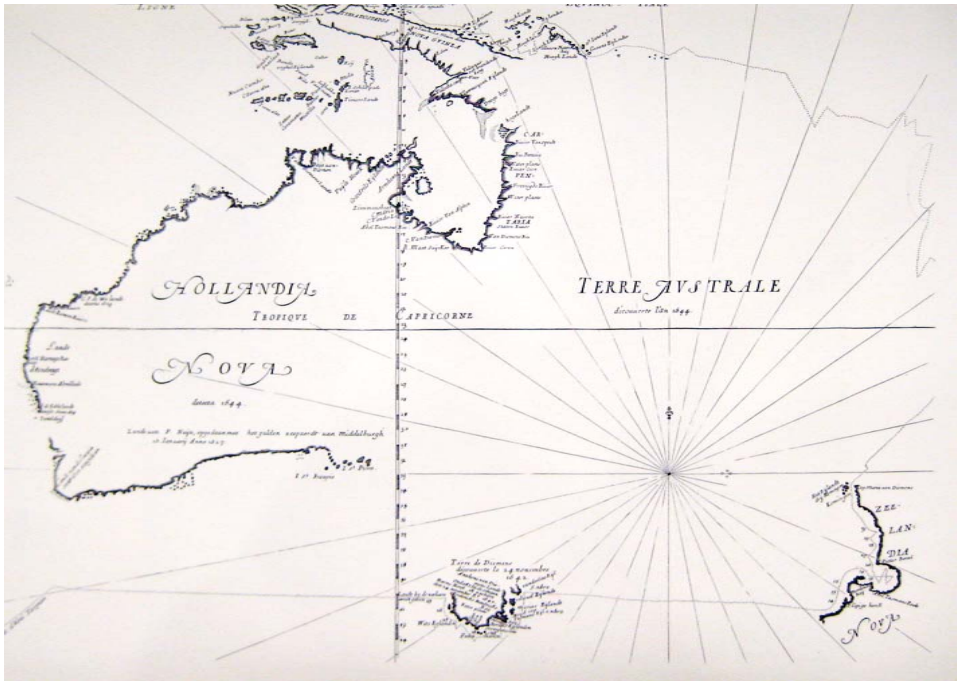

Figure 2.6a: Chart of Tasman's journey. Present day Tasmania is bottom centre, while New Zealand is drawn bottom right. [92]

Figure 2.6a is a map drawn in 1663. Across its base, entering from the west, is a dotted line, horizontal until it is abruptly diverted by the land mass annotated on the map as 'Terre de Diemans' (present-day Tasmania) alongside its discovery date of 24 November 1642. Tasman's route continues, tacking along its southern coast, with dates entered at intervals along the way. Once the original latitude of 41 degrees is again reached the dotted line sets off once more horizontally east until the west coast of 'Nova Zeelandia' is reached. The trace of his journey continues north with various dates in December marked off at intervals until 'Cap. Maria van Diemens' is passed and the dotted line leaves land and heads off, firstly in a nor-easterly direction, before slowly arcing back west to the north coast of 'Nova Guinea'.

91 Beaglehole, 1939, The discovery of New Zealand, p20-23.
92 Maling and Casini, 1996, Historic charts & maps of New Zealand, 1642-1875, p31.

While it is possible to readily perceive the various fragments of coastline forming into parts of the nowadays defined coasts of Australia and New Zealand, what this map also records is Tasman and his crew's movements as their understanding of a coastline taking shape. Considered as a metaphor for research, Tasman and his crew (the researchers), along with the various navigational and sailing technologies by which their course is made possible, and including their strategy to sail along the 41st parallel (their methods) are interrupted by the presence of land (their research subject). In this map the journey and land are records of each other. While it obvious that without their journey the lands they found would have continued unknown to Europe, it is also the case that without the land their investigation would have been similarly altered. By way of contrast, Lewis Carroll's satirical map of an empty ocean (see Figure 2.6b) indicates the physical and emotional qualities of an absent landless discovery.

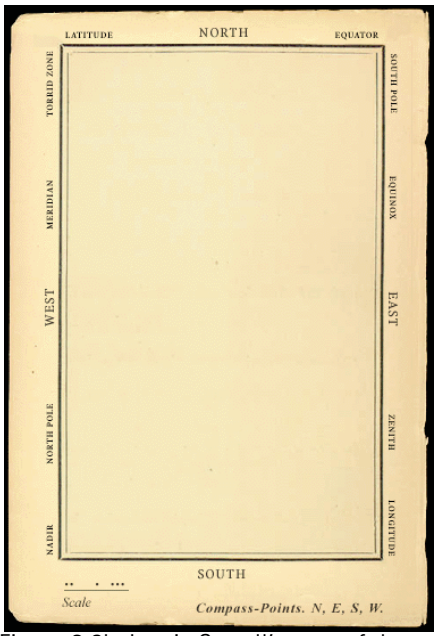

Figure 2.6b: Lewis Carroll's map of the empty ocean.[93]

What Tasman and his crew found modified their method of investigation. While now in reading these maps the coastline is granted an ipso facto permanence, their findings, as marked on the map, can be read as the almost arbitrary and incidental result of their own particular process of exploring (researching). In this sense it is not contentious to suggest that a different captain and crew (researchers), or vessels and navigational strategies

93 Carroll, 1874, The Hunting of the Snark: an Agony in Eight Fits.

(methods) would have made a different set of discoveries. For example the route taken would not have been made in the opposite direction. Followed in reverse his set of 'discoveries' would have been altered. For instance only by travelling east were they confronted with the choice to go south or north when he reached west coast of New Zealand.[94] Likewise external factors, like weather, seas and visibility, and personal motivations including the need to rest up his crew, or to escape 'Moordenaers Baij[95] meant that the intensity of investigation varied according to circumstance. This is further demonstrated in the varying concentrations of dates that describe changing rates of travel, and which in their absence also reveal times of closer examination (or perhaps poor visibility, lack of wind, or the killing of members of the crew).

The itinerary of Tasman and his crew is not formed by the disciplined adherence to a grid-like search of an area of the South Pacific. Though sailing along the 41st parallel was a strategy brought to the South Pacific, events, islands and the difficulty he had in making safe harbour, readily caused him to change tack. Thus in the resulting map there is little sense of organising the lands found. Instead what is evident is an emergent trajectory that is produced by the meeting of their intentions and the context they were sailing in and becoming part of. Hence different choices, different events, different technologies, and different directions would have produced a different set of discoveries and a different map for discussion. In Chapter Eight maps like these are examined for the temporal and contingent understandings of landscapes that they reveal. They are also investigated as examples of how such attributes might be diagrammed. But in terms of the discussion here – in Tasman's specific itinerary of travel – there is also a rich metaphor for design-directed research. For within the cartographic image is interwoven the co-dependent, non-replicable, particular and iteratively informed meshing of the researcher, their methods and the discoveries they made. Each are co-formed. And most importantly the researcher, their methods and their findings are all instrumental.

94 Similarly when they reached New Zealand's northern-most point they chose, rather than sailing around the east coast, to chart a course north-east away from land, before gradually changing course to travel towards Asia in a north-west direction.

95 This transates to Murderer's Bay, so named because six of his crew were killed by local Māori. For a discussion of these 'first meetings between Māori and European's see: Salmond, 1991, Two worlds : first meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772, p62-84.

Another quality to their trajectory of exploration can also be brought in. Subsequent routes taken by other sailors were developed in response to this journey. Tasman's map provided some of the impetus for Cook's later visit and circumnavigation of New Zealand. This in turn prompted journeys by the likes of de Surville, du Fresne, Vancouver and Malaspina. Each route could be overlaid on those before as a picture of the Southern Pacific's coastlines slowly developed. As can be seen in Figure 2.6c these intersecting routes described also those places yet to be investigated and hence images such as this became the prompt for subsequent journeys.

Figure 2.6c: 1776 Italian Chart of the Pacific showing the "tracks of Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook".[96]

The metaphor of trajectory is becoming increasingly prevalent as increasingly the lenses of modernism and post-modernism, and structuralism and post-structuralism, find their course potentially run in many academic circles.[97] In their seminal philosophical treatise titled *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism*

96 Maling and Casini, 1996, Historic charts & maps of New Zealand, 1642-1875, p52-53

97 Of course this is a broad generalisation – yet when, for example, the prevalence of the term 'deconstruction' in architectural debates of the 1990's compared with today is considered, one senses a passing fashionability in certain academic tropes. Indeed it is readily possible that this research's engagement of concepts of agency, performance and diagramming is located within a currently prevalent strand of academic thinking.

and Schizophrenia Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari present a compelling case for an academic understanding based on trajectories. They write: "this is how it should be done: lodge yourself on a stratum, experiment with the opportunities it offers, find an advantageous place on it, find potential movements of deterritorialisation, possible lines of flight, experience them, produce new flow conjunctions here and there, try out continuums of intensities segment by segment, have a small plot of new land at all times".[98]

This directive begins Room 4.1.3's retrospective monograph of their landscape architecture practice.[99] Peter Connolly notes that this approach shifts the emphasis for creative work. "Connections replace origins" and flights of movement replace taxonomic identification.[100] According to Bernard Massumi (Deleuze and Guattari's English translator) meaning is to be found "in the process leading from one to the other".[101] Opportunity in research is not found in articulating opposing positions but instead in exploring the characteristics of their meeting. Deleuze and Guattari explore the potential of the interface using terms like interrelation, integration, translation and becoming. "The essence is always of an encounter; it is an *event;* it is neither stable nor transcendental nor eternal".[102] In this coming together a ''middle' is formed. They use the analogy of a rhizome to further their emphasis on connectivity and trajectory over identity and typology: "a rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle".[103] "Any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be".[104] Such connections are not static nor are they without direction or intent. Instead they offer variable 'lines of flight' and 'different rates of flow' that depending on circumstance "produce phenomena of relative slowness and viscosity, or, on the contrary, of acceleration and rupture".[105] Such trajectories "carry traces of their former emplacement, which give them a spin defining the arc of their vector".[106]

Their work develops a lexicon of imperatives and possibilities rather than orderly definition. 'Volatile' 'forces' 'drift'. 'Relations' 'proliferate' and

98 Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, A thousand plateaus : capitalism and schizophrenia, p161.
99 Weller and Barnett, 2005, Room 4.1.3 : innovations in landscape architecture.
100 Connolly, 2005, Cowboy Critical:The Antipodean Practice of Room 4.1.3, p180.
101 Massumi, 1992, A user's guide to capitalism and schizophrenia : deviations from Deleuze and Guattari, p15.
102 Ibid, p18.
103 Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, A thousand plateaus : capitalism and schizophrenia, p25.
104 Ibid, p7.
105 Ibid, p4.
106 Massumi, 1992, A user's guide to capitalism and schizophrenia : deviations from Deleuze and Guattari, p7.

'rearrange'. 'Plateaus' are 'inventive' and 'open-ended'. Massumi introduces his commentary on their work with "the 'schizophrenia' Deleuze and Guattari embrace is not a pathological condition… Schizophrenia as a positive process is inventive connection, expansion rather than withdrawal. Its twoness is a relay to a multiplicity. From one to another (and another . . .). From one noun or book or author to another (and another . . .). Not aimlessly. Experimentally. The relay in ideas is only effectively expansive if at every step it is also a relay away from ideas into action. Schizophrenia is the enlargement of life's limits through the pragmatic proliferation of concepts".[107] Rather than being a device to contain definition the concept is a tool for exploring with. The question is not: "Is it true? But, Does it work?"[108]

This metaphor of research as a series of interlinked trajectories – as an 'assemblage' of vectors – can also be applied to this dissertation's content. While it follows in your reading, more or less, a linear narrative style (we are now in Chapter Two of nine) the production and communication of research is not so readily linear. Though Chapter One was written before this chapter (only just) the final drafts of both were written after the major drafts of Chapters Three, Four and Five. Likewise the section on Tasman is drawn from the work in Chapter Eight on diagramming temporal space. As is common, this work has not been written in sequence. Instead having decided on a context the process has been an iterative interplay of conjectural and designerly reformulation. Nor as your reading moves from footnote, to diagram, to text and to heading is an identical reading sequence to someone else compulsory – or even possible. And the nature of that reading depends as your ideas (brought as a reader), and other activities between readings, butt up with those put forward on these pages.

Carter, describing his own creative research collaborations, conveys the motile restlessness of designerly inquiry: "their discourse, giving back to the term its physical sense of running hither and thither, had no origin; its direction, like that of the shuttle, being a product of the forming situation that impelled its motion". In this analogy the shape of the research becomes apparent in its traces of disturbance. Carter also applies a nautical navigational theme. He notes the English writer Thomas de Quincey likened

107 Ibid, p1.
108 Ibid, p8.

such interaction "to the tracks that trading vessels leave in the sea – 'so many thousands of captains, commodores, admirals … eternally running up and down it, and scoring lines upon its face.' If these ephemeral traces could be preserved the weave of them would yield a pattern and 'in some of the main "street" and "squares" (as one might call them) their tracks would blend into one undistinguishable blot".109

This image of research outcomes coming not from a prior territorial scoping but out of the meeting and ensuing dialogue of multiple trajectories is a powerful metaphor for design disciplines. In this model the researcher is welcomed (and required) as an explicit part of the research and who along with their technologies and strategies becomes immersed in the ocean-like and similarly vast and intricate contexts they are navigating. Each trajectory is part of a forming image that is always open to further makings. By definition the picture is never complete. New arcs are always possible and inevitable. The mid-nineteenth century maps of Matthew Fontaine Maury diagram Carter's analogy (see figure 2.6d).

109 Carter, 2004a, Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research, p5.

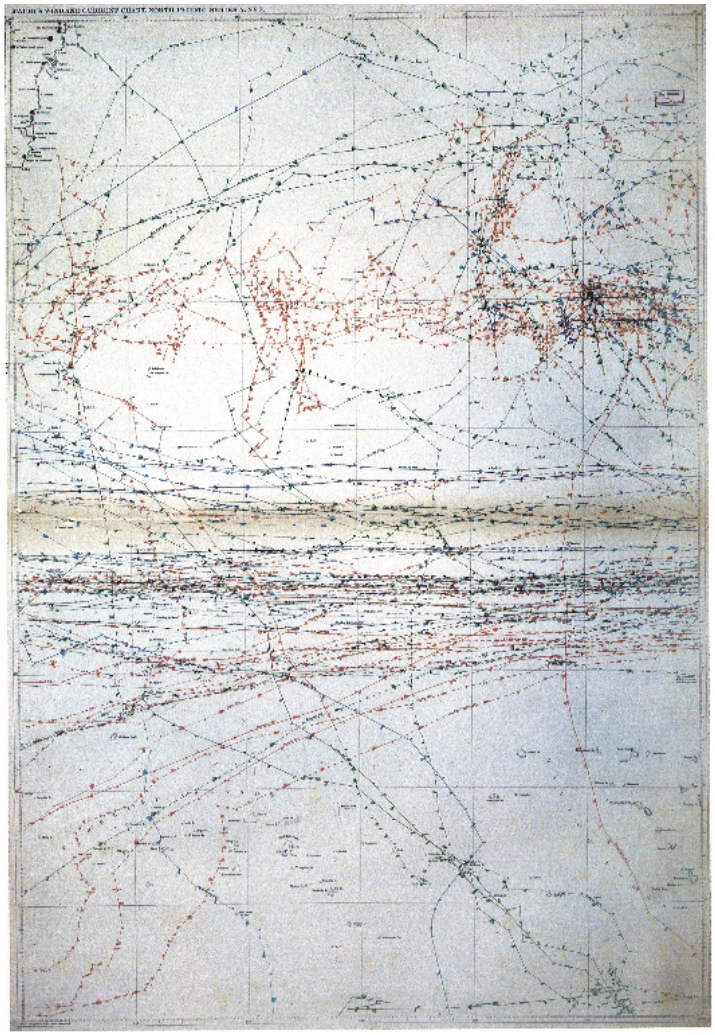

Figure 2.6d Maury's *Wind and Current Chart* for the middle of the North Pacific Ocean, 1849.[110]

Based on the ship's logs of vessels plying the Pacific they diagram the various courses, speeds, and climatic conditions recorded during hundreds of journeys across the same expanse of ocean. Wind speed, wind direction, ocean currents and temperature are all described. In this particular map the 'forming situation' is the appearance of a "concentration of tracks in the trade winds" and an image that builds a rich multi-dimensional form whose depth is in strong contrast to Lewis Carroll's 'empty' ocean.[111]

There is an interesting parallel between this notion of research and Massey's conception of landscape. Like research, landscape is also always ongoing and emergent. It also involves the making and 'intertwining of trajectories'. And just as she considers landscape, therefore, to be an

110 Hayes, 1999, Historical atlas of the Pacific Northwest : maps of exploration and discovery : British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, Alaska, Yukon, p153.

111 Ibid, p152.

'event'[112] so too might research – especially when it is undertaken at the meeting point of creativity and landscape– also be understood as events in which a multiplicity of trajectories evolve from the interplay of a variety of contexts, methods and researchers. This understanding of research is supported by Whatmore who cites extensively the work of Isabel Stengers including: "the way in which all parties assembled in the research process, researcher and researched, bodies and texts, instruments and fields, condition each other and collectively constitute the knowledge 'event' ".[113]

In this section I have made a case for structuring design-directed inquiry around the metaphor of a research trajectory rather than the more commonly adopted case study. This position has been made by drawing on the theoretical work of Carter, Deleuze and Guattari, Law, Massey, Massumi and Whatmore. Framing this particular research as an itinerary of trajectories is also apt for a number of more personal reasons. Firstly it better allows me to account for the choice of both subject matter and the physical location of this study. In a research seminar I attended William Cronon was asked how he aligned his personal affinity to a topic with his 'obligations' as a scholar. He noted that all his research came from a personal and prior fascination. Hence his essay *The Trouble With Wilderness* (which I cited in Chapter One and will discuss more fully in the next two chapters) comes from his own personal engagement of wild areas and also a need to examine people's understanding of wilderness (including his own) through a critical lens. In his response to the question Cronon stressed that the goal was to bring to bear his disciplinary expertise to the topic with a rigour that was as transparent as possible – even though absolute transparency could not be achieved.

The focus of Cronon's essay is the contemporary idea of wilderness, and how it shapes the way people understand certain places. In this sense my research interest is similar: the landscapes I am looking at are also those framed as wilderness, and especially those known in New Zealand as the conservation estate. However this study is also deeply concerned with the intimate practice of such places, and not just the conceptual scope of wilderness as an idea. Hence this research must necessarily be interested in

112 See Massey, 2006, Landscape as Provocation, p46.
113 Whatmore, 2003, Generating Materials, p95.

examining specific wilderness activities and sites. And here the issue is how to choose and justify the specific sites. While many case studies cite personal motivations to account for their selection and others are formed for reasons that though not explicitly stated are drawn as much from personal attraction for the exotic, remote and the rare, they tend to base an argument for their relevance on the basis of less personal reasons. In this research – which considers locations in Southern New Zealand and Southern Fiordland – a similar set of arguments could be made. For example selection of the sites could be justified on the grounds of resource cost and proximity to where I live. Likewise it can be claimed they exhibit noteworthy and archetypal characteristics. Indeed in earlier drafts of this chapter I have explained the choice of Southern Fiordland on the basis of its heritage. For example the region is the site of much pre-European Māori activity; an extended stay by James Cook; and of significant past and present sealing, whaling, mining, surveying, forestry, tourism and ecological ventures. However such abstraction disguises a foundational reason that rests in my own engagement of the region before commencing this study. For the predictability in the wilderness idea that is identified through an examination of the photographic and written work of Apse, Potton, Bishop, Turner and Dennis early in Chapter Three is also part of a trajectory already commenced in my own relationship with these places. The intention in the many photos I have taken is similar to that which has made Apse's and Potton's work popular. I also have on file thousands of scenic landscape images that exclude in their composition my place in an 'untouched' landscape. Likewise the equipment I carried (much of which I had designed in my work for the Fairydown and Hallmark brands) has been similarly distancing: including spending one Christmas and Boxing Day protected from a storm in a blue cocoon-like tent whose disconnection to the surrounding landscape when zipped up was so complete that I could have been camping on my backyard lawn.

These locations do not fit easily in the academic abstraction of a case to be studied. The South Island backcountry not only holds many places I know intimately – it also over time and specific events allowed me to know more of myself. In other words my 'feel' of those places (understanding as a term doesn't seem immersive enough) has not only been formed by what I have found there but also due to my changing perspectives, styles of travelling

and other changes going on in my life. While family 'expeditions' to the great walks of the Milford, the Routeburn and the Hollyford marked the start of my time in the hills, it was the Arthurs Pass area (being near my childhood hometown of Christchurch) which was where I first criss-crossed the country and developed an emerging sense of place – and which looking back from the perspectives formed during this study I can now describe as an emerging dialogue with landscape. Yet time and encounters with frostbite and avalanches have shifted my outdoor home south towards the Fiordland area. It is a place I know better than most. A number of years ago I completed the second only South Coast to Milford traverse west of Lakes Hauroko, Manapouri and Te Anau. It was also the first undertaken solo.[114] Another solo trip (completed on my third attempt) resulted in the first on-foot journey to Fiordland's West Cape. Before, between and since there have been myriad journeys in this region.

While an argument for a dispassionate view of New Zealand's conservation estate might have directed me to an investigation of regions I know barely (for instance Stewart Island or the North Island) it has always seemed to me that if this doctoral research was to be productive it had to engage with those places in the conservation estate I know best: that the research needed to be developed in terms of a life continuing to be lived at various intervals in specific places of the South Island conservation estate; and that field trips could not be divorced from my own ongoing participation in the outdoors.[115]

Hence this metaphor of research as an event founded on multiple trajectories is helpful in explaining why Southern New Zealand is the specific locale for much of this research. As a result the notion of this research as a trajectory already underway, rather than a case with parameters that must be defined before research begins, seems less contrived. And like Maury's map of the mid Pacific seascape, I bring a sense that as my feet shuffle here then there on various journeys, there is being revealed an emerging interweaving of landscape that is already well underway.

114 See Abbott, 1989, Over the Tops: South Island Traverse.

115 Indeed I have debated whether to further limit the scope of this research to the South Island conservation estate. However as will become clearer though the field work for this research takes place almost exclusively in the south of the South Island the various policies, standards and relationships with protected areas are applied across the whole of the New Zealand conservation estate without distinction for a specific locale.

A further consideration supports this framing of this research around the metaphor of trajectories in multiple stages of flight. This relates to the different academic actors whose work is revisited a number of times throughout this dissertation. To this end threaded across both the personal and collective attributes of the conservation estate and a New Zealand conception of wilderness can be found an ongoing negotiation of the phenomenologically based theoretical positions of Tim Ingold and Doreen Massey. Similarly because of the substance he gives to landscape architecture's sense of possibility James Corner's work provides a common thread from which to return and depart from. Another trajectory this research coasts is the work of Paul Carter. While this chapter has worked with his most recent writing on the role of creative research I later turn to his earlier spatial histories that investigate cartographic representations. Hence the fabric that emerges from this research is not only woven in landscopic considerations but also the comings and goings of a number of theoretical positions.[116]

Just as I am concerned with what qualities of landscape might emerge when different practices and technologies of wilderness are pursued so too of relevance is what might develop as these different academic positions meet? How might Massey's' event-like landscapes (and research approach) be meshed with wilderness? How might the maps of Maury and Carter's interpretation of cartography suggest a richer landscopic relationship with New Zealand's conservation estate? How might a historic route along Fiordland's South Coast and my travelling it for the fourth and fifth time be combined with the path in Ingold's analysis? How might some of my design 'possibilities' discuss the landscopic productions of Corner?

In presenting a working definition of design I used the analogy of colour mixing, and also Laurie Anderson's newspaper cut-up images to suggest how 'third' apprehensions or materiality might be formed. Those examples used the visual and formal to describe designing. However what is being suggested in this section is a further dimension for design where it is not only manifest in form-based makings of possibility. The weaving of ideas, and the meeting of trajectories can be similarly designerly. For example the

116 This also includes my own. In my undergraduate research my work concentrated on a post-structuralist conception of architectural form. However personal reflection suggests such an approach more suited to critiquing rather than proposing viable designerly positions. See Abbott, 1986, Thesis.

methodologically forced possibility generated by melding the front pages of two newspapers could also be enlisted to 'synthetically alloy' Carter's ideas of creative research with Corner's concept of the scenic overview and Cronon's consideration of wilderness.

Many might consider this to be a description of critical thinking. But designerly engagement of such material brings a further dimension. In critical thinking the logic of the argument holds sway. Its purpose is to uncover and assert the most viable position. By contrast a designerly mindset value comes from the possibility that might erupt from an almost 'playful' experimentation of melding ideas. For example what happens if the streets of Philadelphia were alloyed with Deleuze and Guattari's conception of the rhizome? Our design for the *Urban Voids* Competition develops just such an investigation. Its purpose was not to demand its adoption as being the 'best' option but rather consider what innovative conceptual purpose does such a consideration open up.

As our entry titled *Connective Ecologies* noted: "a city is a never-ending conversation. In its making and remaking opportunities for ongoing revitalization can be found. Our proposal encourages the regeneration of Philadelphia through the literal and metaphorical use of plants. It encourages the growth of communities and amenities by connecting neighbourhoods and the wider city, together with shared pathways and spaces. The urban and the biological are interwoven through an open-ended network of leaf-forms and paths. These elements can be connected to each other at any point and time regardless of their particular characteristics. The leaf-forms are kernels of possibilities. Their initial content, context, scale, duration and proximity are derived from the particular aspirations of a community. These may include allotments, fields, community gardens, woods, plantation forests, wetlands, sports fields, markets, orchards, meadows, parks, recreational lakes as well as many other options As the leaf-forms expand dialogues develop with neighbouring elements. Through these unfolding encounters their respective make-ups change. Our goal is for these shifting interfaces to be sites of mutation, dynamism and community-led innovation. The paths and leaf-forms can commence anywhere and at multiple locations. Furthermore, should changing community and social demands require it specific elements can be

readily reconfigured without affecting the cohesiveness of their wider contexts."[117]

In explorations such as these there lies a further possibility of the use of a metaphor of trajectory in landscape architecture research. While I have sought to demonstrate the suitability of trajectory as an apt metaphor for design-directed research it is also one that aligns with current conceptions of landscape as temporal and instrumental. For such qualities struggle to be contained in the boundedness brought by methods which favour categorisation. And similarly, applying Deleuze and Guattari's previously noted comments about the book, the purpose of research here is not to define what a landscape is but rather how it works. Considering landscape as a weave of ongoing multiplicitous trajectories foregrounds the processual qualities writers like Corner, Ingold and Massey stress and whose work is further discussed when ideas of wilderness are melded with practices of landscape later in Chapter Four.

It is important not to infer in this discussion that design alone might best engage with creativity. The perspectives brought in by Law, Whatmore, Massey and others who work in the humanities are similarly seeking to incorporate the creative impetus into research. The point however is that research methodologies that enlist design and creativity have a natural home in the design disciplines. For only from such a stance can a case for playful synthesis be readily justified and encouraged. And only in such a mindset do such explorations and outcomes not seem frivolous.

2.7 THE PURPOSE OF DESIGN-DIRECTED RESEARCH

This avenue of inquiry leads to a final question regarding method and one crucial to the whole project. So far this chapter has focused on how design-directed research might operate. While it can be readily argued that the case study identifies difference, similarity and typologies, it is less clear what design-directed research makes known. This point is reiterated by Swaffield who states, "an argument can also be made that researchers and scholars

117 See Abbott, Miller and Ruckstuhl-Mann, 2006, Connective Ecologies: Entry in Philadelphia Urban Voids Competition. In *Earth Moves* Bernard Cache seeks to translate Deleuze's conceptualisation of the 'fold' into architectural form: Cache and Speaks, 1995, Earth moves : the furnishing of territories.

who wish to claim 'design' as research have an obligation … to explain in plain language what new knowledge their work has created".[118]

Carter notes creative research does not produce straightforward answers. Instead …"creative research, respecting the materiality of thought – its localisation in the act of invention – has a different object. It studies complexity and it defends complex systems of communication against over-simplification. It explores the irreducible heterogeneity of cultural identity, the always unfinished process of making and remaking ourselves through our symbolic forms. Its success cannot be measured in terms of simplification and closure. Exploring the reinvention of social relations at that place does not produce a 'discovery' that can be generalised and patented. It is an *imaginative breakthrough*, which announces locally different forms of sociability, environmental interactivity and collective storytelling".[119] Hence as already intimated the purpose of a research strategy directed by design is not to solve a problem. Instead its task is to sufficiently wrestle with a context in order to find viable and forward-looking 'roads' of possibility.

While creativity and design are often understood by their production of formal outcomes the 'imaginative breakthroughs' Carter calls for are less embedded in the artefacts generated and more in the conceptual possibility those artefacts enable. In this sense what design 'produces' should not be seen as solving a problem (such as Owen would advocate) but rather as a *pivot point* by which 'breakthroughs' are triggered.[120] As a result the purpose anticipated by this research is not to bring closure to contexts related to wilderness and the conservation estate but instead to open them up. Law notes that in this orientation "the ability to pose the questions is at least as important as any particular answers we might come up with".[121] Rather than aspiring to identify

118 Swaffield, 2006, Theory and Critique in Landscape Architecture: Making Connections, p26.
119 Carter, 2004a, Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research, p13. (my emphasis)
120 Elsewhere it is has been proposed that it is through scenarios that designerly inquiry has greatest effect: see Evans, 2005, I-SPY: Utilising Forecasting and Scenario Planning for Design Futures. ; Irmak, 2005, Applying the Futures Studies Approach to Design. ; Jonas, 2001, A Scenario for Design. ; Van der Heijden, 2005, Scenarios : the art of strategic conversation. As a process such an approach has the ability to generate a rich set of choices, however I consider Carter's call shifts the emphasis from the means – like the use of scenarios – by which design might operate and the purpose of this and other approaches – namely imaginative breakthroughs.
121 Law, 2004, After method : mess in social science research, p151.

firm intellectual ground to settle, the goal of such work is to identify where to continue or, as Carter puts it, "make possible a new conversation".[122]

In many senses a design-directed inquiry is going over already tilled ground. But just like an innovative technology that can extract gold from already processed tailings, or a nimbler boat with which to more readily land ashore, so too, the anticipation is that a different methodological approach – one newly emergent in the academy – might find possibility where others have moved on. In this sense the research project explores the findings of other approaches to wilderness. Thus, for example, the work by social cartographer Brian Harley, environmental historian William Cronon, wilderness advocates Brian Turner and Jack Turner, and tourism geographers James Higham, Geoff Kearsley, Andrew Kliskey and John Shultis are all disturbed by a creative process that seeks to 'alloy' elements drawn from their inquiry with other positions, locations and practices.

In the course of this programme of research I have developed a range of specific formal designs. Such designerly trajectories have been explored in response to some aspect of this research. At times they have crystallised my thinking, at other times they run counter to some aspects of the discussion. In some cases they have been disseminated as competitions entries,[123] and in others developed in conjunction with potential partners.[124] Still others have been developed with academic colleagues or with students in my teaching and supervisory roles. Many others have been developed by myself and are experimental in nature.[125]

In bringing this dissertation together I have debated whether to include such work in the final document. On the one hand as 'designerly experiments' they provide tangible evidence of the design-directed possibilities that this research has prompted. In each 'design' can be grasped a concrete synthesis of the research elements. However they can also be considered an impediment to the primary purpose of this research. For their formal decisiveness can be read as a singular conclusion to the 'imaginative

122 Carter, 2004a, Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research, p5.

123 These incude: Abbott, Aplin, Fyfe, Hannah and McIndoe, 2002, Walking Stories : Entered in AAA Cavalier Bremworth Awards. ; Abbott, Doudney, Heath, K. Nicolls and P. Nicholls, 2005, Finalist in New Zealand Memorial Design at Hyde Park, London. ; Abbott, Miller and Ruckstuhl-Mann, 2006, Connective Ecologies: Entry in Philadelphia Urban Voids Competition.

124 These incude: Abbott, 2004a, Orokonui Sanctuary Reception Centre Concept Plan ; Abbott, 2004b, Sandfly Bay Hide and Interpretation Design.

125 These include track markers, cookers, shelters and boardwalk elements.

breakthroughs' that prompted such work. It is possible presenting alternative outcomes to sit alongside each designerly outcome could mitigate this. For example a number of *Urban Voids* entries could be proposed. However notwithstanding this possibility, my reasons for not including drawings and images the various track markers, boardwalks, paths, viewing platforms, shelters, and maps developed is two fold.

First it distracts from the impetus of the design-directed research methodology that underpins this research. For with each 'design experiment' put forward there is a tendency for both myself and the reader to slip into a mindset that the task of landscape architecture research is to generate resolved and singular productions. Further including such efforts in this dissertation could be interpreted as relegating formal design to a pedagogical, illustrative and even decorative function. Also because the bulk of such work did not include specific 'clients', 'partners' and 'participants' such formal explorations contain personal indulgences that greater collaboration would have seen modified.[126] Of course further discussion, and other approaches, could negotiate such perceptions. Yet nonetheless the emphasis of this particular research programme would shift. Instead of being a landscopic and design-directed exploration of the conservation estate, in which the purpose of the research rests on finding 'imaginative breakthroughs', it shifts to a discussion of the relative merits of the formal examples developed.

But second, and more importantly, its inclusion distracts from the major design task at hand. For the major project of this research is not to produce designed artefacts for a somehow more participatory wilderness. Nor is it to elicit novel manifestations of technology that may achieve, for example, an improved assessment of a boardwalk's Triple Bottom Line. Hence the success or not of such research does not rest on the resolution of, for example, a better track marker. Instead it rests on being able to articulate the landscopic possibility, such that a track marker *can be imagined* that leads people not just *through* the wilderness but also *into* the landscape. My own sense of what that could be (and which will be discussed in Chapter Four) is but one of many such possibilities.

126 Gerald Melling's comments as judge in the 2007 Auckland Architecture Association Cavalier Bremworth Awards are relevant here. He states "the constraints on a student programme are largely self-imposed, an illusory advantage offering too much freedom and too few signposts". Melling, 2008, 2007 AAA Cavalier Bremworth Awards.

For the underlying purpose of this programme of research is not to identify formal possibility. Instead its task is to use design to explore in multiple overlapping 'rhizomatic' ways how landscape and wilderness can be 'alloyed' together as a third 'apprehension' and in which, within the context of New Zealand's conservation estate, a phenomenologically underpinned *wilderness-landscape* can be imagined. Hence where such 'formal experiments' support this bringing together of a wilderness-landscape I have chosen to describe in words those aspects that aid the more substantive design task. For in this research the function of the formal productions is not to somehow be the 'results' of the research. Instead they function as tools through which a richer alloying of wilderness-landscape might be developed.

For some – particularly those whose understanding of creativity is based in its formalism – this distinction may at times seem awkward. For it could be argued that what remains in this alloying of wilderness-landscape could be found across a number of disciplines outside design. However there is an underlying distinction to this research that surfaces at different times in the research: designerly approaches rest on their capacity to build possibility. Hence it is not sufficient for an inquiry that enlists design to only articulate the reasons why current understandings of wilderness preclude a coalescing with landscape – as is considered in Chapter Three and also the first half of Chapter Four. Nor is it enough to argue a case for exploring a conceptual framework for a wilderness-landscape – though this is the function of Chapter Four. Instead a design-directed research inquiry into this topic needs to be firmly 'centred' on the 'sites' where wilderness-landscape might substantively combine in ways that allow other possibilities and 'breakthroughs' to be readily imagined. And as will be stressed through the course of the research nor should such 'sites' be restricted to those specific physical locations that are expected locations for the work of the landscape architect. Hence in Chapter's Five, Six, Seven and Eight specific opportunities to alloy wilderness and landscape are pursued.

These four chapters each take as their starting point a set of artefacts with which to enter the context of wilderness and New Zealand's conservation estate. These artefacts are chosen for the possibility to tease out an understanding of landscape in relationship to wilderness and the conservation estate. Like the stone skimming across the lake they are

explored until the combinatory momentum begins to peter out. (It's worth noting that in this research some stones skim longer than others). Then a new set is selected and a new exploration commenced. It is anticipated that productive topics will emerge from the numerous turns taken across the wide field for study with subsequent inquiry not only formed by reflecting on the previous trajectory, but also shifting the positions gained during their investigation as well. Mike Crang in a study of the temporality of the city describes his investigation as a series of four expanding cycles whose ambit progressively broadens[127] before the argument returns to alight near its beginning that is hopefully made richer by the completing flight. His skill is making each research trajectory travel widely without departing so far that Yeats warning is unheeded: where "Turning and turning in the widening gyre / the falcon cannot hear the falconer; things fall apart; the centre cannot hold".[128]

2.8 OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

Having in the first chapter made a case for landscape architecture to reconsider its involvement in contexts relating to wilderness and the conservation estate, and in the second chapter worked through a range of issues relating to design-directed research it is relevant to outline what now follows.

Chapter Three discusses the values that underpin New Zealand's current understanding of wilderness and the conservation estate. It finds them framed as distinctly 'other' which is further reinforced by a pervasive framing people in these places as a 'visitor'. Nonetheless it also identifies considerable mutability in people's understanding of wilderness and relationships with the conservation estate, which in turn suggest potential for the landscape architect to consider alternative and possible futures.

Chapter Four challenges Cronon's call to consider *what marks people leave* in wilderness through a discussion of the more active and forward-looking call to consider *what marks people make*. And it is in this distinction that purchase is found to 'alloy' wilderness and landscape through an application of Corner's, Ingold's and Massey's respective models of landscape to both wilderness and the New Zealand conservation estate.

127 See Crang, 2001, Rhythms of the City: Temporalised space and motion.
128 Yeats, 2000, The Collected Poems of WB Yeats, p158-159.

Chapter Five investigates the landscopic qualities fostered by current forms of equipment carried and used in the conservation estate. Of particular interest are how specific understandings and applications of sustainability are enlisted as both a process and an outcome suitable for fostering more ethical relationships with wilderness. Later the portable cooker is examined and then alternative options are explored that might generate a more dialogue-rich and local engagement of landscape.

Chapter Six considers how, and to what degree, specific practices of landscape can be 'choreographed'. This is conducted by examining a common activity undertaken in the conservation estate, and one that is relevant to the projects undertaken by landscape architecture professional: namely an attempt to understand practices of walking and the implications of this on the form and design of paths.

Chapter Seven investigates the official cartography of Southern Fiordland and finds it forces implicit attitudes to landscape that reinforce the region's framing as blank, remote, rarely visited and untouched. It also notes such imaging silences both landscape's qualitative and experiential dimensions and so allows the region's framing as an 'untouched' and 'remote' wilderness to be readily sustained. During this study opportunities are found that could 'unsettle' this orientation such that the region's implicit cultural and phenomenological qualities might be foregrounded.

In Chapter Eight maps developed by tourism and leisure studies researchers are examined. It is found these work to geographically locate a universalising concept of wilderness such that certain management strategies and policies for the conservation estate become advisable. This cartography, rather than being neutral, maintains an assertion of wilderness and the conservation estate as *other*. Later, specific attributes are identified that could visualise a dwelling-based perspective of landscape. These are then developed into a cartography that diagrams experiential qualities of landscape that relate to journey duration.

Finally in Chapter Nine the different research threads are brought together and conclusions are formed. These relate to: an identification of possibilities to landscopically 'reimagine' New Zealand's conservation estate and its current framing as wilderness; Development of a broadened scope for

creative and landscopic work undertaken within the discipline of landscape architecture that occurs beyond site-specific projects; a critique of a design-directed research methodology; and identification of opportunities to develop further methods that cartographically diagram landscopic practice and performance.

However I am ahead of myself. James Corner's long-time collaborator Stan Allen states, "if you start with a fixed end in mind, you foreclose the possibility of discoveries made along the way".[129] Just as Tasman's map was drawn *after* his voyage, the place for considering the various 'imaginative breakthroughs' belongs later. Now it is the time to depart into an image of wilderness that is intrinsic to the New Zealand conservation estate.

129 Allen, 2007, Working, p116.

CHAPTER THREE: NEW ZEALAND'S WILDERNESS

This chapter discusses the values of wilderness that underpin the New Zealand conservation estate. In considering how wilderness is described and imaged, and also how the Department of Conservation frame people in the conservation estate as visitors, it finds that the prevalent relationship established and maintained is a separation between nature and culture that in itself is cultural. However in a historical review of wilderness and the establishment of the conservation estate in New Zealand it also identifies that there is an underlying fluidity and contestation in its make up which offers potential for subsequent consideration.

3.1 THE IMAGE OF WILDERNESS

The following three images are by Andris Apse – an "acclaimed photographer of New Zealand wilderness landscapes".[1] They are to be found in the book *South-West New Zealand* that reproduces his images of the four national parks that make the Te Waipounamu World Heritage Area.[2]

1 Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu, flyleaf. Note the imges are all by Apse while the introduction and captions are by Andy Dennis.

2 The "Te Wahipounamu – South West New Zealand" UNESCO World Heritage Site covers over 2,600,000 ha. It was gazetted in 1990 and includes Fiordland, Mount Aspiring, Westland and Mount Cook National Parks.

Figure 3.1a "The remoteness and grandeur that is Fiordland – a boundless sea of mountains and valleys stretching away north-eastwards from Breaksea Sound to the distant ranges of western Otago".[3]

Figure 3.1b "A view westwards over the main section of Breaksea Sound… The small islands near the mouth of the fiord are important refuge islands for threatened wildlife".[4]

3 Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu, p102.
4 Ibid, p96.

Figure 3.1c "A small, slow-moving stream wends its way through ferny, moss-draped forest in the Kaipo Valley north of Milford Sound. The trees with papery orange bark are kotukutuku, the New Zealand tree fuchsia (*Fuchsia excorticata*), one of only three deciduous native trees in New Zealand".[5]

The first image (figure 3.1a) is also used on the book's cover and perhaps best expresses the following quote by Douglas Adams that begins the introduction to Apse's book. "Fiordland is one of the most astounding pieces of land anywhere on God's earth, and one's first impulse, standing on a cliff top surveying it all, is simply to burst into spontaneous applause".[6] The caption to the second photo (figure 3.1b) draws the reader's attention to the sanctuary given threatened wildlife by some of the remoter islands. Also evident are the contorted landforms which have been "steepened and smoothed by ice-age glaciers"[7] and which as recently as 14,000 years ago covered this particular region. In the third image (figure 3.1c) the caption highlights the New Zealand tree fuchsia or *kotukutuku* that divides the foreground, but also present are many other endemic plants including harsh tree fern, bush rice grass and *horopito*.

Apse's book is one of many titles that present this region to New Zealanders and international tourists alike "as one of the world's most outstanding wilderness regions".[8] Across this publishing genre of coffee table books, visitor guides, natural histories, posters and pictorial calendars common attributes of the Fiordland region and wilderness can be identified. The following list of characteristics is drawn from the writing of nationally recognised authors Neville Peat, Philip Temple and Brian Turner as well that

5 Apse and Judd, 1995, Spectacular New Zealand : panoramic views of New Zealand, p91.
6 Adams and Carwardine, 1991, Last chance to see, p99.
7 Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu, p108.
8 Ibid, flyleaf.

by Andy Dennis, photographer Nic Bishop, and tourist guide writers Diane Pope and Jeremy Pope.

First Fiordland and wilderness are *synonymous*. For example: Fiordland is "one of the world's great wildernesses".[9] Fiordland is "one of the largest remaining areas of pristine wilderness in the temperate zones of the world".[10] Fiordland is "as wild as it gets… This is wilderness on a grand scale. This is heady stuff. The imagination may soar."[11] In these descriptions of Fiordland is also contained a definition of wilderness. Similarly in these descriptions of wilderness is also contained a definition of Fiordland. Each is the exemplar of the other. Each adds weight to the other. Hence there is little to distinguish between descriptions of wilderness and Fiordland as the terms conflate into Fiordland as wilderness and wilderness as Fiordland, or, and as will be adopted in this section, Fiordland-and-wilderness.

Fiordland-and-wilderness is *otherworldly* and *ancient*. At times there is "an empyrean grandeur and freshness"[12] while at others "the valley floor is plunged into Stygian gloom".[13] It is a place where 'timeless', 'elemental' and 'monumental' forces are at work.

Fiordland-and-wilderness is *rugged*. The land is 'difficult' and 'uncompromising'. The climate is 'rigorous', the rocks 'obdurate', the coast 'ironbound' and the country both 'inaccessible' and 'impenetrable'. It is "the most unconquerable landscape in New Zealand".[14]

Fiordland-and-wilderness is *unsurpassed*. It is 'exemplary', 'remarkable' and 'grand'. Here are found "landscapes of extraordinary diversity and wild beauty".[15] 'Towering' above Milford Sound are "the loftiest sea cliffs in the world".[16] It is one of nature's finest creations".[17]

9 Bishop, 1989, Untouched horizons : photographs from the South Island wilderness, p121. And also Peat, 1999, Milford Sound & road to Milford : a Fiordland guidebook, p2.
10 Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu, p8.
11 Peat, 1999, Milford Sound & road to Milford : a Fiordland guidebook, p9.
12 Turner and De Hamel, 1983, The visitor's guide to Fiordland New Zealand, p20.
13 Bishop, 1989, Untouched horizons : photographs from the South Island wilderness, p122.
14 Temple, 1977, Ways to the wilderness : great New Zealand walking tracks, p155.
15 Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu. p8, Apse and Dennis, South west New Zealand , 1997
16 Temple, 2001, Presenting New Zealand : a nation's heritage, p177.
17 Kevin Smith in the preface to Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu, p7.

Fiordland-and-wilderness is *unspoilt*. "So it is that today the wilderness of Fiordland beckons, untouched, unspoiled, and with the spell that interweaves constant surprises with the mysteries of the undiscovered".[18] Landscapes, coastlines and waters are all in turn described as 'pristine'. It is "a place where nature rules".[19]

Fiordland-and-wilderness is *remote*. Fiordland is the "wildest, wettest, most remote and most natural part of New Zealand".[20] "Some valleys are effectively 'walled kingdoms', in which insects can evolve unusual forms in isolation".[21] It is "a place of haunting beauty, of infinite isolation".[22]

Fiordland-and-wilderness is a *sanctuary to be preserved*. "There is a growing realisation that wilderness is our most precious heritage".[23] It is "a natural taonga to be protected and preserved"[24] and the "last refuge for many species of indigenous plants and birdlife".[25] It is a 'sanctuary – a "life-raft for ancient forests".[26]

Fiordland-and-wilderness is a source of *national identity*. "Milford Sound is a natural wonder of world renown. The image of mile-high Mitre Peak soaring above its sheltered waters has been a symbol of New Zealand's wild and scenic character for the best part of a century".[27] A place where "New Zealanders … may discover and appreciate their natural heritage, feel the pulse of the land".[28] It is "the core of a firming national identity".[29]

Fiordland-and-wilderness is also a site for *deep emotional experiences*. It is a place to feel 'inspired', 'awe', 'wonder', 'humbled', 'hushed', 'alone', 'spellbound', 'moved', 'startled', 'excited', 'arrested', and 'escape'.

In other accounts Fiordland-and-wilderness are also tightly interlinked. For example reports in the press – "we prefer to keep an open mind on the issue,

18 Pope and Pope, 1995, Queenstown & Fiordland inside out, p15.
19 Kevin Smith in the preface to Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu, p7.
20 Ibid, p78.
21 Bishop, 1989, Untouched horizons : photographs from the South Island wilderness, p122.
22 Pope and Pope, 1995, Queenstown & Fiordland inside out, p12.
23 Bishop, 1989, Untouched horizons : photographs from the South Island wilderness, dustjacket.
24 Temple, 2001, Presenting New Zealand : a nation's heritage, p48-49.
25 Temple, 1982, Fiordland pictorial, p13.
26 Temple, 2001, Presenting New Zealand : a nation's heritage, p11.
27 Peat, 1999, Milford Sound & road to Milford : a Fiordland guidebook, p3.
28 Temple, 1977, Ways to the wilderness : great New Zealand walking tracks, p1.
29 Temple, 2001, Presenting New Zealand : a nation's heritage, p48.

for in those Fiordland wilderness regions any mystery creatures [specifically moa] could easily escape human detection"[30]; Tourism New Zealand's *100% Pure* website – "tucked away in one of the most remote corners of Fiordland, Doubtful Sound offers a unique wilderness experience including the chance to see one of the rarest penguins in the world"[31]; the Department of Conservation website – "Fiordland National Park … is a vast, remote wilderness and the heart of Te Wahipounamu - South West New Zealand World Heritage Area"[32]; and also numerous tourism orientated publications – "rugged coastlines indented with sheltered waterways and dense rainforest together with a challenging climate make an incredible wilderness"[33].

There are many more examples that could be presented but the purpose here is not to somehow record the full range of associations of wilderness to a region such as Fiordland. Nor is it to compare specific sites to determine which could be more or less apt to be considered a wilderness. Nor is it to evaluate which photographic or literary expression, or media, may be best attuned to capture the essence of either wilderness or Fiordland.

Instead it is to ask what these photographic and written images might reveal of the attitudes of the people making them and also the wider public for whom such a perspective strikes such a popular chord. David Eggleton, in introducing 'Here on Earth: the landscape in New Zealand literature' proposes "every landscape is a museum of extracts, an anthology of fragments, an album of glimpses…. We seek clues in the landscape for answers to the riddle, the secret of where we are, who we are, here on earth."[34] In the context of the work of Apse, Potton, Bishop, Turner, Temple, Peat and others, what does their framing of Fiordland as an 'unspoilt', 'untouched', 'remote' and 'rugged' wilderness tell us of 'the secret of where we are, who we are, here on earth'? In other words *what relationships with Fiordland do these descriptions enable?*

And once that issue is negotiated, to ask *what relationships with landscapes does understanding Fiordland as such a wilderness preclude*?

30 http://www.stuff.co.nz/stuff/4205241a7693.html :accessed 23 Nov 2007
31 http://www.newzealand.com/travel/media/story-angles/nature_milfordsound_storyangle.cfm :accessed 23rd Nov 2007
32 http://www.doc.govt.nz/templates/PlaceProfile.aspx?id=38468 :accessed Nov 23 2007
33 http://www.realjourneys.co.nz/Main/fiordlanddiscovery/ :accessed Nov 23 2007
34 Potton and Eggleton, 1999, Here on earth : the landscape in New Zealand literature, p7.

3.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONSERVATION ESTATE

The conservation estate, of which the Fiordland region is part, is the term used to describe the public lands managed by the Department of Conservation.[35] It includes all New Zealand's national parks, conservation parks and forest parks as well as a number of other reserves, and is made up of New Zealand's most ecologically indigenous land. With a steady stream of land acquisitions, the size of the conservation estate in the twenty-first century continues to grow.[36] By 2007, 31% of New Zealand's land area was made up of the public conservation estate, while in the larger South Island the proportion was more than 40%.[37]

As a result of the size of the conservation estate, the Department of Conservation – the crown agency charged with its management – is by far the largest landowner in New Zealand. However it is not only its scale that gives the conservation estate its significance. It is also valued for a multitude of other roles that include the following.

The conservation estate is an integral part of global, national and regional ecological processes. Its extensive forests are recognised for their value as carbon sinks, while backcountry water catchments are important in ensuring water availability, water quality and also mitigating the downstream flooding impacts of storm events.

The conservation estate provides the only habitat for many indigenous flora and fauna species. It is the site of small and large-scale restoration and recovery projects with a current emphasis including establishing and maintaining offshore and mainland ecological islands.

It also contains many places of significance for tangata whenua including food-basket sites for local hapu, and spiritual importance for iwi.[38] Specific

35 It should be noted that some such as Kerry Marshall, the chair of the New Zealand Conservation Authority, stress that the conservation estate should be called at all times the public conservation estate. Marshall, 2006, Opening Address.

36 This is due to acquisitions as part of the South Island High Country Land Tenure Review Process and also direct purchases of land from the Nature Heritage Fund (the latter has purchased 230,000 ha since 1990) see http://www.doc.govt.nz/templates/page.aspx?id=39023 : accessed 14th March 2008.

37 see Department of Conservation, 2007a, Annual Report to 30th June 2007, p190-192, and also http://www.fedfarm.org.nz/speech_notes/da_SIHCconference_june2007.html : accessed 14th March 2008.

38 Within current Department of Conservation publications Tangata Whenua is defined as "Iwi or hapu that has customary authority in a place". Hapu is a Māori "sub-tribe or group of extended families recognising a common

agreements between iwi and the crown as part of Treaty of Waitangi Commission settlements have invariably involved discussion over appropriate uses for the conservation estate.

The conservation estate includes many representative examples of New Zealand's landforms and ecosystems. While the largest parcels of land are to be found along the mountainous areas of New Zealand there are also, in every region, many discrete parcels of the conservation estate interspersed amongst other land and land uses.

The conservation estate is a significant component of New Zealand's continued growth in international tourism numbers. Images of indigenous flora and fauna, along with landscapes showing little evidence of human development have been the backbone of Tourism New Zealand's 100% Pure branding campaign. The conservation estate is also the site for many tourism based products ranging from guided walks, glacier landings, fishing trips, jet boat rides, bungy jumps, mountaineering expeditions, ski-touring, kayaking and caving.

The conservation estate provides the site for a wide range of recreation activities for many locals, New Zealanders and international visitors alike. The activities of many recreation groups, including deer hunters, fly fishing, mountaineering, tramping, kayaking and caving, are conducted almost solely in the conservation estate. This emphasis on recreation also involves the provisioning of numerous facilities by the Department of Conservation such as visitor centres, huts, bridges, tracks, boardwalks, viewing platforms, way-finding signage and markers, maps and handbooks.

Different regions of the conservation estate are sought-after settings for many international films, most notably 'The Lord of the Rings', but also the likes of the 'Narnia Chronicles', 'Vertical Limit', 'The Piano' and a series of 'Bollywood' productions.[39]

ancestor", and iwi is "a tribe or people. A group of several hapu with common ancestral links". Department of Conservation, 2007c, Fiordland National Park Management Plan, p381-387

39 Currently in New Zealand large-budget movies are offered significant incentives if located in New Zealand. See http://www.filmnz.com/production-guide/large-budget-screen-production-grant-scheme.html : accessed 14th March 2008. Also filming is specifically cnsidered in the Conservation Management Strategies of each National Park. For example see Ibid, p342-343.

The conservation estate also evokes the heritage and ethos for various export-orientated industries including clothing, cosmetics, food and wine. Images of an unspoilt land are routinely used to make strong associations with a company's environmental sensitivity and to infer a sustainable relationship with nature.

Because of its significance, the conservation estate continues to be a site for many environmental disputes as preservationist groups have sought to halt development proposals that affect conservation land and conservation values. In terms of Southern New Zealand this includes campaigns to stop the level of Lake Manapouri being raised for hydro-electric power schemes, gondolas and tunnels being built within the conservation estate so tourists can more readily access Milford Sound, a road link being built between Haast and the Hollyford Valley, exporting of potable water from the western Fiords, establishing aircraft landing sites west of Wanaka, mining in the Red Hills, milling forests in the Waitutu, and using the poison 1080 to eradicate pests.

Just as wilderness and Fiordland are inextricably linked so also is the appeal of wilderness embedded in people's understanding of the conservation estate. It is arguably the dominant cultural metaphor by which it is currently conceptualised. While the earlier discussion of Fiordland-and-wilderness was drawn from publications orientated to the tourism market, similar statements to the qualities, importance, and fragility of wilderness are also made by the Department of Conservation, outdoor-user groups, guide books and clothing catalogues.

3.3 CURRENT DIMENSIONS OF WILDERNESS

Within the conservation estate wilderness is specifically used to define certain remote tracts of land so appropriate management strategies might protect values of solitude and remoteness. At the 1981 Federated Mountain Clubs Conference, a diverse group of stakeholders[40] met to debate 'wilderness recreation in New Zealand'. In discussing proposals to gazette ten specific areas as 'wilderness' the following criteria for inclusion were set: "large enough to take at least two day's foot travel to traverse; they should have

40 This included representatives from New Zealand Government ministries, other centrally funded agencies, regional government, territorial agencies and recreation organisations. For the full list of attendees see: Molloy and Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand., 1983, Wilderness recreation in New Zealand : proceedings of the FMC 50th Jubilee Conference on Wilderness, Rotoiti Lodge, Nelson Lakes National Park, 22-24 August, 1981, p139-140.

clearly defined topographical boundaries and be adequately buffered so as to be unaffected except in minor ways, by human influences; [and] they will not have developments such as huts, tracks, bridges, signs, nor mechanised access."[41]

Using these criteria, along with an assessment of its fit to the relevant region's Conservation Management strategy eleven areas have to date been formally classified.[42] Together these make up over 6% of the conservation estate.[43] Such areas are set aside as places without from tourism, commercial recreation and mechanised modes of access. Instead they are intended as a site for people to get away from it all – to seek and find "remoteness and discovery, challenge, solitude, freedom and romance."[44] In other words to be places – as mountaineer and former Department of Conservation Conservator-General Hugh Logan describing the Okuru Wilderness Area states – where one can meet "nature on its own terms, with every visitor able to experience the uncertainty, the challenge and the reward of wilderness."[45]

Yet there is no guarantee that an experience of wilderness will be gained there. A number of other factors including the proximity of other parties, the size and activities of those parties, the occurrence of overflights, and also respective modes of access and travel can all impact on a person's sense of wilderness.

A review of the various publications of the New Zealand Deerstalkers Association, Federated Mountain Clubs, New Zealand Alpine Club, Forest and Bird, and tourism based NGOs suggests a diversity of definitions and experience that might constitute wilderness. Hence a wilderness ethos of trampers, who seeking to 'take only photographs and leave only footprints' runs counter to that of many hunters who, in the same location find wilderness by attempting to find their food from the land. As Geoff Kearsley notes wilderness is a site for an individual's "personal cognition, emotion,

41 Ibid, p137. The complete Wilderness Policy is described in full on pages 136-138.

42 These are Raukumara, Rakituri, Te Tatau Pounamu, and Hauhungatahi Wilderness Areas in the North Island, and Tasman, Paparoa, Adams, Hooker/Landsborough, Olivine, Pembroke and Glaisnock Wilderness Areas in the South Island. South West/Cameron and Pegasus Tin Range Wilderness areas (in Fiordland and Stewart Island respectively) are currently proposed in National Park Mangement Plans. Molloy, Potton, Morris and Martin, 2007, New Zealand's wilderness heritage, p 28-35.

43 Approximately 520,000 ha of the 8.15m ha of the New Zealand conservation estate. Ibid, p 28-35.

44 Molloy and Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand., 1983, Wilderness recreation in New Zealand : proceedings of the FMC 50th Jubilee Conference on Wilderness, Rotoiti Lodge, Nelson Lakes National Park, 22-24 August, 1981, p136.

45 Logan and New Zealand Alpine Club., 2002, Classic peaks of New Zealand, p112.

values and experiences to construct concepts of wilderness with which others may vehemently disagree".[46]

Nor is wilderness exclusive to the register of geographically defined and similarly assessed blocks that the Department of Conservation designates as wilderness. If guides books, websites, blogs, and hut book entries are considered, a sense of wilderness pervades the wider conservation estate and not just those zones the Department of Conservation's designations would indicate.

Even demarcating specific areas like the Okuru as wilderness could be 'contrary to the concept'.[47] This is because constraining wilderness to physical sites with known borders can be considered to make such locations less wild. As Raymond Dasmann states: "sometimes I wonder if our final act of wilderness destruction did not lie in designating formal wilderness areas for preservation. In defining the boundaries, writing the rules and publicising the results, did we not remove the last magic and make us realise that the remote and unknown was available to all."[48]

For wilderness is not an innate quality of a land 'out-there'. Instead wilderness is a culturally located idea that is used by people as a mechanism to conceptualise many types of places and continues to be vigorously applied to the conservation estate.

In 2001 geographer John Shultis sought through a mail survey to assess attitudes and understandings of both the popular and political conceptions of wilderness across a representative group of New Zealanders. His work found that while New Zealanders agreed with the Department of Conservation that mining, forestry and energy developments were undesirable in wilderness regions it also found support for huts, tracks, bridges, direct road access and commercial recreation – all of which are unacceptable according to the current Department of Conservation criteria for wilderness regions. Such results confirm that for many an experience of wilderness is possible across almost all of the conservation estate.

46 Kearsley and University of Otago., 1997, Wilderness tourism : a new rush to destruction? p14.

47 See Molloy and Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand., 1983, Wilderness recreation in New Zealand : proceedings of the FMC 50th Jubilee Conference on Wilderness, Rotoiti Lodge, Nelson Lakes National Park, 22-24 August, 1981, p134.

48 Cited in Ibid, p16. For further research in this vein see also Loomis, 1999, Do Additional Designations of Wilderness Result in Increases in Recreation Use?

In many ways the most notable result of the survey, though left unremarked by Shultis, was the high rate of people able to define wilderness even though they had never experienced a wilderness region as defined by the Department of Conservation. Specifically 78% of respondents confirmed that they had had no direct experience of wilderness, yet only 5% of respondents were unable to complete a survey that investigated in-depth their perceptions and attitudes of wilderness.[49] In other words the research revealed that it is possible to have a clear idea of what wilderness is and its value without having had a first-hand experience of it. It found 'strong' agreement with the statement: "it's good to know wilderness still exists, even if I decide never to use it".[50] This is a sentiment echoed elsewhere by wilderness photographer Nic Bishop who, in introducing his book of *Untouched Horizons*, writes of others who "are reassured simply by knowing that there still exists a heartland whose pulse beats with the rhythm of nature."[51]

In one part of the survey respondents were asked "to list, in order of importance, the images that came to mind when thinking about the term 'wilderness'."[52] From these responses Shultis formed ten cumulative categories which in order of preference were: "bush/native forest, no evidence of impact, trees/forest/vegetation, peace/solitude/freedom, remote/isolated, primeval/original condition, nature/scenery/beauty, mountains/alpine, animals/birds/wildlife, rivers/waterfalls".[53] In these categories can be discerned a split between what might be seen and what might be sensed. Visions of bush, trees, mountains, birds and waterfalls elicited sensations of peace, isolation, beauty in a primeval state.

These responses demonstrate not what a wilderness as a topographically defined region *out-there* is. Rather they reveal what the respondents' understanding of – and consequently their anticipated experience of – what wilderness might be. Such a distinction is exemplified by Hugh Logan's description of the Okuru Wilderness Area. What he describes is *his own attitude* to this region rather than an absolute condition. In his meeting of nature on its own terms Logan's perspective places himself as apart from,

49 Shultis, 2001, The duality of wilderness: Comparing popular and political conceptions of wilderness in New Zealand, p67.
50 Ibid, p68.
51 Bishop, 1989, Untouched horizons : photographs from the South Island wilderness, p8.
52 Shultis, 2001, The duality of wilderness: Comparing popular and political conceptions of wilderness in New Zealand, p69.
53 Ibid, p69.

rather than as part of, nature. Further, by describing his presence there as a 'visitor' he defines and constrains through his own conception of what wilderness is the type of relationships possible in this region. For Logan, wilderness' purpose is the production of a rich personal emotional state that elicits for him – but not necessarily for others in the same place – experiential qualities of uncertainty, challenge and ultimately personal achievement.

It is in this regard that wilderness describes not only specific regions but also both people's conceptualisation of the term and the experiential states such conceptualisations anticipate. This makes defining wilderness difficult, as what it is, and where it is found, is both variable and contested. In this sense wilderness does not operate as a clear and precise condition that can be located within a set of Cartesian properties. Instead it is an imprecise term whose meaning lies in a culturally bound contingency. Hence in the New Zealand context wilderness is part of a constellation of terms that also includes 'the natural landscape' and 'the bush' which are used to describe an assemblage of conceptual spaces.

Logan's sentiments and Shultis' survey represent a snapshot of the presently held cultural qualities of wilderness. Various studies note the need for longitudinal research to be conducted so changes in people's perspectives can be monitored over time.[54] In his study Shultis suggests "this data tends to generate as many questions as answers. For example, the research has not addressed the source of the popular conception of wilderness. What specific sources of information do people access to accumulate their personal definition and images of wilderness?"[55]

While further survey-based research might quantify their respective importance, there can readily be identified a myriad of methods by which particular concepts of wilderness are disseminated throughout New Zealand. Such qualities are manifest in the urban marketplace as much as in being located in any specific type or experience of landscape.[56] These multiple – though not necessarily uniform – voices underpin the images by Apse that began this chapter and also the publishing outputs of *Craig Potton Press*,

54 See, for example, Kearsley, Kliskey, Higham and Higham, 1999, Perception of wilderness in the South Island of New Zealand : a multiple images approach. ; Booth and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2006, Review of visitor research for the Department of Conservation.

55 Shultis, 2001, The duality of wilderness: Comparing popular and political conceptions of wilderness in New Zealand, p71.

56 Price, 1995, Looking for Nature at the Mall: A Field Guide to the Nature Company.

Hedgehog House and numerous other contributing photographers and authors. They are found in the many stacks of calendars sold for the international tourist and domestic Christmas gift markets, and that find their way into the homes and workplaces of people in New Zealand and around the world. Other sources include: the New Zealand Outdoor Equipment and Clothing Industry whose diverse brand-values, catalogues and websites distribute particular ideas of and attitudes to wilderness[57]; various tourism campaigns run by individual operators, regions and Tourism New Zealand[58]; the imagery that provides the setting for a myriad of movies; numerous first-hand accounts of adventure[59]; of the multiple ways the images of indigenous forests are used to sell anything from the ruggedness of cars[60] the naturalness of cosmetics,[61] and the purity of fruit juice and wine[62]; and also the various promotions, publications, visitor centres and interpretation displays overseen by the Department of Conservation.[63]

However before looking more deeply into ways these multiple ideas of wilderness are made and distributed, and also the manner of the relationship with the conservation estate these concepts of wilderness directs, it is relevant to consider the development of New Zealand's conservation estate.

3.4 THE GENESIS OF THE NEW ZEALAND CONSERVATION ESTATE

Recent accounts of the conservation estate's development convey an almost undeniable sense of certainty and resolution to its purpose even if it is yet to be fully realised. Descriptions of the conservation estate reinforce the rhetoric of a nation who had the foresight in earlier times to set aside many of its unspoilt regions in 'perpetuity'.[64] For example Kevin Smith writes, "Today, anything other than the permanent protection of all of the south-west's

57 The New Zealand Outdoor Equipment and Clothing Industry will be looked at in more detail in Chapter Five.
58 See, for example, http://www.nzwalk.com/index.html, and http://www.bushandbeach.co.nz/tours.htm : accessed 19th March 2008.
59 See, for example, Vervoorn, 2000, Mountain solitudes : solo journeys in the Southern Alps of New Zealand.
60 Campanella, 1997, The Rugged Steed. Also in a New Zealand see http://www.tongariro.org.nz/partners.htm : accessed 19th March 2008
61 Beardsley, 2000b, Kiss Nature Goodbye.
62 Lawrence, 2005, Branding terroir in the New World : Modes of representation in the wine industry.
63 See, for example, http://www.doc.govt.nz/templates/news.aspx?id=44387 and http://www.doc.govt.nz/templates/PlaceProfile.aspx?id=38413 : accessed 19th March 2008
64 And as marking "a coming of age for New Zealand society … an end to the colonial or pioneer mentality". Stated by the Minister 'proclaiming the formation of the new Department of Conservation' in 1986 and cited in Galbreath, 2002, Displacement, conservation and customary use of native plants and animals in New Zealand, p41.

superlative natural phenomena seems unconscionable".[65] Likewise in *Fiordland… the incredible wilderness: the story of New Zealand's first World Heritage Park* while much is made of the 'ancient mountains', the 'primeval forest', the 'alpine wilderness' and also histories of exploration and mining, no account is included of the park's genesis itself. It is as if this is a fait accompli, whose inevitability, timelessness and certainty warrants no discussion. Or as is stated at the start "Fiordland is, today, just what it has always been. A million hectares of virgin wilderness – a wilderness so remote and so vast that no-one has seen it all".[66] Such an interpretation, while acknowledging challenges occur, suggests they relate less as to what vision should be followed and more as to how it might be achieved.[67]

Yet are such accounts as robust as their authors might assert? Could the implicit closure with which the present is regarded also indicate a blindness in recognising both the significant ongoing changes in people's relationship with the types of land that make up today's conservation estate, and also the potential for further change. For in the future both wider circumstance and also issues specifically related to the conservation estate might prompt the need to reformulate its purpose. For example the consequences of climate change and related effects of sea-level change, demand for renewable energy and also carbon sinks, and diminishing fish-stocks, water availability and water quality are external influences, which could significantly impact on the role of the conservation estate. Similarly issues more directly related to the conservation estate which might also change its use and function include whether current usage patterns privilege certain groups over others, how people's use of the conservation estate might fit within a rubric of sustainability, what possibilities does an emphasis on the preservation of the conservation estate preclude, how might the demands of the large and economically significant tourism industry be accommodated and so on.

Nor is the Department of Conservation unaware of these pressures. In recent years a change in how the department perceives the underlying purpose of the conservation estate can be sensed. Remarks in the department's annual

65 Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu, p7.
66 Cobb, 1987, Fiordland… the incredible wilderness: the story of New Zealand's first World Heritage Park %p8.
67 While the tone of Young's semi authorised history of the conservation estate acknowledges greater diversity of interpretation it nonetheless suggests a current emergence of an enduring conservation ethic. Young, 2004, Our islands, our selves : a history of conservation in New Zealand. This desire for 'cultural maturity' is further discussed in Hilliard, 2002, Colonial Culture and the Province of Cultural History.

report by the newly appointed Conservator-General clearly signal that the conservation estate must now expand its concerns beyond recreation and endangered endemic species.[68] Carbon credits, flood mitigation, access to riparian strips and enlisting a greater public participation in the conservation estate within the conservation estate are some of a number of initiatives that are currently being implemented within senior levels of the Department.[69] However it appears that lobby groups with specific interests in the conservation estate – for example Fish and Game, Forest and Bird, Federated Mountain Clubs (FMC) and the New Zealand Tourism Council (NZTC) – commit most of their efforts to fending off or supporting development at specific sites rather than considering the longer-term role of the conservation estate.[70]

Yet given the dynamic heritage of the conservation estate it seems naive to consider that the current position should somehow be *the* stance by which a relationship that is sustainable 'in perpetuity' might best be pursued. Indeed this research can be read as a questioning of the sense of closure that many perceive in the purpose of the conservation estate and also the meaning of wilderness. And in this regard it is helpful to consider the development of the conservation estate.

As little as 150 years ago there was neither the need nor the foresight for anything resembling today's conservation estate. According to Paul Shepard, in his investigation of *English Reaction to the New Zealand landscape before 1850*, arrival brought disappointment and a 'cultivated contempt' for what was waiting. The forest, and the rough terrain to which it clung, was ever-present. It was "desolate and repulsive in the extreme"[71] and "not only uninviting, rugged, and repulsive … but unproductive and accursed."[72] Here the waiting land was a place of hardship and emptiness[73] that was a significant obstacle to the agricultural ambitions of both individual and the colony.

68 Department of Conservation, 2007h, Statement of Intent 2007-2010, p7-8.
69 Johnson, Wouters and Wright, 2007, Building community capacity to undertake conservation: principles for effective skill sharing between government agencies and the community. ; Wouters, 2006, Assessing the Socio-Economic Effects of Concessions-Based Tourism.
70 For snapshot of some of the types of debates around Outdoor Recreation in New Zealand see Sutton and Department of Conservation, 2006, Full Notes of the Proceedings, and also Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand., F.M.C. Bulletin : Newsletter of the Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand Inc.
71 J. Polack, writing in 1838 cited in Shepard, 1969, English reaction to the New Zealand landscape before 1850, p25.
72 Ibid, p3.
73 Alington, 2002, Wilderness as monastery: the rejection of city in the pursuit of self knowledge.

Orderly settlement began with the surveyor's gaze. Historian Giselle Byrnes states the purpose of this work was to speculatively document the land "not as it *was*, but as it *might be*".[74] For reasons of efficiency the surveyor subdivided the land wherever possible with straight lines and standardised grids. This also created a sense of order and sameness with adjoining blocks so that if one block was sold the one next to it – looking identical on the map – could be offered instead. Working with theodolite, chain and survey pegs the surveyor located a two-dimensional array of always adjacent but never overlapping entities: sections, farm blocks, roads, and reserves for schools, hospitals, churches, markets and recreation. According to Byrnes this process of 'opening up' the land for the colony's development incorporated a simultaneous slicing "through existing lines of Maori settlement and cultivation. While the land surveyors had helped to create one cultural landscape, they had systematically destroyed another."[75] Nor was this erasure the result of ambivalence. As Shepard notes the land the settler found was to them immoral, barren and heathen like the godless wilderness of Christ's temptation "because of man's failure to retain God in his thoughts".[76] Hence domesticating the 'wilderness' had a missionary sensibility and that within which the "necessity of clearing and fencing was inextricably associated with Christianising the Maoris."[77]

However nineteenth century New Zealand was defined less in the language of wilderness and more by the term 'the bush'. In the Dictionary of New Zealand 'bush' means "land covered with native or indigenous rain forest".[78] Not only did 'the bush' pervade the land but also the settler's vocabulary. As a result bush, and the terms associated with it, make up the Dictionary of New Zealand's longest entry.[79] 'The bush' could be 'heavy' or 'light' depending on its undergrowth, and 'virgin' or 'working', according to how it was being utilised. One could 'go bush', 'bush it', 'bush-bash', 'be bushed' and become 'bush happy'. There were 'bush trams', 'bush tracks', 'bush cattle', 'bush bread', 'bush bunks' and 'bush shirts'. And people could be 'bush baptists', 'bush

74 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p39. (Byrnes emphasis)
75 Ibid, p38.
76 Shepard, 1969, English reaction to the New Zealand landscape before 1850, p4.
77 Ibid, p14.
78 Orsman, 1997, The Dictionary of New Zealand English : a dictionary of New Zealandisms on historical principles, p106
79 In all it is forty-six columns long. See Star, 2003, New Zealand Environmental History: A Question of Attitudes, p468. *Bush* is also a specific theme on Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand. See http://www.teara.govt.nz/TheBush/en : accessed 20th March 2008

doctors', 'bush-hands', 'bush-bosses', 'bush philosophers' and 'bushmen'. Bush not only produced pasture, but was also, as Graeme Wynn states, the material from which the colony was literally being made. It delivered up "kauri, rimu, kahikatea, and matai … for house building; kahikatea for boxes; tawa for barrels and tubs; [and] totora for telegraph poles and railway sleepers".[80] Yet 'the bush', and many of the terms associated with it, only gained value and meaning for the colony, as a shifting frontier that in the process of it being rolled back produced timber and pasture. Hence the meaning of the bush, and most of the activities associated with it, had a quality of transience.

It was concern that the country's forest resources might be squandered that led to Premier Julius Vogel's introduction in 1874 of the New Zealand Forests Bill. The bill advocated conservation, but not in the preservation sense that the term has today. Rather it sought to conserve forests along the lines of the wise use arguments that had been developing in North America. However the approach was unsuccessful with the bill being passed only after considerable dilution, and then being subsequently repealed two years later.[81] Instead the 'fever' of land conversion continued unabated.[82] In the 1880s alone, as the urge in many places for farmland overran both the ability to mill timber and the demand for such timber, forests covering 14% of New Zealand's land area were felled and cleared for pasture.[83] The effect being that mile after mile of the country was "lands with fallen timber, stumps blackened by fire, and great trunks standing scarred and broken, with no vestige of green upon them".[84]

It was accounts like these in the British Press, combined with a growing awareness of the uniqueness and increasing scarcity of New Zealand's native birds, that became the catalyst for New Zealand politicians to take action to preserve the nation's 'scenery'.[85] In 1888 the first birds were fully protected by legislation. "By 1907 the list extended to 28 birds including … bell-bird,

80 Wynn, 2002, Destruction Under the Guise of Improvement? The Forest, 1840-1920, p106.
81 See Wynn, 1977, Conservation and society in late nineteenth century New Zealand.
82 As Geoff Park terms it: Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua, p96. Also see Kuzma, 2003, New Zealand Landscape and Literature, 1890-1925. Booth and Simmons note that Te Heu Heu's gifting to the crown New Zealand's first National Park was in part motivated by a desire to ensure the land would not be cleared. Booth and Simmons, 2000, Tourism and the Establishment of National Parks in New Zealand. However Star considers a portraying all 'pioneers' of the nineteenth century as environmentally 'uncaring' as not truly reflecting the range of attitudes at the time: Star, 1998, New Zealand's changing natural history: evidence from Dunedin, 1868–1875.
83 Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua, p222.
84 Mrs Robert Wilson from *In the land of the tui: my journal in New Zealand* (1894) cited in Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua, p212.
85 Star and Lochhead, 2002, Children of the Burnt Bush: New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant, 1880-1930.

fantail, huia, kiwi, tui".[86] Only those native species that impacted on agriculture remained unprotected, of which the most notable was the kea.[87]

One of the underlying preoccupations of settler societies is the emergence of identity, and as Paul Star notes, this is frequently grounded by identifying uniqueness of landform, flora and fauna. A number of New Zealand's indigenous birds became emblems of such uniqueness. Yet dwindling habitats were making these icons increasingly rare. It was during this time that New Zealand first began to be described as 'the land of the tui' and its people as 'kiwis'.[88] Significantly, for Park, the move to preserve fauna institutionalised an erasure of Māori practices within New Zealand's forests. Many forested valleys that could "sustainably yield thousands of snared kereru each season" were lost to agriculture.[89] Indeed the growth of scenery preservation coincided with laws that by protecting remnant fauna and "expunge[d] native custom from the landscape".[90]

In 1903 the Scenery Preservation Act was passed. This signalled a shift from previous efforts that had focused only on protecting the barren tops and remote edges of the country. The emphasis of this act was towards "areas of bush which New Zealanders now appreciated as scarce and beautiful and which they increasingly associated with their identity."[91] These lands, which became the foundation for today's conservation estate, were intended to provide forested interludes and appealing vistas for the travelling visitor and came mainly from undesignated and unsurveyed blocks of 'Crown Land' or those still held by Māori.[92]

It was this process of procurement that resulted in today's conservation estate being constituted from the remnant of the agricultural impetus to convert lands, and is readily evidenced by the relative lack of representation of lowland forest and swamp in its makeup today. In other words the land set

86 Galbreath, 2002, Displacement, conservation and customary use of native plants and animals in New Zealand, p43.
87 See Tiro Tiro, 1930, The Sheep Killer. Kea are an endemic New Zealand mountain parrot.
88 Galbreath, 2002, Displacement, conservation and customary use of native plants and animals in New Zealand, p39.
89 Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua, p104. Kereru are also known as wood pigeon.
90 Ibid, p141.
91 Star, 2002, Native Forest and the Rise of Preservation in New Zealand (1903–1913), p288.
92 For a map of protected areas as at 1906-07 see Star and Lochhead, 2002, Children of the Burnt Bush: New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant, 1880-1930, p120.

aside was those "bits left over…that could not be made to fit into the pastoral vision of Britain's southern farm".[93]

Nor did legislation like the Scenery Protection Act signal an immediate sea change in opinion. For example the Bush and Swamp Crown Lands Settlement Bill, also introduced in 1903, sought to encourage land improvement for agricultural purposes "by forgoing rates for the first four years on bush lands (as long as burning and clearing took place), for three years on swamp, and for two years on scrub."[94] It was the ongoing speed and scale of land clearance that continued to drive the urge for protection of the forest.[95]

Yet ultimately, as Star identifies, the impetus for indigenous forest conservation came through an inevitable shift in supply and demand. As the availability of millable forest decreased the value of these forests shifted to becoming long-term timber reserves, and for their necessary role in limiting erosion in downstream catchments.[96]

By 1913 it was realised that both the amount and quality of usable timber remaining had been overestimated, and that the forests that remained would produce poorer yields than the forests which had already been consumed. Coupled with the slow growth of experimental plantings of totora and rimu, policy makers became convinced that the country's future timber needs would have to be met by exotic timber plantations.[97] And as a result the bush had changed from a moving frontier to a vanishing remnant, and whose value would be necessarily found elsewhere including supporting tourism and recreation.

New Zealand's Department of Tourism and Publicity was the world's first national tourism organisation. It was established in 1901 to both promote the country to overseas visitors and ensure that the necessary infrastructure existed to meet their requirements. In its first years the emphasis was to promote Māori culture (particularly around the Rotorua region) and also the spectacular scenery found throughout the country. As well as fostering a

93 Pawson, Ibid.The Meanings of Mountains, p148.
94 Star, 2002, Native Forest and the Rise of Preservation in New Zealand (1903–1913), p277.
95 Ibid, p278.
96 Ibid, p279-280.
97 See Wynn, 2002, Destruction Under the Guise of Improvement? The Forest, 1840-1920.

picturesque appreciation of the country the department also set about making them more 'attractive' in ways that would conflict with today's understanding of the conservation estate. In its 2001 centennial publication, *100 Years of Pure Progress,* Tourism New Zealand describes how its first director T.E. Donne "immediately set about the importation of game … to establish hunting and fishing as key attractions to the visiting sportsman of the 1900s".[98] Stocked with exotic species including deer, wapiti, pig, trout, duck, quail, swan and pheasant, and controlled with licenses, seasons and quotas, his goal was to establish in the country's forested reserves 'a sportsman's paradise'.

Over time other attractions were added to the 'product mix'. *100 Years of Pure Progress* charts the development of national parks for the tourist including the advent of purpose built walking tracks, guided walks and mountain climbs, ski fields, ski planes, scenic flights, establishing hotels, cave visits, jet boat rides, rafting, kayak tours and most recently the addition of eco-tourism that "enables us to show visitors the symbiotic relationship between tourism, habitat management and wildlife welfare, while still protecting our environment".[99]

Comparatively low numbers of tourists, and the sheer scale of land put aside both around the turn of the nineteenth century and again after the Second World War, meant the perceived impacts of tourism remained small. It was not until New Zealand's local outdoor recreation boom in the 1970s – brought on by urban population growth along with increased wages and leisure time – and also the growth of international tourism from the 1980s that the effect of people in the conservation estate began to gain significance.[100] Since then international tourist numbers have continued to grow, with numbers expected to increase from 2.4m arrivals in 2006 to 3.4m arrivals in 2015.[101] Such growth projections are presented by the Tourism Industry with an air of inevitability. As the title of the centenary publication suggests the meeting of the *100%*

98 Tourism New Zealand, 2001, 100 years pure progress : 1901 - 2001, Tourism New Zealand, one hundred years of tourism, p20.

99 Ibid, p37.

100 See Devlin, Corbett, Peebles, New Zealand. Department of Conservation. and Lincoln University (Canterbury N.Z.), 1995, Outdoor recreation in New Zealand. ; Perkins, Devlin, Simmons and Batty, 2000, Recreation and Tourism. For further on the development of tramping and mountaineering before World War Two see also Ross, 2002, Schooled by nature: pakeha tramping between the wars. ; Davidson, 2002, The'spirit of the hills': mountaineering in northwest Otago, New Zealand, 1882-1940. ; Johnston, 1989, Peak Experiences: Challenge and Danger in Mountain Recreation in New Zealand. ; Pawson, 2002, The Meanings of Mountains.

101 These figures are based on continued 4% annual growth and that closely matches the gloal industry forecast of 4.1%. See Tourism Strategy, 2007, New Zealand tourism strategy 2015 / Tourism Strategy Group. p8-9.

Pure Campaign and continued tourism growth is to be read as *100 Years of Pure Progress*. Alongside this growth there has been increased level of tourism-based investment and returns by both industry and government within and around the conservation estate.[102]

Given the continued expansion in numbers and associated infrastructure Geoff Kearsley ask if the increased pressure to accommodate more people will lead to a second 'rush to destruction' not dissimilar to New Zealand's rapid deforestation in the nineteenth century.[103] However for Kearsley the destruction will be not of forests felled but wilderness quality irredeemably lost.

Yet, while tourism and recreation interests have always driven the direction and content of the conservation estate this relationship need not be considered as always a negative impact on wilderness values. Tourism in particular has often been touted as offering a more profitable utilisation of the forest. For example conservation-based campaigns on the West Coast in the 1980's and the Waitutu forest in the following decade,[104] argued that tourism would be a more sustainable and employment-rich use of such places than selective forestry. Certainly the profile-raising effect of conferring national park status has been used by local government bodies to attract tourists to the relatively recently gazetted Kahurangi and Rakiura National Parks in Nelson and Stewart Island respectively.[105]

Geoff Park argues that many contemporary framings of the conservation estate have their basis in those of the nineteenth century. He considers currently popular images of wilderness have their roots in the picturesque sensibilities of that time.[106]

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102 For example the Department of Conservation currently vales its visitor-related assets at $400m. Department of Conservation., 2006, The value of conservation : what does conservation contribute to the economy? : the economic impacts of public conservation lands in New Zealand with case studies on the West Coast of the South Island, Abel Tasman National Park, Queen Charlotte Track, Mt Ruapehu skifields, Southern Lakes Ski Areas, and Te Papanui Conservation Park, p4.

103 Kearsley and University of Otago., 1997, Wilderness tourism : a new rush to destruction? See also Ministry for the Environment, 2007, Environment New Zealand 2007.

104 See, for example Hutching, Potton and Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society of New Zealand., 1987, Forests, fiords & glaciers : New Zealand's world heritage : the case for a South-West New Zealand World heritage site. ; Joint Campaign on Native Forests (N.Z.), 1984, Waitutu, the track to preservation : a submission.

105 For example, under 'Key Selling Points' to the Southland region Stewart Island is promoted as 'an ecological wonderland' http://www.southlandnz.com/Sections/visit/testarea/trademedia/trade/ where. : accessed 12th May 2009

106 This point will be considered more fully in the next section

Other currently prevalent descriptions echo frontier-type relationships. Nowadays the conservation estate is also a site for first ascents, longest journeys and epic adventures. In these different interpretations, from the immigrant, settler, miner, farmer, hunter, climber, tourist, concessionaire, conservator and so on, is revealed a wider process of change in personal and societal attitudes to landscape. Indeed it is as if this spread of positions are part of the braids of an always shifting river, where one in time moves, splits and relocates into other evolving stances.

As noted these positions also compete. Work by Kearsley, Kliskey, Higham and Higham identifies how debates between recreation and preservation interests are exacerbated by the pressure of increasing demand constrained by diminishing supply which, in turn, is due to the ongoing introduction of facilities and technology into the conservation estate. Thus they state "further work will also demonstrate the rate at which wilderness is declining, through changing perceptions and development patterns, and it is hoped that this [research] will provide the basis for the preservation of wilderness on one hand and the opportunity to maximise wilderness experiences for as many as possible on the other".[107]

It should be noted that such comments not only reveal underlying tensions in the direction of the conservation estate. For they also build a certain understanding of the conservation estate: one in which wilderness is conceptualised as a resource that necessarily should be organised around binary management models of supply and demand.

Daniel Clayton, in terms of the west coast of North America, notes that debates between use and preservation continue to polarise positions and inevitably squeeze out or 'assimilate other voices'.[108] His work is particularly focused on how such framing silence indigenous and 'First Nation' perspectives. There is also potential for a similar diminishing of culturally diverse understandings of the conservation estate in New Zealand. In *100 Years of Pure Progress* Tourism New Zealand portrays the conservation estate in terms of an expanding tourism narrative. Hence, in describing the Fiordland area it states, despite acknowledgement elsewhere of widespread

107 Kearsley, Kliskey, Higham and Higham, 1999, Perception of wilderness in the South Island of New Zealand : a multiple images approach. p20.

108 Clayton, 2000, Islands of truth : the imperial fashioning of Vancouver Island. See also Braun, 2002, The intemperate rainforest : nature, culture, and power on Canada's west coast.

pre-European Māori activity in the region,[109] that "Milford Sound [was] discovered by sea in the 1820's [though] it was 1888 before McKinnon Pass was discovered and land access heralded the beginning of New Zealand's wonder walk".[110] Such a perspective also reinforces an understanding of the conservation estate as a site without a cultural past, and by inference a future equally free of diverse and complex cultural qualities.

In a consideration of the history of the conservation estate there can be determined a number of changing relationships. While to begin with these places were considered 'heathen', and then a 'frontier, they have been increasingly imbued with preservationist values of ecological importance and 'sanctuary', as well as recreational and touristic benefits. Likewise the latter categories have developed to further emphasise adventure and 'thrill-seeking'. While often located beyond these changing positions is the place of local iwi connections and activities in the same place.

The following schematic (fig 3.2a) charts some of the changes in relationship Pakeha New Zealand has had with the lands of the type that now make up the conservation estate. It is not intended that the relationships, scale, or entities identified should be definitive. Rather the intention is to show that the current conservation estate is an amalgam of diverse and changing relationships.

109 For example see Adams and Evison, 1993, Land of memories : a contemporary view of places of historical significance in the South Island of New Zealand. ; Department of Conservation, 2007c, Fiordland National Park Management Plan. ; New Zealand. Department of Conservation. Southland Conservancy. and New Zealand Conservation Authority., 1996, Fiordland National Park management plan, 1991-2001.

110 Tourism New Zealand, 2001, 100 years pure progress : 1901 - 2001, Tourism New Zealand, one hundred years of tourism, p15.

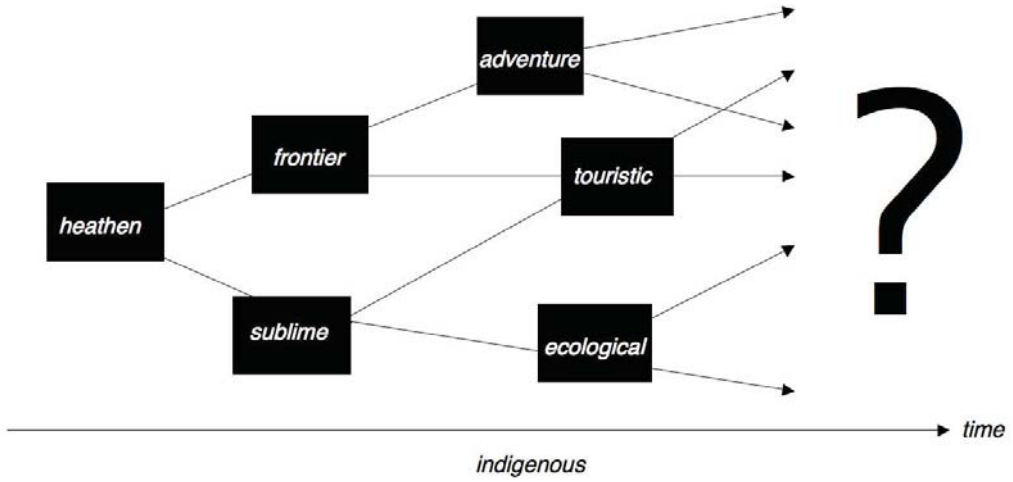


Figure 3.4a: Different understandings of wilderness applied to the New Zealand conservation estate.

At this point a plausible research direction could be to further unravel the hegemonic positioning of one perspective – either historic or contemporary – over another.[111] One could also seek to restore repressed narratives to what some might consider their rightful place. For while the comments by Young and Smith that began this section assert a sense of completion to the role of the conservation estate it could be argued that there remains an ongoing mutability and even volatility in the conservation estate's underlying purpose.

In this regard the purpose of this schematic is to suggest that descriptions, relationships, engagements and 'inventions' of the conservation estate are culturally dynamic, contested, and malleable, *and,* therefore likely to remain so. In the moving braid-like understandings in figure 3.2a is suggested that engagements of the conservation estate will inevitably continue to change and evolve in the future. Hence the direction of this dissertation is to first ask what other shifts in people's understanding and relationship with the conservation estate could be considered, and second ask how such changes might be prompted.

William Cronon in his essay *The Trouble with Wilderness: Getting Back To The Right Nature* discusses the role of the sublime in shaping the meaning of

111 For this type of approach see, for example: Gullette, 2004, Conceptualizing Nature: The Politics Behind Allocating and Utilizing Native Forest Resources in New Zealand. Also see Macnaghten and Urry, 1998, Contested natures.

wilderness in North America.[112] He notes that until the nineteenth century the North American wilderness was a place of barrenness, chaos, danger, 'bewilderment' and God's abandonment. However by the end of the nineteenth century wilderness' meaning had been transformed – the mountain had become the cathedral. "Wilderness [w]as a landscape where the supernatural lay just beneath the surface".[113] "God was on the mountaintop, in the chasm, in the waterfall, in the thundercloud, in the rainbow, in the sunset".[114] He notes it was the hold of the Sublime aesthetic that led to the first national parks in North America being similarly mountainous and spectacular. Low lying forests, swamps and grasslands lacked grandeur and therefore remained absent from preservation efforts until the mid twentieth century.

Cronon's analysis can be similarly applied in New Zealand. As Park has noted, Sublime framings of the New Zealand landscape have led to an understanding of the conservation estate that is dominated by aesthetic sensibilities.[115] Equally the country's national parks, as also the wider conservation estate, are heavily weighted with the grand and the vertical. Work by Shultis and Higham supports the suggestion: "the composite wilderness image … was strikingly similar to the wilderness images derived from other samples which may reflect the existence of a common conception of wilderness throughout a number of western countries".[116]

For Cronon the other driving influence in shaping wilderness' meaning in North America was the frontier, or more accurately the speed by which it was perceived to be vanishing. It was feared that the frontier experience that had defined the establishment of the United States of America would soon disappear permanently. Hence "to protect wilderness was in a very real sense to protect the nation's most sacred myth of origin".[117] As already noted in the New Zealand context similar references to the frontier can be found. For example in Fiordland in the late nineteenth century was located various

112 For a more complete discussion of the roots of the wilderness idea in a North American context see: Nash, 1967, Wilderness and the American mind. ; Oelschlaeger, 1991, The idea of wilderness : from prehistory to the age of ecology.
113 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p74.
114 Ibid.
115 Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua, pp113-128.
116 Shultis, 2001, The duality of wilderness: Comparing popular and political conceptions of wilderness in New Zealand, p70.
117 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p77.

gold, tin and mica mines: such places being sites for prospectors to sow "in the wilderness the seeds of future wealth and greatness".[118]

Yet, while strong similarities exist, I am loath to overly frame New Zealand's conceptualisation of wilderness within Cronon's analysis of North America. Cronon in his *Trouble with Wilderness* also warns of colonising other places with the North American idea of wilderness – for him a particular case is the forested lands of the Amazon.[119] As already noted in the New Zealand context 'the bush' and not wilderness dominated the language.[120] Also the European colonisation of New Zealand occurred later and over a more condensed timeframe. Perhaps too an argument can be made that the engagement of the type of lands that now evoke a 'spirit of wilderness' was somewhat laconic and pragmatic – perhaps akin to Hillary's depreciative 'we knocked the bastard off' comment on conquering Everest.[121] Certainly Geoff Park struggles to fathom the mindset of a settler society so 'feverishly' intent on deforestation.

Also the New Zealand forest is differently wild. For example Jack Turner comments that a significant quality in the North American wilderness is the threat of animals turning on people – of being tracked, caught and eaten by the wildlife.[122] Yet in the New Zealand context danger doesn't come from aggressive avifauna or marine mammals. Instead it is drowning in its rivers, which has long been considered the 'New Zealand disease'.[123]

Notwithstanding these points Les Molloy argues that New Zealand's concept of wilderness experience and wilderness areas is derived from North America. However he observes that this shift towards considering its national parks as wilderness did not come directly from New Zealand's preservation movement in the late nineteenth century. Rather it followed a series of exchanges between United States and New Zealand public servants in the 1930's and 1940's.[124] As a term wilderness was first articulated in statute in

118 Paulin, 1889, The wild west coast of New Zealand : a summer cruise in the "Rosa", p66.
119 See also Lekan, 2005, Anniversary Forum: Globalizing American Environmental History.
120 For example in the Dictionary of New Zealand wilderness is not refered to, while wild is used as an adjective "in the names of plants and animals" such as wild cabbage, wild cattle, wild duck, wild turnip etc. Orsman, 1997, The Dictionary of New Zealand English : a dictionary of New Zealandisms on historical principles, p913.
121 See Hillary, 1975, Nothing venture, nothing win.
122 Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild, p85.
123 See, for example, accounts in Kennaway, 1874, Crusts: A Settler's Fare Due South. ; Pascoe, 1966, The Haast is in South Westland.
124 Molloy, Potton, Morris and Martin, 2007, New Zealand's wilderness heritage, p9,28. : Poole, 1951, Preliminary reports of the New Zealand-American Fiordland expedition : investigations in Fiordland, New Zealand, in 1949.

1949.[125] And as numbers of people in the outdoors grew so also did a growing number of articles documenting a sense of loss of wilderness values.[126] In time this led to the move noted at the beginning of the chapter to formally protect significant tracts of land as wilderness.[127]

Since then wilderness has been a recurrent theme in the New Zealand context including a further Federated Mountain Club's conference that considered New Zealand high-country recreation, and also an edited volume published by the Department of Conservation titled *The State of Wilderness in New Zealand*.[128] Recently Les Molloy and Craig Potton have published *New Zealand's Wilderness Heritage* that presents "a celebration of the extraordinary wilderness legacy that sits at the heart of New Zealand's sense of place".[129]

New Zealand's Wilderness Heritage describes in detail the location, merits and threats to various wilderness sites throughout New Zealand. Yet while Molloy's detailed discussion deftly discusses the complexities of different locations, and also the tensions between preservation and use, it is through Potton's photographs that a compelling image of New Zealand's wilderness is evoked. And it is a consideration of the relationship with the conservation estate that images like these offer that the next section turns to.

3.5 THE PICTORIAL WILDERNESS.

In *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape and Whenua* Park explores at length the drivers for Pakeha New Zealand's current relationship with this country's conservation estate. He considers its foundations lie in European modes of seeing that understood *landscape as scenery*, and which both organises the scene 'onto a flat plane', and also 'empties the landscape' of active content.[130] It was the subsequent style of tourism that the picturesque

125 Molloy and Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand., 1983, Wilderness recreation in New Zealand : proceedings of the FMC 50th Jubilee Conference on Wilderness, Rotoiti Lodge, Nelson Lakes National Park, 22-24 August, 1981, p46.

126 See, for example: Salmon, 1960, Heritage destroyed : the crisis in scenery preservation in New Zealand. ; Molloy, 1972, Conservation in the Wilderness. ; Hay, 1974, On remoteness. ; Hooper, 1981, Our forests ourselves.

127 See Molloy and Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand., 1983, Wilderness recreation in New Zealand : proceedings of the FMC 50th Jubilee Conference on Wilderness, Rotoiti Lodge, Nelson Lakes National Park, 22-24 August, 1981.

128 Cessford and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2001, The State of wilderness in New Zealand. ; Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand., 2003, Freedom of the hills : unlocking high country recreation, a Federated Mountain Clubs vision for pastoral lease lands.

129 http://www.craigpotton.co.nz/products/published/books/bookgeneralnonfiction/zealandswildernessheritage accessed 14th Dec 2007. See Molloy, Potton, Morris and Martin, 2007, New Zealand's wilderness heritage.

130 Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua, p116,119.

engendered, of hunting for new vistas in search of landscape's ideal image, that led to New Zealanders continuing "preoccupation with scenery, their possessing it 'preserved' in reserves, and their dogma that it's a necessary ingredient of a painted landscape, [which] trapped them in a particular sense of beauty.[131]

Park considers it is the picturesque aesthetic of 19th Century Britain and Europe that continues to underpin the values of the conservation estate into the twenty-first century and define Pakeha New Zealand's relationship with indigenous flora and fauna.[132] By seeing "nature as a picture"[133], the picturesque continues to cast 'lake, mountain and tree'[134] in the imaginary as pristine, remote and timeless. And it is this particular genre of landscape, of ideal scenes that frame nature as a spectacle, of people as its admiring patrons, and of the conservation estate as Park's *Theatre Country*, that continues to dominate New Zealand's sense of itself.

Perhaps it is for this reason that neither international tourists nor New Zealanders find strange the often hyperbolic descriptions of Fiordland National Park that began this chapter. Certainly there is nothing unusual in claiming New Zealand's conservation estate is 'vast', 'isolated', 'elemental', 'ancient', 'monumental', 'unconquerable', 'fortress-like' and a 'last refuge' for endemic plants and birds[135]. Or that Tourism New Zealand's campaign to attract visitors to the country uses appeals of awe, wonder, exhilaration and escape against a backdrop of unspoiled nature – *100% Pure* no less.[136]

This image of the conservation estate reveals what art critic Francis Pound calls a "pictorial attitude to nature"[137] – one that is embedded in artistic methods of representing landscape that were developed in the 18th and 19th centuries. Hence the photographic images either made or purchased by

131 Ibid, p58.
132 See also Pound, 1983, Frames on the land : early landscape painting in New Zealand, p26.
133 Ibid, p24.
134 This phrase titles the following anthology: Temple, 1998, Lake, mountain, tree : an anthology of writing on New Zealand nature & landscape.
135 See Temple, 1982, Fiordland pictorial.
136 The link between *100% Pure New Zealand* campaign and landscape is explicit. The Marketing Manager for Tourism New Zealand discussing the development of the 100% Pure campaign states "the brand is New Zealand, its brand essence is landscape." Morgan, Pritchard and Piggott, 2002, New Zealand, 100% Pure. The creation of a powerful niche destination brand, p347. Elsewhere Tourism New Zealand states "New Zealand's landscape is the primary motivator for visitors to come here". Tourism New Zealand, 2006, Give it 100%: an introductory guide to marketing and devloping your tourism product, p15. See also Tourism New Zealand., 2001, Tourism New Zealand, p3-4. For further material see http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/tourism_info/about-us/100-pure-campaign/100-pure-campaign_home.cfm : accessed 24th March 2008.
137 Pound, 1983, Frames on the land : early landscape painting in New Zealand, p12.

today's tourist echo the picturesque traditions of travelling from scene to scene "to provide evidence that [their] eyes had been there."[138] While these images purport to act as faithful transcriptions of what is there they are, according to Pound, neither "transparent windows … to the land"[139] or faithful images of a nature out there. Rather they are images created, whether intentionally or not, to direct certain readings of nature based on a certain typology of visual aesthetics.

Discussing genres of landscape painting Pound states "what we see is painted on the metaphorical glass (which is in fact opaque paper or canvas or board); we look *at* it, not *through* it – the painted surface is a system of signs, not a transparent medium. Try as he might, the painter does not paint on the surface the landscape he wishes to celebrate. Invariably the painter paints the 'picturesque' – that in nature which reminds him of pictures in paint – invariably what is painted is the already painted, the paintable."[140] While Pound is describing the painter it can readily be translated to the photographic work of Apse, Bishop and Potton: invariably the photographer photographs the 'picturesque' – invariably what is photographed is the already photographed, the photographable – as the familiarity of Mitre Peak as 'the image' of Milford Sound would attest. (See figure 4.1d)

Nor are the photographers of wilderness landscapes cited in this chapter ignorant of the cultural rubric within which their image making is undertaken. For example Craig Potton states "I'm convinced that time-honoured practices such as dividing the picture frame into thirds (horizontally and vertically), placing discrete objects or blocks of colour within the resulting grid, using a strong foreground subject to anchor the image, relating all elements within the frame, and even finding geometric forms such as figure eights and triangles in the composition…are more important to good composition than many contemporary practitioners will acknowledge."[141] Similarly in Apse's images, such as in figure 3.3a, can be found elements relating to elevation of viewpoint, horizon, 'side-wings', contrasting planes of sunlight and darkness, and their relationship to the picture plane, that belong to the 'grammatical

138 Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua, p124.
139 Pound, 1983, Frames on the land : early landscape painting in New Zealand, p13.
140 Ibid, p12. (Pound's emphasis)
141 Potton, 1998, Moment and memory : photography in the New Zealand landscape, p135.

rules' of the 'Ideal' landscape first espoused in Europe over two hundred years ago.[142]

Figure 3.5a: "Photographing the entrance to Dusky Sound has been a long term project. After determining where I wanted to take the image from, I used a GPS to calculate when the sun would be setting down the middle of my composition, then returned at the right time of year and camped for a few nights on the spot".[143]

In discussions of these images can be found sentiments that also strongly belong to a nineteenth century Romantic tradition.[144] Brian Turner writes of a 'wild', 'non-human nature' that has intrinsic values and "the possibility of numinosity".[145] Bishop states, "all plants and animals have a right to live and evolve undisturbed".[146] It is this separation from people that gives wilderness its 'special aura' and which, as Potton argues, lets wilderness act as "a powerful antidote to the controls of civilisation, a place and state of mind where the individual's imagination [can] soar beyond its social conditioning".[147] As a result wilderness is a 'gateway' to 'deeper values' that challenge you to 'reflect on the enigma of existence' and connect with 'ancient impulses' that have resonated for 'thousands of generations'.

However it is the pictorial qualities that have priority. Dennis, Potton and Turner note their written perspectives are merely supportive commentary for the visual images they introduce. Turner's essay on wilderness is a 'warm-up act' for Scott Freeman's New Zealand Photographs. Dennis finds words struggle to convey what is "an intuitive emotional response" to Apse's

142 See Bowring, 1997, Institutionalising the picturesque.
143 Apse, 2007, Exhibition Notes to Mainland: Landscapes by Andris Apse.
144 For a discussion of the links between the Romantic tradition through to modern environmentalism see: Dunlap, 2004, Faith in Nature: Environmentalism as Religious Quest.
145 Freeman and Turner, 2000, New Zealand photographs, p18.
146 Bishop, 1989, Untouched horizons : photographs from the South Island wilderness, p8.
147 Cullen, Harland, Potton and New Zealand. Tourism Policy Group., 1994, Collection of essays on equity and access to natural areas, p4.

imagery.[148] Potton asks that the reader reads the photographs "entirely apart from the words; indeed if the latter become a problem, they should be ignored".[149] According to the writers and photographers the value and appeal of the visual image of wilderness is intrinsic and self-evident. Rather than words it is the 'lingering gazes of landscape photography' that are most effective in opening "the eye and mind to nature".[150] It is the visual image that generates the opportunity "to wonder at the thread of life which runs through all things and to capture a few fleeting moments of this wonder, not in the language of words, but of light"[151] – a light whose qualities might be 'beautiful', 'dramatic', 'sombre' or 'melancholic'.

Turner writes how in Freeman's "absorption, concentration, we become absorbed ourselves. And, I, personally begin to feel as if the objects in the image are drawing me into the point where I am in rather than outside them".[152] The photographs tell Turner to "have regard … for goodness sake. Concentrate, pause, let the shapes, forces, colours – let life seep and pour. Look, listen, touch, and be touched."[153] "The hope is that the image's essence will become a collective perspective"[154] and that suitably motivated people act to protect and preserve the wild.[155]

Like Logan's description of the Okuru Wilderness Area, the conceptualisation of wilderness being pursued by the photographers and writers cited here does not belong to the specific sites in the conservation estate where each image is taken. Instead they belong to the craft of careful image making whose roots are culturally embedded in artistic genres like the Sublime, Ideal, Topographic and Picturesque. Potton, this time reflecting on the cover image of his retrospective monograph, declares "and … if Colin McCahon had not painted his black waterfall series; Van der Velden not journeyed to his place in the Otira Gorge in the heaviest storms; Turner not painted his deluge series; Shelley not prefigured Romantic awe on Mont Blanc's storm-covered slopes – would I have seen this moment so vividly."[156] Pound discussing the

148 Apse, 1994, New Zealand landscapes, p14.
149 Potton, 1998, Moment and memory : photography in the New Zealand landscape, p6.
150 Bishop, 1989, Untouched horizons : photographs from the South Island wilderness, p151.
151 Ibid, p151.
152 Here Turner is talking more of the images of Freeman and Potton rather than perhaps the images of Apse. Freeman and Turner, 2000, New Zealand photographs, p19.
153 Ibid, p16.
154 Ibid, p32
155 See the discussion of Potton's motivations and career in White, 2004, In the Wild.
156 Potton, 1998, Moment and memory : photography in the New Zealand landscape, p28.

different genres of nineteenth century landscape painting considers each "reflects and codifies the intention and effect of the artwork it includes. It tells you what the artist means, and what you, the spectator, are meant to feel".[157] Hence the order Potton 'divines' in the rocks and trees comes from his cultural reference points. Any 'sense of coherence' is developed in the different styles of the photographers rather than the land being imaged. This is why Turner can find value in Freeman's and Potton's images while the landscape images of others he finds 'sterile' and unfulfilling'.[158]

Pound states "no visual experience of nature – whether in New Zealand or elsewhere – can exist outside the frames of the genres: there is no innocent eye, no possible access to a 'real' and pre-existing New Zealand nature".[159] Even the "very idea of landscape is a European import to New Zealand"[160] that is as introduced and imposed as the gorse bush or survey line.

In both the photographic imagery of wilderness and also bounded wilderness region is constructed an aesthetic separation between culture and nature. Apse's image of the kotukutuku tree in Fiordland's Kaipo valley that began this chapter evokes similar qualities to that found across his extensive collection of Fiordland photographs.[161] On the page is presented an image of a timeless, remote and untouched forest in which there is no trace of people or society.

Yet such an image is the result of careful construction. Imagine for a moment what the image would see if it was it to return the gaze of Apse. For just where our point of view is located when reading the image is where Andris Apse and a host of activities associated with this image can be discerned. Absent from the photograph but nonetheless an implicit part of the image are the physical activities undertaken by Apse here: the setting up the tripod; of firmly imprinting the ground with its spikes to steady the camera; of setting up a large umbrella to ward of the imminent drizzle; of altering the composition by shifting about and perhaps also pushing to one side an overly intrusive plant; of selecting the types of films, lenses and cameras with which to work; the taking of a number of bracketed images; of waiting patiently for the light to

157 Pound, 1983, Frames on the land : early landscape painting in New Zealand, p13.
158 Freeman and Turner, 2000, New Zealand photographs, p6.
159 Pound, 1983, Frames on the land : early landscape painting in New Zealand, p14.
160 Ibid, p11. Pound also argues "Nor did the Polynesians capture the 'true' New Zealand: they too applied a culture to the land (a culture that did *not* include landscape)." Pound, 1983, Frames on the land : early landscape painting in New Zealand, p16. (Pound's emphasis)
161 For Apse Fiordland is is his favoured subject. Recently he has produced a three volume study of the region which retails for NZ$4000.00 the opus. See http://www.andrisapsefiordland.co.nz/ : accessed 21st March 2008.

'come right'; of shooing away the sandflies while waiting; snacking on food while still waiting for 'the light to come right'; of the specific click of the shutter in which this particular image is from; of dismantling the equipment while shooing away more sandflies; of packing up; and of leaving on the site assorted marks from tripods, boots and backsides. Or as Tom Griffiths, discussing the role of photography in shaping perceptions of landscape, states "modern photographers enact this vision in their choice of frame, omitting the eroded path that led them to their view".[162]

Because the image is not intended to return the gaze of the photographer – to question or identify their frame of reference – both they and their stance is rendered separate to the content. Because they neither offer, expect, nor challenge any change in the viewer such images of wilderness are undemanding. For the nature this aesthetic understands, and consequently makes, is a nature that is only sensible from a position outside of that nature. Hence what is constructed is a nature separate from culture that, as Cronon describes, is "profoundly a human creation … all the more beguiling because it seems so natural".[163].

Earlier it was noted Corner's discussion of conservation parks frames them in terms of their pictorial and scenic values. Hence they are merely 'dead events' that lack consequence and hence relevance.[164] Similarly Cronon notes this image of nature, such as the type Apse produces, offers at best a nostalgia for "the tabula rasa that supposedly existed before we began to leave our marks on the world",[165] and that, while continuing a utopian hope that such a state might return to us or us to it, offers no credible path for such a change. Instead it is a nature whose qualities, and therefore whose position in relationship to people is also ambivalent and ambiguous. In such a nature, separated by the imagination from the culture it is made in, it becomes easier to imagine a place for dinosaurs, moa,[166] hobbits[167] and other other-worldly fantasies but not a

162 Griffiths, 1991, History and natural history: conservation movements in conflict, p20.
163 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p69.
164 Corner, 1999a, Eidetic Operations and New Landscapes, p156.
165 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p80.
166 See, for example, Focus, 2008, Hunting Mythical Creatures.
167 There many examples in the popular press: for example Orcutt, 2004, Frodo in Fiordland: Saved from poor planning by Hobbitesque natives in New Zealand. ; Warne, 2000, Fiordland: New Zealand's Southern Sanctuary, page 76. Also now many maps of New Zealand that now include the film locations for Lord of the Rings. See, for example,: Kiwimaps Ltd. and Boot, 2006, New Zealand travellers road atlas with 15 regional touring guides & 32 city & town centre maps.

lived and also indigenous place within which a more connected future might be established for people.[168]

According to Cronon, rather than being the essence of a nature without culture, this unspoilt and remote wilderness made, appraised and belongs to a 'Narcissus-like' projection. "As we gaze into the mirror [wilderness] holds up for us, we too easily imagine that what we behold is Nature when in fact we see the reflection of our own unexamined longings and desires."[169]

Such a pictorial understanding of nature delivers a spatial and temporal detachment that places the viewer beyond the scene. Whether from the various pages of a book of Andris Apse's panoramic images, or a viewing platform in the conservation estate, this pictorial conception of wilderness and the conservation estate casts people as outsiders and as 'visitors' whose place is edited out of the image they are regarding.

3.6 VISITING WILDERNESS.

Just as the photographic image of wilderness absents people and casts them as outsiders, the current framing of the conservation estate also casts people as visitors rather than participants. To this end the Department of Conservation (whose role it is to manage both the conservation estate and people in it) define all people who enter the conservation estate as *visitors*.

The Department of Conservation *Visitor Strategy* – whose purpose is to "guide and inform all the department's planning and management relating to visitor services"[170] – states: "the department's prime role is to look after these lands and waters on behalf of all New Zealanders. The department does not own them, nor does it have a monopoly on the knowledge about them. Nevertheless, the department as custodian and manager recognises that

168 In this vein Coyle and Fairweather argue "that whilst an image of clean green New Zealand is strongly embedded in the cultural imagination, it is generally perceived as temporally distant Utopia". Coyle and Fairweather, 2005, Challenging a place myth: New Zealand's clean green image meets the biotechnology revolution, p148.

169 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p69-70. Writing from an Australian perspective Rose describes "the egocentric quality of standard European and American-derived concepts of wilderness. They all involve the peculiar notion that if one cannot see traces or signs of one's own culture in the land, then the land must be 'natural' or empty of culture. Rose and Australian Heritage Commission., 1996, Nourishing terrains : Australian Aboriginal views of landscape and wilderness, p17. For papers relevant to wilderness and landscape architecture respectively that further develop this theme see Milton, 1999, Nature is Already Sacred. ; Sorvig, 2002, Nature/Culture/Words/Landscape.

170 It continues: "and where relevant, it may also assist the implementation of conservation management strategies as well as management plans for national parks and other specific conservation areas. It will underpin the preparation of annual business plans." Department of Conservation and New Zealand Conservation Authority, 1995, Visitor strategy, p2.

these places are of value to all visitors. They are welcomed as valued guests but expected to behave in a manner which respects and cares for the places they visit."[171] In other words while the New Zealand public might collectively own the conservation estate, and on whose behalf the New Zealand government through the Department of Conservation manages, nonetheless New Zealand citizens are considered visitors whenever they are in the conservation estate.[172]

The term 'visitor' is applied universally with no distinction made according to a person's sense of identification or relationship with the conservation estate. As a result someone living near a specific part of the conservation estate, and is regularly there, is indistinguishable in this framework from someone from say Eastern Europe, who visiting New Zealand for a week, happens to be there at the same time. For the Department of Conservation the term visitor is all-inclusive. Visitors are defined as "people visiting areas managed by the department. They include people using visitor centres and clients of concessionaires, New Zealand and international visitors."[173]

It is within this logic that the *Visitor Strategy* states, "many New Zealand visitors believe that the opportunity to freely visit these areas is synonymous with the indigenous character of New Zealand."[174] In another passage, introducing a discussion on traditional attitudes to access, it outlines: "the special relationship of tangata whenua to the land, to Papatuanuku, influenced the ways in which Maori people visited and used these places."[175] It is certainly unusual to discuss concepts of indigeneity and identity in terms of being a visitor.[176] Even more so when such a discussion encompasses New Zealanders' collective past and present relationships with what is close to a third of New Zealand's land area. This notion that Māori 'visited' the land can be interestingly contrasted with Augustus Earle's 1827 painting titled *Distant View of the Bay of Islands.* In it Earle stands "with his back to us, and gazes

171 Ibid, p8.
172 The irony of this situation – where governmental agents consider as visitors the very people on whose behalf it is working – is the subject of regular comment in discussions by user groups. See Sutton and Department of Conservation, 2006, Full Notes of the Proceedings.
173 Department of Conservation and New Zealand Conservation Authority, 1995, Visitor strategy, p2.
174 Ibid, p10.
175 Ibid, p3.
176 Nor was habitation restricted to specific sites. Instead Māori moved and hunted seasonally across the land. See Anderson and Smith, 1996, The Transient Village in Southern New Zealand.

over the land".[177] This is in stark contrast with the Māori figures who in their movement suggest a more familiar involvement. In this image can be sensed the current *strange-making* led by the Department of Conservation that would render all in such an image as detached visitors and not some with the status of inhabitants.[178]

It is important to note that the term 'visitor' is not part of the legislative framework under which the department works within. The Conservation Act 1987 (section 6(e)) states: "To the extent that any use of any natural or historic resource for recreation or tourism is not inconsistent with its conservation, to foster the use of natural and historic resources for recreation and to allow their use for tourism."[179] This distinction between the more proactive term "fostering recreation" and the more passive term "allowing tourism" is an ongoing topic of discussion in outdoor groups when debating the role of the Department of Conservation.[180] However as Booth notes the term visitor allows the distinction to be conflated: "in this way, DOC management of recreation and tourism (terms separately specified with the Conservation Act 1987) is encapsulated within visitor management".[181]

Molloy suggests one motive for this semantic disciplining is so tourist interests might access the increasing funds allocated to the Department of Conservation.[182] Yet rather than being part of a concerted effort to disenfranchise New Zealanders such an approach probably comes from a pragmatic rationale. By considering all people in the conservation estate as guests of the department it importantly places a greater obligation on the Department of Conservation to be a responsible manager. Certainly this has been a focus of the department since the 'Cave Creek Disaster' that led to

177 Pound, 1983, Frames on the land : early landscape painting in New Zealand, p40.

178 For a discussion of pre European relationships by Māori with the land before settlers see Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua. Anderson, 2002, A Fragile Plenty: pre-European Maori and the New Zealand Environment. Park notes a place within the land at times "quickly revealed the damaging potential of misuse, overuse and ignorance". Park, 2006, p17. However over time a relationship was forged such that "kaitiakitanga and other environmental principles, such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, mana, mauri, tapu and rahui, may have been at least as virtuous as Western or English common-law principles". Park, 2006, p82. Park's position is not universally accepted. For Brian Turner's critique of Park's position see: Turner, 2006, The sins of our fathers.

179 Booth and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2006, Review of visitor research for the Department of Conservation, p7.

180 See for example Round, 2000, Robin Hood and Robin Goodfellow. Heine and McNeill, 2000, Towards a Federated Mountain Clubs Wild Lands Recreation Management Strategy. ; McNeill, 2003, Recreation Newspeak.

181 Booth and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2006, Review of visitor research for the Department of Conservation, p7.

182 Molloy, Potton, Morris and Martin, 2007, New Zealand's wilderness heritage, p316.

fourteen people dying when a viewing platform collapsed in 1995. While the cause was the failure to properly design, construct, and inspect the structure as well as warn the public of loading limits "the root causes of the collapse [lay] in a combined systemic failure against the background of an under-funded and under-resourced department employing (at least at grassroots level) a band of enthusiasts prepared to turn their hands to any task".[183] In the subsequent review of the Department of Conservation there was "noted a wide variation in the standard of management practices and performance".[184] Further, the department "needs robust national standards, and systems to monitor their use across all areas"[185] to meet its health and safety obligations.

This has led to a comprehensive set of national guidelines being developed such that now there are "over 300 policies, standards, best practice documents, and standard operating procedures that guides its work".[186] The department's principle tool for managing recreational opportunities, visitor facilities and services across the conservation estate is the Recreation Opportunities Spectrum (ROS). Developed in North America, it is based on the principle of supply and demand.[187] It seeks to match an 'inventory of settings' with the demand for specific activities and emotional states. By identifying where demand might exceed supply, and which activities, due to unacceptable visitor impacts, might be incompatible for a setting type, the ROS enables a number of management strategies to be adopted. For the Department of Conservation these are reducing use, modifying activity and/or behaviour, modify timing of activities, moving the activity/facility/service to a more acceptable site or increasing the resistance of the site.[188]

A principle of the spectrum is the use of discrete categories for both settings and visitor. Thus in the Department of Conservation's model a visitor to the conservation estate is for the duration of their visit, cast into the following seven discrete categories: 'short stop traveller', 'day visitor', 'overnighter', 'backcountry comfort seeker', 'backcountry adventurer', 'remoteness seeker' or

183 Judge Noble, 1995, Commission of Inquiry into the Collapse of of a Viewing Platform at Cave Creek Near Punakaiki on the West Coast: Part One, p112.

184 States Services Commisioner Review of the Department of Conservation. 1995, States Services Commisioner Review of the Department of Conservation, p4.

185 Ibid, p26.

186 It continues: "with such a large number of documents in place, the costs of ensuring 100% compliance in terms of staff and operational resources are very high". Department of Conservation, 2003, Annual Report to 30th June 2003, p35.

187 See Taylor, New Zealand. Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 1993, The New Zealand recreation opportunity spectrum : guidelines for users.

188 Department of Conservation and New Zealand Conservation Authority, 1995, Visitor strategy, p16.

'thrill seeker'.[189] Settings are similarly categorised. In the case of Fiordland National Park these are 'wilderness areas', 'remote experience areas', 'backcountry areas', 'high use track corridors' and 'frontcountry areas'.[190] This approach enables the Department of Conservation to better coordinate the allocation of facilities and resources to meet a defined standard of facility for each visitor category. In the case of day visitors, for example, this means facilities at priority sites are developed or upgraded to "improve access…, bring tramping tracks up to walking track standard, bridge all major streams to appropriate standards [and] provide shelter at roadends."[191] Likewise, in the case of backcountry adventurers, a network of tracks and huts will be "maintained to acceptable standards"[192] with huts and tracks not maintained or removed when it is not cost-effective in terms of return to comply with the standard.[193]

This suggests that the conservation estate, when it comes to people, is primarily a resource for recreational experience and managerial activity. Rather than being understood and engaged from within the particularities of its ecology and landforms it is organised from a position that is conceptually, and often physically, outside of its milieu. Like the photographic image of wilderness, both people and their management are generally set and maintained from a position outside of it.[194] This leads to a perspective that considers the conservation estate as an external resource for people to utilise and gain both experiential and, for commercial concessionaires, material value from it. Conceived this way the conservation estate becomes a backdrop or setting for the activities of 'visitors'. It also implies that while recreation takes place in the conservation estate it does not intrinsically belong there, and is not in itself part of the vitality of the conservation estate.

The separation of people from the conservation estate implicitly positions both the various modes of recreation and their associated facilities as an extension of the visitor and an attitude of visitation. Hence the department's 'visitor

189 Note also that while a visitor may move from one category to the next (say from day visitor to thrillseeker) under this model they cannot be both at the same time, nor can they be anything other than one of the seven categories. See Ibid, p22.
190 Department of Conservation, 2007c, Fiordland National Park Management Plan, p137.
191 Department of Conservation and New Zealand Conservation Authority, 1995, Visitor strategy, p32.
192 Ibid, p34.
193 Hindmarsh, 2008, What's up, DoC?
194 For instance the Department of Conservation's conservancy offices, and also its central office are generally located in the main urban centres, while only visitor centres are more closely located to the conservation estate – though these too are often not located within the conservation estate.

assets'[195], which its Visitor Asset Management System (VAMS) discloses and in 2005 included 12860 km of tracks, 13628 structures, 3921 bridges, 949 huts and 15698 signs, can be considered as resources for the visitor but neither part of the wilderness qualities they are used to give access to nor an endemic component of the conservation estate. This distinction is evidenced in what type of facility is included in the VAMS inventory. In figure 3.4a can be seen a 200mm x 50mm plank of tanalised exotic timber that has been flown in on site.

195 These figures are cisted in an article written by the Conservator General and titled 'Cave Creek: ten years in'. It describes the process of making the inventory: "our rangers and engineers walked every kilometre of track in our 12,890km network and catalogued every structure, from signs to toilets to suspension bridges across remote creeks. They photographed them, attached a number to each one, wrote a description of each, assessed their condition and safety." Logan, 2005, Cave Creek: Ten Years On.

Figure 3.6a: Timber plank made from exotic materials and hence part of the Department of Conservation VAMS. Orange Tag has unique VAMS inventory identifying number 022287

These have been laid flat on boggy ground but have no other support. As a facility for walking they have been given a VAMS classification number and entry. However on the Dusky Track other steps that have been cut through fallen logs and tree roots are not included (see figure 3.4b). While all interventions – both planks laid out and incut steps – allow the walker similar ease of travel only those brought into the conservation estate are included in the Department of Conservation's inventory of visitor facilities while those made wholly from local conditions and material are left out.

Figure 3.6b: Steps made in roots of a tree, with crosshatched grip cut by chainsaw. Such 'facilities' are not included in the VAMS inventory

Just as photographers, when creating an image of wilderness, absent themselves from the image of wilderness they create so too are the 'visitor assets' not part of the nature they facilitate for the visitor. Because of this the qualities associated with them are not evaluated in terms of their responsiveness to certain values associated with each ecological setting in which they are used. Rather they are functions of a visitor visiting and as such are not part of the substantive qualities that constitute the conservation estate.

Figure 3.6c: Visitor platforms along the Milford Road in Fiordland National Park. These are an example of the type of separation that is routinely constructed between the viewer and the view.

The concept of the visitor is not only expressed within a management paradigm or an artistic aesthetic. Outdoor equipment companies and users understand wilderness as a place you can explore, provided you bring the necessary resources and technology. Hence one outdoor brand describes the purpose of shelter is "to protect you from the elements of nature – to keep you dry, comfortable and safe – out of direct exposure to rain, snow, sun, wind, insects and even animals…[Our tents] grant us the freedom to explore remote wilderness areas independently".[196] Just as the boardwalk on the VAMS inventory is made solely of introduced materials likewise this form of self-sufficiency requires the necessary resources and technology be brought with you.[197] It expects wilderness to provide an emotional state but little in a material sense. Shelter is brought rather than made or found.

In New Zealand's current understanding of the conservation estate and the manner in which its underlying wilderness values are expressed – including photographic studies, outdoor guides, outdoor equipment or in the operations of the Department of Conservation – is embedded an ideation of nature separate to culture rather than a place for culture within nature. In other words people, and their images, facilities, equipment and activities exist as external to the indigenous makeup of the conservation estate. For deeply embedded within the picturesque image, the scenic lookout, and the self-contained tent is a culture that conceptualises people's place in wilderness and the conservation estate as a 'visitor'.

196 Fairydown Clothing and Equipment Product Catalogue. 2000, Fairydown Clothing and Equipment Product Catalogue, p26.

197 This point is extensively considered in Chapter 5.

Nonetheless a historical consideration of the conservation estate's genesis, and also the contestability between different users suggests a greater degree of fluidity in people's relationship with the conservation estate than the singular disciplining that 'visiting' asserts. Though the tone of this dissertation (as outlined in Chapter One) would suggest that this opens up other possibilities it must first be asked whether the current situation is intrinsically 'wrong'. For while picturesque aesthetics and visitor management constructs a nature separate from culture is such a position fundamentally problematic? And it is this issue and its implications that the next chapter addresses.

CHAPTER FOUR: WILDERNESS AND LANDSCAPE

In this chapter Cronon's myth of wilderness – 'that we can somehow leave nature untouched by our passage' – is considered in terms of New Zealand's conservation estate. While it finds merit in this approach it argues Cronon's solution to 'The Trouble with Wilderness' is problematic. Subsequently Cronon's proposal to examine *what marks people leave* in wilderness is rejected for the more forward-looking and designerly *what marks people could make*. While at first this distinction might appear slight it is argued that the latter orientation opens up significant scope for a consideration of wilderness as a landscape with considerable designerly opportunity. In this vein Corner's, Ingold's and Massey's respective models of landscape are each, in turn, applied to both wilderness and the conservation estate and potential formal designs are considered as examples of a landscape architecture-based negotiation of wilderness. However the chapter closes by noting that an emphasis on producing forms and artefacts carries the potential to also diminish landscopic practice and performance.

4.1 THE MYTH OF WILDERNESS

The previous chapter identified that contemporary understandings of wilderness construct an inherent separation between the viewer and the scene, and also between the 'visitor' and the site. And it is in the ensuing

distance between the two that is located a sense of wonder at the *otherness* and spectacle of both wilderness and the conservation estate.

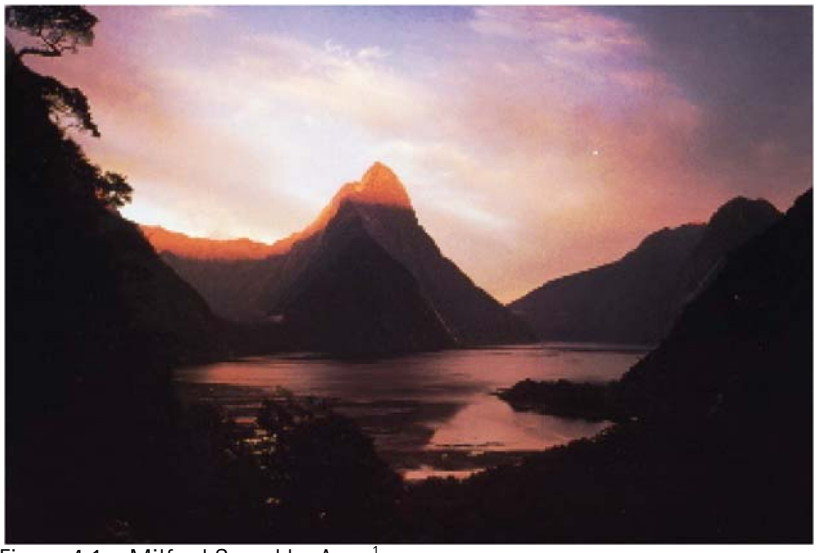


Figure 4.1a: Milford Sound by Apse[1]

The above image by Apse is of Milford Sound. It is one of many that have been painted and photographed is one of New Zealand's iconic scenes (see figure 4.1b).

Figure 4.1b: This painting of Milford Sound by Buchanan (1863) is on the cover of Gil Docking's definitive survey titled *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting*.[2] This publication includes two further images of Milford Sound.

In *Ways to the Wilderness* Philip Temple describes the above scene as follows: "the climax to the journey comes as the launch moves out across the water. Slowly the span of peaks and snow, waterfall and grey cliff is revealed in the wide and high spectacle of Milford Sound; Bowen Falls and the Lion, glaciated

1 Apse, 1994, New Zealand landscapes, p16.
2 Docking, 1982, Two hundred years of New Zealand painting.

Pembroke and at last sculptured Mitre Peak shining above the black seas of the matchless harbour; the apotheosis of Fiordland".[3] In *The Visitors Guide to Fiordland, New Zealand* Brian Turner strikes a similar tone: "out on [Milford] sound itself, beneath the flanks of The Lion or under the towering cliffs of Mitre Peak, time itself speaks loudest of all; waterfalls, forest, mountains and sea, all leave us humbled and hushed by what we have felt and seen."[4] Certainly the places they describe are striking, yet in this type of description there is a claiming of such places as sites of sublime anticipation and experience, and where the tourist can readily form suitable and similar senses of wonder.

It is the active possibility of commodifying this type of wilderness experience that leads North American environmental writer Jack Turner to argue that the wilderness of today 'reeks' of 'theme-park' and 'museal' qualities and that national parks "are managed with two ends in mind: entertainment and preservation of the resource base for entertainment".[5] And as a result wilderness is no longer wild.

Yet though it heightens touristic expectations for the superlative is the grandeur constructed by Brian Turner and Temple intrinsically harmful? And is this even more so, given tourism's role in shifting economic value from milling forests to viewing them? Other than matters of taste, what is inherently wrong in setting apart certain types of places in such ways? Or to develop the argument of elitism alluded to by Beardsley in Chapter One, why should a scenic appreciation of wilderness and the conservation estate be somehow considered less genuine? And so what if their primary function is to entertain?

In order to address this issue I would like to attempt a similar consideration of an Apse image of Milford Sound to that pursued in the last chapter with his image taken in the Kaipo Valley. For other than the photographer what does

3 Temple, 1977, Ways to the wilderness : great New Zealand walking tracks, p160.

4 Turner and De Hamel, 1983, The visitor's guide to Fiordland New Zealand, p23. There is a relevant link to the sublime and the qualities of silence and solitude that Turner is alluding to. Pound discusses the 'solemn', 'deep', 'unbroken' stillness and what Shepard terms the 'paradox of noisy solitude'. Pound notes that noise, like Māori, along with other ways of understanding landscape were part of "the unfamiliar in nature is rendered, finally, invisible, so too with sound: unfamiliar, unlearned noise is heard and described as silence. That silence in New Zealand, often as not, was the silence of the Sublime". Pound, 1983, Frames on the land : early landscape painting in New Zealand, p20.

5 Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild, p27. See Urry, 2001, The tourist gaze. p124-161; Cloke and Perkins, 2002, Commodification and Adventure in New Zealand Tourism. ; Young, Riley and Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture., 2002, Theme park landscapes : antecedents and variations. ; Beedie and Hudson, 2003, Emergence of mountain-based adventure tourism.

Apse's image of Milford reveal when the camera is directed in the reverse direction? And more specifically what amenities and infrastructure are required to provide this image of 'untouched' wilderness? The following images and commentary explore this possibility.

Figure 4.1c-1: Dilapidated post-war buildings and closely mown lawns around the hotel. Indigenous forest is in the background.

Figure 4.1c-2: Near the toilets. The native plants in the foreground have been pruned so as not to obstruct the view.

Figure 4.1c-3: Fire station, petrol station and roading that lead to carparks for the public

Figure 4.1c-4: The bus terminal where each year over 400,000 people are off-loaded for their boat excursion on Milford Sound.

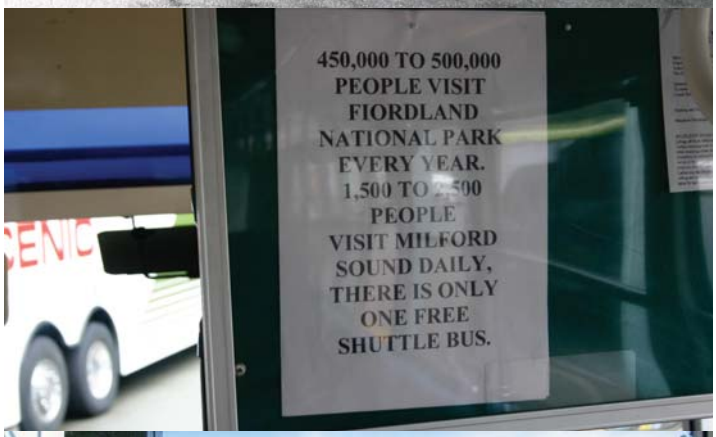


Figure 4.1c-5: This sign on the free shuttle bus reads (with knowing irony) "450,000 to 500,000 people visit Fiordland National Park every year. 1,500 to 2,500 visit Milford Sound daily, there is only one free shuttle bus.

Figure 4.1c-6: View from inside the passenger terminal.

Figure 4.1c-7: Pontoon wharves for the boats to embark passengers.

Figure 4.1c-8: 10 metres from the bus terminal (but not part of the tourist route) necessary infrastructure is placed in ad-hoc manner. The inset shows the same place little changed two years later.

Figure 4.1c-9: Construction-related facilities. Note the tape holding the electrical wire in place on the near face of the structure.

Figure 4.1c-10: Construction site directly beside the passenger terminal and is part of ongoing building projects.

Figure 4.1c-11: Sign previously located on construction site. It has been rested against a nearby boulder so visitors can still read the site interpretation.

Figure 4.1c-12: Window box of native plants raised on a crude trestle so plants might be visible from within the building. Like the pruned trees this 'foreground detail' is one of the compulsory components of the picturesque.

Figure 4.1c-13: Detail besides the above building showing down-pipe, tin for cigarette butts, and also various hard surface finishes.

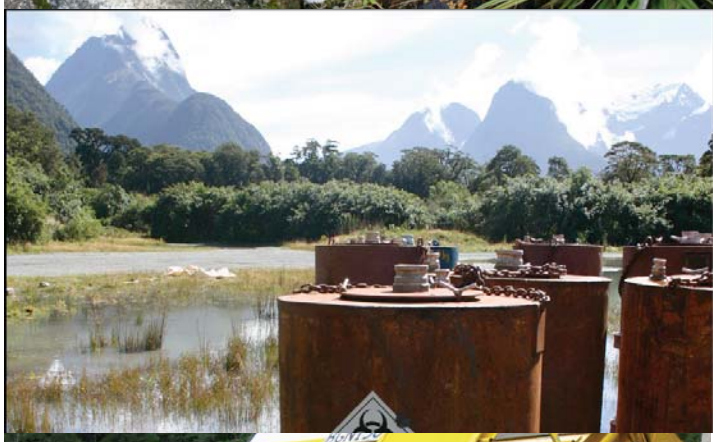


Figure 4.1c-14: Behind the airport at Milford Sound with Mitre Peak behind. The drum label reads "infectious substance: in case of damage or leakage immediately notify public health authority". Each contains both faecal waste collected from nearby huts, and also the environmental footprint from fuel used to helicopter and then truck them out.

Figure 4.1c-15: Rubbish trucks used to clear waste from around the village.

Figure 4.1c-16: The bins for bulk rubbish are located down a purpose built side road. Once full they are trucked out of the National Park. Note the native plant clippings – perhaps from the pruning of plants like that in Figure 4.1c-1 – that are considered 'waste'.

Figure 4.1c-17: Cardboard cartons are here cut down. However waste is not sorted for further recycling. This bin includes food, packaging and other waste as well.

Figure 4.1c-18: Fishing Buoys located near the dump.

Figure 4.1c-19: In the background is the covered walkway visitors use to move from their bus to the passenger terminal. In the foreground a native tree is supported by a warratah and a bike tube.

Figure 4.1c-20: Detail of the visitor walkway to the passenger terminal. In this image both the timber and tree have been rebated to accommodate each other. Note the timber used in the walkway is an imported Pacific hardwood.

Together these images express what Cronon pivotally notes: "the myth of wilderness … is that we can somehow leave nature untouched by our passage".[6] In other words the illusion that sustains wilderness' appeal – namely that the pictorial image or a physical 'visit' is not changed in the process of it being viewed or 'visited' – is a chimera. For as the images of Milford show – with the pruned plants; toilet, food and packaging waste; noise and airborne pollution from land, boat and air vehicles; imported coffee, beer and insect repellent sold in visitor centres, cafes and hotels; and various supporting amenities including staff quarters, dive launches, kayak jetties, underwater viewing platforms, sewerage ponds, hydro-electric generating systems, walkways, car-parks and petrol pumps – facilitating wilderness at Milford has significant impacts on the environment and also the type of experience possible. In such places it can be readily argued that each 'visit' and 'visitor' contributes to changing the physical and experiential constitution of the place.

Nor are the above images concealed from the 'visitor' in the way a theatrical performance might conceal the mechanical devices that construct different illusions. Rather the above images are readily accessible to all and come from simply walking around the Milford Sound settlement for several hours. Nonetheless this is not what the 'visitor' is observing. By searching the term "Milford Sound" on *Google Images* 77,400 images are found.[7] In the first 900 displayed almost all the photographs (other than maps and weblogs photos showing pictures of their authors and companions there) are scenes of the mountains, waterfalls and ocean with a similar aesthetic sensibility to those of

6 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p88.
7 http://images.google.co.nz/imghp?hl=en&tab=wi : accessed 12 May 2008.

Apse (see figure 4.1d). In other words what is found (and as previously noted in Pound's work) is the photographing the already photographed, and with it the commodified panoramic view.

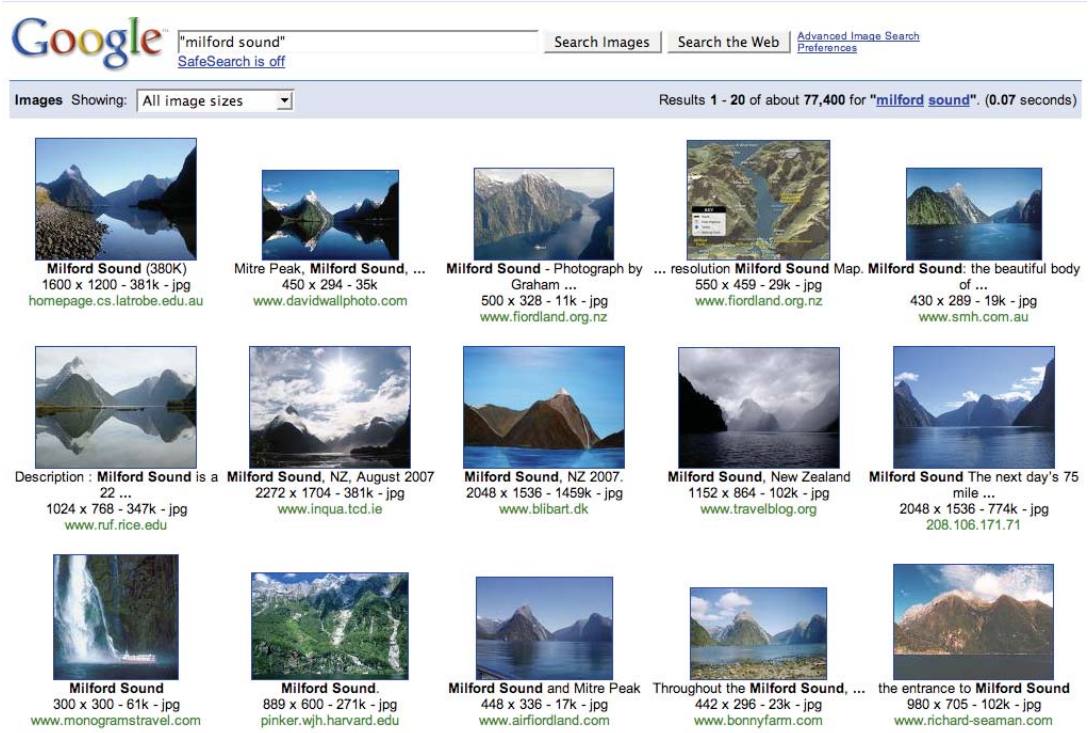


Figure 4.1d: Google Image Search for 'Milford Sound'[8]

What is of interest both from this cursory search and also through observing people while these images were taken, is the minimal consideration of the facilities by which this experience is sustained. Buildings, roads, ferry terminals and boardwalks are not distinctive responses to their location but are relatively generic and nondescript. Instead the focus is back towards the image of wilderness and the wonders that the photography of Potton and Apse so emphatically portrays.

Countering this is an argument that these images describe less the myth of wilderness and more the results of unchecked tourism. Potton makes this distinction when he argues that Milford with its 450,000 annual visitors be considered an 'aberration'. In a discussion paper for the Tourism Policy Group he advocates for 'traditional wilderness recreation' to be protected from the

8 Ibid.

'threat' of tourism's 'packaged products'.[9] In particular he regales against the 'untold noise pollution' caused by 'ski-planes and helicopters'.[10]

In this sense those concerned for the conservation estate – whether users, managers or researchers – often consider the issues revealed at Milford Sound relate to inappropriate attitudes, uses or scale – that in turn can be mitigated through alternative management options – rather than being indicative of a deeper issue.

However Cronon's position would argue that such changes happen regardless of the scale or type of behaviour. And that the 'delusion' lies in how the current idea of wilderness absents a consideration of people in these places. In Apse's image of the *kotukutuku* I noted that integral to the image, but absent from the page, was the logistics of Apse gathering his material. While the changes his tripod spike marks and boot prints made on the ground might be considered trivial on closer inspection is this the case? For it is not just the well-heeled tourist who impacts on wilderness. In both Apse's and Potton's images can be discerned the same drone of helicopters, along with fuel-based exhaust emissions to either provide the vantage point for such images[11], or access to the sites such as those of Apse at the beginning of the chapter.[12] It can be argued that the motivation for Potton's work comes from a desire to evoke wilderness' qualities so powerfully that people will be motivated to preserve such places.[13] Yet the polluting impact of a helicopter flight is dependent on its duration and not its purpose.

If the procuring of such images incurs specific environmental change so also does their ready and widespread distribution alter the sense of remoteness on which their appeal is based. For example a National Geographic article emphasises the isolation that makes Fiordland *A Southern Sanctuary*. The map included helps evoke this reading of Fiordland as remote and removed

9 See Cullen, Harland, Potton and New Zealand. Tourism Policy Group., 1994, Collection of essays on equity and access to natural areas, p11. For a discussion of a similar sentiment in a North American context see Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild, p19-37.

10 In this comment Potton is specifically referring to the Tasman Glacier and Mount Cook National Park. However the issue relates equally to the Milford region and Fiordland National Park. See, for example,: Cessford, Noise Impact Issues on the Great Walks of New Zealand. ; Cessford, 1998, Visitor satisfactions, impact perceptions and attitudes toward management options on the Milford Track.

11 See, for example, the images in: Potton, Chowdhury and Dennis, 2005, The Southern Alps.

12 In one set of acknowledgements Apse mentions four helicopter pilots as having 'contributed significantly to the project'. Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu.

13 White, 2004, In the Wild. In a similar vein Jack Turner cites Stephen Jay Gould statement "we will not fight to save what we do not love". Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild.

(figure 4.1d). In the foreground the Tasman Sea creates a distinct boundary while the forestry and pastoral uses of the land beyond Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri are quickly faded out.

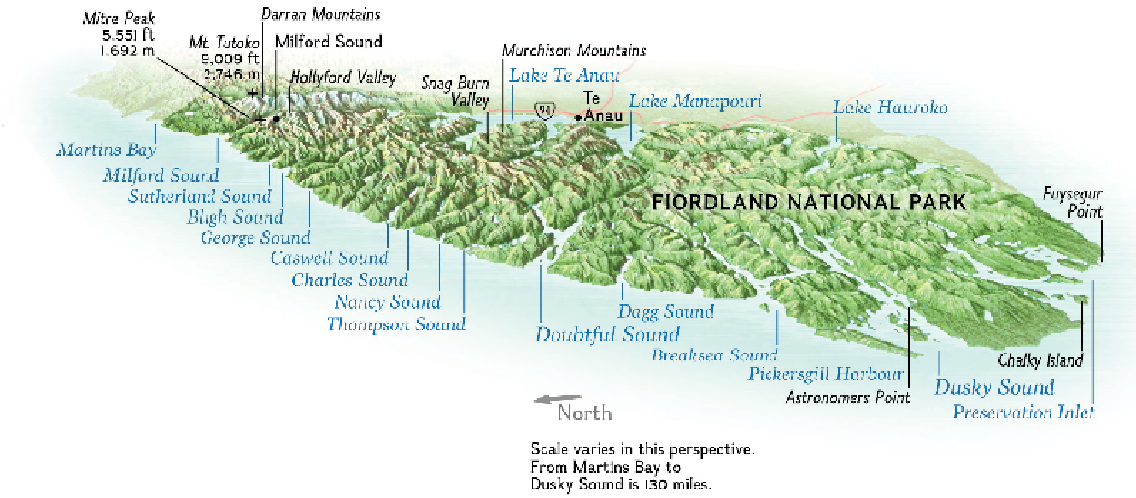


Figure 4.1e: Map from *Fiordland: New Zealand's Southern Sanctuary*, National Geographic.[14]

Yet can this portrayal of isolation counter the reach of many millions copies of the magazine this map is published in being distributed around the world? In other words while wilderness is declared to be remote does the burgeoning publication of isolated places (both in terms of images and guide books for such regions) leave the sense of wilderness' otherness unaffected? As Jack Turner notes "maps, guide books, guiding services, advertising, photography books, instructional films … diminish the discovery, surprise, the unknown, and the often dangerous".[15]

The slipcase in Molloy and Potton's *New Zealand Wilderness Heritage* illustrates other ways publishing can modify content. Wrapped around the casing (see figure 4.1f) is a panoramic scene of indigenous New Zealand forest.

14 Warne, 2000, Fiordland: New Zealand's Southern Sanctuary, p75.
15 Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild, p85.

Figure 4.1f: Slipcase for *New Zealand's Wilderness Heritage* by Les Molloy' and Craig Potton[16]

While photographing the forest was for Potton an immersive experience, once the image is applied to the slipcase the reverse occurs. Now it is the forest that is surrounded and conceptually condensed as an artefact.

Nor are the impacts only perceptual. The material upon which these images of wilderness are made is also a forest. While in Molloy and Potton's case the paper these images are printed on is not milled from the trees in the image, nonetheless the paper on which it is made is materially a processed forest.[17] Further given that the main market for these 'chocolate boxes' is the international tourist there is an additional requirement for air transport as these souvenirs are packed into outbound luggage.

Also it is not reasonable to focus only on tourism and photographic images of wilderness. Similar dilemmas are evident in the facilities used to provision people's experience of wilderness in sites that have only foot access. The following set of figures document elements from various structures constructed by the Department of Conservation in Fiordland National Park and the adjoining Mount Aspiring National Park.

16 Molloy, Potton, Morris and Martin, 2007, New Zealand's wilderness heritage.

17 Craig Potton Publishing generally prints its books in Asia (for example Apse's book of New Zealand Landscapes is printed in Hong Kong, while *New Zealand's Wilderness Heritage* is printed in China) while most of its calendars are printed in New Zealand. However in the case of the calendars the reason for this can be assumed that a responsive stock turnaround is required on what is a very seasonal product. The back page of the *Craig Potton New Zealand Wild Places 2006 Calendar* states "this calendar has has been produced with care entirely in New Zealand, using high quality European Art Paper".

Figure 4.1g-1: shows one of the many footings cut out of the rock so the recently replaced French Ridge Hut can be bolted to the ground. In the lower front of the image you can see the saw marks that cut into the rock.

Figure 4.1g-2: shows a hole cut through the canopy between the Track Burn and Port Craig, made by felling trees. This was done so helicopters could drop temporary huts for track work in the area.

Figure 4.1g-3: shows a rough concrete footing poured to form an even surface on which to fix a standard bridge solution across the upper West Matukituki River.

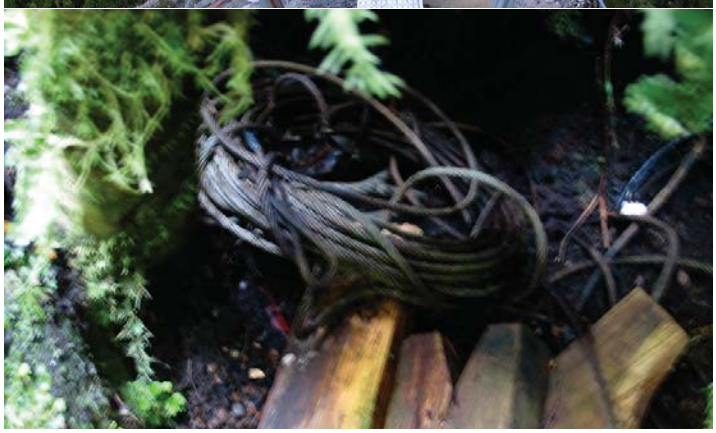


Figure 4.1g-4: shows discarded materials surplus from building a bridge and hidden for a number of years among nearby bush.

Figure 4.1g-5: shows a small bridge that has been swept downstream in a flood and discarded for some time. It should also be noted that because this structure is registered in the VAMS database its destruction would have been noted during routine inventory checks.

Figure 4.1g-6: shows a track marker in the process of being 'popped' before inevitably falling to the ground. At the same time the tree trunk will envelop the galvanized nails used before a knot forms around what for the tree, and the national park, is an alien material.

Figure 4.1g-7: is a bridge installed recently across the lower Beans Burn. Prefabricated and brought in by helicopter the installation team have subsequently struggled to make it fit the physical site.

Figure 4.1g-8: is a close-up of the far end of the bridge in Figure 4.1g-7. One can see where the substantial rock on which the bridge rests has had to be sawn back to eventually accommodate the bridge structure.

Figure 4.1g-9: is a still from video footage taken of a digger working on the upper Rob Roy Glacier track. Difficulty of access meant the digger was helicoptered in.

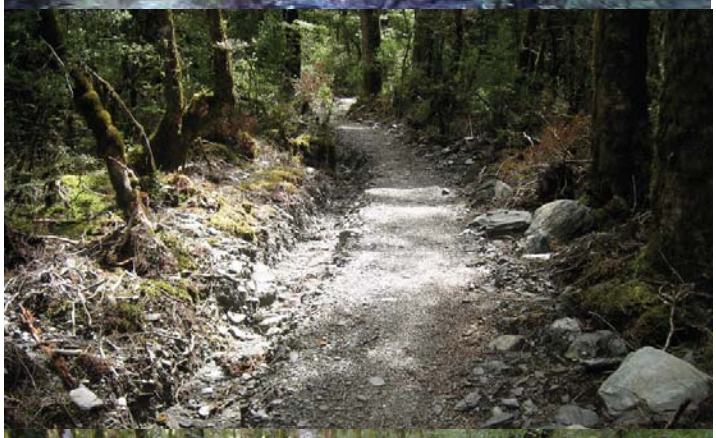


Figure 4.1g-10: is an example of a track made by digger. Its width and form, while intended for people to walk on, is that of a vehicle track set by the obvious requirement that a digger must be able to travel along it during its construction.

Figure 4.1g-11: show the pink paint marks where drill holes have been made so rocks the digger was unable to dislodge or break up can be shattered by explosives.

What is significant in these images is a systematic lack of consideration of the material, experiential and conceptual impacts of these interventions. Most of the structures shown – because the relevant standard specifies it – are constructed of cloned exotic timber, grown on land only recently also indigenous forest. Once milled the timber is treated with significant quantities of toxic heavy metal additives like copper, chromium and arsenic so it will not rot.

The following image taken from Stewart Island's Ulva Island shows this dilemma at work. Here treated exotic timber edging and steps are placed so

the path can negotiate such obstructions as the recently fallen totara tree on the right. What is revealing is that the totara – which is local to the island – would provide timber of greater durability than the treated timber solution, and would also at the end of its useful life decompose in the ground – without leaching additional chemicals – in the ground in which it was grown.

Figure 4.1h: Detail of Ulva Island track, Stewart Island.

While the intrinsic contradictions relating to materiality are relatively obvious other issues are also left unconsidered. For example this standardisation of structures and path forms also directly influences the scope of experiential engagement people might have. For example the uniform widths and gradients in the track in Figure 4.1g-10 diminish the opportunity to kinaesthetically learn the shape of the landforms and the fabric of the forest – for the shape of the path one is travelling on bears only slight relation to the ground through which it passes. And what is the conceptual idea of wilderness and the conservation estate it creates: a nature to be gazed on from a footpath not dissimilar to a city sidewalk; and also a nature to be observed but not participated with.[18]

Nor are these examples gleaned from an ad hoc management of the conservation estate. Instead decisions on the location and type of facilities

18 This aspect is more fully explored in Chapter Six

come from management plans based on the *Recreation Opportunities Spectrum Methodology* that clearly states the type and standard of facility to be constructed. Jack Turner notes that wilderness "is a charade of areas, zones, and management plans that is driving the real wild into oblivion".[19] Elsewhere he states that people are "treated in a manner best described by the word 'surveillance'. The wild becomes a problem to be solved by further human intervention – scientific studies, political compromise, and administrative and bureaucratic procedures".[20]

While the environmental care code adopted by users and department alike, and printed in guidebooks, brochures and on signs everywhere, is emblazoned with 'leave the land undisturbed' people's relationship with the conservation estate – while aspiring to be detached – does anything but that. It is this that is wilderness' myth. It is for this reason Cronon considers the modern idea of wilderness manufactures "a view of the world that severs humans and human activity from their place in nature".[21] Rather than being a guide to how we might live within nature, it constructs a relationship that renders irrelevant questioning the technologies, materials and impacts needed to be here. In other words this idea of wilderness, by separating people from nature, creates in people a blindness to their complicit involvement. Hence the current understanding of wilderness impedes, rather than supports, a viable and sustainable environmental ethic.[22]

Nor is this problematic relationship with wilderness limited to the examples cited so far. The sense of confusion identified in the images of Apse, the publications of Potton and the work of Department of Conservation is shared by people such as myself. My own activities, whether as a tramper, climber, designer of wilderness products, photographer and researcher are also rooted in the cultural difficulty faced by questioning what it means to engage the wilderness areas of New Zealand.

19 Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild, p23.
20 Ibid, p85-86.
21 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p81.
22 Ibid, p81. See also Thayer, 1994, Gray world, green heart: technology, nature, and the sustainable landscape.

Figure 4.1i: Fire on beach in Long Sound burning plastic and aluminium packaging rubbish

For instance the fieldwork in this research has impacted both on the conservation estate and wider environment. On one trip some of the group of kayakers I travelled with declared a leave-no-trace ethic would be adopted. Hence I found it surprising that on the eighth day they proceeded to burn (below the high-tide mark so as to leave no marks) their mainly plastic rubbish from the first week's travelling (see figure 4.1i). I disagreed with this approach because while the trace was not visible the airborne pollution emitted was more environmentally damaging than carrying out or even burying the rubbish. Yet later, having been co-opted into a Search and Rescue operation, I had no issue with being transported home in a thrilling forty-minute helicopter ride whose level of emissions far exceeded those collectively produced on the beach a week earlier.

Nor are people entirely unaware of their impacts. Carbon-neutral hiking tours,[23] publishing on recycled paper or paper sourced from sustainably managed forests,[24] climbers voluntarily carrying out bodily waste,[25] and the Department of Conservation installing boardwalks over fragile bogs are all examples of efforts to mitigate the impact of people.

23 See, for example: Adventure South http://www.advsouth.co.nz/information.aspx?i=10 : accessed 22nd March 2008
24 See, for example: High Places http://www.highplaces.co.nz/responsible.html : accessed 22nd March 2008
25 See, for example: Garrard, 2007, Inappropriate waste disposal in Aoraki/Mount Cook National Park: potential problems, potential solutions.

However such approaches often do not acknowledge the wider relationships involved in their engagement of the conservation estate and the wilderness values it is considered to evoke. For does carbon-neutrality include the cost of flying to New Zealand, is the process of recycling paper that sustainable,[26] is the pollution caused by the flights climbers use equally significant but ignored because they aren't visible, and as previously mentioned does the introduction of heavy metal pollutants outweigh the benefits of bog protection?[27]

Cronon's position stresses all engagements have an impact on wilderness' physical and conceptual constitution: this despite that the "romantic ideology of wilderness leaves precisely nowhere for human beings actually to make their living from the land".[28] Yet while the idea of wilderness precludes people, in those places understood as wilderness, people do make their living from it. In the New Zealand context this includes the staff at the Department of Conservation and people in the tourism, outdoor recreation, transport, publishing, and clothing industries.[29]

Nonetheless there is a growing consideration of the wider impacts of various activities and there is ongoing work on a number of levels to mitigate both the local and wider impacts of people's material engagement with the conservation estate.[30] Indeed if this was to be the sole 'trouble with wilderness' then this research could go down a path of considering design solutions that foster continual improvement in such areas: for example a leaner timber boardwalk with a reduced environmental footprint, development of tourism products in which carbon-offsetting was part of the experience, mechanised access into the mountains using renewable energy sources and so on.[31]

26 For a discussion of this see McDonough and Braungart, 2002a, Cradle to cradle : remaking the way we make things, p68-91.

27 See Read, 2003, Report on Copper, Chromium and Arsenic (CCA) treated timber. Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA) New Zealand, April 2003.

28 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p80.

29 See, for example: Department of Conservation., 2006, The value of conservation : what does conservation contribute to the economy? : the economic impacts of public conservation lands in New Zealand with case studies on the West Coast of the South Island, Abel Tasman National Park, Queen Charlotte Track, Mt Ruapehu skifields, Southern Lakes Ski Areas, and Te Papanui Conservation Park. ; Tourism Strategy, 2007, New Zealand tourism strategy 2015 / Tourism Strategy Group.

30 See Department of Conservation, 2006a, Annual Report to 30th June 2006, p139. And also Tourism Strategy, 2007, New Zealand tourism strategy 2015 / Tourism Strategy Group, p13.

31 This latter possibility comes from a proposal developed by post-graduate students working at the University of Otago.

However this focus on minimising impact, while having merit, is still based on finding a generic solution that is primarily based on a conceptualisation of wilderness and the conservation estate in which people are alien. As a result the place of people is organised in standardised ways even while the ecological and biological contexts in which such activities take place are understood and celebrated for their diversity and uniqueness. Hence a further dilemma of wilderness is the way in which people's experience, their associated facilities and their equipment are becoming increasingly homogenous. And it is this issue of an increasingly generic wilderness and conservation estate that the next section considers.

4.2 GENERIC WILDERNESS

The previous section explored the consequences of Cronon's myth of wilderness on the conservation estate and the current understanding of wilderness. This section focuses on the implications of this ambivalence on people's own position in relation to wilderness and the conservation estate.

As noted the division wilderness constructs between nature and culture results in a conceptualisation of wilderness as uninhabited on the one hand and people as visitors and outsiders on the other. Similarly wilderness exists, whether in Apse's images, Shultis' surveys, or Logan's sentiments as timeless (without history) untouched (without civilisation) remote (far from civilisation) and so on. Wilderness is separate to the culture that constructs it. And consequently only from a position of other places being habitable, civilised and nearby can the notion of an uninhabitable wilderness be maintained. And further, because such qualities – while being the cultural basis by which wilderness is sustained – are themselves outside wilderness, and as a result their role in constructing wilderness is concealed from all but the most reflective of considerations.

In this regard (and as already discussed in the previous chapter) it is clear that the paths, boardwalks and bridges shown in the series of images in Figure 4.1g, despite enabling travel through wilderness, are themselves not part of that wilderness. Instead they are the facilities by which an experience of wilderness is accessed rather than produced. Likewise the cookers, tents and clothing which aid people's travel in the conservation estate have a similar

function – being solutions to assist people's travel through the wilderness, but again not themselves an integral part of wilderness.

Hence inherent in the wilderness idea is an indifference to the activities of people – that provided impacts are appropriately mitigated or minimised then the specific tasks undertaken are of little consequence.

For example as long as a tent leaves the forest undisturbed, it matters little where the tent is made, what it is made of, who made it, or what specific functions it has. This is because the tent is a tool by which wilderness as both an experience and a place might be afforded but in itself is not part of wilderness. The same applies to the boardwalk that attempts to leave the surrounding fauna untouched.

In other words the manner in which people act has little consequence *provided no identifiable marks are left*. This is because people's activities are not part of wilderness' ideation but remain external to it. Hence provided the conservation estate appears undisturbed whether from the boardwalk, helicopter flight or roadend it doesn't matter whether it is structured as a theme-park, biodiversity reserve, or site of natural quiet, provided that when people leave little or no tangible sense of their having been there can be perceived.

This is significant for a number of reasons. First, it sets up a relationship in which little is expected from the conservation estate in terms of directing how activities are undertaken. For example the standard for a backcountry track is not to be determined by the particular and intimate characteristics of a specific stretch of forest. Instead a track is made and evaluated according to its compliance with a universal standard of gradient ratios, acceptable mud depth, step height and the like.[32] Consequently the track standard for 'back-country visitors' makes no distinction between terrains as diverse as the steep glacially formed pass found in Northern Fiordland, the always eroding scree slopes of Canterbury, the headlands of Abel Tasman National Park or the boggy nature of the South Island's South Coast.

Similarly huts, bridges and boardwalks are of pre-determined designs that require a site to be modified to fit the generic solution rather than the reverse.

32 See Standards New Zealand., 2004, Tracks and outdoor visitor structures.

Figures 4.1g-7 and 4.1g-8 of the Beans Burn Bridge are salient examples of this. So too is the approach for way-finding and signage. Here the requirement is for all track markers throughout the conservation estate to be of the same colour and dimension[33] and for signs to fit a standard format and comply with fixed instructions for the placement of the department's corporate identity[34] – rules which are derived from current branding best practice that is more akin to fast food restaurant chains and computer manufacturers than the particular characteristics of a specific location in the conservation estate. And in this regard even the term 'conservation estate' (which pervades this dissertation) is also a conflation of many different locales, ecologies, scales and histories.[35]

This ambivalence of the particularities of place also makes people less diverse. As previously noted, the ROS homogenises multiple motivations, activities and durations into seven discrete typologies of visitor. By being a top-down rather than a bottom-up approach it constrains a consideration of what might be rich and complex cultural relationships with specific locales in the conservation estate. Instead people and the conservation estate are organised into a universalising matrix of seven visitor categories and six broad setting types. Its effect is to subdivide the conservation estate into non-intersecting zones that use techniques similar to the surveyor and are based on pre-determined categories of land-use and visitor. Hence the departmental manual notes when mapping locations each areas must not include gaps, grey areas or overlaps.[36]

Second this simplification of people's place in wilderness has led to a conceptualisation of wilderness that in itself is less particular and more generic. For example while this dissertation began with descriptions of the Fiordland wilderness the same language of being rugged, unspoilt, remote, timeless and a sanctuary can be found in descriptions of many parts of the conservation estate. Indeed rather than asserting that Fiordland's Stillwater Valley is particularly unspoilt, remote and timeless, one can justifiably argue

33 Standards New Zealand., 2004, Tracks and outdoor visitor structures, p79-80

34 Department of Conservation, 1994, Sign Standard. Colquhoun and Department of Conservation, 2007, Visitor Information Guideline and Standard.

35 For example the conservation estate was formed out of a diverse number of landholdings with diverse purposes by New Zealand Forest Service, Department of Lands and Survey, and the Department of Internal Affairs. See Young, 2004, Our islands, our selves : a history of conservation in New Zealand.

36 See Taylor, New Zealand. Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 1993, The New Zealand recreation opportunity spectrum : guidelines for users, p35-38 and Figure 17.

that the entire conservation estate should be considered as such. In this sense the dialogue between the meaning of wilderness and specific places becomes one way. As a result attributes of wilderness are fixed to places, but the particular attributes of those locales – or the specific activities taking place there – are unable to establish diverse meanings of wilderness. Instead most places in the conservation estate are disciplined within an overarching and singular rhetoric of wilderness and visiting.

This lack of particularity also supports an illusion in which changing temporal qualities are also elided. By being timeless the conservation estate refutes history. For example Figure 4.2a is an image of Big River that I took on the second of my three trips there.

Fig 4.2a "After torrential spring rains, Big River in southwest Fiordland changed its course and cut a new channel through the lowland forest".[37]

Each journey has seen my understanding of this region and also my place in it change. With each successive trip it has seemed less fierce, less unexplored, less remote and also less challenging. The accumulation of activities there has contributed to its qualities as a wilderness of 'otherness' diminishing. However with the loss of these qualities – as it has become less novel and more comfortable – has come the addition of others. It is now more distinct and distinguishable from other places in Fiordland. The rock ledge that provides access along Lake Hakapoua's eastern coast is also now familiar: the guide

37 Abbott, 1989, Over the Tops: South Island Traverse, p24

book description that gave me both some concerns for safety and also a suggestion of being spectacular do not now seem apt. It certainly seems less untouched as I have become more aware of the traces made by both mine and other's journeys there. Also subsequent study has revealed even more ways in which this area has been travelled through, lived in and worked since people first come to the region. While images of this locale emphasise its nature-based qualities – for example "the 45,000 hectare Waitutu Forest west of Hump Ridge … is one of the largest tracts of unmodified lowland forest left in New Zealand and is of outstanding conservation significance for its unique sequence of marine terraces, superb podocarp forest and diversity of threatened species"[38] – left out is a record of sheep farming, bridge building, track making, surveying, forestry, prospecting, hydro development assessment, tourism operations and so on.[39] What then of it as a wilderness should a more nuanced social commentary pursued here? Rather than being 'unvisited' and 'untouched' what manner of wilderness could be constructed here?

However the typical way in which such places are described – for example in guide books and on topographical maps – tends to deaden any differences. Rivers, regardless of location, tend to be described as providing 'good', 'better', or 'difficult' travel on either the 'true left' or 'true right'.[40] Generalisations abound. For example the "wide, flat valley floors in Fiordland tend to be swampy. The best travel is often on the levees forming the riverbank".[41] Likewise identifying a route on a topographical map forces and understanding of terrain built on the relative densities of a map's contour lines and not the particularities of place.

Nor does the equipment used to travel in these places make any distinction of place. The freestanding tent, the standard boardwalk design, the same hut specification, the same toilet, can be installed anywhere with almost identical

38 Apse and Dennis, 1997, South-west New Zealand World Heritage Area = Te Wahipounamu, p118.

39 See for example, the field books used by C. Ottway during his survey work for the Southland Survey Office and held by Land Information New Zealand, Dunedin branch. See also unpublished film footage shot in the district by the owners (and shown to the author by family members) of the local movie theatre reveal a more active engagement of the region. This includes images of the road being built to Lake Hauroko. For some of the activities that have been part of this region see also: Bird, 1998, Viaducts against the sky : the story of Port Craig. ; Bremer, 1983, Port Craig and Waitutu Forest, 1925 and 1983. ; McMechan, 1997, Timber town : a history of Port Craig : a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of BA (Hons) at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. ; Watt, 1971, Port Preservation. Kirby similarly notes the 'social and cultural values' in this region are left unrecognised. See Kirby, 1996, Interrogating narratives of heritage in place.

40 This is defined as "true-left is the left-hand side of the river when viewed looking down stream. True-right is thus the right-hand side of the river, looking down stream". McNeill, 2007, Moir's guide south : the great southern lakes and fiords, south from the Hollyford, p22.

41 Ibid, p21.

outcomes. The ideas and technologies used to negotiate wilderness renders places similar: uniqueness is lost. To this end wilderness in its experience and ideation is reduced to the already prefigured and with it a tendency to construct wilderness and the conservation estate as a commodity.

In such homogeneity comes a disposition to differentiate place on quantitative attributes. Hence Fiordland is described as having the tallest waterfall, the sheerest cliffs, the deepest lakes and because of its highest rainfall the lushest rain forest. Similarly various adventures undertaken there scale the tallest, longest, fastest, most difficult and as yet unclimbed features and elements.

Certainly a sense of involvement greater than this is suggested in the *General Policy For National Parks* which the New Zealand Conservation Authority produces and which Department of Conservation is mandated to deliver.[42] The New Zealand Conservation Authority policy does not use the term visitor.[43] Instead, in its preamble to the section covering 'Benefit, Use and Enjoyment of the Public', it states: "New Zealand's national parks have unique and historical and cultural characteristics which are cherished by New Zealanders and contribute to their sense of home and what it means to be a New Zealander."[44]

Yet while the policy, by supporting the "traditional New Zealand backcountry experience with its ethos of self-reliance",[45] suggests a greater sense of belonging it struggles to envision what the qualities of participation within the conservation estate could become. Indeed a pressing but rarely considered question is how could the conservation estate be an integral part of looking forward as much as a 'preserved' remnant of what has passed? In other words a place where not only people, but also wilderness is re-created and revitalised in a process of mutual recreation and restoration. And where, as

42 "The New Zealand Conservation Authority's role is to advise the Minister of Conservation and the Director-General of Conservation. It is closely involved in conservation planning and policy development affecting the management of public conservation areas administered by the Department of Conservation as it approves the statutory strategies and plans which set objectives for their management… It is consulted by the Department of Conservation in the formulation of policies and plans and at the beginning of its annual business planning cycle". Department of Conservation, 2008, New Zealand Conservation Authority (NZCA).

43 However it should be noted that in this document twice the term 'visitor centre' is used to describe a facility. Tourism is not defined according to the attributes of the person but rather the activity undertaken. Hence tourism occurs, and a concession to operate required, when an "individual or a group is undertaking the activity for specific gain or reward". New Zealand Conservation Authority., New Zealand. Department of Conservation. and New Zealand. National Parks and Reserves Authority., 2005, General policy for national parks, p46.

44 Ibid, p37.

45 Ibid, p38.

Park suggests, the land becomes an 'interconnected ecology to which people belong, rather than it belonging to them'.[46]

Nonetheless on returning to the question that began this chapter it can again be asked what is problematic with national standards and guidelines that deliver consistent levels of way-finding, facilities, paths, equipment, guiding and management? Especially if ecological values are preserved and consistent experiential qualities of wilderness are sustained.[47] Yet it is the orientation of the question that is problematic. For the critical issue is not what does this type of approach *enable* but rather what does this singular understanding of wilderness and the resultant relationship with the conservation estate *preclude*?

For in a universalising application of wilderness *to* the conservation estate, and a resulting loss of particularity, comes a lessening of the potential to learn *from* the conservation estate. By homogenising the role of people, and similarly the way in which their engagements are organised, impedes the capacity of particular places – and the agency of landscape that Corner identifies – to shape people.[48] As already noted this leads to a conversation that is only in one direction. And as a result there is a loss of opportunity to learn and progress what could be a more sustainable, resourceful, local and potentially indigenous participation with the ecologies, landforms and histories that are endemic and unique to this country. How might *engaging with*, rather *setting apart*, the particular and variable attributes that position this country in the south of the South Pacific locate more strongly all its people *as belonging here*? It is this sentiment that lies at the heart of noted adventurer Graeme Dingle call for all of New Zealand – from its most urban to its most remote areas – to be considered a national park.[49]

46 Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua, p100.

47 During various conversations with members of the Department of Conservation, and also members of groups that are active in the conservation estate, this position is often put forward.

48 These similarities aren't just expressed across the New Zealand conservation estate. As Shultis notes "the composite wilderness image … was strikingly similar to the wilderness images derived from other samples which may reflect the existence of a common conception of wilderness throughout a number of western countries". Shultis, 2001, The duality of wilderness: Comparing popular and political conceptions of wilderness in New Zealand, p70.

49 Dingle, 2006, Keynote Lecture. See also Woolley, 2002, Negotiating margins, reclaiming peripheries-the 'wilderness' imperative in architecture and urban design.

4.3 CRONON'S TROUBLE WITH WILDERNESS

How then might this situation be addressed? Cronon states, "the wilderness dualism tends to cast any use as *ab*-use, and thereby denies us the middle ground in which responsible use and non-use might attain some kind of balanced, sustainable relationship. My own belief is that only by exploring this middle ground will we learn ways of imaging a better world for all of us".[50] To this end Cronon asks for a finding of wilderness 'closer to home' so a relationship with wilderness might be forged "where, symbolically at least, we try to withhold our power to dominate".[51]

At the core of Cronon's argument is a call to 'rethink' the meaning of wilderness: to where one "learn[s] to honour the wild"[52] and "practis[e] remembrance and gratitude".[53]

However there is an underlying difficulty with Cronon's solution. His argument relies on a revised conceptualisation of wilderness that in turn will lead people to a more 'respectful' engagement. It assumes a 'rethought' wilderness will deliver a different relationship with nature. In other words, that at some point a moment of re-found enlightenment is reached in which wilderness' reformed meaning will lead to a similarly realigned change in people's behaviour. Yet rather than belonging in the 'middle ground' Cronon's position comes from pursuing an alternative more reverent ideation of wilderness.[54] Perhaps it is Cronon's disciplinary constraints that lead him to look for a solution in ideas rather than actions. Yet his argument loses traction (in the very physical sense) as he seeks out concepts that prompt reflection (respect, reverence, honour) rather than engagement.

Cronon's solution to *The Trouble with Wilderness* is "to decide what kind of marks we wish to leave".[55] Here his thinking, as also his discipline of Environmental History, is framing the present historically – as 'living in history'.[56] In such a strategy wilderness is understood in terms of how it is

50 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p85. (Cronon's emphasis)
51 Ibid, p87.
52 Ibid, p89.
53 Ibid, p90.
54 It also implies that that a different understanding of wilderness will be readily and accurately translated into behavioural change.
55 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p88.
56 For detailed discussion approaches based in Environmental History see: Atkinson, 1992, Environmental History and Environmental History Courses. ; Cronon, 1990, Modes of Prophecy and Production: Placing Nature in History. ;

realised rather than in terms of what could be possible. Yet Cronon's call to consider the residue keeps people still located as the other of wilderness. Applied to the conservation estate this revered wilderness still maintains people and culture still as aliens.

The question I consider Cronon needed to ask, and which this dissertation takes as its focus, is not what 'marks we wish to leave' but what 'marks we wish to make'. In this sense, what is a forward-looking, proactive, participatory involvement in wilderness? Or what activities and practices of people might be provocatively located as part of wilderness, and even integral to it so as to redirect both wilderness' practice and subsequent meaning.

The point of difference between Cronon and the position I am proposing (marks left versus making marks) may at first seem slight and also somewhat semantic.[57] Yet such a difference structures a different orientation to this research. For Cronon's position implies any new understanding of wilderness will be built on what is completed (left), while an orientation to making marks shift the focus towards what is to be undertaken and how wilderness might be practised.

The example of the kayakers burning their plastic rubbish makes this distinction more clear. For while very few marks were left *the mark that was made* describes strongly the type of relationship being created between people and place. If Dingle's idea of bring all of New Zealand into the conservation estate is applied, would it be acceptable to make similar marks in the front lawns of the places we regularly inhabit? But more importantly in terms of this discussion what type of mark could the kayakers have chosen to make that would have located themselves and their actions as inhabitants of wilderness and the conservation estate? Similarly, would the helicoptering of human waste from high use huts (see figure 4.1c-14) still be undertaken or would more localised solutions be sought out? In this regard the marks that the kayakers made were of both greater material and conceptual consequence than the other options available even if the subsequent marks left (or lack of them) were almost similar.

Cronon, 1992, A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative. ; Pawson and Dovers, 2003, Environmental history and the challenges of interdisciplinarity: an antipodean perspective.

57 I am grateful for Professor Barbara Brooks for so clearly presenting this possibility.

This focus on making marks also shifts the issue of wilderness and the conservation estate away from one of organisation and management to one of practice and performance. To this end such a questioning looks forward and outward. Also it aligns addressing *The Trouble with Wilderness* not with debates concerning interpretation (what has happened) but with designerly intent (what could be created).

Cronon's position has a further complication that reinforces a quality of closure in his reformulated idea of wilderness. Rather than assert the notion of an untouched nature his analysis seeks a new relationship in which there is the capacity to "use [nature] again and again and again – sustainably – without its being diminished in the process".[58] Yet here the notion of an untouched nature is replaced with a new virginity – the capacity to cyclically return to the same starting point.[59] In this model– in which sustainability is as an outcome rather than a tool or process – it does not matter what takes place or how it is practised as long at can be returned to the same position 'again and again and again'. Implicit in this concept is a relationship with nature that can leave it unchanged from its engagement: itself not dissimilar to the myth of wilderness that Cronon challenges.[60]

However if the focus is shifted to the making of marks then the issue is not so much how to negotiate a return back to the same place, but processually *where to* the making of marks could progress various relationships of nature and culture, people and wilderness, and belonging and identity. And also to explore what are feasible methods of getting there. In this sense the critical question is what are potentially rich practices of wilderness and also how might wilderness through its instrumentality practise on people? To this end rather than asking how the conservation estate could be re-presented, the question is how *on the ground* could a mutually immersive relationship that explores a sustainable, connected, resourceful and local practice of the conservation estate be undertaken?

For Jack Turner the underlying problem with people's experience of wilderness is a loss of "reciprocity between the wild in nature and the wild in

58 Cronon, 1995, The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature, p90-91.
59 Much like many popular syndicated sit-coms.
60 It should be noted that Cronon's position has been strongly criticised as belonging to 'a world of abstracted ideas' For example see: Soulé and Lease, 1995, Re-inventing nature. ; Hays, Cohen, Dunlap and Cronon, 1996, Comments on Bill Cronon's 'The trouble with wilderness' essay, and author's response. ; Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild. ; Rothenberg and Ulvaeus, 2001, The World and the wild.

us".[61] In other words while people shape the sites and modes of wilderness experience, possibility is lost for the wild to shape people. Hence his goal is to 'restore' the experiential dimension of the wild: to concentrate on 'wildness as a quality' rather than 'wilderness as a property' or a resource.[62]

Turner cites Feuerbach with a comment that could also critique Cronon's position: "the philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it".[63] In this regard Turner calls for a reconsideration of the terms to be used. "We need to find another way of describing our world and our experience in it" as a means of "broadening our universe of descriptions".[64] Lamenting the commodification of wild nature (as tourism and recreational escapes) he states: "every vocabulary shapes the world to fit a paradigm. If you don't want nature reduced to economics, then *refuse to use its language*".[65] Yet the corollary of this point is which language should we use? And it is a consideration of how the vocabulary of landscape might influence the paradigm of wilderness that the next section addresses.

4.4 THE LANGUAGE OF LANDSCAPE

In this and the previous chapter I have used terms like wilderness, conservation estate, culture, nature, regions, and land. Other than applying the work of Francis Pound and Geoff Park I have avoided using the term landscape in my writing. Yet, following Turner's call to consider that the vocabulary with which the wild is described is instrumental in how it might be engaged, it is timely to now shift the discussion in this direction. For what possibility could be opened up through a conceptualisation of wilderness that is based on understanding it as a landscape?[66] How might this shift enable the scope of people's relationship with the conservation estate to be reconsidered? And in particular how might *landscape* assist with the question 'what marks should we be making'?

61 Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild, p26.
62 Ibid, p81.
63 Ibid, p24.
64 Ibid, p65.
65 Ibid, p62. See also Condillac's aphorism "Do you want to learn the sciences with ease? Begin by learning your own language". Cited in Derrida and Condillac, 1987, The archeology of the frivolous : reading Condillac. p103.
66 Khyla Russell's work in identifying Māori relationships with the land similarly attempts in the term landscape to identify common ground between the Māori concept of whenua and European understandings of environment. See Russell, 2000, Landscape : perceptions of Kai Tahu I Mua, A ianei, A Muri Ake.

Increasingly landscape is being framed in terms of temporality, performance, practices and agency.[67] The work of Corner has been influential in progressing this perspective within the discipline of landscape architecture.[68] Corner challenges the pictorial impulse that objectifies landscape "detaching the subject from the complex realities of participating in the world".[69] He identifies a need for a more experiential conceptualization of landscape based on an etymology of landscape as *landschaft* – as part of a working community – rather than landscape as *landskip* – as aesthetics and scenery.[70]

In this regard Corner seeks to shift the emphasis "from landscape as a product of culture to landscape as an agent producing and enriching culture. *Landscape* as a noun (as object or scene) is quieted in order to emphasise *landscape* as verb as process or activity. Here, it is less the formal characteristics of landscape that are described than it is the formative effects of landscape in time. The focus is upon the agency of landscape – how it works and what it does – rather than upon its simple appearance".[71] Hence 'activities' and 'effects' are given emphasis rather than 'meaning' and 'form'. It is in this light that Corner convincingly argues that "the cultivation of landscape as an innovative cultural agent" is a foundational purpose for the landscape architect.

If a previously dominant mode of understanding landscape was based on the metaphor of landscape as a text – as discourses based on Foucault and Derrida's work travelled through both geographical and designerly

67 As well as soon to be discussed work by Ingold and Massey this includes significant and sustained work by Cloke, Crouch, Lorimer, Mitchell, Thrift, Waterton and Wylie among others. See: Cloke and Jones, 2001, Dwelling, place, and landscape: an orchard in Somerset. ; Cloke and Perkins, 2005, Cetacean performance and tourism in Kaikoura, New Zealand. ; Jones and Cloke, 2002, Tree cultures : the place of trees and trees in their place. ; Crouch, 2001, Spatialities and the feeling of doing. ; Crouch, 2003, Spacing, performing, and becoming: tangles in the mundane. ; Crouch and Parker, 2003, 'Digging-up'Utopia? Space, practice and land use heritage. ; Lorimer, 2003a, Telling small stories: spaces of knowledge and the practice of geography. ; Lorimer, 2003b, The geographical field course as active archive. ; Lorimer, 2006, Herding memories of humans and animals. ; Lorimer and Lund, 2004, Performing facts: finding a way over Scotland's mountains. ; Lorimer and Spedding, 2002, Editorial: Putting philosophies of geography into practice. ; Mitchell, 1994, Landscape and power. ; Bingham and Thrift, 2000, Some new instructions for travellers: the geography of Bruno Latour and Michel Serres. ; May and Thrift, 2001, TimeSpace: geographies of temporality. ; Thrift, 1999, Steps to an ecology of place. ; Thrift, 2000b, Still life in nearly present time: the object of nature. ; Thrift, 2004, Summoning life. ; Thrift, 2006, Space. ; Rose and Wylie, 2006, Animating Landscape. ; Wylie, 2005, A single day's walking: narrating self and landscape on the South West Coast Path. ; Wylie, 2006, Depths and folds: on landscape and the gazing subject. ; Wylie, 2007, Landscape.

68 See for example *Landscape Review*, 2001, Volume 7(1). This issue was dedicated to an examination of Corner's work.

69 Corner, 1999a, Eidetic Operations and New Landscapes, p156.

70 See also Olwig's application of *landschaft* to the body politic. Olwig, 2002, Landscape, nature, and the body politic : from Britain's renaissance to America's new world, p213-227.

71 Corner, 1999, Recovering landscape : essays in contemporary landscape architecture, p4.

disciplines[72] – now landscape's processual qualities have gained prominence. Increasingly it is through a phenomenological and experiential lens that landscape is being considered.

My purpose here is not to articulate a genealogy of this transition from a vocabulary of discourse and deconstruction to one grounded in practices and agency.[73] Nor is to consider why it is a distinctively British academic strand that has been working to develop the positions of Heidegger, Merleau Ponty, de Certeau, Deleuze and Latour.[74] Instead it is to consider how a phenomenological consideration of 'wilderness as landscape' rather than an environmental history of 'wilderness as idea' might provide structure towards a consideration of 'what marks should we be making' in the New Zealand conservation estate.

The work of Tim Ingold and Doreen Massey, rooted in anthropology and political science respectively, is particularly helpful in this regard.[75] As well as exploring the processual dimensions of landscape their studies actively consider the roles of intentional practice and creativity in landscape's formulation. Their work is not only valuable in addressing landscopic dimensions of wilderness but also informing a wider debate within the discipline of landscape architecture as the implications of landscape's agency on the discipline's aesthetic traditions are negotiated.

Ingold, in formulating his stance on what constitutes a landscape, begins with an outline of what he considers it is not.[76] First landscape is not land: for while land can be quantified and commodified – as occurs during subdivision – landscape cannot be defined quantitatively but only qualitatively. In this regard while it can be asked how much land there is in the conservation estate the same cannot be undertaken for landscape. Instead of 'how much landscape is there' the question is 'what is this landscape like'. Hence while the concept of land can diminish difference (as occurs in making different sections in a property development seem similar) landscape is intrinsically heterogenous and particular.

72 See, for example, Leach, 1997, Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory.
73 For a comprehensive study of this see Massey, 2005, For space.
74 For reviews that examine this see Lorimer and Spedding, 2002, Editorial: Putting philosophies of geography into practise, and Wylie, 2007, Landscape.
75 Their major studies relevant to this research are Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, and Massey, 2005, For space.
76 Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p190-193

Second, Ingold asserts landscape is not an already configured stage that lies waiting for people to use. In other words landscape does not come ready made. For such a perspective frames landscape as a resource that is separate from the people for whom it is made available.[77]

Third, landscape is not a nature 'out there' like that produced by the long gazes of Augustus Earle, Andris Apse or the 'visitor' at Milford Sound. Ingold rejects this "division between inner and outer worlds – respectively of mind and matter, meaning and substance – upon which such distinction rests."[78]

Instead Ingold argues for a participatory and phenomenological understanding of landscape. "It is through living in it that the landscape becomes part of us, just as we are part of it." As a result meanings are 'gathered from' the landscape in the process of 'living in it' and not 'attached' in the course of observation. At the core of Ingold's model of landscape is a foregrounding of its temporal and processual qualities. "Landscapes change; and change is itself an intrinsic aspect of our experience of the landscape." Consequently landscape is "never complete: neither built or unbuilt, it is permanently under construction … [For] the forms of the landscape are not pre-prepared for people to live in – not by nature nor by human hands – for it is in the very process of dwelling that these forms are constituted."[79]

This consideration of landscape – one that unfolds as part of an ongoing generative dialogue – runs counter to current understandings of wilderness. For the wilderness of the conservation estate is understood as timeless. It pre-dates people and as a consequence its underlying values are not considered to be shaped by people's activities, despite significant and growing inputs of people and funding. In Ingold's model engaging with landscape is not a one-way conversation in which only landscape's qualities are malleable. In identifying the role of people's activities in shaping landscape Ingold states, "For we do so not as spectators but as participants, in the very performance of our tasks. As Merleau-Ponty put it, in reckoning with an environment, I am 'at my task rather than confronting it' ".[80] And as

77 See also Abram here. He states "a space that is conceived without depth, without a near and a far…has nothing to do with our actual experience, nothing to do with the life of our eyes or our ears. When space is conceptualized without time it is as a void, or as an entirely filled plenum ….without gaps, holes, or folds". Abram, 1995, Out of the Map, Into the Territory: The Earthly Topology of Time, p98.

78 Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p191.

79 Ibid, p199.

80 Ibid, p196.

Ingold later concludes "in dwelling in the world, we do not act *upon* it, or do things *to* it; rather we move along *with* it. Our actions do not transform the world, they are part and parcel of the world transforming itself."[81]

This is why Cronon's position is also at odds with this model of landscape. Cronon's *Getting Back To The Right Nature* (the second part of his Trouble with Wilderness essay title) rests on reformulating wilderness through reconfiguring its conceptual qualities. Only once a different set of meanings can be resolved (in his case honour, reverence, gratitude and finding the wild elsewhere) can this new model of wilderness be applied to a multitude of sites that now include 'those closer to home'.

Ingold's position demands a different approach. A new relationship with wild landscapes will form through the process of particular engagements with specific places. And further its form will be shaped not only by those engagements of people but also the agency of those landscapes as they 'afford' the engagement. In other words different practices will create different landscapes, and different landscapes will afford different practices.[82]

As already noted it is the singularity of practices that are both the result of similarly applied management practices, facilities, and technologies, and also are outside of wilderness, that has led to a monochromatic ideation of wilderness, which in turn homogenises the role of people. Cronon's approach finds purchase by reinterpreting the 'marks made' not through the language of the sublime and the frontier, but in those of honour and gratitude. In this sense his work is epistemological: the goal is a different reading of the evidence: yet the separation between nature and culture still remains. And further, this re-reading of the evidence does not necessarily result in a ready set of actions with which this different relationship could be articulated. In contrast Ingold's position does not come through encapsulating landscape as an idea. Rather landscape is met through a series of practices whose resulting form is uncertain and always contingent and open-ended.

81 Ibid, p200.

82 Here too it is important to have a broad sense of what landscape could be. For a discussion of the role of fauna in constructing landscopic qualities see, for example: Cloke and Perkins, 2005, Cetacean performance and tourism in Kaikoura, New Zealand. ; Lorimer, 2006, Herding memories of humans and animals.

These are not just details of distinction. Understanding the conservation estate as an idea (of wilderness) or as a processual landscape (of agency) greatly affects what can happen next. In the former the goal is to better conceptualise an 'honorable, ethical, relationship with nature' – while in the latter the goal is to prompt a dialogue in which, through its articulation, wilderness and the conservation estate takes shape. In the former a sustainable relation with the conservation estate comes from right thinking while in the latter sustainability is an open-ended process derived through action.

As can be sensed this distinction is also at the core of designerly debates between the respective roles of theory and practice that was discussed in Chapter Two. In this regard Cronon's approach, if applied to design, would seek to resolve design's definition before undertaking any designing. Ingold's approach would be content for design's meaning to take shape as it is practised.[83] Similarly Cronon's interpretation applied to landscape would seek to *define its meaning* while both Ingold and Corner would instead seek to enlist its instrumentality in an attempt to *consider what it could do*.[84]

In this discussion here can be discerned a sense of what a phenomenological framing of landscape can offer the designerly orientation of the landscape architecture discipline. Ingold's model of landscape encourages experimentation as different approaches are trialled to gauge both the quality and level of dialogue that each approach might engender with landscape and also the degree of landscopic agency that over time might be elicited. And in such a model can be readily accommodated not only landscopic practices, but also designerly and creative ones.

Returning to the conservation estate the most effective practices (making marks) can be considered those that not as much shape space but instead foster a vigorous dialogue with landscape such that both can bend to the other. In this regard a single strategy would not fit all contexts, and applied across the conservation estate, could be considered to diminish landscape's agency. For, do the generic solutions to how people 'visit', provision and find their way in the conservation estate enable a dialogue with landscape that

83 See here his discussion *On Weaving a Basket* Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p339-348.

84 This comment echos that by Massumi noted on Page 6060.

builds a localised sense of belonging? Or instead, could a spread of approaches to such activities allow the best landscopic listening and learning?

Indeed is it possible to practise an 'inhabiting' of the conservation estate rather than 'visiting' it, and in a way that celebrates people's relationship with it rather than seeking either implicitly or explicitly to disguise the methods by which it is provisioned? Or put more directly could the way people 'practise' Milford Sound, either in an ongoing manner or in the course of a once in a lifetime visit over the duration of a single afternoon, be as unique, local, sustainable, resourceful and ecological as the 'nature' people come to witness? Could it be possible that people coming there gain as much a sense of New Zealand's identity by the manner of the facilities they find as the aesthetically-bound imaging of the waterfalls, mountains and fiords? And where the traveller's camera is drawn as often to the boardwalks, shelters, transport systems and even bus terminals as they are to the scenes that such facilities afford? And elsewhere, that the paths, boardwalks, guidebooks, equipment and in particular the skills by which the conservation estate is practised could be part of a process of engagement of landscape in which local and grounded senses of identity are created and where, repeating Ingold, "through living in it that the landscape becomes part of us, just as we are part of it".[85]

85 Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p191.

4.5 MIDDLE LANDSCAPES

This chapter has sought to shift wilderness and the conservation estate away from its meaning and align it with a phenomenological engagement of landscape. This in turn moves the focus of this research away from defining wilderness and instead towards considering how wilderness and the conservation estate might be practised. The issue now to be considered is where in wilderness and the conservation estate could suitable sites be found in which this instrumentality of landscape – which Corner and Ingold so clearly articulate – be engaged, and specifically where in terms of this research could an investigation take place?

Geoff Park describes how New Zealand is divided into two distinct landscapes. "Both have equal power in shaping New Zealanders' sense of themselves. In the one in which most of us live, one of humanity's most dramatic transformations of nature anywhere has removed indigenous life almost entirely. The other one, in which our living is prohibited, is still as solidly indigenous as anywhere on Earth, and as devoid of humans; maintained as though it were a world without us. Our *terra nullius*, no less".[86]

In one is a landscape formed by cultural diversity and agricultural mono-culturalism. In the other is a landscape formed by ecological diversity and a singular cultural understanding of it. In this bipolar constitution is the embodiment of a relationship with indigenous landscapes that has been evolving since Pakeha[87] settlement. As noted in the previous chapter the practice of the bush during colonial settlement – as it was transformed into timber and pasture – was both the unfolding and retreating boundary between the indigenous and the settled. Now the distinction between the two has been made fixed by the land's division into the conservation estate on the one hand and 'high-tech' agricultural landscapes with urban centres on the other.[88] In many ways the relationship mimics that between the forest

86 Park, 2002, Our Terra Nullius, p65.

87 Pakeha is a term originally used by Māori to describe those who are not Māori but still live in New Zealand. It should be noted that its use is for some contentious. In the context of debates around the conservation estate see work by Brian Turner and Philip Temple who resent in its use their identification with New Zealand being implicitly framed as not indigenous. See, for example Turner, 2006, The sins of our fathers. Temple, 1998, Lake, mountain, tree : an anthology of writing on New Zealand nature & landscape. Yet others – most notably King – consider *Being Pakeha* offers those from a settler heritage an opportunity to develop such a local and potentially indigenous place in Aotearoa New Zealand. King, 2004, Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native.

88 Such distinctions are not universally this stark. For example in the Garvies region, near Queenstown, land with significant conservation values has remained in private ownership and also alongside land used for agricultural purposes. See Land Information NZ, 2004, Crown Pastoral Land Tenure Review. Lease name : BEN NEVIS, Lease

and the settler had on arrival. Defined in their mutual opposition they are each alien to the other.

Earlier both Pollan's and Cronon's call for a greater exploration of the middle ground between wilderness and culture was noted. Park calls for a similar investigation to develop New Zealand's 'middle landscapes' where a shared and compatible urge might be "to progress both people and the land's indigenous life".[89]

It is the absence of middle landscapes that might bridge these extremes that is a significant issue for Park.[90] He notes without them there remain few meaningful opportunities to bind indigenous ecology and culture with each other: to 'smudge the boundaries' so to speak. Perhaps this inability to span these two landscapes is one reason why the land tenure reform process, which teases apart leasehold high country land back into the binary dimensions of either the conservation estate or freehold, is preferred.[91] Or perhaps why debates over wind farms in natural settings are quickly polarised into arguments that face off development against preservation.[92] Or why in the conservation estate there is an approach embedded in understanding and celebrating the biodiversity of 'nature' while maintaining a mono-cultural perspective to the behaviour of people in such places.[93]

On first appraisal it could be considered that the middle ground and middle landscapes Park, Cronon and Pollan call for might be located at the interface between the two. In terms of the South Island the following map in figure 4.4b, by splitting the conservation estate from the rest of the land, visualises this separation.

number : PO 241. ; Land Information NZ, 2006, Crown Pastoral Land Tenure Review. Lease name : GLENARAY / WHITECOMB, Lease number : PS 008 / PS 017. . Nonetheless it should also be noted the purpose of these reports is to transfer pastoral leasehold land with significant conservation values into the conservation estate.

89 Park, 2006, Theatre country : essays on landscape & whenua, p202. This is similar to Pollans already noted remark to forge a new understanding of 'middle landscapes'. See page 19 of this dissertation.

90 See Abbott, 2006, Why the Conservation Estate Matters...

91 Brower, Grazing Land Reform in New Zealand: Background, Mechanics, and Results.

92 See, for example,: Oliver, 2005, Masters or Marauders? : Webb and Reeve, 2005, Conversation with my Aunt.

93 Indeed it is ironic that diversity and uniqueness is considered valuable in terms of New Zealand's indigenous flora and fauna, and also the ecologies within which they are woven. In terms of protecting these species a singular approach is not adopted. For examples see Bellamy, Springett and Hayden, 1990, Moa's ark : the voyage of New Zealand. Morris and Smith, 1988, Wild south: saving New Zealand's endangered birds. For scientific papers see the extensive catalogue of Science and Technical Publications published by the Department of Conservation: http://www.doc.govt.nz/templates/defaultlanding.aspx?id=39150 accessed May 13, 2008.

Figure 4.5a: Park's two landscapes visually imaged by separating out the South Island conservation estate from the rest of the island. The conservation estate, much of it located on the western side of the island, has been transposed to the right of the figure.

In looking at the map it could be assumed that such middle landscapes might lie along those borders where that which is and isn't the conservation estate meet.[94] The following aerial image (Figure 4.4c) of Manapouri further illustrates how distinct the demarcation between the two can be.

Figure 4.5b: Lake Manapouri from the air. The Fiordland National Park boundary is shown in red.[95]

94 For an example of how such an approach could be developed see Howitt, 2001, Frontiers, Borders, Edges: Liminal Challenges to the Hegemony of Exclusion.

95 Photo Montage provided by Mike O'Connor

However such a direction comes from eliding the distinction between land and landscape, of considering landscape as the ground on which activities take place, rather than part and parcel of those activities. For in the phenomenological models that Ingold pursues these interfaces are not necessarily found on specific sites but in the meeting of practices and landscape as each mutually unfold.

Jack Turner states "to create a wilder self… we must begin, in whatever ways we can imagine, to rejoin the natural world".[96] Instead of a solution being found in what he terms 'the abstract wild' such co-mingling will come "by creating new practices that alter our daily routines".[97]

Might the opportunities for finding middle landscapes be more pervasive? Could they be found not just on the perimeters of property titles but also at the interface of people and the conservation estate? Even as the foot in its boot meets the path in the land might a possibility for a middle landscape be found? Might such a meeting point not just be a fait accompli, but also an opportunity for an intentional – creative – and hence designerly process in which choices are made and a relationship within landscape is negotiated.

Earlier in the chapter a number of images demonstrated the impact of facilities on the conservation estate. While these examples are located away from the physical perimeter of the conservation estate such sites are also specific examples of possible middle landscapes. The following set of figures returns to some of those examples and discusses the potential they hold to articulate a middle landscape.

96 Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild, p91.
97 Ibid, pxvi.

Figure 4.5c-1: Here the potential middle landscape is the meeting of the structure and the physical forms of the land

Figure 4.5c-2: Rather than hiding surplus materials could these be incorporated in the bridge's design by being incorporated in the bridge structure?

Figure 4.5c-3: Rather than use the CCA treated timber shown here local timbers could be used for structures so that when they rot at the end of their structural life the chemical constitution of the forest is unaltered.

Figure 4.5c-4: Here a screw could be developed that 'taps' itself out of the tree as the trunk expands.

Figure 4.5c-5: How could a structure and the physical form of the land negotiate each other in a way that is mutually generative?

Figure 4.5c-6: Here an experience of stepping over and around the rock could be designed as an integral aspect of the track's form while still ensure sure footing for the walker?

This notion of meeting and middleness is reminiscent of the 'third apprehensions', 'third minds', and 'third events' of design discussed in Chapter Two. In this search for middle landscapes can be gained a sense of the designerly potential of bringing together practices and landscapes. For example what is a practice of way-finding that leads people not just through the forest but also into it? How could landscape's instrumentality be richly fostered when making camp? How might the process of making a path, and also walking it be part of the generation of a middle landscape? And instead of aspiring to achieve a comprehensive and conclusive outcome how could this meeting of practice and landscape open out towards further engagement in a way that are, as Ingold notes, emergent, never complete, and always dialogic.

In this regard Massey's work is particularly helpful. In her attempt to articulate the relationship between space, temporality, landscape and practice she does not attempt an over-arching theory. Nor does she give landscape's temporality the priority that Ingold does. For her, the role of space is equally significant. She argues that distinctions made between space and time are less than certain. For her, space – emphasising being –

and temporality with its qualities of emergence and *becoming* are two sides of the same coin.[98]

In this regard time unfolds while space interacts, and together they form 'spatio-temporal events'.[99] Hence Massey calls for a "reimagining of landscape and place" that understands both "as events, as happenings, as moments that will again be dispersed",[100] and from which "a future has to be - negotiated".[101] In other words landscape's richness comes from its 'throwntogetherness'. Hence landscape is formed by the interweaving of many elements and found, as Nash explains, by "exploring the intersections between representations, discourse, material things, spaces and practices – the intertwined and interacting material and social world".[102] As Nash, this time citing the work of Driver and Gilbert, notes, "the metaphor of performance offers an alternative to more static approaches to place and landscape".[103] It is in this vein that Massey's emphasis is on how landscape as an event can be practised.[104]

There are important implications in this model for landscape architecture. For if a significant role of the landscape architect is the building and enabling of place then how should the discipline effectively shape landscape. In a formal sense this is taken to mean the shaping of sites. However if landscape is to be understood as Corner frames it – as having agency – then a key dimension is how landscape's agency is enlisted so landscape is not so much shaped by the project but the project is shaped by landscape. As Milton states "nature does not just do things, it does things to *us*… [and] not only does nature do things to us, we do things to nature, and nature responds in ways that impact on us".[105] Hence it is the quality of the dialogue between the project and landscape that matters.

98 See Massey, 2005, For space, p9-30. On page 13 she outlines the following direction: "what is needed, I think, is to uproot 'space' from that constellation of concepts in which it has so unquestioningly so often been embedded (stasis; closure; representation) and to settle it among another set of ideas (heterogeneity; relationality; coevalness… liveliness indeed)."

99 Ibid, p138.

100 Massey, 2006, Landscape as Provocation, p46.

101 Ibid, p46.

102 Nash, 2000, Performativity in practice: some recent work in cultural geography, p661.

103 Ibid, p660.

104 See *What is an Event?* in Deleuze, 1993, The fold : Leibniz and the baroque, p76-82. Also Tschumi's architectural approach states 'there is no space without event': Tschumi, 2004, Event-cities 3 : concept vs. context vs. content. And for a consideration of tourism sites as 'places in play' in Sheller and Urry, 2004, Tourism mobilities : places to play, places in play.

105 Milton, 2002, Loving nature : towards an ecology of emotion, p51.

Further if landscape is also understood as Ingold frames it – as fundamentally temporal – then what is critical is enlisting landscape's processual dimension: where landscape's agency unfolds not only in dialogue over time but also in an open-ended manner. In this sense the goal of the landscape architect is to prompt this process in ways that the dialogue between practices and landscapes might continue to sustain themselves. Here the landscape architect is seeking to find those nodes of greatest stimulus and effect. In this context the form of the landscape is but an ever-morphing incidental by-product of such temporality.

Finally if Massey's position is also incorporated, what then should the landscape architect make? Does their purpose then become the design of emergent interactions with landscapes? In Corner's theory and particularly his practice there is still a sense that an enlisting of landscape's agency is confined to how specific sites might shape the programme of the proposed project. However in Massey's work there is the possibility to enlist practice less to modify sites and more to modify landscopic engagement.

Herein lies a way past the possible ambivalence between landscape architecture and wilderness that was noted in Chapter One and due to a perceived reticence to modify sites. In Massey's model can be imagined the development of a landscape architecture that instead of modifying sites attempts to modify engagement and perception. By way of example consider the following two types of track marker. The first is the orange triangle commonly found throughout the conservation estate (see figure 4.5d). It directs the walker through the forest to their destination.

Figure 4.5d: Track markers of the type currently used by the Department of Conservation throughout the New Zealand conservation estate.

The second is similarly distinctive. But embossed on the marker (or punched out of its centre) is a leaf shape that tells the walker also what type of tree it is. By using different markers along a forest track the walker by the end of the day will not only have successfully made their way through the forest but also found at one simple level their way *into* the forest – a knowing that they carry with them beyond their passing through the space of the forest and their journey. Subsequent designs can be imagined that further shift the relationship from someone who 'visits' to someone who 'dwells': to create practices of wilderness that foster those qualities Heidegger makes note of in the Holzwege paths "that meander deep into the forest, leading unsuspecting travellers to nowhere. Seen from the perspectives of the forest labourers who make and use them, these paths lead straight to the heart of the forest".[106] If at this point we leave unchanged methods of fixing, material, manufacturing process and guidelines for installation in relationship to the path – then is the landscape unchanged? If landscape is conflated into a quantitative land then there is no change. However if landscape is understood as an event – as a meeting of practices and place – then I would argue that two different landscopic events are created depending on the markers used.

Such work might be developed further. Could the horizontal plane of a viewing platform be designed to interweave people, artefact and landscape? For example instead of using a 'plane table' to point out the surrounding

106 Birksted, 2000, Landscapes of Memory and Experience, p4.

mountains could the floor boards of the platform be orientated and overlapped in different directions to signal the same features in a less hierarchical way.[107] And even the idea of a 'viewing platform' presupposes the isolation of a 'view' in the conventional, pictorial sense. As Gina Crandell states "it is knowledges of the history of these conventions … that is needed to avoid the most basic mistake inherent in landscape architecture: believing that the framed, distant, perspectival view is somehow a 'natural' way of designing".[108]

Such possibilities have been the subject of ongoing design work by myself often working in collaboration with colleagues and environmental design students I supervise. Elsewhere designs have considered ways to incorporate signs as part of a growing tree rather than be fixed to a CCA treated timber post embedded in the ground as is currently the case. Other work with the Yellow Eyed Penguin Trust, the Department of Conservation and with design involvement from a member of the local rununga, proposed a new viewing hide at Sandfly Bay. Here the site's agency (after Corner and Ingold) was negotiated by using a flexible framing system that could be reconfigured in subsequent seasons should the posts shift in the sand dunes they were located in. An event-like quality was also incorporated through the design of a structural system that could be built and maintained (as the sand dunes shifted) by people drawn from the local rununga, the penguin trust and Department of Conservation volunteers. This was achieved by the use of a proprietary fixing system that, by using Industrial Design principles, meant that people of different skills could work together over a weekend to build the viewing hide and so in the process also build in themselves a further sense of custodianship, involvement and belonging in the landscape.[109]

At this point other designerly explorations of viewing sites and shelters could be considered that further facilitate people's experiences of the conservation estate. The following set of images reveals the potential to develop a rich lexicon of vernacular responses to the South Island backcountry (figure 4.4e). Certainly there is now a growing recognition of the cultural and 'heritage-

107 See Abbott, Aplin, Fyfe, Hannah and McIndoe, 2002, Walking Stories : Entered in AAA Cavalier Bremworth Awards.
108 Crandell, 1993, Nature pictorialized : "the view" in landscape history, p168.
109 Interestingly once the design work was completed the regional conservancy of the Department of Conservation decided it alone should be responsible for the implementation of any structure and proceeded to erect their own solution which, while derived from this work, did not respond to the shifting nature of the site, the opportunity to involve volunteers and the wider community, and also at its most basic build it so high that young people could not see out. Abbott, 2008, Designing participation through innovative paths and way-finding systems.

like' properties of such buildings is becoming increasingly recognised both by the Department of Conservation and recreational groups.[110]

Fig 4.5e: A selection of huts in the South Island conservation estate.

However in these images, and also in the design directed explorations of track markers, signs, viewing platforms and huts there is a tendency to privilege the artefact over the landscape. This is because the focus tends to shift from a phenomenological engagement of the landscape to a consideration of how the built form might be both a prompt for such an engagement, and also how the structure itself (and not the landscape) might become the phenomenological subject. In this sense form rather than landscape becomes the focus of design and further accounts for my earlier reticence to bring into this dissertation the formal design work undertaken during this research. As already noted such a direction also shifts the

110 See, for example, the regular section titled *Huts as Heritage* in Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand., F.M.C. Bulletin : Newsletter of the Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand Inc. See also the following Department of Conservation posters: Department of Conservation, 2004a, Shelter through the years: a history of huts in Aoraki Mt Cook National Park. ; Department of Conservation, 2006b, Huts and Backcountry Huts in Southand Conservancy.

research emphasis away from a design of wilderness, to one in which the focus becomes the design of artefacts for wilderness.[111] And while landscape's agency and also a temporal unfolding can still be discerned in the weathering of building fabric and the shifting of foundations, nonetheless the tempo of the event in these various shelters has shifted.

In the programme for a viewing hide at Sandfly Bay on the Otago Peninsula it had been anticipated that community groups would revisit the site annually to reconfigure the structure. Here landscape as an event would be reformed and redirected. There are parallels here with the huts in the previous plate. Maintenance programs require regular visits and upgrades. Yet in both Sandfly Bay and these huts the practices of the users are by and large preconfigured. There is in each a tendency for the artefact to exact from the user the same manner of practice and with it similar patterns of movement.

Of course there are a variety of ways this could be fruitfully addressed. Large-scale maps could be printed on chalkboards to allow fellow travellers to point out or edit places of special interest (in much the same way as an online wiki). Ongoing construction of cairns and structures using gabions built by community groupings could also be further developed. Here the form evolves slowly and in ways that the involvement of people becomes embodied in the structure.[112]

However while this dissertation could pursue further explorations of the interface between form and landscape my concern is the secondary role that this tends to give to practising wilderness. Hence the approach of this dissertation shifts this emphasis. What happens if the intent is not to afford practice through the design of form, but instead to design diverse practices that pursue a consideration of landscape as an event.

If we return to the architectural motif of shelter, how could its experientially orientated framing – the practice of sheltering rather than the form of shelter – be afforded in individual and multiple ways? How might the interface between practice and landscape be enabled through methods that are not bound to specific sites? How might the practice of landscape, and a

111 See page 73

112 Elsewhere I have developed this approach in a discussion of the forward-looking potential of historic stonewalls and heritage landscapes. See Abbott, 2007, The Creative Practice of Heritage Landscapes: Designing Futures for Historic Stonewalls and Walking Tracks.

practice of wilderness, become the primary focus – as distinct from a practice of shelter making and way-finding designing that the previous examples tend towards. It is this, and in particular the role of outdoor equipment in affording certain practices of landscape, that the next chapter now turns to.

CHAPTER 5: EQUIPPING WILDERNESS

This chapter investigates the relationship between the equipment carried by people in the conservation estate and the types of understanding of, and engagement with, the conservation estate that it fosters. It begins – through a discussion of a historical account – with a consideration of the manner of practices associated with wilderness travel. It then explores the ideas of wilderness constructed by the New Zealand Outdoor Clothing and Equipment Industry as various brands seek to locate their products within a spectrum of wilderness values that this equipment and clothing is also instrumental in creating. Of particular interest are how specific understandings and applications of sustainability are enlisted as both a process and an outcome suitable for fostering more ethical relationships with wilderness. Later in the chapter a specific piece of equipment is examined: the portable cooker. This investigation considers the manner of landscape current equipment solutions engender, before exploring alternative options that might generate a more dialogue-rich and participatory relationship with landscape.

5.1 A STATE OF NATURE

Craig Potton, in a paper written for the New Zealand Tourism Policy Group and published by the Ministry of Commerce, calls for acknowledgement of the "tradition of meeting nature as far as possible on her own terms."[1] However in setting out potential solutions he seeks to organise the number and locations for people rather than foster specific practices that might afford individuals such a 'meeting' of nature. Hence he calls for the following to be adopted: setting caps for the number of people at high-use places; booking systems with quotas for New Zealanders; leaving un-promoted certain tracks; ensuring access is free of charge; minimising development of facilities; maintaining zones so wilderness experiences of remoteness and solitude are protected; and developing road-end facilities for those without the skills or the physical ability to venture further. This framing of the conservation estate in the language of a resource to be managed, rather than a landscape to become part of, lies at the heart of the problematic qualities of wilderness.

Contrast Potton's solutions with the following account of 'meeting nature on her own terms'. It is taken from the local newspaper in 1894 and describes a specific journey from Preservation Inlet in the southwest of present day Fiordland, across the South Coast and on to Te Wae Wae Bay further east. It is also worthwhile to consider how the account evokes respectively Corner's model of landscape's agency, Ingold's understanding of landscape as emergent and temporal, and Massey's formulation of landscape as an event.

"On the Monday, Harvey arrived in Invercargill. He said that, because of the bad weather, he and his friends had taken three weeks to reach Big River. By then their food was nearly done. The river was in high flood and they had to remain on the west bank for three days. Finally they crossed on an improvised raft. With some difficulty they forded the Waitutu River, but the tramp to the Wairaurahiriri through dense bush was a real ordeal. They had practically no food. As Harvey said, it "took all the sand out of us." The distance was only eight miles but the tramp occupied eight days. Their stock of matches ran out so that they were not only starving but lacked the comfort of a fire.

1 Cullen, Harland, Potton and New Zealand. Tourism Policy Group., 1994, Collection of essays on equity and access to natural areas, p9.

When they reached the Wairaurahiriri they were done up. Evans and Kelly could not swim and they would not attempt the crossing. Though he was weak and starving, Harvey managed to swim across. He took the end of a flax line with him. When he was across his friends tied his swag, including his clothes, to the line but, as Harvey was pulling it across, it came adrift and was carried out to sea. All he was left with was a handkerchief which he had tied round his waist before he started to swim.

Evans and Kelly decided to stay on the west bank while Harvey went to look for help. The prospects must have seemed almost hopeless. Harvey was reduced to a state of nature in a wild, inhospitable country, and, if the winter had not come, it was not far away. He travelled along the beach until he reached Sandy Point at the west end of Te Wae Wae Bay. Here he made a hole in the sand, lay in it and covered himself with tussock. Next day he travelled a few more miles. He tried to avoid the bush because, in forcing his way through, his body was painfully scratched. As far as possible he kept to the beach, though in places that meant walking over hard, sharp rocks that hurt his feet.

A hailstorm raged and he suffered acutely from cold. He scratched a hole beneath a fallen rata and for two days remained there, benumbed. When he continued his journey it was on his hands and knees. Later he managed to walk, but he was near the end of his strength and hope was nearly dead when he saw a hut. A low fire was burning in it, just about out. He stirred it to life and ate the remains of a dinner. A few hours later the occupiers of the hut, J Martin and A McGavock, returned from their survey work…

As the days passed and still no rescue party appeared, [Evans and Kelly] became more desperate still, and they decided to make inland along the river to a bridge which they heard had been erected so that sheep could be driven across the river. They had not gone far when they came to a fallen tree which seemed to offer a means of crossing the river. Evans tried to cross but it was beyond his reduced strength. He fell into the water and was drowned…

Kelly struggled on but was so over-wrought mentally and physically that he lost all recollections of his doings for several days. His only food was morsels of dog. Eventually he reached the bridge, and in a hut found a little sago, some meat fat and several boxes of matches. He crossed the bridge and

made his way back to the coast. Three days later he was found by Constable Miller.[2]

I will return to this account again in Chapter Eight, but the point I now wish to make is the sense of dialogue, agency, temporality and moment with landscape that pervades this account. The landscape and the travellers are engaged in an iterative conversation in which the landscape increasingly directs their efforts. The rivers are highly influential actors in such a dialogue. Similarly the weather. As they slowly make their way east the group's capacity to successfully engage with the landscape diminishes and consequently their sense of the landscape changes. They, their engagement of the landscape, and the landscape are all *emergent*. The interrelationships between each are constituted by specific events: the last match, the broken rope, the coastal sleet, the fallen log huddled under. The 'state of nature' Harvey was reduced to is an assimilation into the landscape – the phenomenological 'being-in-the-world' that Ingold refers to.[3]

My purpose here is not to suggest that an engagement of landscape's agency, temporality and event-like form must be equally tragic, but rather to identify in this account the moments that might be fruitful for further study. Hayden Lorimer's work has considered the role of practice in shaping place, particularly in Scottish contexts. He notes: "at first, the phenomena in question may seem remarkable only by their apparent insignificance. The focus falls on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions. Attention to these kinds of expression, it is contended, offers an escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgement and ultimate representation. In short, so much ordinary action gives no advance notice of what it will

2 Watt, 1971, Port Preservation, p113-115.

3 Ingold cites Heidegger (taken from *Poetry, language, thought):* "We do dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is because we are dwellers… To build is in itself already to dwell…*Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build*". Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p186. (Heidegger's emphasis)

become. Yet, it still makes critical differences to our experiences of space and place".[4]

Hence while a tendency in landscape architecture research might be to analyse specific sites – for example where the river was crossed, where the surveyor's hut was, or the various route followed – my purpose in this chapter is to primarily consider the practices pursued as drivers for the landscapes that emerge. Or as Lorimer puts it: "to make sense of the ecologies of place created by actions and processes, rather than the place portrayed by the end product".[5]

In the 1894 account the dialogue between people and landscape is generated through activities. Other than a passing reference to a specific hut or bridge the landscape qualities that emerge are those formed through practices based on skills brought and acquired along the way, also the equipment and resources similarly carried or made during the journey, and each with various levels of success or failure. Drawing from this passage a number of practices suited to further study can be found: building a raft, fording a river, tramping through dense bush, lighting a fire, keeping matches dry, making a flax line, making shelter, finding one's way, heating up a meal, recording the route, describing the landscape, crossing the bridge, being lost, making people safe and so on. In each practice particular landscapes are forged. And I would argue in each activity, as it is creatively undertaken, can be found the grounds for a landscape architecture that can work beyond the physical site.

While in my conclusions I will return to consider the relationship between landscape architecture and site-bound artefacts, it is the relationship between equipment, practices and landscapes that I would now like to turn. Specifically I will more fully explore the role of equipment – not in 1894 but now – in fostering particular practices of wilderness landscape, and through this examine the *different landscapes possible* in the same location afforded by the adoption of different modes of portable technology.

However before considering the types of wilderness landscapes specific equipment generates, and also, in order to articulate the 'problem' to which

4 Lorimer, 2005, Cultural geography: the busyness of being more-than-representational, p84.
5 Ibid, p85.

the portable cooker itself responds this chapter first investigates the ways in which leading New Zealand Outdoor Clothing And Equipment Industry (NZOCEI) brands – namely Cactus, Fairydown, Earth Sea & Sky, Ground Effect, Hallmark, Icebreaker, Kathmandhu, Macpac and Tika – have portrayed their relationship to wilderness. This will done by exploring the images of wilderness presented in their catalogues between the period 1992 and 2007. Of particular interest is how issues of sustainability are framed and implications this has on landscape, wilderness and the conservation estate.

5.2 NEW ZEALAND OUTDOOR EQUIPMENT AND CLOTHING COMPANY CATALOGUES

The catalogue is the primary tool for communicating brand identity, and affinity for both their customers and the outdoor environments for which the equipment is intended. Yvon Chouinard, founder of the international outdoor clothing company Patagonia, and whose catalogues have arguably set the benchmark in New Zealand's outdoor industry,[6] states "the catalogue is our bible for each selling season. Every other medium we use to tell our story – from the website, to hang tags, to retail displays, to press releases to videos – builds from the catalogue's base and from its pictorial and editorial standards".[7] As such the catalogue is made widely available through a number of channels including retail outlets, mailing to customer lists and as free downloads from company websites.

The colour catalogues published by the New Zealand Outdoor Clothing And Equipment Industry (NZOCEI) can be up to 80 pages in length. They represent a considerable investment in terms of cost and effort. Care is taken to present a relevant, coherent and appealing image so potential consumers are attracted to both their products and also the most recent iteration of their respective brand's positioning. Customers are consistently asked to send in pictures for catalogues, and provide feedback on products. Hence the images of wilderness found in these catalogues not only represent, but also shape, the considerable consumer base of 'wilderness lovers' and 'outdoor

6 For example, the adoption in the NZOCEI catalogues of marketing innovations including the extensive use of customer submitted images, outdoor adventurers as ambassadors, magazine formats and photographing the three-dimensional form of clothes without using models. See, for comparison, Chouinard, 2005, Let My People Go Surfing: The Education of a Reluctant Businessman. MacPac Catalogue. 1995. Fairydown Catalogue. 2000.

7 Chouinard, 2005, Let My People Go Surfing: The Education of a Reluctant Businessman, p150.

enthusiasts' that these brands, to varying degrees, are targeted at.[8] In this vein Cloke and Perkins, in a discussion of adventure tourism, outline the suggestive qualities of the brochure in which the experience undertaken is initially framed and expectations are shaped and "where anticipatory perspectives are offered to consumers, and are reinforced by the actual experiences".[9] In terms of the publishing output of the NZOCEI brands the catalogue can be similarly considered to provide the 'anticipatory perspectives' that their use in the 'field' seeks to fulfil.

Catalogues utilise a number of methods to generate a distinctive image that differentiates them from their competitors. Many different paper formats are used to give them a unique size and shape. Nearly all catalogues follow a magazine format including the use of prominent mastheads, authored articles, attributed photography, and editorially styled introductions and contents pages, with many brands exhibiting highly sophisticated production values.

A number of specific photographic types are used including: an eye-catching image on the cover, often wrapped around to the back page; images spread across a single or double page, carefully chosen to 'set the scene' of the specific catalogue section; 'atmospheric' strips of photos, unrecognisable except as a slice of a bush or mountain scene; studio-adjusted images modified to either combine different images into one or evoke movement through blurring. Also drawings and graphs along with descriptive photographs are used to communicate technical properties of products and materials (see figure 5.2a).

8 Shultis, on discussing his results of the mages of wilderness found in a New Zealand-wide population sample states "this data tends to generate as many questions as answers. For example, this research has not addressed the source of the popular conception of wilderness. What specific sources of information do people access to accumulate their personal definition and images of wilderness, and how do these attitudes and values change". Shultis, 2001, The duality of wilderness: Comparing popular and political conceptions of wilderness in New Zealand, p71. It could be argued that the outdoor equipment catalogue is one such source.

9 Cloke and Perkins, 1998, "Cracking the Canyon with the Awesome Foursome": Representations of Adventure Tourism in New Zealand, p212.

Fig 5.2a Examples of types of photography used in NZOCEI Catalogues. Clockwise from top left: Icebreaker, Kathmandhu, Fairydown, Ground Effect.

The writing style often intersperses technical information with editorials on wilderness and adventure themes that relate to a particular section. Excerpts of letters written by active and enthusiastic consumers, as well as inspirational quotes related to themes of wilderness, discovery and adventure, are included. Profiles and endorsements from adventurers, conservationists and photographers outline both their endeavours and also their enthusiasm for a particular brand and its products.

A number of authors and photographers are used to present different perspectives. Accounts of adventure racing, deep ecology, first ascents, fauna and flora protection, and fabric technology are placed alongside images and descriptions of products. The magazine metaphor allows diverse and at times contradictory images of wilderness to be created. On one page New Zealand's native species can make up a "land devoid of mammals"[10] and a "natural environment [that] is unlike anywhere in the world – ancient and

10 Icebreaker Clothing Catalogue. 2000, p16.

original",[11] while several pages later introduced mammals, each with their own significant ecological impacts, are an example of nature in New Zealand thriving. "Himalayan Thar run wild in the mountains. The family cat is seldom fed, preferring a more adventurous diet from hunting",[12] and Merino sheep continue "a naturally renewable cycle that has occurred for generations".[13] In this case a sophisticated sleight of hand privileges the endemic qualities of the New Zealand environment over the environmental degradation caused by exotic fauna like Thar, Merino and Cats to construct an image of a natural product (in this case wool) born from a natural place.

Each catalogue is a snapshot of a company's image of wilderness and how to engage it. Each brand has a sense of wilderness particular to it. One may emphasise an arboreal aesthetic, another alpine fury. Also some brands reveal a shift in attitude over time as different relationships with wilderness are suggested. For example in one brand themes of conservation have been replaced with themes of adventure.[14]

5.3 THE IMAGE OF WILDERNESS EXPRESSED IN THE CATALOGUES

Earlier it was noted work by Shultis found the following images of wilderness held by a representative sample of New Zealanders: "bush/native forest, no evidence of impact, trees/forest/vegetation, peace/solitude/freedom, remote/isolated, primeval/original condition, nature/scenery/beauty, mountains/alpine, animals/birds/wildlife, rivers/waterfalls".[15] An investigation of the NZOCEI catalogues finds images of wilderness that match the categories in the previously discussed research by Shultis on wilderness imagery. Product names evoke locations, topographical features, flora, fauna, climate, as well as conceptions of the natural world. In one brand products are named Everest, Kahurangi, Kepler, Couloir, Tarn, Plateau, Lightning, Storm Cloud, Thunder, Polar, Limpet, Hammerhead, Cobra, Supernova, Terra Nova and Gondwana.[16] Catalogue covers feature striking photos of mountains, bush, forests, alpine vegetation, rivers and waterfalls. Also included are

11 Ibid.
12 Ibid, p20.
13 Ibid.
14 See Fairydown Catalogue. 1994. ; Fairydown Catalogue. 2000.
15 Shultis, 2001, The duality of wilderness: Comparing popular and political conceptions of wilderness in New Zealand, p69.
16 Fairydown Catalogue. 2002.

images and accounts of indigenous fauna – including native kiwi, kea, kakapo, albatross, tuatara, peripatus, and frogs – with various sections interspersed through the catalogues asking users to treat flora and fauna with respect.

On many covers a single person or distant group are set in a landscape devoid of any other human presence. A line of footprints in the snow, or a rope leading to the photographer is often the only other sign of human involvement in the landscape (see figure 5.3a).

Figure 5.3a Climber on the summit of Mount Hicks.[17]

Like Apse and Potton's previously discussed work such images are also drawn directly from the imagery developed in the Romantic Movement of the Nineteenth Century. As Pound notes, a person immersed, and alone, within an image of nature is "a stock figure type in European Art from the renaissance on. He stands for us. He gazes; we gaze… he is our painted deputy. Through him it is the act of our seeing that we see".[18] Similar images, often alternating alpine vistas with forest scenes, are placed throughout the catalogues. Where space is restricted atmospheric strips match the purpose of the products on that page. A sense of isolation, beauty, and wilderness is generated in the reading of the image.

17 MacPac Catalogue. 1991, p1.
18 Pound, 1983, Frames on the land : early landscape painting in New Zealand, p12.

Editorials are placed on the inside cover, and throughout the catalogues, to textually assist the reader to this interpretation. For example: "Freedom to understand and accept who you are doesn't come easily from within the confines, complexities and compromises of the urban environment. In the wilderness, life becomes simple: real"[19] ; "…we are fortunate to live right on the doorstep of some of the most magnificent and unspoilt wilderness areas in the world"[20] ; "it's about our relationship to nature and to each other"[21] ; "it's an endless circuit of rock, ice, volcanic force, storm and wind, as if the world is created and destroyed before our very eyes".[22]

The images of wilderness that have been tabulated from Shultis' representative sample, in both the fauna, flora and geographical features seen, and the sense of unspoilt isolation and aesthetic beauty experienced, are forcefully impressed on the catalogue reader. However there are a number of other images of wilderness, that Shultis' sample doesn't identify that are also strongly presented in the NZOCEI catalogues. These, which will now be discussed, are: wilderness climate is adverse; wilderness is potentially dangerous; wilderness is often uncomfortable; wilderness requires self-sufficiency; and wilderness is threatened.

5.4 AN ADVERSE, DANGEROUS AND UNCOMFORTABLE WILDERNESS

The first three categories, relating to adverse climate, danger and discomfort, are often woven together. Images and accounts abound of people in such situations. Climate is described as 'unpredictable', 'hostile', 'potentially lethal', 'unforgiving', 'inhospitable', 'severe', 'extreme', 'violent', 'torrential' and 'foul'. Photographs provide visual examples (see figure 5.4a).

19 MacPac Catalogue. 1991, p2.
20 Fairydown Catalogue. 1994, p29
21 Icebreaker Clothing Catalogue. 2000, p2.
22 Kathmandhu Catalogue. 2002, p14.

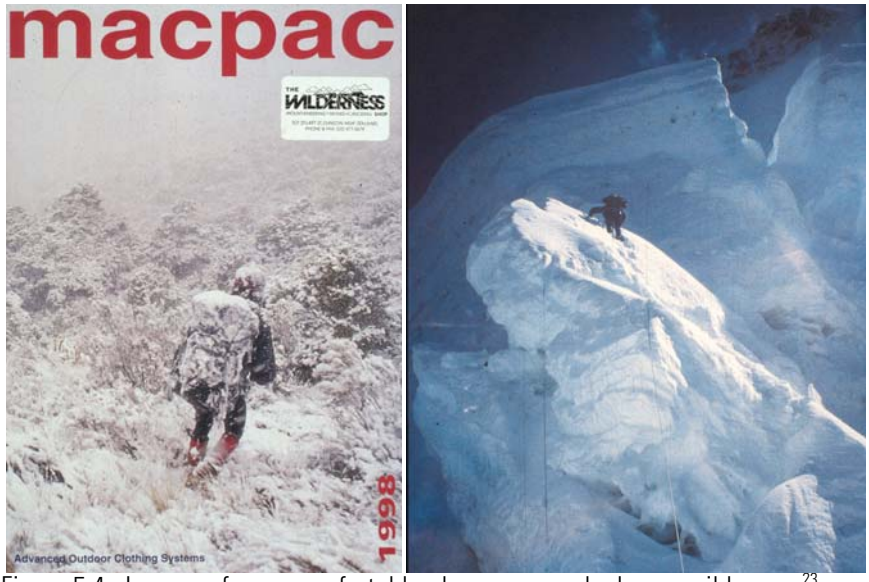


Figure 5.4a Images of an uncomfortable, dangerous and adverse wilderness[23]

People hang from ropes on sheer walls, abseil in storms, climb razor sharp mountain ridges and cross rickety bridges. Editorial pieces comment that products are designed "as if our lives depended on it".[24] Products are named Vertigo, Seige, Ascent and Pursuit.[25] Survival becomes a matter of "instinct, creativity and knowing your environment".[26]

These images of wilderness are more negative than those found in Shultis' data set. In the NZOCEI catalogues these negative images are the 'anticipatory perspectives' for which their respective design solutions are offered as the best strategy for mediating such an unpredictable and potentially threatening wilderness.

One brand "does its best to prepare for the worst…and work against the full force of the wind"[27] to deliver "over the top protection".[28] Another declares, "it is nice to know you are in a tent that's survived just about everything the earth's climates can throw at it".[29] Highly sophisticated proprietary fabrics with names like Quadra™, AzTec®HP , Gridlock™, and VIPER XCR® are an essential element of the product.[30] Detailed notes outline their technical attributes are also included in the catalogues along with exploded views of

23 MacPac Catalogue. 1998, p1, MacPac Catalogue. 2001, p6.
24 MacPac Clothing Catalogue. 1999, p3.
25 Fairydown Catalogue. 2000.
26 Fairydown Catalogue. 1997, p1.
27 Fairydown Catalogue. 1994, p24.
28 Ibid.
29 MacPac Clothing Catalogue. 1995, p24.
30 MacPac Product Guide. 2005, p128.

various woven layers and polymer coatings. These fabrics are described as providing "maximum warmth with minimum weight and bulk",[31] being at "the forefront of soft shell technology",[32] and as "reliable, versatile and durable".[33] They are able to protect users from the elements and danger while you remain 'in control of your comfort'.

Comfort is regularly associated with the products, their features and their use. It is increased, improved and customised. Given that most products involve the body in some way this is hardly surprising. However, the strong inference is that the wilderness, without the assistance of these products will be uncomfortable and unsafe. Again images and accounts of hardship are included in many catalogues. However by carefully choosing the right products adverse, dangerous and uncomfortable images of wilderness will be mitigated.[34]

5.5 A SELF-SUFFICIENT WILDERNESS

The next image of wilderness expressed in the NZOCEI catalogues is wilderness demands self-sufficiency. This form of independence and self-reliance requires all resources and technology to be brought with you. It expects wilderness to provide very little. Shelter is brought rather than made. According to Peter Bishop this fascination with sophisticated clothing, specialist equipment, and highly manufactured materials – or 'high-t(r)ech' as he calls it – is part of "a broad terrain of leisure activities and fantasies"[35] which includes Four-Wheel-Drive culture. What is brought "is a potentially infinitely mobile centre from which everything meaningful lies outside".[36] Bishop comments these attitudes to environment have their basis in the urban and suburban culture of their owners rather than the wilderness they were designed for use in. Like the brochures that frame an adventure tourist experience "high tech becomes part of the frame by which wilderness has its imagining and its experiencing".[37]

31 Kathmandhu Catalogue. 2002, p26.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 This can also lead to an inaccurate perception of safety in users. See Ewert, 2000, Trends in adventure recreation: Programs, experiences, and issues.
35 Bishop, 1996, Off road: Four-wheel drive and the sense of place, p265.
36 Ibid, p269.
37 Ibid.

The environmental care code, adapted by the Department of Conservation, and published regularly in different outdoors catalogues[38] emphasise a 'leave no trace' ethic to being in the outdoors. For example people are advised to "carry out what you carry in"[39] and when camping to "use modern equipment that doesn't damage the environment and helps you to be self reliant. Cutting vegetation for tent poles and sleeping areas is not necessary".[40] The overarching message is "always remember … you are a visitor in someone's home".[41] The only resource one might be expected to extract from the environment is water, the only one left is toilet waste,[42] in all other facets one is expected to be self-sufficient.

On the other hand the use of technology is presented as a necessary and positive aspect of going outdoors. Taking advantage of the latest innovations is prudent, while venturing out without them is foolhardy. In achieving today's 'leave no trace' ethic – in which people are required to bring all the necessary resources with them – the quality and suitability of equipment is to the fore in many forums relating to the outdoors.[43] To this end Simon Ryan considers both the role of minimum impact codes, and the resulting dependence on technological solutions result in the formulation of a certain idea of wilderness: an understanding whose basis is founded in a culturally-based value judgement of what is environmentally detrimental.[44]

Ryan argues that in terms of a minimum impact ethic a human footprint threatens the definition of wilderness as unspoilt and remote, in ways that the footprints of other animals, despite most being species exotic to the region, apparently do not. This is in much the same way that technology as "a quintessentially human activity … begins to threaten wilderness as well".[45] In this circular logic Ryan concludes, "humans are thought of as distinct from wilderness because of the types of impact we cause, while the type of impact we cause derives in part because we have been constructed as distinct from

38 See, for example, one published regularly in Macpac catalogues, and adapted versions at times published in Fairydown and Kathmandhu catalogues.
39 Department of Conservation, 2007d, Plan and Prepare: Minimising your impact.
40 Department of Conservation, 2007e, Plan and Prepare: Minimising your impact. Camp Carefully.
41 Department of Conservation, 2007f, Plan and Prepare: Minimising your impact. Protect Plants and Wildlife.
42 Though trials at Aoraki National Park with climbers are being conducted. See Department of Conservation, 2007b, Aoraki/Mount Cook National Park: Pack it out - Poo pots.
43 See Leave No Trace Center for Outdoor Ethics. 2008, Leave No Trace Center for Outdoor Ethics.
44 For a discussion of the shift to 'leave no trace' in a North American context see: Turner, 2002, From Woodcraft to'Leave No Trace': Wilderness, Consumerism, and Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America.
45 Ryan, 2002, Cyborgs in the woods, p272.

wilderness".[46] A second alienation mirrors such an approach: for just as wilderness cannot accommodate culture such a model also forecloses the possibility for the suburban, the urban and the industrial to become sites where wilderness might also be accommodated.[47]

This separation reinforces the previously discussed sense of being a visitor in the conservation estate that is advocated by the Department of Conservation. Not only is the person a visitor, but so also are their associated technologies and skills they use to 'visit with'. While used and tested in wilderness landscapes the multiple equipment options belong squarely in the environment from which the visitor, and their mindset of wilderness, arrives from and subsequently returns to. Thayer considers the retail environments in which such products are sold are "surrogate natural landscapes, where the products of recreational technology conjure up images of the types of places and experiences in which the equipment is to be used".[48]

Campanella, in his discussion of the role of such technology reflecting consumer identity, states "today our efforts to simplify our lives by snuggling close to nature seem, paradoxically, to require the materiel of a small army: global positioning systems, Kryptonite flashlights, polyethylene underpants, Gore-Tex outerwear, and satellite phones. Atop this list sits the sports-utility vehicle".[49] What these artefacts evoke is a lifestyle that says less about an environment and more about an individual's identity and what Thayer terms as an "infatuation with technology". [50] Or as Diskin declares "you are what you own".[51]

The wilderness evoked by these "new toys for the outdoor adventurer" (as one outdoor magazine titles their new product release pages)[52] is that as a stage for the individual. As one brand begins its catalogue "Fairydown isn't just about high tech fabrics, or outstanding design, or even reputation and excellence. It's about the un-climbed, the un-explored, and the un-conquered.

46 Ibid.
47 Instead the type of wilderness now imagined for such sites relates more to ideas of Wastelands and Drosscapes. See Hanson, 1997, Waste land : meditations on a ravaged landscape. Berger, 2007, Drosscape: Wasting Land in Urban America. However for a discussion also of urban nature see, for example: Light, 1995, Urban Wilderness. ; Gunn and Owens, 2006, Nature, technology and the modern city: an introduction.
48 Thayer, 1994, Gray world, green heart: technology, nature, and the sustainable landscape, p40.
49 Campanella, 1997, The Rugged Steed, p29.
50 Thayer, 1994, Gray world, green heart: technology, nature, and the sustainable landscape, p45.
51 Diskin, 1998, And what about industrial design? p62.
52 New Toys for the Outdoor Adventurer. 2004.

At Fairydown we prepare individuals to face the challenges of nature. We help them test their limits, and realise their dreams".[53] Challenges that can be met by one who is armed, as another brand introduces its range, with "packs, sleeping bags, tents and clothing for any activity, any environment, anywhere on earth".[54]

Ewart and Shultis discuss how changes in technology have impacted on the quality of the outdoors experience. Increased access, comfort, safety, communication and information have resulted in a similar growth in participation and challenges for the 'recreation manager'. Positive aspects from this growth include "greater support and awareness of backcountry recreation and protected areas; environmental benefits e.g. dispersion of impacts; and economic benefits e.g. industrial growth, job creation, revenue generation".[55] Negative aspects include such issues as crowding and displacement, increased erosion, pollution and disturbance to wildlife, and also the economic costs of providing more facilities. However left largely un-noted in their discussion is the effect such changes in technologies and their use might have on how the conservation estate might be perceived, or in what ways technology might change what is considered to be a wilderness experience and wilderness landscape.

As previously mentioned, Shultis' categories can be split between what is 'viewed' and what the viewer might 'sense'. A number of these images, including the alpine/mountains and trees/forest/vegetation categories, are used in the catalogues to contextualise images of adverse weather and potential danger. These in turn are linked to constructing an image of wilderness as being uncomfortable. Product solutions are presented as mediators of these adverse wilderness images and also assist in producing an understanding of wilderness that requires the visitor to be self-sufficient.

These additional images of wilderness, when compared with those of Shultis' sample, come not only from a visual aesthetic or cognitive state, but also through activities undertaken and experiences had. In the NZOCEI catalogues there are many images of people camping, cooking, swimming, eating, resting, climbing, walking, running, conversing, and laughing in a wilderness

53 Fairydown Catalogue. 2005, p2.
54 MacPac Product Guide. 2005, p1.
55 Ewert and Shultis, 1999, Technology and Backcountry Recreation: Boon to Recreation or Bust for Management? p7.

environment. Cloke and Perkins state: "active recreational participation … demands new metaphors based more on 'being, doing, touching, and seeing' rather than just 'seeing'".[56] There is a difference between 'gazing' on a landscape and 'performing' in one. The wilderness of a person's performance is "an embodied, practised, contextualised, melange of experience within that landscape".[57] The additional images the NZOCEI present come from an ongoing relationship with wilderness, images which the industry has made and developed in partnership with its consumer base. This relationship also stimulates an empathetic response from outdoor companies to an image of a threatened wilderness and the related concerns of environmental impacts and sustainable practices.

Mike Michael suggests Ingold's analysis of landscape, where the body is "always already immersed in nature",[58] ignores the cascading effect of technologies in modifying the affordance nature offers. He notes that even the simple hiking boot is not a 'simple intermediary' but moderates and directs the relationship between an individual and nature. These mundane technologies interject by "introducing their own heterogeneous messages".[59] Therefore these reshape "the affordances of nature by expanding the range of possible actions available to the body. Further, walking boots are parts of the environment in themselves insofar as they are composed of surfaces".[60] Nor is such disruption only local. For example boots, in their provenance and design, and their sizing, materials, branding and distribution, "mediate between distributed heterogeneous networks that encompass globalised systems and the global environment"[61]. It is in the agency-like effects of technological objects – "the ability to build, maintain, and draw out networks of power and control, to alter social relations, and to change spatial configurations"[62] – that changes in wilderness experiences and landscapes occur. Different technologies affect how wilderness landscapes are perceived, both spatially and temporally, and also what constitutes the edge of possibility. Included in this transition is a shifting of the frontier of

56 Cloke and Perkins, 1998, "Cracking the Canyon with the Awesome Foursome": Representations of Adventure Tourism in New Zealand, p189.
57 Cloke and Jones, 2001, Dwelling, place, and landscape: an orchard in Somerset, p664.
58 Michael, 2000, These Boots are Made for Walking...: Mundane Technology, the Body and Human-Environment Relations, p108.
59 Ibid, p114.
60 Ibid, p112.
61 Ibid, p119.
62 Naylor, 2000, Spacing the can: empire, modernity and the globalisation of food, p1626.

wilderness from a spatial demarcation to a technological limit. In figure 5.5a is a list of the equipment I carried during a seven-day solo journey in Southern New Zealand in which I met no one. In one sense such a trip – across almost entirely untracked country – is the epitome of remoteness and isolation. Yet even a cursory reading of the list in Figure 5.5a reveals that while I was physically removed from social company I nonetheless carried the artefacts and handiwork of many people, business entities and countries with me. Indeed my reverie of solitude was in many ways sustained by my being inextricably connected globally and technologically.

Fairydown Assault Tent...Fairydown Couloir Pack...Grey Cramsack...Yellow Bootlaces from my old Asolo 101s...Red High and Dry winterweight polypropylene top...Arcteryx Parka...Silva Compass with the mirror gone...Purple and Yellow MEC Fleece with Nat's special purple sticker...Mountain Hardware Gloves and inners...Bike shorts given to me by Nancy and used as underwear...Carli's bike shorts to hold up my crappy long johns...White Winterweight Fairydown Balaclava...Pinkish High and Dry Winterweight Polypro Longjohns (that colour because they were free)...My wedding ring...And my far too many fillings!!...Lightweight High and Dry Polypropylene top...Blue lightweight longjohns that I scored when Johnno left them...Carli's nice new socks, and red ones that are much too tight...Katmandhu Gaitors I found at Port Craig Hut last year...Sier's bootlaces he gave me...My trashed boots that Dave repaired...Cheap ski pole from R&R with a new bale grabbed from a trashed Komperdel pole of mine...One Big Black Garden Sak bought at Countdown to work as a pack liner...¾ Thermarest with the larger registration number (that way I can tell it apart from Carli's)...Lightweight Fairydown Sleeping Bag that was one of Andy's prototypes...Carli's headlamp with a spare bulb and 3 new energizer batteries (with the fourth from the pack chucked in with the bag of stuff I wasn't taking)...Red cup taken from the cheap Doyles Cooking Set I bought just before heading out...Two way Mountain Radio MRS3 SSB ZKIB 149...Aerial with heavy leads and kinking wire and mended in one place by my first aid tape when I broke it...Snow Peak Cooker bought in Canada...2 Great Outdoors 230g cooking canisters with red plastic caps...MSR wind proof shield that has to be propped up another 50mm of height to be of any use...Large MSR Billy – the only one I could find from the set because the kids have been playing with it and losing them...Billy Grip that came from who knows where...Billy Lid cut out from an oven tray bought at New World because of the kids losing the other one...Carli's Armitron watch that I got her at Los Angeles airport on my way to a conference but has since become unreliable...Hutchwilco whistle that walked up the South Island and still is attached by my old compass cord...Another compass cord that is stiff as hell...The Pilot Green Hi Tecpoint V5 Extra Fine Pen I am writing this list with...Snow Peak Cooker container...1 Tealight candle...Paradise Brand waterproof matches with 20 or so matches all squashed into an old AGFA RX200 film canister...Oversized Fairydown tent pole sleeve with…Fishing line wrapped around it and held together with...Old Leukoplast 1 inch tape...And an old fishing swivel tied to the end...Small black Ultrapod which is the same camera tripod I have use...25cm of an old disused racing bike tire to help get fires going...Orange plastic spoon that I grabbed from home (I think it was part of a wedding present)...Small Opinel knife I recently resurrected...Box of 50 Bryant & May matches in a small mini grip bag...Bausch and Lamb Compact Mirror...Alcon lens case with 2 new contact lens under the white lid and two older ones in the right green lid container...Tonio 10057 140 spectacle frames and now a chipped and tattered purple, and with plastic lenses from Stewart and Caithness...2 Acuvue contact lens cases now empty: -1.25 2006/06 exp batch 250201; -1.25 2006/11exp batch 592201...1 Acuvue 2008/01-1.25 3550440630 which is part of an unopened 6 pack blister pack...Canon G3 Powershoot 4.0 megapixels Camera PC 1032, from the Department of Design Studies where I work, made in Japan, plus lens cap, strap and chord...2 Canon BP511A – 7.4V March 05 Battery packs...40X High Speed 40 512MB chip POI made in Taiwan AC43-5120-0182PO4A0373...40X High Speed 40 512MB chip POI made in Taiwan AC43-5120-0182PO4B0052...Each in a plastic case...Pretec 128MB Compact Flash assembled in Taiwan P/N CFCM128M-02A071...Pink cased BIC pen made in New Zealand...CHUNG HWA 6161 2B pencil "suitable for computer"...Warwick 3B1 notebook (made in New Zealand) and in which this is all written...2 Bic lighters – one new and from a twin pack that went on my previous trip with the kids – Made in France with safety sticker...Half a roll of fluffy sheep printed toilet paper taken from home... One clear FUJI film canister half of toxic REPEL from my stockpile from when I last attempted this trip 13 years ago...One clear FUJI film canister quarter filled with SP30 sunscreen scraped from an old container...Blue 'Made in China' sun hat with foreign legion flaps...Another rubbish bag...10g container of Rexona Vaseline Lip Therapy Petroleum jelly with SPF15...Another FUJI container this time 2/3 full of Petroleum Jelly...1500ml Sprite water bottle

bought when shopping for my boy Nat's birthday party but 'inadvertantly' polished of by me when building the deck...Pair of plush red bootlaces in their own small red minigrip bag...Andy's too-tight wrap around green metallic Oakley framed sunglasses (made in the USA) and that give me a headache if worn too long. Bought for $50 and now cracked in one spot and held together by a piece of tape from my 1st Aid Kit...The Oakley glass case that came with them and the FIVE TEN sticker on them...Yellow and black twine that I had attached to the tent but since detached to make a clothes line to dry everything. (The rest of the roll is holding up the tomatoes at home)...15 or so medium mini-grip bags for food, contacts, first aid and maps etc...8 or so large minigrip bags for radio, food etc (including rubbish like a smelly cheese wrapper)...And some spare medium and large minigrip bags...Sandwich bags for spices, string and another spare lighter...Assorted stuff sacks including at least 8-9 Alpsports and Fairydown with the latter having the failed racing goose logo....A big brown waterproof bag.....Double dehy Hummus mix...500gm Couscous...some loose Lapsang Souchang tea and 10 or so Twinings English Breakfast teabags... Verkerks hot and spicy pepperoni from Christchurch...200g of Anchor vintage gruyere...Hubbards Berry Berry Nice Meusli... Hubbards Toasted Muesli...Tasti Blueberry Muesli...500gm Macaroni Elbows...2 packs of Arnotts Gingernuts...2 packs of Griffins Fruitli Golden Fruit...250gm Tasti dried peaches...250gm Tasti dried apricots...My own nut mix of Cashews, almonds, pine nuts, sunflower seeds, and pumpkin seeds from the South Dunedin Pak'n'Sav Bulk bins...Twist ties to keep everything closed...200gm or so of dried peas...Maggi dried coconut cream...Chilli powder from home...Ground Cumin...Crushed salt bought at Taste Nature...Coriander...Cracked Pepper...Back country cuisine Babotije...Back Country Cuisine Chicken Tikka Masala...Pack of 5 grain crispbread...3 packs of 150gm Greenseas Sweet Thai Chilli Tuna...Rice...A3 colour copies of topo maps on department's colour copier including an annoying slightly scaled down version...Photocopies of the various relevant Moir's sections including the escape routes....Staples, stapled by Donna's stapler, that hold it together in the most annoying places...Mastercard... $100 cash in 20$ bills...A copy of Barrington's diary Jane copied for me....2 side colour copy of the design parts of my thesis notes...

Figure 5.5a: List of Equipment and Food carried to Pyke River

As Michael comments, though "walking boots may be 'mundane' technological artefacts, but in their design, production, distribution and marketing, the most exotic of technologies are involved".[63] He notes Latour, in his development of 'Actor Network Theory', "asks us to consider modernity as fundamentally concerned with the purification of hybrids – their separation into humans and non-humans".[64] It is this conceptual void, formed between the two, which enables wilderness to be formulated as an idea that does not need acknowledged the technology through which that wilderness is made known. It is this distance that blocks a consideration that different wildernesses are produced through the different performances that different technologies enable. However when the role of technology is considered Michael states that "in the process of putting oneself in the position of experiencing the sublime, one also 'does' consumption, damage, standardisation, disembeddedness and so on, and innumerable more or less subtly nuanced versions of these".[65] How one 'does' nature is not formed in the interface between an individual meeting nature, but in the technologies that moderate that relationship. In this sense, from a technological position,

63 Michael, 2000, Reconnecting culture, technology, and nature : from society to heterogeneity, p3.

64 Michael, 2000, These Boots are Made for Walking...: Mundane Technology, the Body and Human-Environment Relations, p122. See also Latour, 1993, We have never been modern.

65 Michael, 2000, These Boots are Made for Walking...: Mundane Technology, the Body and Human-Environment Relations, p121.

what does it mean to practise wilderness? Or put another way what technologies might suggest alternative practices of wilderness and landscapes, and what conception of wilderness and landscape might they create?

Ryan applies Harraway's concept of the hybrid and cyborg to the identity of the person in wilderness. In this analysis the division between what is human, wilderness and the technology smudge, and in turn result in a more intimate and contingent consideration of identity. He argues that if 'discourses' of nature and wilderness are constructed in certain ways, such "as a resource to be used to satisfy human needs [then] our actions will reflect this 'reality'".[66]

While I concur with the negotiable quality of wilderness, Ryan's position is based on similar terrain to that of Cronon's. It suggests actions follow the construction of the idea, or a community of ideas. And further this emphasis on the provisional qualities of identity is difficult to apply in terms of attempting the modification of wilderness landscape. For there is an implication that innovative conceptions of identity, while expressed through practices of skill and technology, are formed *prior* to their expression. This suggests, in his application, that the 'cyborg-in-the-woods' must be declared as such before it can be performed. Yet such an approach assumes actions are a straightforward transference of ideas that requires only a literal acting out of the already determined. It suggests that wilderness landscapes are created, and potentially controllable, in their ideation. It also implies the role for the designer of technology is to faithfully portray in form the already-understood concept, rather than to use form to prompt, in less predictable ways, the yet-to-be-undertaken practice.[67]

In this dissertation the relationship between wilderness and practice is modelled in a reversed order. While it acknowledges that the NZOCEI manufactures a certain type of 'cyborg-in-the-woods' – and one that is generic, globalising and anywhere in its scope – it takes the following as its starting premise: that wilderness landscapes are constructed as a largely unpredictable outcome, and not as a precursor, of the practices such technologies foster.

66 Ryan, 2002, Cyborgs in the woods, p266.
67 For a similar critique, but in the context of domestic material culture, see: Noble, 2004, Accumulating Being.

Shortly I will return to consider further how alternative practices of wilderness landscapes might be prompted through technological design and innovation, and what manner of wilderness landscape might be formed. But before further developing this theme through an investigation of cooking it is relevant to discuss a final image of wilderness revealed in the NZOCEI catalogues and the relationship of this theme to concepts of sustainability.

5.6 A THREATENED WILDERNESS

Permeating many catalogues is a sense of wilderness as threatened, and associated with this theme is that sustainability and its relationship to technology, business and wilderness landscapes requires careful reflection. Often referred to is the intrinsic value of wilderness and the importance of protecting such unique environments. Minimum impact codes outline responsible practices for travel in the outdoors. There are images of native fauna and accounts of their vulnerability. Species protection and monitoring programmes are sponsored with donations of equipment. One brand tells users, given growing visitor numbers, of the need to leave the land unaffected by their travels. Another brand begins its catalogues with the following: "the machines of industrial civilisation have transformed the face of our environment. Sometimes forever. Our wild places are precious islands in a sea of humanity".[68]

Links are made between a threatened wilderness and a threatened environment. Brands use their catalogues to demonstrate sensitivity to such issues in a number of ways. Quotes from noted environmentalists including Emerson, Thoreau and Brower are interspersed throughout the pages. Articles on topics ranging from the effect of litter in the wilderness, the pressing need for marine reserves, the concept of Gaia, North American Indian perspectives on the environment and the pressure on governmental agencies to grow tourism within national parks are included. Some catalogues declare they are printed from sustainable forest resources, others on recycled paper.

Issues of environmental sustainability are treated in different ways. One brand begins a catalogue perplexed: "Why think? At worst we live in a country and world where community, thought and sustainability have been brutally

68 Wilderness Catalogue. 1995, p2.

replaced by commerce, competition and rampant expansion. At best we are surrounded by the beauty, variety and richness of evolutionary change, and as a part of nature we can do no wrong. Life seems to be a balance".[69] Another includes reports of its green business practice. Several thousand trees are planted to partly compensate for greenhouse gas emissions as well as increase native species biodiversity. Waste audits and recycling programs seek to reduce environmental footprints while business practices sensitive to the issues of climate change are presented in order to communicate a company-wide commitment to sustainability. Products are declared more durable, and so more sustainable due to their lasting longer. Another manufacturer specifies a fabric made of recycled polyethylene terephthalate (PET) carbonated drink bottles for several of its products. Wearing one "makes a statement of your awareness and concern for the environment".[70]

For the manufacturer, presenting consistency between their business practice and the potent themes of a threatened wilderness and a threatened environment is problematic. In one section of a catalogue a brand can be "fiercely committed to preserving the natural balance within these fragile environments"[71] and in another enthusing of their involvement as "more and more of the planet's most physical barriers are challenged… and won over".[72] In a study of environmental mail order catalogues Benton comments that "environmental ideologies, radical and mainstream, are fraught with inconsistencies and contradictions".[73] The catalogues of NZOCEI are no different. Large format publications with long print runs have significant inputs of paper, water and energy, whether from green sources or not. Environmental footprint analysis relates to the sourcing, manufacture and disposal of a product as well as its use.[74] Few products have had modified specifications to reduce environmental impacts. Conservation-orientated projects appear to receive considerably less support than mountaineers, multi-sport athletes and professional photographers.

It is this separating out of wilderness from its practice, provisioning and communication, that allows, for example, one outdoor manufacturer to

69 Cactus Catalogue. 2000, p3.
70 Kathmandhu Catalogue. 1999, p21.
71 Fairydown Catalogue. 1994, p29.
72 Ibid, p1.
73 Benton, 1995, Selling the natural or selling out? Exploring environmental merchandising, p12.
74 For a detailed discussion of this see Wackernagel and Rees, 1996, Our ecological footprint : reducing human impact on the earth.

comment negatively on the intrusion of tourism within the conservation estate, as a form of 'Making a Buck from Nature', without a similar analysis as to the role of the catalogue in which they market their tents and packs in which this comment is found.[75] Nor are the environmental consequences of the materials and processes selected to make their 'cutting edge' solutions given a similar analysis. The singular environmental pitch of each product relates to its ruggedness and durability, and its "superlative technical design and engineering craftsmanship".[76]

Nonetheless in presenting the issue of a threatened wilderness, a company explores the difficulties inherent in marrying paradigms of consumption and sustainability. While currently such negotiation is neither consistent nor conclusive, and also display a less than enduring fluidity,[77] they could mark for Benton the "beginnings of a transition into a different kind of experience".[78] Maybe by grappling inconsistently with issues of sustainability today more consistent results may come in the long term.

5.7 SUSTAINABILITY AND THE NEW ZEALAND OUTDOOR EQUIPMENT AND CLOTHING INDUSTRY

Sustainability, while widely appealed to, is not a consistently applied concept. How it might be applied to the materials, production, distribution and use of outdoor equipment is contested. In the New Zealand context, industry leader Macpac states, "here at Macpac we take our relationship with the environment seriously. We live each and every day by our 5 environmental principles".[79] The first three relate to attributes of the products they make. By having 'legendary' after sales service, repair agents to fix minor problems, and "by making durable products fewer resources are used over a period of time – they don't have to be replaced as often as cheaper, inferior ones".[80] The focus of these environmental attributes is on the judgement of the user. It is the user's need to express their environmental stewardship that is appealed to. To this end "we reckon having good quality gear that makes it easier for you

75 MacPac Clothing Catalogue. 1999, p25.
76 MacPac Product Guide. 2005, p53.
77 See, for example, the shift over time in how environmental themes are dealt with in the Fairydown and MacPac catalogues cited in this study.
78 Benton, 1995, Selling the natural or selling out? Exploring environmental merchandising, p22.
79 MacPac, 2007, Environment. See also MacPac, 2004, On Earth's Edge... Life Evolves, p8.
80 MacPac, 2007, Environment.

to get into the natural world is a big step in developing an appreciation for the environment. It's hard to know the true value of something without experiencing it".[81] Hence according to these claims purchasing a Macpac product is 'a positive environmental choice'. The last two principles address business functions. Under the heading 'Reduce, re-use, recycle' they state, "The throwaway mentality isn't part of our make-up. We recycle food scraps through worm bins. We don't travel unnecessarily. We make durable products that don't need to be replaced often. As we evolve, new ideas and approaches are constantly being assessed".[82] The final principle is "return the favour to nature: We use fossil fuels to conduct our business. As a means of renewing carbon we've been planting indigenous trees in our own city since 2001. The local council manages the maintenance programme now, but we're still out there weeding and planting on a seasonal basis".[83]

In these claims there is an inference that because these products are designed for 'unspoilt' environments, and that both the company and also their customers have a sensitivity for such places, and so act as advocates for keeping them that way, that the products themselves are also environmentally positive. Yet it is difficult to quantify, beyond expressing a corporate ambition to care for the environment, how the reforestation of a small pastoral block with annual planting of approximately 2000 trees,[84] and the running of a worm farm in their design and distribution facility could offset the environmental impact of raw material production, off-shore manufacture and international distribution that produces over 160 product lines which in turn have multiple sizing and colour options. Further, while avoiding unnecessary air travel, like material optimisation, is commendable as prudent business practice, the environmental benefits of reducing flights, it can be argued, are more than likely offset by the flights for sponsored expeditions to remote locations, like 'Unclimbed Tibet', South Georgia, Antarctica, and the Seven Summits[85], that make up the many images and appeals in the catalogues.

81 Ibid.
82 Ibid. In their printed material Macpac continues with "a planetary consciousness pervades our thinking". MacPac, 2004, On Earth's Edge... Life Evolves, p9.
83 MacPac, 2007, Environment.
84 Landcare Research, 2001, Environmental project a breath of fresh air for business.
85 These are the highest peaks in each of the world's continents.

Gaining credibility through statements of a brand's environmental awareness is important for a number of NZOCEI businesses. A competitor of Macpac, Cactus, has recently also declared an interest in addressing issues of sustainability through a close inspection of its materials and manufacturing processes. They are dismissive of Macpac's environmental claims, who contentiously made the claim that "Macpac is 'from New Zealand' like no other outdoor equipment company on earth"[86] while shifting their entire production from New Zealand to Asia.[87] In a pointed comment Cactus state "we design so our products can continue to be made in NZ where we can better control our impact (who knows what dirty coal fired electricity goes into a pack that's 'Made in China like no other company on earth'??) this sometimes means simpler shapes and less complex construction.... but less is always more".[88]

Cactus considers their efforts are more substantive. In their 'sustainability report' they note "in the last six months we have researched all our major fabrics and we are in the process of moving 90% to Oeko-tex 100 certified production. This is very exciting as we have never been able to obtain information as to the chemical make up of our materials and they will almost all now pass this human health orientated standard. We have also stopped our use of PVC fabrics which have known toxicity problems".[89]

The purpose in this discussion is not to favour Cactus' efforts at the expense of Macpac's. Since 1990 Macpac have had an ongoing commitment to pursue an environmental business philosophy. "As we evolve, new ideas and approaches are constantly being assessed".[90] However the ironies identified in these various positions are reflective of the outdoor industry, and for that matter many other industries, as a whole.[91] Indeed most of the other brands in this study have not attempted to explore what a sustainable position for their product ranges might be, whether because they consider such a stance

86 MacPac Product Guide. 2005, p1.
87 MacPac, 2004, On Earth's Edge... Life Evolves, p3,7.
88 Cactus Climbing, 2006, Sustainability Report.
89 Ibid.
90 MacPac, 2007, Environment.
91 For example in a North American context Chouinard closes his treatise with "Patagonia will never be completely socially responsible. It will never make a totally sustainable nondamaging product. But it is committed to trying". Chouinard, 2005, Let My People Go Surfing: The Education of a Reluctant Businessman, p260. Likewise MSR, which produces a leading North American Brand of cooker, promotes its financial support of the *Leave No Trace Outdoor Ethic Organisation* while ignoring the exclusive use of fossil-based energy sources to fuel the products in its range.

cannot attract a sufficient premium for them, or because they consider the significance of the issue inflated.

Regardless a 'leave-no-trace' ethos is best achieved by carrying all the necessary technology and skills with you. It is one in which expense is proportional to the superiority of the solution, whether in terms of increasing functionality, or by reducing the weight of what as to be carried. The underlying message in these exhaustive ranges of outdoor equipment, where brands seek to offer complete equipment and clothing packages for particular activities, is that while wilderness is threatened by the actions of people, the larger environment by which these activities are resourced is not. Being responsible requires one to leave no trace *when one is in the wilderness,* though the same philosophy does not apply beyond those geographically determined boundaries. Hence the environmental cost of travelling to such places is not critiqued from the same ethical stance as how one should travel once there.

Many models of sustainability that relate to designerly applications have been proposed.[92] The Brundtland Report, which has set the benchmark for governmental agencies,[93] defines sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs".[94] While the supporting clauses have more substance,[95] this approach has been criticised, due to the inherent difficulty of accurately forecasting the future, as being merely aspirational and therefore difficult to apply.[96]

Tischner and Charter, coming from an eco-design stance, focus their consideration of sustainability around outcomes. They state "sustainable solutions are: products, services, hybrids or system changes that minimise negative and maximise positive sustainability impacts — economic,

92 See, for example Papanek, 1995, The green imperative: natural design for the real world. ; Buchanan, 2003, Invitation to a Dance: Sustainability and the Expanded Realm of Design. ; France, 2003, Green World, Gray Heart? The Promise and the Reality of Landscape Architecture in Sustaining Nature.

93 For a New Zealand example of how it is used in governmental policy statements see http://www.mfe.govt.nz/issues/susdev/reports.html

94 Cited in Mannion and Bowlby, 1992, Environmental Issues in the 1990s, p24.

95 These include: "(a) the basic needs of all people must be met in a way which provides for their needs with security and dignity – in the world today, where the needs of so many are not met, this inevitably means giving the needs of the poor priority... [and] (b) there are no absolute limits to development – development potential is a function of the present state of technology and social organization, combined with their impact on environmental resources". Cited in Ibid, p25.

96 For an example of how sustainable development is framed from a planning perspective see Stephenson, Bauchop, Petchey and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2004, Bannockburn heritage landscape study, p101-102.

environmental, social and ethical — throughout and beyond the life-cycle of existing products or solutions, while fulfilling acceptable societal demands/needs".[97] Though beneficial in terms of individual solutions the adoption of the various checklists they advocate – and which seek to quantify the respective trade-offs – quickly becomes unwieldy at more complex systemic levels. Indeed, a specific solution, in such a methodology, may be more sustainable than previous options, and yet despite creating a 'positive net sustainable value' may yet contribute negatively to specific environmental parameters. Karl-Henrik Robèrt states that while there is uncertainty, for example, at what level air-borne pollution from burning PCBs and water-borne pollution from the leaching of mercury, becomes toxic to life, each increment – no matter how small – takes the system one step closer to the inevitable point that this occurs. Hence he advocates that both "substances from the Earth's crust [and] substances produced by society (human-made materials) must not systematically increase in the ecosphere".[98] It is for this reason that Braungart and McDonough consider strategies that advocate sustainability through the reduction of inputs, or what is termed the 'dematerialisation' of the 'ecological rucksack',[99] while leading to significant reductions in energy, material and manufacturing to achieve the same output, and while admirable in their intent, are unworkable. "At its heart, eco-efficiency is a guilt-driven agenda that takes for granted – even institutionalises – the antagonism between nature and industry".[100] In the end even the most eco-efficient production still results in products and services that are discarded at the end of their life. Even if emissions are reduced to 10% of original levels, harmful pollutants are still released. Further, as demand grows, and as more of the world is industrialised, the net quantity of released pollutants continues to grow even as their percentage relative to individual output declines. Even the benefits from recycling can be considered illusory. Ultimately materials, like for example paper, are 'down-cycled' into a succession of inferior products until the materials are no longer usable and discarded.[101] From Braungart and McDonough's perspective eco-efficiency – like that advocated by Macpac in their claims of durable, fit-for-

97 Charter and Tischner, 2001, Sustainable solutions : developing products and services for the future, p17.
98 Cited in Mendler, Odell and Hellmuth Obata & Kassabaum., 2000, The HOK guidebook to sustainable design, p.viii-ix.
99 See Schmidt-Bleek, 2001, MIPS and Ecological Rucksacks in Designing the Future.
100 Braungart and McDonough cited in Rajgor, 2004, Sustainable purity Competition seeks designs for the "ultimate victory.", p61.
101 See McDonough and Braungart, 2002a, Cradle to cradle : remaking the way we make things, p68-72.

purpose products – is still based on a cradle to grave model. They convincingly argue that while such an approach can extract greater benefit from the resources used, it in the end leaves those resources – once used – lost permanently to landfills, incinerators and the like, and also as potentially water-borne and air-borne pollutants.

Braungart and McDonough instead propose a 'cradle to cradle' approach, in which the emphasis is improving the quality of material flows, and in which the selection of all inputs in the manufacturing process is based on the benefit of their 'nutrient value', as either ecological or technological "nourishment for something new after each useful life".[102] Their vision, modelled on observing the fecundity of a fruiting tree,[103] aims for a celebration of productivity, provided it is healthy at all levels, so that instead of being a burden on the resources of the planet manufacture it becomes part of the process by which environmental quality is generated.[104] In this model it becomes untenable for the user of outdoor technologies to only consider the impact that their equipment and clothing on wilderness and not consider both the sites of that technology's manufacture and purchase and also the industrial and urban landscapes to which their producers and users belong. It is for this reason that Cactus signal they wish to address life cycle issues by which they can "introduc[e] more components that can truly, in the cradle to cradle sense, be called industrial or biological nutrients and by offering a take back scheme where we can recycle the materials in our products in a positive way".[105] Similarly Icebreaker now adapts a cradle-to-cradle sentiment when telling customers that when their garment is no longer usable "you can bury your Icebreaker in your garden and it will compost".[106]

However what these brands are ultimately manufacturing, as can also be argued in Braungart and McDonough's 'cradle to cradle' model, is not an attitude to nature, but rather an attitude to technology. While 'nature' might provide the metaphors for its communication, design philosophy, and at times their respective brand names, these businesses are based on the adoption and sales of technology. Patagonia states it is first and foremost "a product-

102 McDonough and Braungart, 2002b, The Promise of Nylon 6: A Case Study in Intelligent Design.
103 McDonough and Braungart, 2002a, Cradle to cradle : remaking the way we make things, p72-77.
104 The tree is a potent metaphor that Cronon also enlists in his discussion of wilderness. See also: Jones and Cloke, 2002, Tree cultures : the place of trees and trees in their place. ; Garner, 2004, Living History: Trees and Metaphors of Identity in an English Forest.
105 Cactus Climbing, 2006, Sustainability Report.
106 http://www.icebreaker.com/site/philosophy/#/designethos/productreflectsvalues/ : accessed 6th January 2008.

driven company, and without a tangible product there would obviously be no business".[107] Patagonia is aware of the potential negative impacts on the environment that their choice of materials for its products can make. It is awareness of the impacts involved in cotton agriculture that has led them to only use organic cotton. However Chouinard, citing an argument based in eco-efficiency, states "in the final analysis, the best effort we can make toward causing no unnecessary harm is to make the best-quality products, ones that are durable, functional, beautiful, and simple".[108] It is the quality and purpose of the product, and the viability of the product line, that drives outdoor industry and the image of wilderness they seek to foster. In the end it is the appeal of technology and not nature that drives their sales, cycles of technological innovation, and market position. Consequently the role the design and prevalence of such equipment plays in both directing and limiting what it could mean to interact with nature remains little examined.

De Certeau notes that the richness and creative potential of space – its "distributive power and performative force"[109] – comes from the diversity and interconnectivity of the practices that enunciate place, or in this context wilderness landscapes. If practices are not voiced, or parroted only repetitively as the adoption of similar modes of equipping the wilderness experience might suggest, then wilderness becomes wooden and focused on its geographical (place-like) quantities rather than its experiential (practice-like) dimensions. Order and stasis, rather than possibility and activity, are fostered. De Certeau states "where stories are disappearing (or else are being reduced to museographical objects), there is a loss of space: deprived of narrations …, the group or the individual regresses towards the disquieting, fatalistic experience of a formless, indistinct, and nocturnal totality".[110]

With a totalising collective of 'visitors', each equipped with similar sets of technology and skills, comes a similar sameness to the practising and consequential making of place. Equipped with the same types of clothing, equipment, maps and guidebooks, a sameness of wilderness and landscape is practised. Indeed it is possible to conjecture that the source of the antipathy found between trampers and hunters is not based in their different images of

107 Chouinard, 2005, Let My People Go Surfing: The Education of a Reluctant Businessman, p85.
108 Ibid, p116.
109 Certeau, 1984, The practice of everyday life, p123.
110 Ibid.

wilderness, but by the distinctive, and possibly competing, practices of wilderness that the adoption of different sets of technologies have scripted.[111]

Further, when the wilderness landscape is expected to provide very little to sustain the 'visitor', there is also a greatly reduced opportunity for dialogue with the environmental context. For while the landscape is the setting for the 'wilderness experience' it is one, at least, in terms of making camp, formed by neutralising the need to engage in an iterative and conversational manner with the potential complexity and difference of that environment. Beyond the two metre radius of the campsite – itself the leave-no-trace, and hence expect-no-assistance, site of taking out of a pack a freestanding tent, sleeping bag, sleeping mat, cooker, billies, cutlery and pre-packed food – is a landscape that operates only as an ambient backdrop. As a result the particular properties of the wilderness landscape are irrelevant. Such technologies make superfluous the qualitative attributes of a wilderness landscape. The fire, meal and sleep are the same regardless of the location. When the cocoon of the tent – freestanding so it needs no support from the environment to stand up – is zipped tight for the night, a person could be anywhere. Augé discusses the placeless properties of airports, train stations and other sites of movement: and in the self-contained campsite can be found a similar placelessness.[112] Or as Jack Turner, citing George Trow, calls "the context of no context".[113] In this process place is made generic and, due to the manner in which it is frequented, repetitive and the same.

Milton considers affordance is "given in the nature of the perceiver's activity".[114] Hence what one person may consider a log as something to sit on, may for another person be an anchor to attach a rope to. However in most outdoor equipment the affordance that is anticipated is generalised. In the quest for multi-functionality and standardised product categories comes a comparative lessening in the particular affordance offered by a landscape. In the case of outdoor equipment and clothing there is less of a need for wilderness landscapes to be perceived in intimate, intricate and local ways.

111 For evidence from social science research of this antipathy see Higham, 2001, Perceptions of international visitors to New Zealand wilderness, p77, Table1. See also Brown, 2003, The politics of wild animal control. ; Round, 2003, Why not be mates? Or towards some middle ground.
112 See Augé, 1995, Non-places : introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity.
113 Turner, 1996, The Abstract Wild, p29.
114 Milton, 2002, Loving nature : towards an ecology of emotion, p42.

Instead the technology, rather than the landscape, affords the 'visitor' to operate anywhere and at anytime regardless of their environmental context. For it is people as aliens that such technology creates. And further this attribute is celebrated, often through catalogue images of equipment and clothing being used in incongruous settings. While usually presented with a humorous twist, it also alludes to the universalising capacity of that particular technological solution.

In this aspect it should be noted that there is also a weakness in the increasingly adopted 'cradle to cradle' model. In one example, that McDonough states is "marking the start of the 'next Industrial Revolution'",[115] is described the "first environmentally safe textile for office furniture… The fabric is woven from the wool of free-ranging, 'humanely sheared' New Zealand sheep and from ramie…The process of manufacturing … generates no pollutants, and the mill recycles all scrap and waste. The textile eliminates formaldehyde and other indoor pollutants. When discarded the fabric biodegrades into soil".[116] In terms of its chemical constitution the product is truly innovative. However, this approach understands materials only in terms of their molecular structure. On one level (as also in the case of Icebreaker's use of Merino) it is possible to critique this example on the environmental impacts of sheep farming in New Zealand. Certainly where sheep are run, the mono-cultural pastoral ecologies they generally require, and the significant supplements that both sheep and the land need is not without debate. Nor in a New Zealand context can that debate be generalised that all sheep are a universal good or not. For such a position is contingent on the perspective – itself cultural – of the maker of such statements, and even more so of the specific places sheep are farmed. It is the relationship with nature that constructs the land as a generalised provider of certain non-toxic material formulations that elides in Braungart and McDonough's concept of sustainability the heterogenous affordances that particular places and practices enable, and from which their technological and biological nutrients flow. By rendering 'nature' down to its chemical constitution it conceptualises matter, in terms of sustainability, at a generic level. In such a frame, regardless of its chemistry, the products of nature, and the specific locations they are drawn from, are constructed as quantitative and homogenous. Just as the

115 Pierson, 1995, Form & function: Special table legs cleverly hide numerous office wires.
116 Ibid.

wilderness tent allows one to shelter 'anywhere' so too does an understanding of materials, without an understanding of the places and events from which they are drawn, homogenise place. In the end this produces a commodified and resource-based conception of matter, landscape, and ultimately nature.

5.8 PRACTISING LANDSCAPE

Milton, describing Gibson's position, states, "as we perceive our environment, we also perceive ourselves".[117] In other words what people give agency to describes their identity, and, in the context of wilderness landscapes, how people practise wilderness is as revealing as their statements as to the value of wilderness. Ingold and Kurttila, in a discussion into how people might become local, investigate how knowledge of place is passed on by indigenous Sami people in Finnish Lapland. Belonging to the land, they propose, does not come by handing down local knowledge that is then applied to the land. Rather 'knowledgeability' comes from an interactive context "that has its source in the very activities, of *inhabiting* the land, that both bring places into being and constitute persons as *of* those places, as local".[118] In other words, belonging to place comes from practising place, often with other practitioners acting as mentors. The identity of a landscape goes hand in hand with the people who are participating with the land. In this sense belonging comes not from what wilderness might mean but in how it is performed.[119] Further, in the New Zealand context distinctive modes of belonging could be best nurtured by practising those landscapes most unique to a region. In this sense it is possible that the endemic characteristics found in the conservation estate offers more substantive opportunities to construct an indigenous relationship within this country than more heavily modified and often monocultural agricultural landscapes.

By way of example Ingold and Kurttila make a distinction between climate and weather. Climate is a received knowledge arrived at from measurement, data and analysis that, once tabulated, is applied to place. Weather, on the other hand, is knowledge of place formed through an interaction with place. Such knowing is encapsulated in the phenomenological sense of 'reading'

117 Milton, 2002, Loving nature : towards an ecology of emotion, p45
118 Ingold and Kurttila, 2000, Perceiving the Environment in Finnish Lapland, p185.
119 See Game, 2001, Belonging: experience in sacred time and space. ; Crouch, 2003, Spacing, performing, and becoming: tangles in the mundane.

clouds and wind-shifts and the already integrated practices of waiting to cross a river while it rises and falls, selecting a campsite likely to remain dry, and in finding less exposed places to rest and eat.[120] These practices are triggered by the first-hand experience of weather, and coalesce with other associated dialogues and enunciations of place.

Localness is determined by the manner of the technology used. In the case of Lapland the sense of the snow varies depending on whether movement is made on foot, skis or the now more prevalent use of snowmobiles. A sense of snow is arrived at not only through "immediate bodily experience" but also "in terms of how it affects the performance of their vehicles."[121] The same conditions in which one's boot first sits on the snow's surface before falling through as each step's weight is placed on it, and that another boot, strapped in skis, glides over, changes how the conditions, and one's the intended activities, are treated. For a sense of place comes not only from practises within the environment, but also through the practice of technologies there.

What much modern equipment – due to its inherent scripting and standardising of outcomes – succeeds in creating for wilderness landscapes, and what Braungart and McDonough's model does not alter, is a sameness of practice, and an ensuing sameness of place. Ingold states people who belong to a place "do not so much apply their knowledge in practice as know *by way of* their practice".[122] It is the sameness of practice that similar technologies afford that results in a generic sense of belonging and identity and one that is non-specific and placeless. And also created – because the possibility of an unfolding and conversational engagement of landscape is diminished – is an increasingly less vibrant landscape with diminished potential. As discussed earlier it is this sense of emptiness that Corner is scornful of when critiquing national parks as being a 'dead event'.[123]

The purpose of Ryan's analysis, like Cronon's, is to challenge the identity of wilderness users into a cognitive acknowledgement of the paradoxes contained in a 'leave no trace' ethic and the associated technology such a position requires. The outcome of such awareness, they seem to infer, would be a more 'honest' ethic of practising wilderness. Yet perhaps the reverse

120 See here Lingis' comments on *Action With Things* Lingis, 1998, The imperative, p81-92
121 Ingold and Kurttila, 2000, Perceiving the Environment in Finnish Lapland, p188.
122 Ibid, p192.
123 See page 20 of this dissertation.

could be attempted. What might practices that force a more intimate engagement of the uniqueness found in a wilderness landscape be like? How might de Certeau's 'forests of gestures' be performed in the forested landscape? And what might be the nature of the wilderness that ensued? Indeed if the intent was for a more local, particular, embodied and less other conception of wilderness landscapes, the methodological approach may be to inquire how local, particular, embodied and less 'other' practices, and associated technologies, might, by way of experimentation, and a designerly intent and evaluation, be adopted in wilderness landscapes.

Obviously the notion of what is eaten could be considered, where local ingredients from the wilderness landscape such as, in a New Zealand context, hunting for deer, pig and possum, fishing for trout and eels, or along the coast, shellfish could be collected.[124] Certainly this is an appeal discussed in fishing and hunting literature. In such accounts often less is made of the catch and more about the process of catching a fish and being able to read the river, the insect life and the type of fly that cast on a specific eddy, ripple or runnel, that will lure a trout to pounce.[125] While there is perhaps a greater emphasis on the trophy stag, a similar sentiment is apparent in accounts of deer, thar, chamois and pig hunting.[126]

It is also possible to add, in season, various berries, fungi, and fiddle heads to the diet.[127] Medicinal usage of plants is also a possibility.[128] Cook's crew, on their arrival to New Zealand, proceeded to brew a beer from rimu".[129] There are of course issues as to what is a sustainable yield with such an approach before ecosystem modification becomes significant. This approach to food is expressed in the current growth of farmer's markets and also television programmes, publications and festivals that celebrate local food based on

124 For a Māori perspective on such an approach see the national network cluster on Te Tiaki Mahinga Kai. " 'Te Tiaki Mahinga Kai' means 'customary food gathering', but it also signals a wider agenda of sustainable environmental management through the application of kaitiakitanga (Māori environmental stewardship)." http://www.mahingakai.org.nz/about-us/te-tiaki-mahinga-kai accessed May 12, 2008.

125 See, for example, issues of *New Zealand Troutfisher Magazine*
See also http://www.fishandgame.org.nz/Site/FishingNZ/default.aspx accessed May 12, 2008.

126 See, for example issues of *New Zealand Outdoor Hunting Magazine*, and *New Zealand Hunting & Wildlife Magazine*

127 See Crowe, 1997, A Field Guide to Native Edible Plants of New Zealand Godwit Press.

128 See Brooker, Cambie and Cooper, 1987, New Zealand medicinal plants.

129 Reed and Reed, 1969, Captain Cook in New Zealand. %159-160, 178-179.

principles of seasonality rather than the set menus that demand ingredients to be found regardless of cost, quality or food miles.[130]

5.9 THE PRACTICE OF COOKING

However to explore the possibilities of how one might, through practice, make wilderness particular I would like to explore how providing the necessary heat to cook such a meal in the outdoors might occur. The modern tramper carries lightweight purpose-built equipment and clothing that ensures a lighter load or longer range is possible for the same weight. Nor is time lost hunting for food, instead freeze dried, vacuum packed, aluminium wrapped, high energy supplements allow longer travel times per day. Until the 1920's – when portable stoves previously developed for soldiers became available to climbers and trampers – the only option for heat for cooking was to make an open fire (see figure 5.9a).

Figure 5.9a. Billy on small cooking fire, Catherine Burn, Fiordland National Park.

This was a process that took considerable time and skill in both finding wood and getting it to strike without wasting matches and one that the most recent edition of Moir's South suggests "it is not uncommon to spend two hours to get a half-decent fire going in Fiordland. In these conditions, plenty of

130 See, for example, http://www.wildfoods.co.nz , http://tvnz.co.nz/view/page/536641/845126 and http://www.dbbreweries.co.nz/home/monteiths_beer_and_wild_food_challenge.html all accessed 12 May, 2008

patience, a stack of dry kindling and a candle to start the fire with are invaluable".[131]

In the past handbooks have stressed the importance being skilled at lighting a fire. The 1951 edition of Moir's is particularly detailed. For example: "the best kindling consists of branches or twigs which have been blown down within the past few months, so that the leaves are still firmly attached to the branches. While the fire is being started some overhead protection is essential, so place long sticks in the form of an inverted V over the fireplace and cover with strips of bark, fern leaves etc".[132] However nowadays the use of fires, other than in emergencies, is actively discouraged in the public conservation estate. The Department of Conservation, in a discussion on 'minimising your impact', state "the use of fires for cooking, warmth or atmosphere has environmental consequences. Fires use up wood, destroys insects and other animal life, and they can scar sites with blackened and charred fire-places. Fallen wood, especially larger branches and logs, is the source of food and shelter for many forest insects and plants… Many more visitors to the backcountry and rural areas are realising it is important to reduce their use of fires".[133]

Visitors to the public conservation estate are instead asked to "take portable fuel stoves for cooking; they are fast, clean, efficient, and reduce the risk of wildfire; know how to operate your stove safely to protect yourself and the environment. Use stoves at least 2 metres from dry vegetation; carry out empty fuel cartridges".[134]

Gary Martin, in a 'Wild Equipment' review of stoves states "open fires are often not an option, due to regulation, weather or lack of experience".[135] He suggests there are four types of cookers available, depending on the fuel type used. These are petroleum, gas, methylated spirits, and hexamine solid fuel tablets, of which the first two are by far the most popular. While a petroleum stove provides the best overall performance by weight, fuel cost and volume they are higher maintenance, harder to simmer with, and sometimes due to

131 McNeill and Moir, 1995, Moir's guide south : guide book to the tracks and routes of the great southern lakes and fiords of New Zealand, p32.
132 Moir, Gilkison, Hamilton, Southland Progress League., New Zealand Alpine Club. and Otago Expansion League., 1951, Moir's guide book to the tramping tracks and routes of the great southern lakes and fiords of western Otago and Southland, p91-92.
133 Department of Conservation, 2007g, Plan and Prepare: Minimising your impact. Take care with stoves and fires.
134 Ibid.
135 Martin, 2003, Wild Equipment, p55.

the volatile nature of the fuel prone to flare up. Gas stoves, on the other hand, are simpler to operate and more reliable but the "drawbacks are that they expensive to operate and involve carrying a lot of canisters around which have a weight cost even when packing them out".[136]

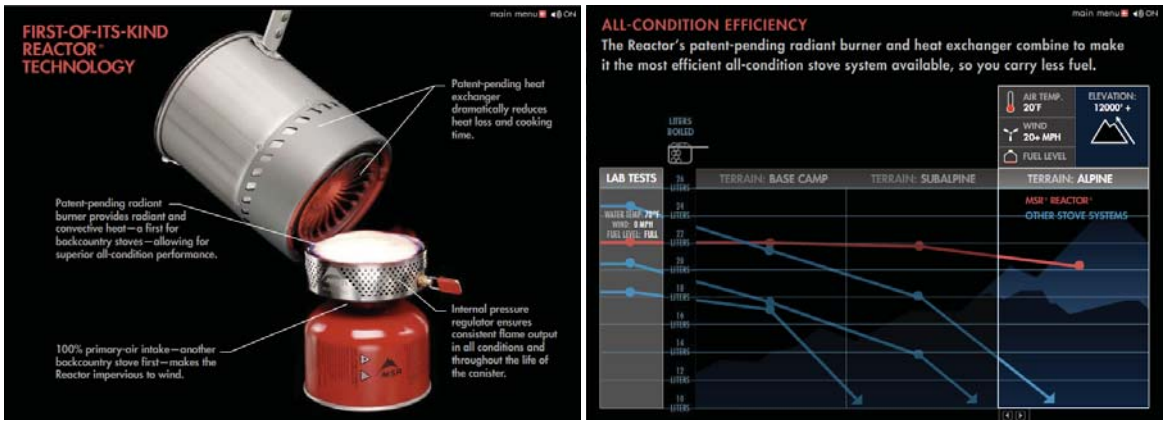


Figure 5.9b: MSR Reactor Stove: promotional material [137]

The use of a cooker creates a certain relationship with the outdoors, one in which the technology is powerfully fore-grounded (see for example figure 5.9b). In a recent North American comparison of two competing cookers, the discussion of their respective merit was focused on topics that included convection and conduction, regulators, heat output, performance, fuel efficiency, burn-time, field-repair-ability, durability, cost, weight and their no-fuss operation. These types of cookers, utilising 'heat exchangers', are described as "the first real stove innovation in decades".[138] Being 'impervious' to wind and cold, they require from the environment in which they are used, only a flat spot of land to place them on. With the modern cooker, because fuel is carried and not found, and because many cookers come with a windshield fitted, a meal can be cooked *anywhere*. In many designs, with the use of tripod-like bases or other proprietary systems with portable platforms even a flat site is superfluous.[139] Perhaps this relationship between cooker technology and a wilderness landscape is best conveyed in the following advertisement from Primus. It reads: "FROM ZERO TO A HUNDRED IN THREE MINUTES. Stop. Take the stove out of its bag. Open out the legs, turn on the

136 Ibid.
137 http://www.msrgear.com/stoves/reactor.asp accessed May 12, 2008
138 Raleigh, 2007, Field Tested: Fire Versus Fire.
139 See Martin, 2003, Wild Equipment. Also see http://www.msrcorp.com and http://www.primus.se

gas and press the piezo igniter. Wait for three minutes. Eat. Wait for others. Start off again. Primus – reliable where nothing else is".[140]

Indeed it can be argued that the petroleum cooker constructs practices of wilderness landscapes that are not dissimilar to that afforded by the topographic map. While the cartography of wilderness will be examined more fully in Chapter Seven, it is at this point relevant to note that just as the map allows the user to place themselves anywhere, at, above and in the centre of the land, the cooker allows the user this same sense of control, one in which they can cook regardless of location, climate and time of the day. The resulting generic conception of wilderness, instead of being achieved by a panoptic gaze on the landscape, is formed through what can be termed as an anywhere or 'pan-terra' practice that treats all landscapes alike.

The same argument can be applied to a number of other technologies. While Harvey in his 1894 journey across the South Coast sought shelter by pitching a fly from various trees, or when his equipment was lost by sleeping under a log, modern tents need no distinction of site. A freestanding tent can be pitched almost anywhere, and by being self-supporting can be fully erected before being carried already pitched to a nearby site. Once there it can be orientated in any direction before being fixed to the ground by six or less pegs. While a fly needs a mix of trees from which it can be suspended and a clear area between on which to lie down on, the modern freestanding tent can be positioned anywhere. (See figure 5.9c)

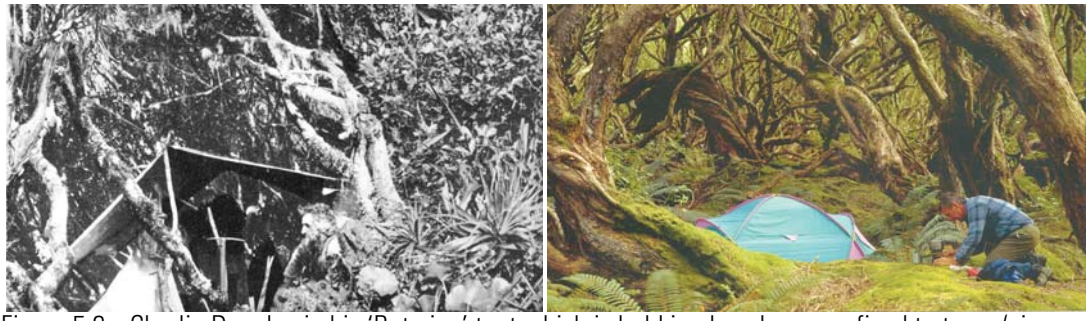


Figure 5.9c: Charlie Douglas in his 'Batwing' tent which is held in place by ropes fixed to trees (circa 1890) and Andris Apse and his freestanding Fairydown Plateau tent (circa 1994)[141]

In the promotion of portable cookers, and their review in various magazines, a reflection on the respective environmental consequences of the cooker is

140 New Zealand Wilderness Magazine. December 2000, p38.
141 Pascoe, 1957, Mr. Explorer Douglas, p61, Apse and Judd, 1995, Spectacular New Zealand : panoramic views of New Zealand, p6. Apse's tent is one I designed during my work as equipment designer for the Fairydown brand.

absent. Therefore the nature of toxicity in the emissions produced from the fuel, the appropriateness of such pollution in wilderness landscapes, the environmental cost in the extraction of raw materials, manufacturing and distribution processes, and also the rationale for the design and specification of a cooker is unconsidered. Martin's critique of gas canisters relates to the weighty burden of having to carry them out empty but not the issue that, as single use containers, their technological nutrients are immediately destined for the landfill. Product specifications of cookers – like nearly all outdoor clothing and equipment – are not formulated according to a lifecycle analysis or some measure of a technology's environmental footprint.[142] Instead the positioning, as being beneficial to the environment, is based on their durability and their capacity to support a 'leave no trace' ethic.

What then of the fire that is discouraged. In its most recent editions of *Bushcraft: outdoor skills for the NZ Bush* the New Zealand Mountain Safety Council – whose member organisation includes all of the major outdoor recreation groupings[143] – "encourage[s] all outdoor users to carry and use portable stoves and to light fires for emergencies only".[144] Certainly there have been examples of injudicious use that has led to huts being burnt down, and scrub fires started.[145] Beyond this there is the mark of "the blackened fire circle",[146] where moss, roots and other vegetation are burnt off leaving a scar that takes time to return to what it was. Similarly the presence of the mark, being the sign of others having been there, can diminish, particularly if they are numerous, a sense of isolation (see figure 5.9d) Also the finding of tree and sapling stumps left when timber was cut for firewood can be considered to degrade the sense of a nature unspoilt.

142 *Eco-fleece* could be considered an exception. However, judging from the few products specifying this that are on the New Zealand market, it would seem that better performing non-recycled products are preferred.

143 These are: Accident Compensation Corporation, Department of Conservation, Education Outdoors New Zealand, Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand, 4 Youth, New Zealand Alpine Club, New Zealand Deerstalkers Association, New Zealand Defence Force, New Zealand Land Search and Rescue, New Zealand Mountain Guides Association, New Zealand Outdoor Instructors Association, New Zealand Police, New Zealand Shooting Federation, New Zealand Snowsports Council, New Zealand Sports Industry Association, Occupational Safety & Health, Tourism Industry Association of New Zealand. New Zealand Safety Mountain Council, 2007, Introducing the New Zealand Safety Mountain Council.

144 Goldring, Mullins, Anderson, Price and New Zealand Mountain Safety Council., 2000, Bushcraft resource kit, p10.

145 For example, in a Fiordland context, the hut at Long Point, at the mouth of the Hollyford River was burnt down in the early 1990's because ash from a fire was disposed of under the hut. There are also accounts of scrub fires being set by a cooking fire at Port Craig in the 1950's getting out of control.

146 Allan and New Zealand Mountain Safety Council., 2006, Bushcraft : outdoor skills for the NZ bush, p13.

Figure 5.9d: Hope Arm, Lake Manapouri, Fiordland National Park. This image shows two of the more than ten open fireplace sites that are in close proximity to the hut.

Some of these issues relate to the scale and frequency of the fire, and fireplace. The previous location of a small fire is, if a little care is taken in its siting, and scattering once used, quickly undetectable. Certainly in the case of the kayakers in Preservation Inlet no trace of the fires set up below the high-water mark would now exist. Likewise if branches are broken, rather than cut, and only dead timber used, then such collection is hard to distinguish between the action of the wind, and age, in toppling trees and branches. There is another aspect of damage in the lighting of a fire. It rests with the impact on the perceived ecological integrity of the ecosystem from which the fuel is taken and burnt. "Take a stove for cooking. It is cleaner, faster and less harmful to the environment than lighting a fire. Plants use soil nutrients to grow, and return nutrients to the soil when they die. Without these nutrients, the soil becomes poorer and plants do not grow as well. Even a small fire takes wood away from its place in this natural cycle".[147]

Behind this lies a value judgement that considers, firstly, the depletion of renewable timber in 'ancient forests' as more detrimental ecologically than the depletion and burning in cookers of 'ancient fossil fuel reserves', and secondly the use of various ores needed in the cooker's manufacture. Perhaps a renewed emphasis on bio-fuels might direct a more locally sustainable approach in which cookers are fuelled from tallow or vegetable-based

147 Ibid, p20. Not also the inference that the activities of people are not part of a 'natural' cycle.

products grown and processed in New Zealand. Yet it would be still relevant to consider if such fuel, when used in the conservation estate should be created within the conservation estate, or instead from a mono-cultural crop – such as plantation forestry waste and the leaves and stalks from corn[148] – that is grown on land that had previously been habitat for indigenous flora and fauna.

A comparison of atmospheric pollution generated by petroleum-based cookers, against that emitted by a fire, is dependent on which factors and fuels are considered. There are significant levels of fossil fuel also used in the extraction, refinement, transportation, packaging and distribution of a litre of cooker-ready fuel and whose emissions are likely to be significantly larger than those released in the operation of the stove. There is also additional potential for pollution in the same extraction and production processes in producing the cooker itself, and the containers in which the fuel is packaged. Equally the amount, and make-up, of air-borne pollution depends on the dryness and density of the fuel used, and also the heat at which it is burnt. A further factor is that a local fire is scalable, in that a small fire, with reduced quantities of pollutants, quickly, through feeding it more wood, becomes much larger in size than is necessary for the cooking of a meal.

However while such comparisons could be attempted the purpose of the argument here is not to determine across different life-cycle measurement models a quantitative assessment of pollution.[149] Rather it is to tease out the differences in landscopic possibility produced by the cooker, on the one hand, and the fire, on the other. In terms of this argument one distinction is notable. While the impacts of a fire and the associated changes brought by the behaviour of people in the conservation estate congregate around its specific site, the environmental impacts associated with the use of a cooker are distributed. In terms of the portable cooker the impacts, though no less real, are essentially diluted around the globe. In using the latter comes an irony that though I might 'be in the middle of nowhere', even 'lost in the wilderness', I am relying on a fuel to power a cooker whose provenance is from another hemisphere. Further, bound up in a cooker are compounds – such as stainless steel, aluminium and titanium – that have been extracted, processed and

148 See Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority, 2005, Biofuels Fact Sheet 8.
149 See Tischner, 2001, Tools for ecodesign and sustainable product design.

formed in a sequence of locations around the world. And also associated with the cooker's specification is an owner who reaps elsewhere an intellectual property related share of the sales.

Naylor, in his discussion of the adoption of the can for preserving food, comments "it is often through mundane objects that networks of capital, communication, and control are built".[150] Hence the means by which the cooker is used, is as much based on global models of trade and economics. These are further intensified by the user's need to earn income, through the supply of again globally networked services and labour, with which to purchase such equipment. In the case of the cooker it is possible that externally orientated pressures of commodification and globalisation – even though they tend to become 'naturalised' and hence invisible – drive the understanding of wilderness and landscape.

On the other hand, like the pollution it creates, the fire and its environmental footprint is local. Similarly there is no monetary value, and unlike the cooker it does not, at times, need repair. However, the fire lacks certain attributes that the cooker has. For instance, fuel for a fire generally must be collected during daylight, as does its initial lighting – unless a torch is used and even then only with some difficulty – whereas a cooker can be quickly lit at any time of the day or night. However the significant difference is in its operation. Regardless of where one is the skill required to operate the cooker is constant. The same steps are followed with an identical outcome nearly always achieved. Equally it is a skill that can be mastered anywhere. Often the first steps to learning how to use such a cooker are likely to occur in an urban centre, whether at the retail outlet from where it is being purchased, or at a friend's place from where it is being borrowed. Lighting a fire is different. While handbooks can be read for advice, and the skill practised in less critical settings, ultimately the skill in lighting a fire in remote settings, and in inclement weather, can only be mastered through the iterative process of lighting fires, with varying levels of success, in such situations.

Nor are the steps followed identical. While the process of choosing a site, and modifying it in discrete ways generally precedes the collection of fuel, the lighting and the addition of more kindling then adding more substantial

150 Naylor, 2000, Spacing the can: empire, modernity and the globalisation of food, p1625.

branches once well lit, each aspect relates and informs the others in subtle and multiple ways. For example where a fire is lit depends on its proximity to the fuel source. Hence depending on a fire for cooking when travelling on the tops necessitates a change in route to the bushline in order to find more suitable fuel. Similarly the manner of selecting kindling depends on the forest type and season. Later in summer, in a beech forest, branches whose leaves have turned from yellow to a darker brown are easily found, snapped off, and used. In western coastal forests the ability to find dry fuel is significantly more difficult with Moir's suggesting, "a tomahawk, or large sharp knife should be carried in Fiordland as sometimes the only dry kindling to be found is in the centre of large diameter dead branches".[151] Also advised is, "for any fire, it is imperative that there is a good vapour barrier between the fire and the ground to ensure that the fire does not extinguish itself by 'sucking' water out of the surrounding soil as it gets started. A layer of rocks and stones is generally adequate for this purpose".[152] Despite this, and much other available advice, following such guidelines is no guarantee of success.

Compared to a fire a cooker achieves a greater sense of a predetermination and predictability. For it to be effective neither equipment, nor steps that the user takes, should vary from situation to situation. Its functionality depends on carefully repeating the exact same steps. In this sense, while the wind may howl and the tent, clothes, sleeping and food may be wet through the cooker in almost every way is a technology that gives its holder a measure of control, and removal, over the conditions in which they find themselves in. Relying on a fire affords the reverse. For the fire is drawn from the context in which it is needed and – for it to succeed in adverse conditions – it requires a greater sense of immersion into the environment in which it is generated.

With a cooker the reliability of the equipment determines success. Indeed when its use is considered too complex it is often considered a flaw in its industrial design development rather than in the user's skill and ability to learn. With the fire, however, success comes from the skill of a three-way dialogue between that which the land affords (or when winds are strong and the forest wet what it also refuses to afford), the person who perceives and acts within that environment, and the emerging qualities of the fire itself.

151 McNeill and Moir, 1995, Moir's guide south : guide book to the tracks and routes of the great southern lakes and fiords of New Zealand, p32.
152 Ibid, p32.

Ingold, considering the relationship between skill and the generation of artefacts, states form, like in this case the fire, "emerges through the rhythmic repetition of movement … rather than originating in the maker's mind".[153] In this sense the fire can be understood as being generated by "a pattern of *skilled movement*".[154] He makes a further distinction between making and weaving in discussing the generation of artefacts. "The notion of making, of course, defines an activity purely in terms of its capacity to yield a certain object, whereas weaving focuses on the character of the process by which that object comes into existence. To emphasise making is to regard the object as the expression of an idea; to emphasise weaving is to regard it as the embodiment of rhythmic movement".[155]

While both portable cookers and fires can be understood as forms of making and weaving making a fire suggests a greater quality of a localised intricate weaving, and with it the creation of intimate and particular meaning: of walking to a specific fallen tree; looking for dry wood to find only sodden or half rotted timber; moving to one side and pick up several hopeful prospects; discarding them on the basis that they feel damp which a simultaneous check of their weight confirms; concluding anything too near the ground in this locale is too wet; see a leafless and likely to be dead branch still fixed to a nearby tree; going to break it off but find it sufficiently supple that it resists snapping; leaving the branch as it is likely not to be yet dry enough; finding another branch whose crisp breaking sound on being tested confirms a wonderfully dry piece of fuel; having this confirmed by an accompanying sense of the branch's lightness; continuing in the vicinity to readily find other such twigs before returning with suitable supplies; sorting them around the site of the fire; selecting the first group of kindling to be burnt; then once the fire starts to take hold carefully adding more sticks while also taking care not to smother it; fanning the flames if there is little wind, or protecting them if conditions are gusty; and continuing to tend the fire in concert with preparing, cooking and enjoying a meal.

Such a process, as Ingold notes, "has a narrative quality, in the sense that every movement, like every line in a story, grows rhythmically out of the one

153 Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p290.
154 Ibid, p342. (Ingold's emphasis)
155 Ibid, p346.

before and lays the groundwork for the next".[156] In this sense, also, subsequent fires, and the skill that is continually developed in making them, are part of those previously made and learnt from.

Indeed it is from this ongoing and heterogenous combination of experiences and practices, made up of all manner of movements, and perceptions - including not only sight, but hearing, taste, touch and smell – that Ingold argues the fabric of culture is formed.[157] His model suggests that cultural landscapes, rather than being the embodiment of meaning, can be understood as the active and unceasing interweaving of practice. This again highlights the distinction between a phenomenological conception of landscape that is based on *dwelling* and in which meaning is the contingent archive of activity, and Cronon's and Ryan's articulation of wilderness as a predetermined *idea*.

However it is important not to schematically locate the cooker and fire as polar opposites. The skill with which, for example, an MSR Internationale Stove is primed, lit and turned to a low flame is also iterative. It can be argued, like the open fire, that it also requires what Ingold describes as "the continual adjustment or 'tuning' of movement in response to an ongoing perceptual monitoring of the emergent task"[158] as care is taken with the flame so as not to boil the pot over, let the bottom of the pan burn, and let the handle become to hot, while all the time attending to other tasks like eliminating biting sandflies, chopping ingredients and staying warm and hydrated.[159] Nor should the choice of cooker be abstracted from the ecology of practice through which various wilderness landscapes are constituted. Each piece of equipment demands a different set of skills to be brought and, also, unfolded through their use. While modern cookers may have shifted practices of sustenance towards a greater dependence on equipment that in turn separates a wilderness landscape from the individual, it can also be argued that with other technologies the opposite has occurred. For example the curved ice-pick, invented by Chouinard in the early 1970's, along with front points for crampons have opened up previously only visually regarded landscapes to an intimate dialogue based on negotiating movement up near-vertical ice gullies.

156 Ibid, p347.
157 See Ibid, p281-287. See also Ingold and Kurttila, 2000, Perceiving the Environment in Finnish Lapland.
158 Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p353
159 This insight comes from longstanding personal experience of its more than occasional temperamental nature!

Equally lightweight equipment, like cookers, have allowed journeys to traverse extensive routes, rather than be base-camp orientated, and so create other ways of constructing wilderness.

The issue then with technology is not should they, in a Luddite sense, be banned as some consider.[160] As Thayer points out the relationship between topophilia, technophilia and technophopia (respectively the love of the land, love and dependence on technology, and fear of technology's side-effects) is significantly more complex than an overt desire to minimise technology might elicit.[161] And regardless even if the technology of the cooker is rejected, the fire is likely to still require the technology of the match. Indeed an approach in which a person was prepared only to use those resources that could be drawn from immediate surroundings echoes the dematerialisation argument that in its reductionism Braungart and McDonough find flawed. And just as their analysis shifted from a minimisation of impacts to maximising benefits at a molecular level so to, in this discussion the emphasis should *shift from a minimisation of technology* to an investigation as to *which technologies might better enable landscopic potential* on the basis of the type of landscopic attributes their adoption could open up.[162] For this research suggests that, beyond large-scale infrastructure technologies like windfarms, dams, roads and transmission lines,[163] mundane technology like cookers, clothes and equipment powerfully and actively shape landscape.

Further it becomes no longer tenable to abstract from the discussion those landscopic dimensions generated during a technology's *use* without also considering landscopic characteristics that are integral to its provenance. However such an orientation substantively changes wilderness. In both the portable cooker and the fire-with-match can be found distinctive blurrings between what constitutes the settled and the wild. Hence the challenge this research presents relates not only to the impacts, and points of connection certain practices of wilderness make in such environments, but also to identify the connections and impacts that lie beyond. Indeed, it can be argued, that one cannot reflect on one without also reflecting on the other, and that a

160 For example see Sax, 1980, Mountains Without Handrails, Reflections on the National Parks. Krakoff, 2003, Mountains without handrails... wilderness without cellphones.
161 Thayer, 1994, Gray world, green heart: technology, nature, and the sustainable landscape.
162 For a discussion of technology as a means by which more expressive environments might be constructed see: Thrift, 2003, Closer to the machine? Intelligent environments, new forms of possession and the rise of the supertoy.
163 See, for example, Strang, 2006, Infrastructure as Landscape.

practice of wilderness compels advocates of wilderness to conduct a partnering examination of the connections and impacts occurring elsewhere and to which such technologies are inextricably bound.

That said it is important not to close this chapter with the inference that the technology of a cooker might be more intrinsically flawed than that of the fire. While I have argued that on a personal level the fire offers a greater localised – and hence potentially indigenous – engagement of landscape, as also noted the cumulative impact of many fires constructs a landscopic relationship whose multiple number may not be the most satisfactory outcome. But then nor must the argument be reduced to either ad hoc fires on the one hand or only the use of portable cookers on the other. Certainly one approach might be to develop a sympathetic ethics of fire making. But other approaches from within a design mindset could also be pursued. In Chapter Four I articulated a potential form of track marker in whose form – while materially remaining constant with current solutions – also presented possibilities for people to find their way both *through* and *into* the forest.

In the same vein might not the landscape architect tease out design brief for a portable cooker that is fuelled in such a way that a landscopic relationship that is local and performative is constructed: one in which a practice of finding and sparingly using fuel from the place they are in is fostered, while ensuring also that a burn mark is not left on the site upon which it is used.

Figure 5.9e: Simple 'Twig Stove' made from a recycled tin can. Inside there is a raised plate so the base of the cooker does not overheat.[164]

In figure 5.9e is a single cooker recycled from a large can and into which small twigs and branches are fed so sufficient heat for cooking can be generated. Like the proposed track marker discussed at the end of Chapter Four the twig stove has similar values of materiality to that of the portable cooker that it could be a substitute for. However the 'twig stove' shown does use less material, involves re-use, and is also readily made by users rather than bought. However it is the landscopic relation to wilderness it generates that is its fundamental point of difference and is closely aligned to the practice of making a fire. But further, instead of being embedded in a nostalgia for an open fire, it suggests a forward-looking possibility for a localised and intimate making of place that by using current rather than sequestered carbon stocks is also more climate-friendly.

It also has other benefits over the open fire of the type shown in Figure 5.9a. Its closed base means no 'blackened mark' is left on the ground, and further its containment means it provides a concentrated heat source while precluding the temptation to extravagantly over fill it.

164 Based on a design developed by John Burke, Wanaka. Note other variations can be found through a web search of "can stove", "hobo stove" and "twig stove". This cooker has strong similarities to the iconic New Zealand *Thermette* water heater. See http://www.thermette.com/thermette_history.htm accessed May 20th 2008.

I would argue that such a 'twig stove' creates landscopic engagements that are different to those constructed by the portable fossil fuel-based cooker. Further such relationships with landscape are not designed by the modification of a specific site but rather in the design of a portable artefact. And it is this latter possibility that has significant implications for what could be considered the type of outcomes the landscape architect might be expected to produce.

There are other qualities also worth noting. The 'twig stove' shown in Figure 5.9e portrays something that at a formal level is very rudimentary. In other words instead of landscopic value being produced by pursuing an aesthetics of form, landscopic attributes are provoked through forcing a performance of an activity – in this case the practice of finding local fuel – in ways that enable the user to uncover personal, heterogenous and unfolding ways to an intimate and memorable place in the landscape and likewise the landscape's place in them.

Nor must it be stressed is a richness of semiotic depth in such an artefact precluded. A 'twig stove' of substantive artefactual character can also be readily imagined. An example of this manner of tandem generation of landscopic performance and satisfying form can be sensed in the images in Figure 5.9f that come from a post-graduate project I supervised. Here a series of portable structures were developed that fostered landscopic performance and agency through the application of concepts of tensegrity and the structural affordance trees might offer.

Figure 5.9f: Tensegrity-based portable shelters.[165]

As noted this approach has a significant implication for the articulation of landscape through design. For if landscape experience is generated through its performance, then a landscape architecture-based design of landscape must consider – instead of just a formal organisation of sites – the design of prompts that might generate innovative, or reinforce valuable, practices of landscapes. For example in the case of wilderness landscapes maps, equipment and clothing can all be considered as tools with which to design landscopic qualities. And therefore does the clothing and equipment designer become also a landscape architect of wilderness landscapes?

This orientation has implications for the tasks of the landscape architecture, for in the example of the 'twig stove' the landscape is shaped not by

165 Fersterer, Gilchrist, Kudoe and O'Connor, 2006, Treefrog Low-impact, Loose-fit Nature Structures, p9-12.

earthmoving equipment but by an alternative technology more likely to be found in the work of the industrial designer. The implications are significant. Just as in McDonough's and Braungart's cradle to cradle model their focus on materials ignores the qualitative dimensions of the landscape from which such materiality is drawn, so too the design outputs of the NZOCEI brands similarly ignore the landscopic relationship with wilderness and the conservation estate that their respective solutions force. Such an absence presents considerable opportunity for landscape architecture. For what can be concluded in this chapter is that the expected territory of the industrial designer needs to also be developed by the landscape architect as an untapped means by which the potency of landscape might be 'recovered'.

In the chapter that follows I want to look more closely at a particular practice of landscape in order to identify both opportunities and difficulties for the landscape architect in designing specific landscopic practices. For while there are important distinctions between the portable cooker and the 'twig stove' there remain significant challenges for the landscape architect in designing alternative practices of landscape.

In the example of the twig-based stove it is pertinent to consider if the designer (landscape architect or not) has created a different set of practices, or instead adapted a technology, which in itself opens up a set of practices different to the portable stove. Specifically could different forms of the 'twig stove' develop a range of diverse forest practices or is it that the 'twig stove', while better assimilating the user within a local landscape, is in itself also a universalising solution?

For while the 'twig cooker' affords a greater haptic and kinaesthetic practice of the forest it doesn't in itself design one. In other words it is in the diverse skills of the user rather than the diverse forms of the 'twig stove' that the substantive difference in landscape practice is based. This is of little consequence for the geographer or anthropologist considering such an issue. For their focus is in understanding *how landscape is performed* rather than necessarily in understanding the diverse ways such a performance of landscape *might be prompted*. But for the landscape architect seeking to design distinctive practices of landscape the issue is significant and it is a consideration of this - through an investigation of the emergent dialogue

between the practice of walking and the artefact of the path – that the next chapter turns to.

CHAPTER 6: PATH MAKING AND PATH TAKING

The previous chapter considered a piece of equipment – the cooker – and an alternative design that made place more localised through prompting a practice of finding and collecting local fuel resources. However in closing the chapter a distinction was identified between design work, which might open up an alternative practice of landscape, and the capacity for the landscape architect to design specific practices of landscape. In other words while the 'twig stove' supports a more embodied engagement of wilderness in itself it doesn't choreograph the specific practices a user might undertake.

The purpose of this chapter is to consider how, and to what degree, specific practices of landscape might be explicitly designed, and draw from this those issues that might relate to the designerly productions and processes of the landscape architect. But rather than seeking to contrive an artefact, or install various structures that might more closely direct a practice, for example, of firewood collection (much in the manner of a Heath Robinson contraption), I would like to examine a different and more prevalent practice of the conservation estate, and one also integral to the projects undertaken by practising landscape architects: to considering the design of practices of walking and the form of paths.

6.1 TAKING A PATH

Figure 6.1a is two stills taken from video footage of two adjoining sections of the track that leads from Aspiring Hut to Shovel Flat in the West Matukituki Valley in Mount Aspiring National Park.

Figure 6.1a: Sections of track between Aspiring Hut and Shovel Flat

The track on the left was recently cut by roading contractors to replace a track similar to that on the right. This, in turn, is due for a similar upgrade in 2008. What these images highlight are significant differences in the experiences each track affords. By uniformly cropping the image around the subject at regular time intervals, as in figures 6.1b and 6.1c, a sense can be gained of the different manner of immersion that each track generates for the walker with their surrounding environment.

Figure 6.1b: Series of stills showing subject walking newer track

In the upgraded track to Shovel Flat (figure 6.1b) it can be argued that the person on the track, while travelling through the forest, is only able to gain a visual appreciation of the surrounding endemic flora. It is difficult to assert that the track is an integrated part of the ecologically indigenous landscape through which it travels. Instead in terms of the conservation estate and

wilderness everything meaningful lies ambivalently beyond the track. Indeed such paths appear to mimic the sense of appreciation that is created by state of the art aquariums: where one travels along a transparent corridor watching in wonder on an alien world on the other side of the glass.

There is also a further sense of abstraction. The manner of walking afforded by such a track removes the possibility of a bodily knowing of the landscape's form. Different topographies, forests and geologies are watched but not kinaesthetically experienced. Where the land might momentarily dip the track does not. Instead fill is placed to level the path so the digger making the track might be able to move to the next section of the path to be cut. Where the line of a spur turns abruptly the track, by being cut deeper into the land, turns more gradually. In other words this form of track – like the current orange triangular track marker – only leads the walker through the forest instead of taking them to a position where they are within the forest.

Figure 6.1c: Series of stills showing subject walking older track

In the older track (figure 6.1c) a different type of engagement is prompted. Hence in both the track and the moving person weave more closely with the topography. The track and people each shift from side to side as trees, rocks and landscape are negotiated. The forest, rather than being located to the left and right of a track, envelops. By looking closely at the subject's limbs one notes they are also kinaesthetically involved in negotiating the forest. At different moments arms and legs move in response to the form of the land. As a result it is more difficult to determine if the track is separate to the landscape through which it travels, or whether it, and also in this case the actions of the person walking it, are part of this particular landscape. A tree root rather than being cut is stepped over, and in the process the tree, as it is passed, is held onto for support and balance. Similarly the location, profile and orientation of rocks alter the length of stride.

Ingold considers a distinction cannot readily be made between such tasks, and the artefacts and environment in which they are performed. All gain their substance from the other. Hence when we watch people in their activities – for example the football player, the cook, the guitarist, the child playing hide and seek, and a person walking certain types of forest tracks, any conceptual separation between person, movement, object and environment is implicitly arbitrary.[1]

In Ingold's model an emergent landscape is forged kinaesthetically. He states "in conventional accounts … the landscape tends to be regarded as a material surface … [that is] supposed to present itself as a palimpsest for the inscription of material form. My argument suggests, on the contrary, that the forms of the landscape … emerge as condensations or crystallisations of activity within a relational field. As people … make their way by foot around a familiar terrain, so its paths, textures and contours, variable through the seasons, are incorporated into their own embodied capacities of movement, awareness and response…. But conversely, these pedestrian movements thread a tangled network of personalised trails through the landscape itself. Through walking, in short, landscapes are woven into life, and lives are woven into the landscape, in a process that is continuous and never-ending".[2]

6.2 THE PRACTICE OF WALKING

In reviewing the two track-types to Shovel Flat it could be asked which allows a richer sense of involvement in the conservation estate to be formed. Which type of track might better facilitate a sense of participating in wilderness? Or returning to the discussion in Chapter Four which track might be considered to be an integral component of wilderness and not just the means by which it was accessed?

De Certeau makes considerable effort to explore the dimension of walking as a form of spatial practice, and a spatial making of place. It is with the 'chorus of idle footsteps' that these properties are articulated. He writes, "this story begins … with footsteps. They are myriad, but do not compose a series. They cannot be counted because each unit has a qualitative character: a style of tactile apprehension and kinaesthetic appropriation. Their swarming mass is

1 Ingold develops the concept of the *Taskscape* to frame this concept Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p194-200.
2 Ingold, 2004, Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet, p333.

an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined paths give shape to places. They weave places together".[3]

Hence de Certeau argues that walking, like speech, is performative, rhetorical, particular, and potentially limitless in its diversity. Walking is a 'space of enunciation'. It expresses place, in that it is a form of 'phatic topoi' and a tactile making of place. However the practice of walking is not an acting out of an already known place, but performing a place that is in the process of being made through its articulation by movement. Hence, it is through practices like walking that a landscape can be formed. It is in such nuances that these 'forests of gestures' speak and through which, it can be argued, wilderness landscapes might become local, particular, participatory and local. In this regard the paths in Figures 6.1a choreograph two distinct 'forests of gestures'. One is more metronomic while the other more entwined.

De Certeau makes a critical distinction between space and place. Place "excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location … A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability".[4] In this reading the track and the forest beside it in Figure 6.1b each occupy specific, particular, different, Cartesian places. A space, however, "exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements … In short, *space is a practised place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers".[5] It is in the way a place is frequented, and in terms of this discussion how the forest is walked, that its content emerges. Hence even though the forests alongside the tracks in Figures 6.1b and 6.1c are contiguous, the tracks, and the different practices of walking they prompt, construct two distinctive spaces. For in de Certeau's model *space does not precede its performance*.

Bishop, considering the introduction of a rail line in Australia's Northern Territory, highlights how "a corridor 'gathers' the elements of the landscape and culture, thereby creating new places, perspectives, meanings and experiences, both around it and, more importantly, within it".[6] Carter reiterates this potential: the 'passage' is to be "understood as a gathering-

3 Certeau, 1984, The practice of everyday life, p93.
4 Ibid, p117.
5 Ibid.
6 Bishop, 2002, Gathering the land: the Alice Springs to Darwin rail corridor, p299.

together, as a local event, a convergence of elements latent throughout the region".[7] Along the path both the ground (or what could be called the track's physical passage along the terrain) and the time-based practices of its use meet. Abram's analysis would further suggest that *along the way* both the "temporal concept (the present) … and spatial percept (the enveloping *presence* of the land)" merge.[8]

The means by which a path coalesces cultural elements suggests that not only does a path's physical imprint alter an understanding of wilderness as untouched and untracked. For in the path is also contained a history of other people's journeys and aspirations.[9] As Snyder in his investigation of the *Practices of the Wild* notes "for a forager, the path is *not* where you walk for long … the beaten path shows nothing new, and one may come home empty-handed".[10] In his argument he makes a distinction between the path as the Buddhist 'way' or 'dao' and the physical trail imprinted on the land. On the spiritual path "one goes out onto 'the trail that cannot be followed' which leads everywhere and nowhere, a limitless fabric of possibilities, elegant variations a millionfold on the same themes, yet each point unique".[11] For him the shared path is not part of the wild. Yet his reflection on wildness revisits the type of reflective solution Cronon's reverence and gratitude advocates but this time working with themes applied from Eastern philosophy. While a sense of participation in Snyder's writing is significantly stronger, a prioritising of the metaphysical over the phenomenological remains.[12]

Yet the issue I want to explore here is not about the conceptual suitability of different forms of path to various understandings of wilderness and the conservation estate. Instead it is to consider the different landscapes that

7 Carter, 1996, The Lie of the Land, p18.

8 Abram, 1995, Out of the Map, Into the Territory: The Earthly Topology of Time, p102. (Abram's emphasis) Elsewhere he states "time and space are not really distinct dimensions… everywhere I cast my focus I find space timing and time spacing". (ibid, p97)

9 McQuillan, 2000, The Forest Track: Working with William Cronon's The Trouble with Wilderness.

10 Snyder, 1990, The practice of the wild : essays, p145.

11 Ibid, p153.

12 Jacks', Careri's and Tawa's work –writers who link walking with design – is also in this vein. See Careri, 2002b, Walkscapes : el andar como práctica estética = Walking as an aesthetic practice. Careri, 2002a, Raumerfahrung durch Gehen: Experiencing space by walking. ; Jacks, 2004, Reimagining Walking: Four Practices. ; Jacks, 2006, Walking the City: Manhattan Projects. ; Jacks, 2007, Walking and Reading in Landscape. ; Tawa, 2002, Place, Country, Chorography: Towards a Kinaesthetic and Narrative Practice of Place. For similar approaches but beyond a design perspective see Solnit, 2000, Wanderlust : a history of walking. ; Slavin, 2003, Walking as Spiritual Practice: The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. For extensive material and contributors organised around the theme 'walking as knowing as making' see http://www.walkinginplace.org accessed 3 May 2006.

might emerge from the dialogues that develop from a range of experiential practices of walking.

A sense of a specific practice of walking, along with its event-like structure can be gathered in the following series of stills taken from video footage of myself descending French Ridge in Mount Aspiring National Park. Here I have videoed my feet as they move their way down a steep slope as my feet follow the loosely formed track that descends over, around and within various tree roots.

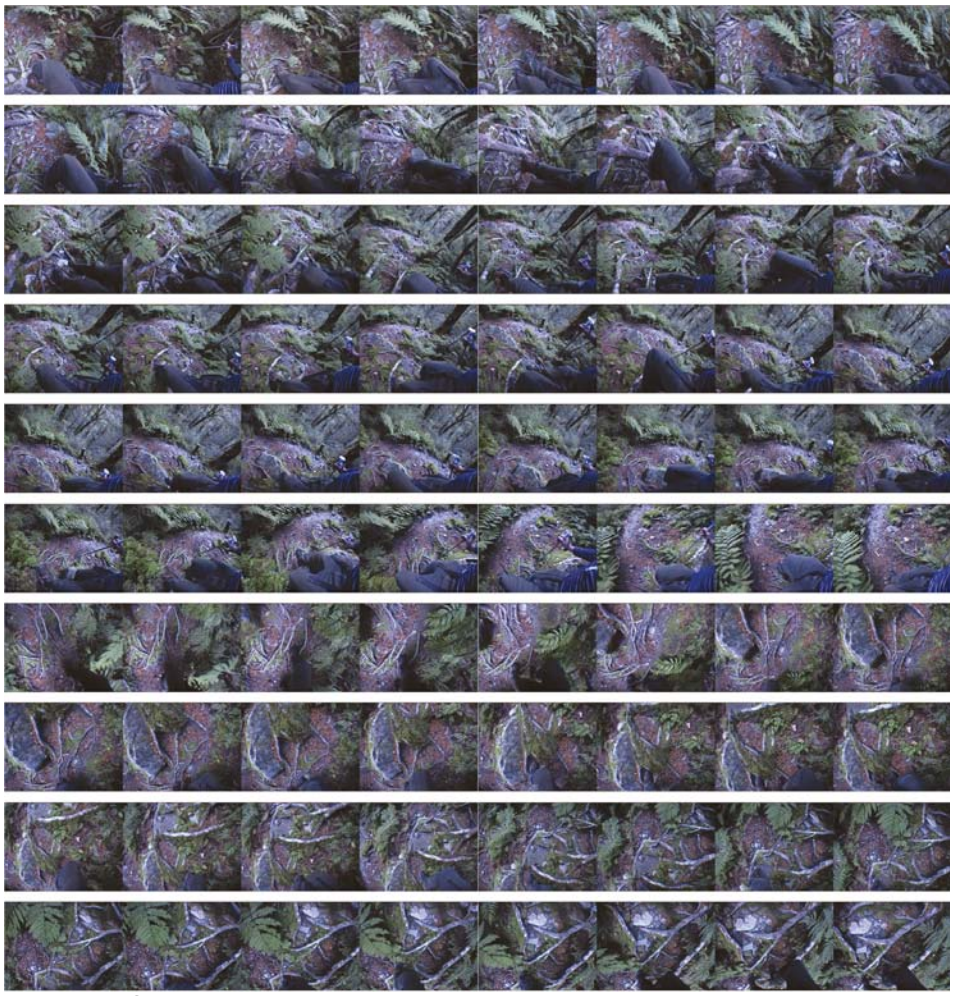


Figure 6.2a: Series of stills taken on French Ridge Track – duration 27 seconds

In some ways it is hard to decipher this series of images. While I have sought to manipulate their contrast levels – so that the movements of my body can be identified as distinct to the land they are on – in many images it is difficult to demarcate where my foot ends and the path begins. It must also be noted that the shifting lens of the camera creates further perceptual difficulties.

Here the movement of my arm as it carries the camera – caused by the changing terrain require a greater kinaesthetic engagement of all my limbs (and in much the same way as for the subject on the older track in Figure 6.1c) – continually shifts the overall image frame. Yet perhaps this difficulty in separating foot from path is an accurate portrayal. In the image series each step (if in this instance we put aside Michael's consideration of the affordance of the boot) is a meeting of 'foot-and-path'. Further in some of the stills 'path-and-foot' melds as a root or mossy patch gives to my weight and the ground envelopes the boot.[13] In this sense the word footpath – while etymologically being a path for feet – is also, as Ingold identifies, a path made by feet.

In these images is a sense that movement is more than the carrying out of instructions by a cognitive brain seeing a path and demanding certain motor responses from each foot. The dialogue is two way – as the moving foot reads and communicates back the path through the senses of touch and proprioception.

Snyder conveys a similar experiential sense to that conveyed by these images. He writes "there's all sorts of walking – from heading out across the desert in a straight line to a sinuous weaving through undergrowth. Descending rocky ridges and talus slopes is a speciality in itself. It is an irregular dancing – always shifting – step of walk on slabs and scree. The breath and eye are always following this uneven rhythm. It is never paced or clocklike, but flexing – little jumps – sidesteps – going for the well-seen place to put a foot on a rock, hit flat, move on – zigzagging along and all deliberate. The alert eye looking ahead, picking the footholds to come, while never missing the step of the moment. The body-mind is so at one with this rough world that it makes these moves effortlessly once I had a bit of practice".[14]

Ingold states a path "is to be understood not as an infinite series of discrete points, occupied at successive instants, but as a continuous itinerary of movements".[15] A path is by its nature dynamic, even transient. It directs the passage of people along its course. Yet it is also the product of that activity being made and remade by its use, by the practice of feet, hooves and wheels

13 See here Ingold's discussion of 'The World has no Surface': Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p240-241.
14 Snyder, 1990, The practice of the wild : essays, p113.
15 Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p226.

being pushed on and into the earth. Where an obstacle forms, the path negotiates the land by either moving, or moving the impediment, to one side.[16] It follows that a track while established by earlier journeys is also the result of subsequent journeys and that the quality of passage that the path affords occurs both on the ground and over time. Each metamorphoses into the other.

It is the mutually emergent qualities between landscape and movement that makes the paths and itineraries a vital 'middle landscape' between the conservation estate and people. Nor should they be considered in terms of solely passing through. Crang, drawing on Lefebvre's work, suggests a temporal understanding of space not only needs to be understood in terms of narratives with beginnings (as in the 1894 party leaving Preservation Inlet) middles (moving along the coast) and ends (finally reaching the Waiau) but also according to their cyclical and iterative properties. For example in the comings and goings as a person collects firewood with which to cook their meal.

It is these 'polyrhythmic and pulsing' qualities – "in terms not of a singular tempo or its quickening, but as an assemblage of different beats"[17] – that suggests wilderness landscapes exist "not as a singular abstract temporality but as a site where multiple temporalities collide".[18] The path that choreographs people's movement and in turn is the trace of that performing is not a 'solid thing' but – by way of translating Crang's analysis of the urban to the conservation estate – instead "is a becoming, through circulation, combination and recombination of people and things… an object in motion, or rather an object with time".[19]

If the descent down French Ridge evokes an experiential, immersive and phenomenological 'foot-and-path' and 'path-and-foot' landscape then in the following example is conveyed a different experiential sense of walking and landscopic space. In figure 6.2b are a series of photographs taken of the extensive boardwalks found on the Humpridge Track, located on Fiordland's

16 For a fuller description of these type of qualities see Jackson, 1994, A sense of place, a sense of time, p201-202.
17 Crang, 2001, Rhythms of the City: Temporalised space and motion, p189.
18 Ibid, p189.
19 Ibid, p190.

South Coast. Officially opened in 2001 its 'catch-phrase' states 'More Wilderness, Less People'.[20]

Figure 6.2b: Series of stills taken on Hump Ridge loop track

These images point to a relationship with the conservation estate that matches Carter's analysis of a colonially-derived contemporary relationship with the land. He writes "we may say, 'But we walk on the ground', yet we should beware of an ambiguity. For we walk on the ground as we drive on the road; that is, we move over and above the ground…Our relationship with the ground is, culturally speaking, paradoxical: for we appreciate it only in so far as it bows down to our will. Let the ground rise up to resist us, let it prove porous, spongy, rough, irregular … and instantly our engineering instinct is to wipe it out … to render what is rough smooth passive, passable, we linearise

20 See http://www.humpridgetrack.co.nz/ accessed May 12, 2008.

it, conceptualising the ground, indeed the world, as an ideally flat space, whose billiard-table surface can be skated over in any direction without hindrance… We live in our places off the ground; and … we idolise the picturesqueness of places because we sense our own ungroundedness, the fragility of our claim on the soil".[21] In the Humpridge Track can be sensed this 'ungroundedness'.

The Humpridge Track route was developed by a local trust as a means to attract tourism to a region previously dependent on forestry of indigenous timber.[22] Its form did not evolve. Rather a prospective route covering the 21 kilometres of new track that needed building was comprehensively surveyed and pegged with markers every lineal 50 metres of track.

The comprehensive design 'prescription' developed by the project managers provides a useful insight into the manner of its design and construction. It specifies six specific types of 'surface finish' to be used: local hardening; metal capping; benching; duckboard boardwalk; raised plank boardwalk and steps.[23] It maps in detail the specific solution to be used at each point of the track (see figure 6.2c). It was also noted "for reasons of cost and efficiency mechanical, as opposed to manual, construction is preferred".[24] It then outlines that the process to be followed including the location of material stockpile sites and temporary accommodation. Cleared vegetation is to be 'removed from sight'. "The basic formation work is undertaken using the digger's bucket and blade… power carriers [are] used to transport loads of stockpiled metal along the formed track for spreading. Loaded power carriers can be driven over previously spread metal to compact it".[25] It notes that the metal will be transported to the sites "on an as required basis by helicopter".[26] Later it notes the Boardwalk "minimum width [is] 600mm for one way track; 800m for two way".[27] Also set were minimum dimensions for decking thickness, width of anti-slip netting, and the maximum gradients for the track and boardwalks.

21 Carter, 1996, The Lie of the Land, p2.
22 Its website states: "the very existence of the track is something quite special, a reflection of Kiwis love for tramping and the 'can do' attitude of a small rural community. This track was conceived by the local community and then built with the same pioneering spirit and hard work that built the timber town of Tuatapere itself". http://www.humpridgetrack.co.nz/ accessed May 12, 2008.
23 However while duckboard boardwalk was extensively specified this was almost completely substituted with with raised plank boardwalk during the construction phase. Arrow International Limited, 1996, A Prescription for the Proposed Hump Ridge Tramping Track and Accommodation Shelter, p59.
24 Ibid, p91.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid, p92.
27 Ibid, p95.

Nor is this approach ad hoc: it notes the solutions provided "are based on sound engineering principle of good drainage and pavement design".[28]

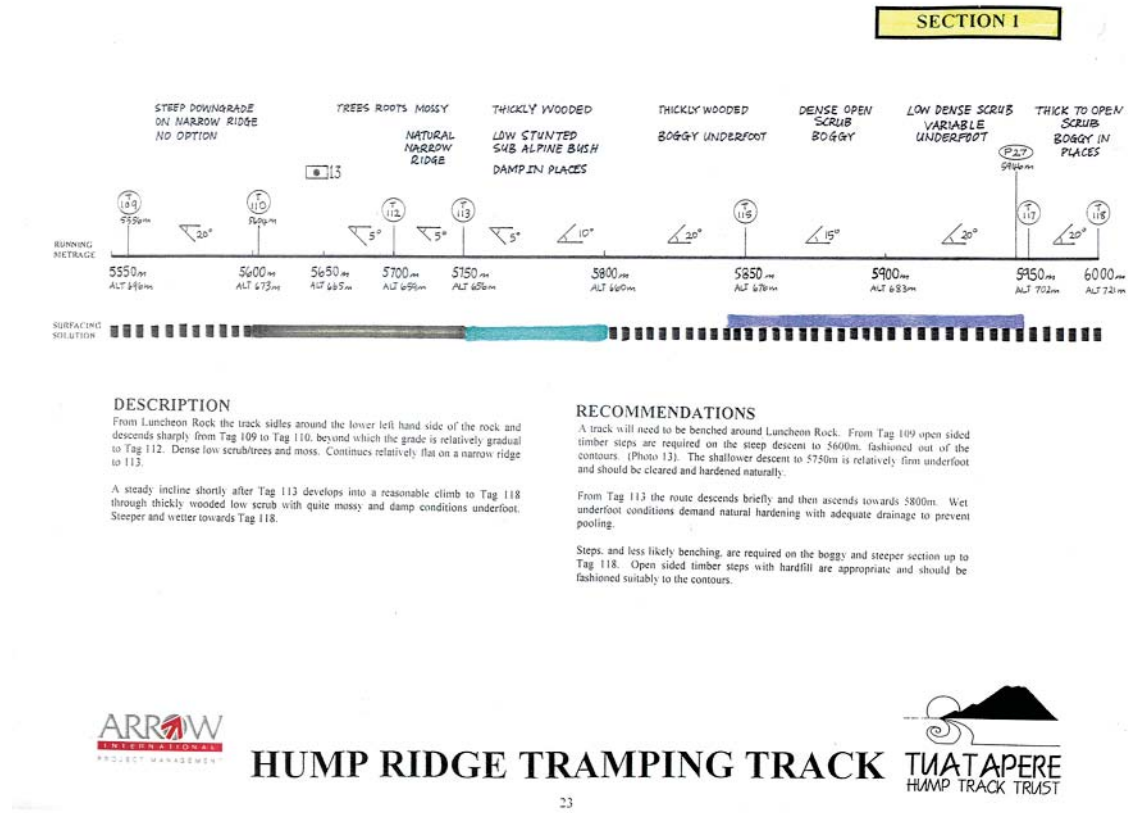


Figure 6.2c: Example of specification from Humpridge Track prescription prepared by Arrow International

In a recent paper Ingold considers the nature of 'the world perceived through feet'.[29] In it he argues that the "bias of head over heels in their accounts follows a long-standing tendency, in western thought and science, to elevate the plane of social and cultural life over the ground of nature".[30] In foregrounding the body as moving 'upon' rather than 'within' the world has led to an understanding of walking that is practised metronomically. As a result people's personal movement – their walking – is performed in the manner of a 'stepping machine'. In the prescription for the Humpridge Track can be gained a sense of the repetitive stride such solutions create.

28 Ibid, p4.

29 In many ways Ingold's most interesting work comes after the publication of his major and comprehensive treatise *The Perception of the Environment*. For they are discrete responses to the issues that have arisen from debates and tensions noted in his overarching study. See Hallam and Ingold, 2007, Creativity and cultural improvisation. ; Ingold, 2004, Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet. ; Ingold, 2006, Rethinking the animate, re-animating thought. ; Ingold and Kurttila, 2000, Perceiving the Environment in Finnish Lapland.

30 Ingold, 2004, Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet, p315.

Nor is the Humpridge Track a particularly distinctive example. The following images come from a more diverse range of locations across the conservation estate (figure 6.2d)

Figure 6.2d: Other Boardwalks in the New Zealand conservation estate.

While similar in approach to that applied to the Humpridge Track these particular solutions are derived from the *Tracks and Outdoor Visitor Structures* handbook SNZ HB8630:2004 which was recently adopted by the Department of Conservation.[31] This document "provides specifications for the design, construction, and maintenance of tracks and outdoor visitor structures. It is aimed at encouraging consistent standards … New Zealand-wide".[32]

For example it states that tracks for day visitors must be a minimum of 0.75m wide and a maximum of 2.0m wide, while those for 'Back-Country Comfort Seekers' must be "at least 0.3m wide in open forest, river flats, tops or flat terrain"[33] and 0.6m "where there are steep slopes and/or room for passing is required".[34] The maximum allowable width is 1 metre. As well as track widths similar standards are set across each visitor category for surfacing, boardwalks, bridges, steps and so on.

As can be noted in the previous photos, and also those boardwalks on the Humpridge Track, the setting of minimum and maximum parameters readily becomes the de facto standard for all structures. For example in locations as diverse as the Hooker Valley in Aoraki Mount Cook, The Waterfall Track at Hanmer Springs and those on Ulva Island in Stewart Island the tread height width and step design are almost identical. In each location the same solution and 'engineering instinct' is adopted. While the standard states "Tracks enable visitors to access and experience natural areas and the design of the track should enhance this experience"[35] it is clear it expects that issues of safety, maintenance, and function are the overriding parameters by which an enhanced experience and 'clear and consistent expectations' of the conservation estate can be met.

31 For a brief outline of its genesis, and the adoption of the standard by the Department of Conservation, Auckland Regional Council and the Auckland City Council see Standards New Zealand., 2004, Tracks and outdoor visitor structures, p7-8. See also Logan, 2002, DOC's Track Standards - On the Right Track? For the link between this work and Cave Creek see Logan and Department of Conservation, 2005, Cave Creek: Ten Years On. Standards New Zealand, 2003, Handbook for DOC Walkways.

32 Standards New Zealand., 2004, Tracks and outdoor visitor structures, p7.

33 Ibid. %46.

34 Ibid, p47.

35 Ibid, p7.

Figure 6.2f: Standard Bridge Solutions taken from Waterfall Track, Hanmer Springs; Hooker Valley Walk, Aoraki National Park; and Ulva Island, Stewart Island.

Yet what can be observed in these images is the sameness of form despite the different contexts they travel *over.* But even more noteworthy is the sameness of the walking cadence and walking practice they afford across the conservation estate that homogenises rather than teases apart a potential diversity of engagements. Ingold notes, "people, in their daily lives, merely skim the surface of a world that has been previously mapped out and constructed for them to occupy rather than contributing through their movements to its ongoing formation… Green spaces are for looking at, not for walking on; reserved for visual contemplation rather than for exploration on foot. The surfaces you can walk on are those that remained untouched and unmarked by your presence".[36]

By leaving no trace no lasting histories can be formed.[37] People pass through. Or as Pinder observes, discussing the motivation for Janet Cardiff's audio walks that seek to reveal the hidden spaces of the city, 'voices are missing'.[38] Likewise in the tracks just described their uniformity and surface hardness obscure the histories implicit in their making and use.

36 Ingold, 2004, Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet, p329.

37 The Australian anthropologist and historian Greg Dening differentiates between 'History' as an academic methodology, and 'histories' as our present day accountings for the past. He describes how 'histories' make sense of the vastness and density of the past - from "every heartbeat, every sound, every molecular movement." Dening, 1996, Performances, p41.

38 Pinder, 2001, Ghostly Footsteps: Voices, Memories and Walks in the City.

Yet interpreting landscapes as places without present-day histories casts people as outsiders in the very landscapes they might dwell in. As a result people are positioned as curators of a rich history but are themselves not understood as integral to continuing this lineage of history making.[39] However in terms of the discussion here – and a phenomenological 'being-in-the-world' – rather than consider the effect on heritage values that this approach constructs I would like to consider those qualities that relate to a more immediate kinaesthetic knowing of landscape, and which is also strongly diminished in the various 'prescriptions', handbooks and physical properties of tracks.

6.3 THE HAPTIC TRACK

In a recent study published in the New Zealand Alpine Journal Roland Foster writes of the haptic qualities of rock climbing. He notes "getting the feel of a hold was seen by the respondents to involve far more than just the hands, indeed body position was completely integral to their ability to feel the holds".[40] This quality of the haptic can be similarly applied to the walker. As Neil Lewis notes, citing Merleau-Ponty, "it is not consciousness which touches or feels, but the hand".[41] This sense also comes through in Snyder's descriptions and the movements of feet, arms and body conveyed in the series of stills in figure 6.1c and 6.2a. However it is the possibility of a haptic understanding of the path that both the SNZ HB8630:2004 and Humpridge Track ignores.

Ingold argues, "walking is itself a form of circumambulatory knowing".[42] He goes on to state "once this is recognised, a whole new field of inquiry is opened up, concerning the ways in which our knowledge of the environment is altered by techniques of footwork and by the many and varied devices that we attach to the feet in order to enhance their effectiveness in specific tasks and conditions".[43] In this regard various footwear, tools, equipment, appendages and structures can be enlisted in a designerly way in order to

39 This point is more fully developed in Abbott, 2007, The Creative Practice of Heritage Landscapes: Designing Futures for Historic Stonewalls and Walking Tracks.
40 Foster, 2007, Embodying the Haptic, p108. See also Spinney, 2006, A place of sense: a kinaesthetic ethnography of cyclists on Mont Ventoux.
41 Lewis, 2000, The climbing body, nature and the experience of modernity, p72. Or as David Macauley writing in the context of walking states "we also listened with our feet". Macauley, 1993, A Few Foot Notes on Walking, p1.
42 Ingold, 2004, Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet, p331.
43 Ibid, p331.

shape and direct the ways in which a path and its walking might enable the landscape to be kinaesthetically 'known'.

Similarly Carter notes that on the ground, the path is a 'surfaceless vector' *within* which the "pocked, rounded, folded, pierced and caverned"[44] land is negotiated. It is this quality of conversation as people's movement meet the ground (and vice versa) that prompts Carter to consider the expressive and creative potential of such a meeting: to ask what if "the manner of going over ground were itself a poetic act, and not merely a prosaic means of getting from one place to another?"[45] Or as Crang phrases it – what is the 'utterance' of these places?[46]

To this end, and as part of my fieldwork, I have videoed with a split screen a number of walking tracks in an attempt to identify common elements and variations in their constitution. What follows in figure 6.3a are some stills taken from this work from the following tracks in the southern New Zealand conservation estate.

44 Carter, 1996, The Lie of the Land, p358.
45 Ibid, p295.
46 Crang, 1994, On the Heritage Trail: Maps of and Journeys to Olde Englande, p347.

Figure 6.3a: Split screen images from various tracks. Clockwise from top left Kepler Track, Routeburn Track, West Matukituki Track, Port Craig Track, Kepler Track, Port Craig Track, Humpridge Track, Dusky Track

What this video footage identifies is a range of footfalls, rhythm, stride lengths, tempos and walking cadences that different surfaces and path forms direct in the walker. For example small tree roots require a short step to position the foot just prior to the root crossing the track, before a steeper leg raise and then shorter than normal stride to step over it is needed, before continuing on. The boardwalk sections counter this type of movement and instead a sense of Ingold's metronomic 'stepping machine' is gained.

Also able to be appraised in the video footage is a range of treatments of the path edge. In some the distinction between track and not-track is subtly gradated while in others the demarcation is stark. So too the width of the track: some vary continually as various surrounding fauna direct the path to expand or contract, while in other cases a consistent width is constructed. Other modes of distinction include the time intervals between track markers and also the distance – both spatial and temporal – ahead that can be appraised in the course of following a track.

But even an examination of the haptic has limits. The ambit of a path's constitution needs to be broadened to include qualities wider than just the kinaesthetic. Just as the sound of the twig breaking conveys vital clues for the gatherer of firewood so in walking there is more happening than just the foot meeting the path and the path meeting the foot. Other senses are also engaged: sounds, smell, touch and even the taste as an increasing humidity suggests a likelihood of lightning and heavy rain.[47]

The walker also introduces further qualities. As Tim Edensor notes "in walking of all kinds, the body can never mechanically pass seamlessly through rural space informed by discursive norms and practical techniques. The interruptions of stomach cramps and hunger, headaches, blisters, ankle strains, limbs that 'go to sleep', muscle fatigue, mosquito bites and a host of other bodily sensations may foreground an overwhelming awareness of the body that can dominate consciousness".[48] For example different degrees of tiredness, hunger and thirst would create a different flow of movement on the descent down French Ridge. Elsewhere Edensor discusses how "more

47 And works towards the visceral *'Contact! Contact! Contact!'* that Thoreau exclaims. See Smith, 2000, Performing the (sound) world. Coates, 2005, The strange stillness of the past: Towards an environmental history of sound and noise.

48 Edensor, 2000, Walking in the British Countryside: Reflexivity, Embodied Practices and Ways to Escape, p101. Certainly during my outdoor journeys I am often surprised by the songs, ideas and discussions that from my past spring up again. See Anderson, 2004, Talking whilst walking: a geographical archaeology of knowledge.

material flows of ideas, semiotics, and stories from elsewhere and other times colonise and socialise space".[49] Such qualities emerge in the body and its perception of the environment. Lewis notes, "the climbing body … is recast, moulded and shaped, transformed and, in substance, created through the act of climbing and embodied engagement or immersion with rock".[50] Or as Ingold and Kurttila state "moving in an environment means 'tuning' one's own movement in response to the movements in one's own surroundings – other animals, the wind and so on. Where nothing moves there is nothing to respond to; hence the feeling of disorientation".[51]

There have been an extensive number of studies published within the disciplines of human geography and anthropology that have extensively explored immersive and emergent engagements of landscape.[52] Common across this work is a grappling with a phenomenological interpretation of space and landscape. However while such work is intellectually sophisticated there is a difficulty in applying these studies to the issue of what might the landscape architect design.

For example in a paper titled *A single day's walking: narrating self and landscape on the South West Coast Path* John Wylie identifies a number of threads relevant to the scope of this particular chapter. These include "sensations of anxiety and immensity, haptic enfolding and attenuation, encounters with other and with the elements, and moments of visual exhilaration and epiphany".[53] He concludes his study by suggesting a post-phenomenological position for landscape in which "landscape might best be described in terms of the entwined materialities and sensibilities *with which* we act and sense".[54] The walker 'haunts the landscape' while "a feature of the path is its onwardness".[55] Hence he concludes, "to haunt a landscape is to supplement and disturb it. Equally, passing-through is at once both passing-into and emerging from".[56]

While such work is rich and thought provoking, and also relevant to this chapter's exploration of the path, its ephemerality makes it difficult to apply to

49 Edensor, 2003, Defamiliarizing the Mundane Roadscape, p167.
50 Lewis, 2000, The climbing body, nature and the experience of modernity, p74.
51 Ingold and Kurttila, 2000, Perceiving the Environment in Finnish Lapland, p189-190.
52 For examples see the comprehensive footnote on page 151.
53 Wylie, 2005, A single day's walking: narrating self and landscape on the South West Coast Path, p234.
54 Ibid, p245.
55 Ibid, p246. (Wylie's emphasis)
56 Ibid.

the practice of design. For example what form might be designed to foster a 'passing-into', 'passing-through' and 'emerging-from'? Certainly many architectural motifs (including those developed within landscape architecture and interior design) explore the liminal qualities inherent in such evocations of the phenomenological – of which the most pertinent here is that between architecture and landscape and landscape architecture and architecture.[57]

In this light a standard boardwalk could be potentially transformed to accentuate a heightened liminal quality between foot and ground, and also boardwalk and forest. For example a number of the diagrammatic transformations developed by the architect Peter Eisenman could be adopted. In such a treatment the formal attributes of boardwalks could fracture, shear, morph, twist, be interrupted, and torsionally rotate.[58] Similarly these could be manipulated to vary their distance from the ground. More semiotic attributes could also be integrated. For example the orientation of the boards themselves might indicate the cardinal compass points or noteworthy features.[59] Yet, while these formal outcomes may be more interesting than the generic form of structures currently directed by the Department of Conservation, the practices of walking that they afford are little further varied. Beyond producing a greater range of stride length – which unless subtly pursued could seem contrived – the outcome is similar to that of the 'twig cooker' of the previous chapter: while particularity of practice is prompted its choreography is a by-product rather than the underlying intent of the design.

Indeed this recurrent issue leads to an important finding of this research: namely the capacity to directly design practices of wilderness landscapes – and not just to recognise its qualities – is a significant stumbling block to this study. For while it would be reasonable in terms of a research project to design a lexicon of formal typologies so it might extend the options articulated in the various standards and prescriptions (such as those developed for the Humpridge Track or SNZ HB8630:2004), does such work enhance an experiential practising of the conservation estate? Or instead does it only broaden the formal range by which a still limited number of walking related practices of wilderness landscapes can be fostered? And consequently in

57 See Bowring, Not House & Not Garden. ; Bowring, 2004, The Liminal, the Subliminal and the Sublime. Hays, Briseno and Solomon, 2004, 306090: Landscape Within Architecture. Harrisson, 2003, Not Nothing: Shades of Public Space.

58 See Eisenman, 1999, Diagram diaries, p238-239.

59 This approach was incorporated in elements of Abbott, Aplin, Fyfe, Hannah and McIndoe, 2002, Walking Stories : Entered in AAA Cavalier Bremworth Awards.

which the diversity of spaces (being de Certeau's practised places) becomes difficult to directly create in a wilderness landscape. Such an approach leads to framing the landscape architect's role as someone who interprets landscape through sculpting its form[60] rather than through directly fostering a dwelling-in-landscape through its practice.

This difficulty in determining what, in a landscape context, is to be created is an issue that not only concerns the discipline of landscape architecture. This issue is also evident in the disciplines of human geography and anthropology. In a subsequent paper Wyllie explores at a more theoretical level *Depths and folds: on landscape and the gazing subject* in which he calls for a 'geopoetics' that is both creative and critical. This is his concluding paragraph: "If landscape refers to the materialities and sensibilities with which we see then its narration needs to be attentive to ways in which these are emergent from and indeed constitute ongoing, refracting visual cultures. It needs also to foreground the always already performative and eventful nature of such sensibilities. And it must be haunted by, and folded with, the agency and autochthony of surfaces, reliefs, textures, and tones: materialities. This is a threefold, already-too-didactic injunction regarding a geopoetics of landscape. This geopoetics would be about working explicitly with expressive vocabularies and grammars in order to *creatively and critically knit biographies, events, visions, and topographies into landscape*."[61]

Such insights that identify the need for a creative engagement are not atypical.[62] There appears between a humanities based phenomenological consideration of landscape (and if Wylie's assertion is accepted post-phenomenological) and in the creative ambit of landscape architecture a potential meeting point that is as yet poorly articulated. Indeed as those studies based in the humanities grapple with the possibility of design it seems their disciplinary conception of the creative may express Wittgenstein's aphorism – 'the limits of my language are the limits of my world'.

Yet while Wylie recognises this unrealised direction it could be argued that for landscape architecture the same challenge exists but – because a creative, designerly engagement of landscape is a core method of the

60 And perhaps whose persona in full flight imitates that of the 'starchitect'.
61 Wylie, 2006, Depths and folds: on landscape and the gazing subject, p533. (my emphasis)
62 For example see Hallam and Ingold, 2007, Creativity and cultural improvisation. ; Massey, 2005, For space. ; Thrift, 2000a, Afterwords.

discipline – is of greater critical importance. For if the intent is to create a phenomenological immersive landscape – one in which landscape as *landschaft* prevails – what then does the landscape architect design? How might the 'footpath' as a phenomenological being-in-the world – of feet walking a path, of feet making a path, and of a path shaping the feet – be created.

A process of more in depth quantitative and qualitative study could follow. For example the various video-footage taken on walking tracks and shown in Fig 6.3a could be comparatively interpreted. Interviews and detailed observations in the field could also be pursued.[63] Suitable subjects could evaluate still or moving images of different tracks.[64] Or a comprehensive survey could be undertaken to develop a richer typology of both track forms and their integration with the various landforms, flora and possible vantage points.[65] And so on.

However while this had been my intent, and also such approaches would be valuable they lie outside the scope of the research approach as articulated in Chapter Two. For the above approaches methodologies more strongly established in non-design-led disciplines are enlisted to direct a study whose goal is to direct various design-led disciplines to 'render out' the particular insights that their methodological frames have formulated.[66] But what are the insights design-directed research might offer this issue? What is a designerly attempt that could extend a phenomenological understanding of the foot-and-path?

6.4 DIAGRAMMING MOVEMENT

Catherine Dee notes that theoreticians in landscape architecture 'rarely influence design practice' because image is structured as an 'other' to the written position. She also observes that in contemporary cultural geography "because of a paucity of illustration and inventive use of images, the visual

63 See Booth and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2006, Review of visitor research for the Department of Conservation. Steven, 2004, Making sense of the land : a sensemaking approach to environmental knowing.

64 For a comprehensive discussion of such methods see Swaffield and Foster, 2000, Community perceptions of landscape values in the South Island high country : a literature review of current knowledge and evaluation of survey methods.

65 The Department of Conservation is currently developing the forthcoming *Track Construction and Maintenance Manual,* for which I have been invited to contribute material. See also Ruff and Maddison, 1994, Footpath management in the national parks.

66 See, for example, Hudson's conclusion in Hudson, 2001, Wild Ways and Paths of Pleasure: access to British waterfalls, 1500–2000.

remains 'mute': present in text but not 'speaking'.[67] Such a position constrains the visual to fulfilling tasks of representation and amplification.

Yet what is the potential of the image to shape an understanding of the foot-and-path? Corner notes that mapping has been commonly used to visualise quantitative and analytical qualities of the subject. An exemplar of this type of application can be found in Luna Leopold's *A View of the River* in which many such representations (including those in figure 6.4a) are developed to extend an understanding of the fluvial beyond its most common cartographic depiction as a thin blue line.[68]

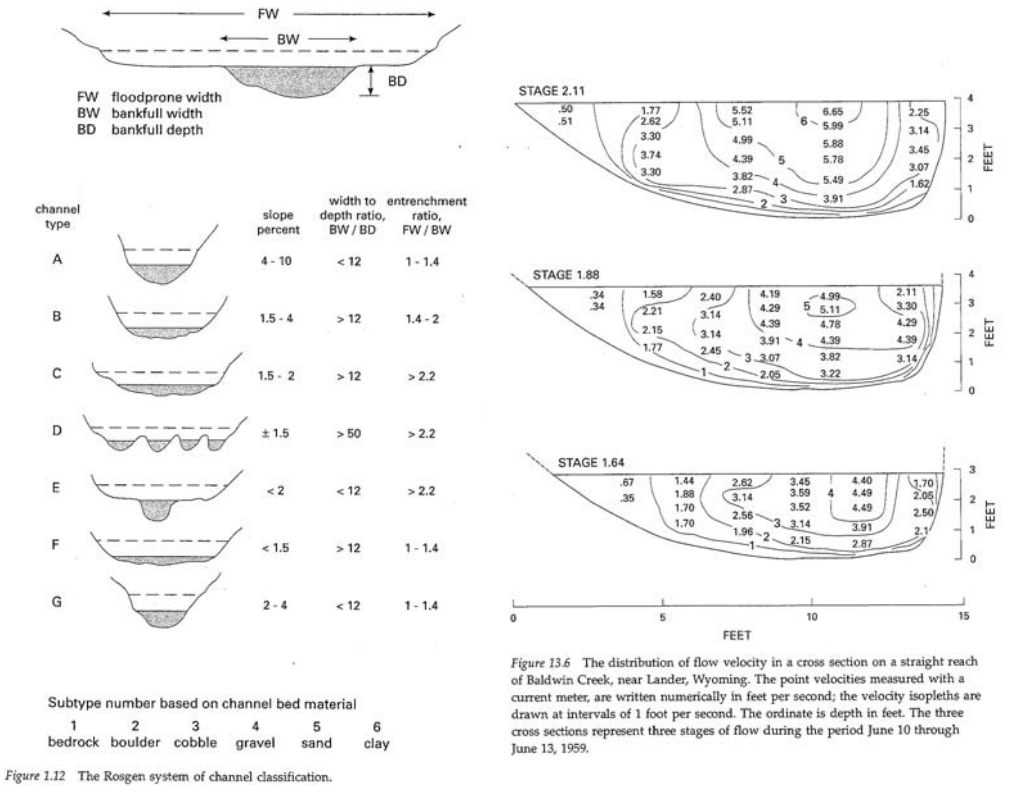


Figure 6.4a: Luna Leopold Views of the River. These are two selected from over 50 different techniques she uses to map the attributes of rivers.[69]

However Corner asks for a consideration of mapping not as a mode of representation but as a 'creative activity'. He states "the various cartographic procedures of selection, schematisation and synthesis make the map *already* a project in the making. This is why mapping is never neutral, passive or

67 Dee, 2004, The imaginary texture of the real critical visual studies in landscape architecture: contexts, foundations and approaches, p16. For a discussion of this issue from a geographers perspective see Rose, 2003, On the need to ask how, exactly, is geography 'visual'.

68 Leopold, 2005, A view of the river.

69 Taken from Ibid, p22, 254.

without consequence; on the contrary, mapping is perhaps the most formative and creative act of any design process, first disclosing and then staging the conditions for the emergence of new realities".[70] Nor must the use of mapping as a method of visualisation only 'prioritise visual and formal qualities'. As he argues elsewhere an eidetic imaging of landscape can also include the acoustic, tactile, cognitive and intuitive. Thus "eidetic images contain a broad range of ideas that lie at the core of human creativity. Consequently, how one 'images' the world literally conditions how reality is conceptualised and shaped".[71] It is mapping's agency and capacity to 'inaugurate possibility' that generates its designerly potential. It also positions such visualisations as potential tools of design-directed research. And following Corners claims a worthwhile direction for this research to consider is how the phenomenological landscape might be visualised.

Corner's practice works closely with the cartographic trope to visualise both context and site.[72] Alan Berger adopts a similar approach in his studies to the North American mid-west.[73] In an Australasian context such an approach also prevails in the work of Paul Carter and Room 4.1.3.[74] It has also been the subject of other published studio-based explorations.[75] Dee's approach is broader. She describes her work as experiments at the 'nexus of writing, speaking and image making' and proposes five types of relevant visual studies "that would in reality be combined, conflated and blurred depending on the particular visual study. The types are: 'Art as enquiry', 'Dialogic drawing', 'Hypothetical design', 'Mappings and 'Visual narratives'".[76]

By way of example Dee and Rivka Fine develop an effective landscape-based study of a former steel production facility. "In these collaged drawings, fragmentation, immersion, dwelling, intimacy, juxtaposition, and inversion are

70 Corner, 1999d, The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention, p216. (Corner's emphasis.)
71 Corner, 1999a, Eidetic Operations and New Landscapes, p153.
72 See, for examples, Corner, 1999b, Field operations. ; Corner and MacLean, 1996, Taking measures across the American landscape.
73 See, for examples, Berger, 2002, Representation and Reclaiming: Cartographies, Mappings, and Images of Altered American Western Landscapes. ; Berger, 2007, Drosscape: Wasting Land in Urban America.
74 See, for examples, Carter, 2004b, Nearamnew. Weller and Barnett, 2005, Room 4.1.3 : innovations in landscape architecture. Weller, 2001a, Between Hermeneutics and datascapes: a critical appreciation of emergent landscape design theory and praxis through the writings of James Corner 1990–2000 (part one).
75 See Walliss and Lee, 2001, Landscape and representation: (re)mapping the Flinders Ranges ; Weir, 2001, Transformative mappings: the cartographer's house in the ecologist's garden. Reporting on a work in progress. ; Yandle, 2001, The Corner connection: studio experimentation.
76 Dee, 2004, The imaginary texture of the real critical visual studies in landscape architecture: contexts, foundations and approaches, p19.

tools of both the image making and intellectual processes" (Figure 6.4b).[77] In terms of this study of the New Zealand's conservation estate experimenting in visualising the experiential qualities as a counter to the manner of Apse and Potton could be developed. Another possibility could adopt the overlapping images of Holly Getch-Clark that challenge the single point view implicit in the perspective drawing (Figure 6.4c).[78]

Figure 6.4b: Brightside Dwelling 3: Tracing Bramble Cloth by Catherine Dee and Rivka Fine[79]

77 Dee and Fine, 2005, Indoors Outdoors at Brightside: A Critical Visual Study Reclaiming Landscape Architecture in the Feminine, p70.

78 See Getch-Clarke, 2005, Land-scopic Regimes: Exploring Perspectival Representation Beyond the'Pictorial'Project. Parvu and Torres, 2007, Landscoping: Teaching Experiments in and around Geneva.

79 Dee and Fine, 2005, Indoors Outdoors at Brightside: A Critical Visual Study Reclaiming Landscape Architecture in the Feminine, p75.

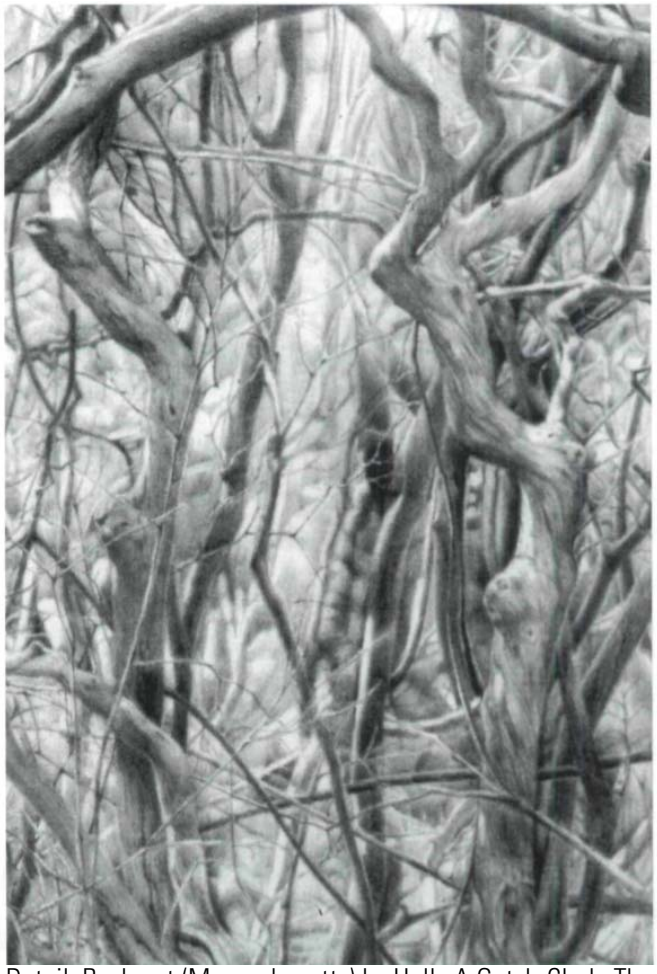


Figure 6.4c: Detail, Rockport (Massachusetts) by Holly A Getch-Clark. The caption states "this drawing explores alternative representation of episode and durational qualities of landscape independent of pictorial composition. Continuous movement and change define multiple temporalities within a landscape phenomenon".[80]

The strength of Dee and Fine's and Getch-Clark's work lies in the intimacy of their approach as can be sensed in the above images taken from their approaches (figure 6.4b). What their work directs is a consideration of the qualitative attributes of both the subject matter and also those interpreting such material. Yet this intimacy can also be problematic. For, while the techniques they adopt enables the researchers to acquire relevant insights, a dependence on the landscape architect to develop a personal image of a complex context is perhaps less inclusive when seeking to draw into the process a number of differently skilled stakeholders. Further, those external to the creative disciplines can consider such an approach too ephemeral to be applicable to a wider set of contexts, practitioners and stakeholders. While it is the qualitative process of their work that makes their methods effective, in

80 Getch-Clarke, 2005, Land-scopic Regimes: Exploring Perspectival Representation Beyond the'Pictorial'Project, p65.

the context of this specific research it is difficult to consider how the outputs from Dee and Fine's and Getch-Clark's work could be effectively applied as tools that not only develop their own practice but also, as in this case, to the New Zealand conservation estate and the diversity of interests involved.[81] Nonetheless it is their desire to explore the qualitative dimensions of landscape that signals an important attribute for a phenomenological imaging of landscape.

It is because of these concerns, and the prevalence of the trope of mapping across those disciplines with a keen interest in the wilderness and the conservation estate – including those related to planning, management, geography, tourism and recreation studies – that suggests a cartographic investigation of wilderness and the conservation estate would be worthwhile. Indeed Turnbull argues that as the map is increasingly enlisted across Western thinking its wider metaphysical frameworks are also becoming increasingly map-like.[82] Nonetheless it is not without its difficulties. For example its tendency for the large-scale can conflate landscape with being a gameboard.[83]

Richard Weller notes designerly visualisations must not only open out a context but also crystallise it in meaningful ways. The following comment is particularly apt for this research project: "because designers are interested in depicting and intervening in the manifold, interconnected nature of reality (in poetic and pragmatic senses) they need mapping techniques that, on one hand, open themselves to the infinitude of poetics and, on the other, carefully hone and manage the facts of the situation. Such maps do not exist, they must be constructed by design",[84]

What possibilities might be 'inaugurated' by a mapping of the foot-and-path journey. And prior to this how might aspects of the phenomenology of such

81 For example while the Department of Conservation might be willing to support such work through its 'Wild Creationz' Programme it is unlikely to commission such a study to better inform its thinking on the conservation estate at a strategic level. See Department of Conservation, 2007i, Wild Creations Artists in Residence programme.

82 Turnbull, Watson and Deakin University. School of Humanities. Open Campus Program., 1993, Maps are territories : science is an atlas : a portfolio of exhibits, p48-49.

83 See, for a discussion of the designerly potential of the game-board, Corner, 1999d, The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention, p239-244. While Corner stresses its creative opportunities it should also be noted that this approach has geopolitical and colonial overtones combined with a ready capacity for detachment.

84 Weller, 2001b, Between Hermeneutics and datascapes: a critical appreciation of emergent landscape design theory and praxis through the writings of James Corner 1990–2000 (part two), p34.

events be mapped? A three dimensional object that is formed by the space occupied by a body moving over time can be readily imagined (see figure 6.4d).

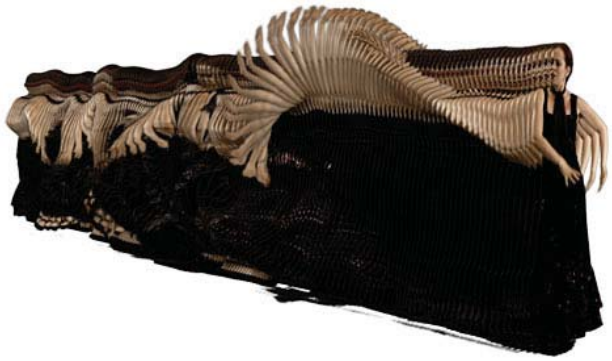


Figure 6.4d: Three-dimensional image developed by Moframes recording the changing form of a flamenco dancer.[85]

Such a form is reminiscent of the nineteenth century time-lapsed photographic studies undertaken by Muybridge of people walking, riding a bicycle and the like.[86] It could be expected that the three- dimensional object produced would vary according to the track on which the person was travelling. For example the form generated by a person walking down French Ridge in Figure 6.2a would vary markedly from that produced by the same person this time walking the Humpridge track boardwalks in Figure 6.2b. Likewise the two tracks that began this chapter could be readily distinguished by the resulting spatial form each 'walking' occupied.

Other approaches could also be investigated. For example *Labanotation* or kinetography has developed a detailed system of 'movement writing' that uses symbols to describe any movement made by the body (even including different finger movements).[87] And while it has been developed principally to record choreographic dance it would be potentially adept at recording the descent down French Ridge. Labanotation includes a syntax that can "describe movement in terms of the visual results in space; part of the body moving; direction; path; placement of the centre of weight; timing – when to start, when to stop, how fast, how long; amount of energy; relationship – to the surrounding space, to other performers".[88] The following diagram (figure

85 See http://www.moframes.net/02_flamenco.html

86 See, for example, the "space of a basketball movement" in Robinson, 2005, Browsing, Bouncing, Murdering, and Mooring, p29. The architect Greg Lynn uses this approach as a means to generate form. Yet in his work while successful at translating the meanings of diverse temporalities struggles to also transfer the instrumentality of such temporalities. See Lynn, 1997, Animate form : a book & interactive CD-ROM.

87 See Hutchinson Guest, 2005, Labanotation: The System of Analyzing and Recording Movement.

88 East, Labanotation, p2. Labanaotation was developed by Rudolf Laban in the first half of the twentieth century.

6.4e) conveys a sense of its graphical richness but also a complexity that is daunting for the uninitiated. While not able to be intuitively perceived "one symbol states by its shape, the direction of the movement; by its shading, the level; by its length, the duration; by its placement on a staff, the part of the body moving".[89]

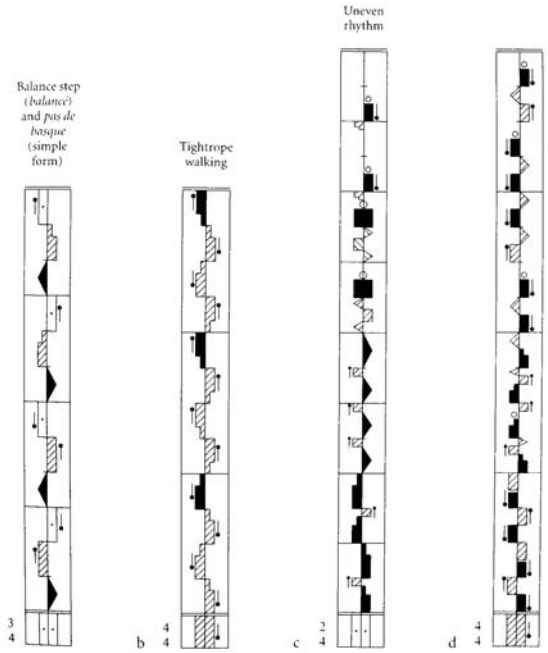


Figure 6.4e: Laban notation of positions of the feet. They are in turn of balance steps, tightrope walking, and uneven rhythm.[90]

Other choreographers have adopted a number of similarly visually strong approaches to mapping their work. For example in Figure 6.4f are two attempts to graphically convey bodies performing over time. These images form part of Jonathon Burrows' discussion of *Time, motion, symbol, line* that emphasises their graphic design qualities. In his study he makes an distinction that is important for the designer: "notation divides into two kinds: the various attempts at a complete system to write down work that already exists; or the score as notebook, a tool to find something new".[91]

89 Ibid.
90 Hutchinson Guest, 2005, Labanotation: The System of Analyzing and Recording Movement, p57.
91 Burrows, 2001, Time, Motion, Symbol, Line, p30.

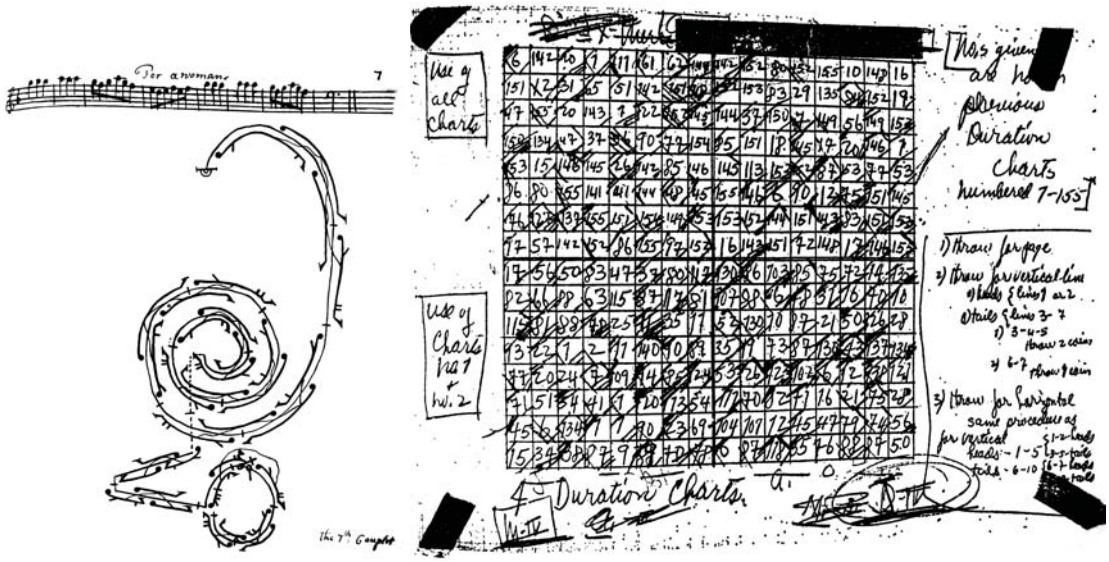
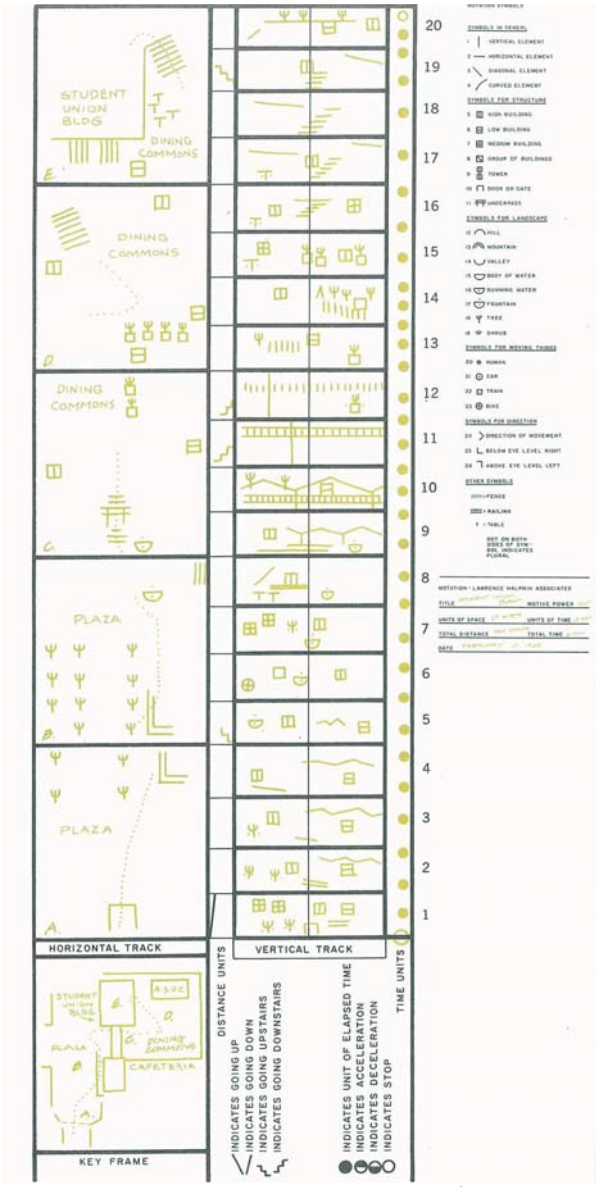


Figure 6.4f: Left is "an eighteenth century dance seen from above with the music notation running across the top. Right is part of "direction and duration charts for a complex Merce Cunningham piece *Suite by Chance,* choreographed in 1953".[92]

In terms of this study of wilderness and the conservation estate, it is the capacity of mapping to not only record, but to foster designing and possibility, that is of specific interest. In other words the issue is not only how an existing track might be phenomenologically visualised but also how any such mapping could enable the design of prospective tracks.

Within the discipline of landscape architecture Lawrence Halprin, along with his partner and dancer Anna Halprin, sought to explore those dimensions that might be found at the fusion of movement and notation. Halprin describes *Motation* as "a scoring system for motion through space, just as musical notation is a scoring system for sound".[93] Used to both record and imagine movement it was intended to be a "tool both for recording existing events or to create new conditions".[94] In figure 6.4g is an example of this approach. However Halprin's system in its complexity is prone to being idiosyncratic, in that as new conditions appear the elements of the system continues to expand.[95]

92 Ibid, p32,34.
93 Halprin, 1965, Motation, p130.
94 Ibid, p130. For a more recent consideration of movement notation within landscape architecture see Kamvasinou, 2006, Reclaiming the Obsolete in Transitional Landscapes: Perception, Motion, Engagement.
95 This perhaps explains why Halprin's approach has tended to be at the periphery of current discussions of landscape architecture methods.



Figs 6.4g: Notation of a walk through the UCLA Berkeley Campus using Halprin's Motation system.[96]

While the construction of three dimensional form that is the trace of a person's movement, and also studies based on Laban-type and Halprin-type notations could be applied to record the practice of walking it is difficult to consider how such work – other than scripting a specific choreography – might be applied to designing alternative articulations of foot-and-path in the New Zealand conservation estate. Perhaps a design of paths that concentrated on providing specific landing points for feet, rather than a corridor for movement could be developed.[97] The various diagrammatic

[96] Halprin, 1965, Motation, p132.

97 This formed the basis of a design that was developed by Ken Mason of Dunedin and myself for use on a proposed track in the region. Here a series of 'stepping stones' made from timber was developed to crossing boggy terrain

transformations of boardwalks that could be based on Eisenman's work and was proposed earlier could readily extend such a possibility. Likewise Thiel's work on a typology of path forms could be applied, but again while the system infers the merits of movement it is founded on the path affording the foot, and less the foot affording the path.[98] And even then, in the context of the path in the conservation estate such work – like the already discussed formal application of Eisenman's transformations to boardwalks – concentrates solely on the act of foot-falls and foot-lifts. While theoretically intriguing, there remains considerable difficulty in making such work applicable beyond a designerly interest.

It is for this reason I would like to consider a mapping of journeys at a scale larger than the individual fall and lift of a foot. To step back from the intimacies of specific sections of the French Ridge Track or the Humpridge Track and consider how movement might be mapped along several days of a route. For how could a cartography of temporal experience be visualised and how might it contrast with more conventional cartographies of the same locales? In other words what different qualities could a mapping based on experiential qualities of moving within the landscape to that based upon a metric of spatial dimensioning?

In Chapter Eight my focus will be to develop just such a phenomenological mapping of landscape. For this I will consider the previously discussed trip of Evans, Harvey and Kelly in 1894 and also compare it with other journeys along the South Coast and the nearby Humpridge Track including those undertaken as part of my fieldwork. Such an approach has a further advantage in that while few detailed descriptions of smaller track sections based on spatial scales exist,[99] those that cover sections of travel that take place over a number of days are prevalent. For example the current Infomap 260 series describes at various levels the Cartesian characteristics of tracks throughout the conservation estate. Their prevalence, and also ready access to the maps it supercedes makes it possible to consider first how such tracks have been

that would have normally been dealt with a raised boardwalk. As well providing a different kinaesthetic sense of crossing the terrain it also required less material.

98 See Thiel, 1997, People, paths, and purposes: notations for a participatory envirotecture.

99 The only detailed description I have come across in a Fiordland context was the 'prescription' developed for the Humpridge Track. It should be noted too that this is a record of the proposed track rather than be a description of the track that was subsequently built. Arrow International Limited, 1996, A Prescription for the Proposed Hump Ridge Tramping Track and Accommodation Shelter. And further the track that was designed was both measured from the site and also documented in the reverse order to the direction it is walked.

visualised across a spatial paradigm before embarking on a more experimental consideration of mapping temporal qualities.

Hence Chapter Seven contains a specific study of the official cartography of the Southern Fiordland region in which Harvey's, Evans' and Kelly's journey, as well as my own field trips, took place. This study begins with the first full coastal survey of the region in 1851 to its most recent imaging in the 1:50,000 metric Infomap 260 series used today. The purpose of this will be to better identify the various ways in which a relationship with a particular place has been documented and the manner of landscopic relationships that its cartography might both assert and direct. For while the current singular 'History' of the conservation estate tends to assert a timeless land that is remote, rarely visited and with little cultural imprinting, the maps which have recorded such places reveal, as they have changed over the years, changing perceptions of landscape and the place of people in them. And also though much of the mapping emphasises the spatial qualities while eliding their temporal qualities, it is relevant to consider– following on from Corner's assertions regarding the agency of mapping – how they may have been instrumental in shaping certain spatial and perceptual qualities of the conservation estate in this region.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MAPPING SOUTHERN FIORDLAND – 1851-2006

In this chapter the official cartography of Southern Fiordland is investigated. It finds that the different maps reveal implicit attitudes to landscape that – while in some cases have changed over time – in the main work to reinforce the region's framing as 'blank', 'remote', 'rarely visited' and 'untouched'. It also notes such imaging silences both landscape's qualitative and experiential dimensions in a manner that the Southern Fiordland region framing as wilderness of 'otherness' can be readily sustained. Nonetheless this investigation isolates specific opportunities to 'unsettle' this orientation so its implicit cultural qualities can be foregrounded. Specifically this includes alternative naming and mapping strategies, of which the latter – in attempting a cartography of landscape's temporal qualities – becomes the focus of Chapter Eight.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The map is an integral part of today's outdoor experience. Guides for specific tramps, regions and National Parks all make reference to a map being essential for safe travel. While less detailed National Park maps might suffice

for hiking on the 'Great Walks'[1], the 1:50,000 metric Infomap 260 Series of topographic maps provide the highest available level of detail and accuracy and are "extremely valuable" for all other routes.[2] Similar maps derived from the same sets of data are also used extensively by the Department of Conservation in the management of the conservation estate including inventories that document ecological significance, historical and cultural features, visitor facilities and management plans.[3] In these detailed maps – like the one in the hand of local historian, tramper and honorary park ranger John Hall-Jones (figure 7.1a) – can be found a detailed description of the land including the course of rivers, the massing of mountain ranges, the position of lakes and mountains, the routes tracks take, the names of features, the location of forest, scrub, tussock and snowfields, and the shape of the coastal edge on the other side of the mountains.

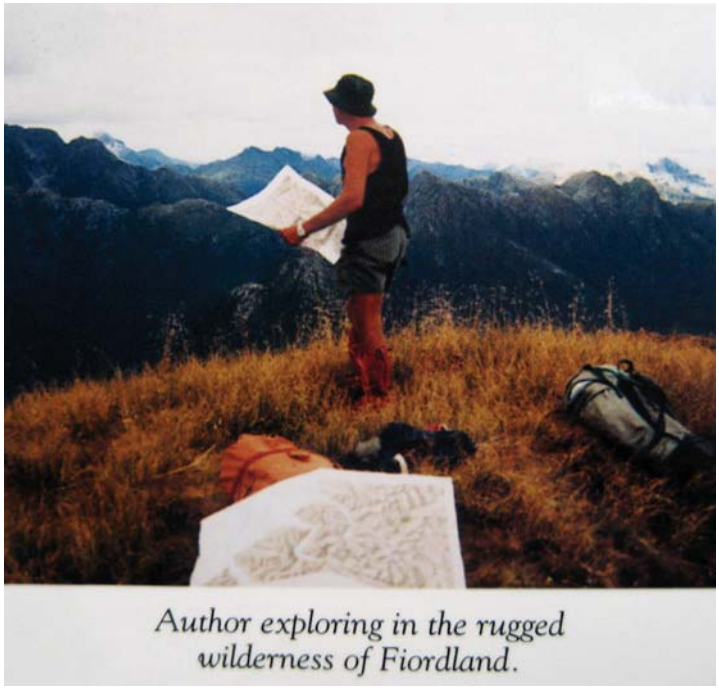


Figure 7.1a: Image of John Hall-Jones included on the endpapers of his biography of his great-grandfather and New Zealand's first Surveyor General John Turnbull Thomson.[4]

1 These are the conservation estate's most popular hikes and are presented to international turists as the 'must do' tramps (hikes). Many have capped numbers and internet booking systems. They are the Lake Waikaremoana Track, Tongariro Northern Circuit, Whanganui Journey, Abel Tasman Coast Track, Heaphy Track, Routeburn Track, Milford Track, Kepler Track and Rakiura Track.

2 McNeill, 2007, Moir's guide south : the great southern lakes and fiords, south from the Hollyford, p21.

3 See, for example, Landres, Spildie and Queen, 2001, GIS applications to wilderness management : potential uses and limitations / by Peter Landres, David R. Spildie, and Lloyd P. Queen.

4 Hall-Jones, 1992, John Turnbull Thomson : first surveyor-general of New Zealand. Endpapers. Included in the endpapers is "John Hall-Jones retired from the busy and demanding life of an ear, nose and throat specialist in 1987 to concentrate on the biography of his great-granfather *John Turnbull Thomson.* In many ways John Hall-Jones has

Geographer David Harvey states the map has four principle qualities. First they are "efficient storage devices for information collected over many years by many different people".[5] Second they provide "general descriptions of what a certain area of 'reality' looks like".[6] Third they are "a basis for generating expectations about what will happen if we go into a certain area".[7] And last, they form "a basis for thinking about more complicated relationships" and looking at aspects of both the map and its theories in more detail.[8]

Though written accounts might describe landscapes through a linear narrative and use various hierarchies to structure their content, a map is able to visually organise its material using techniques of proximity and layering. The resulting structure, which is spatial in its form, allows the same map to be read in multiple ways and for multiple purposes.

For both the tramper and the conservation estate manager these cartographical representations are considered to provide an objective description of geographical reality. They are routinely considered to be beneficial aids that enable efficient travel and an understanding of the critical relationships within the topography. Rarely considered is the role they play in being instrumental in directing people's relationships within the conservation estate, while impeding other types of engagements. Yet many academic researchers working within the disciplines of human geography and cartography would argue that the map in Hall-Jones' hand is as rhetorical and cultural as the pose – being strongly reminiscent of an explorer surveying new land – that he assumes.[9]

Cartographer Brian Harley considers a map can only be understood from within the cultural context in which it operates. Further, its use reasserts the power relationships that were present in its making. Thus to either use or

modelled his own life after his adventurous ancestor. He has spent many years exploring the remote valleys and mountains of Fiordland where he has been an honorary ranger for over 20 years".

5 Cited in Smith, 2003, Baudrillard's non-representational theory: burn the signs and journey without maps, p72.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid, p72-73.

9 See Barnes and Duncan, 1992, Introduction: writing worlds. ; Duncan and Ley, 1993, Introduction: representing the place of culture. ; Harley, 1992, Deconstructing the Map. ; Pinder, 1996, Subverting cartography: The situationists and maps of the city. ; Sparke, 1998, A Map that Roared and an Original Atlas: Canada, Cartography, and the Narration of Nation. Also see (among many others): *Cartographica, Annals of the Association of American Geographers and Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*.

contest a map is to be subsumed within specific cultural frames of reference in both subtle and overt ways. For Harley "much of the power of the map, as a representation of social geography, is that it operates behind a mask of a seemingly neutral science. It hides and denies its social dimensions at the same time as it legitimates. Yet whichever way we look at it the rules of society will surface."[10] In this reading could the map in Hall-Jones hand be considered instrumental in directing how land is both understood and engaged? And could the portrayal of the land beyond his gaze as remote wilderness be as much a product of its cartography?

Harley states that despite an appearance of mimetic truth "the map is not a mirror of nature"[11]. He challenges positivist assumptions in modern cartography that assert greater accuracy and resolution will lead to "ever more precise representations of reality [being] produced".[12] Instead maps should be considered as 'slippery', 'dangerous' and 'unreliable'[13] and treated with caution. They are devices whose technical sophistication, both in terms of their spatial precision and consistency of production, disguises their fundamentally cultural structure and content.

At this point a relevant research approach could specifically investigate the manner of movements that using the map in Hall-Jones' hand might direct. In such an inquiry it would be possible to experiment with different cartographic forms that cover the same routes and note any diversity in the types of landscopic engagements each fosters. Just as Michael argues the boot is a mediating technology between the foot and the path so also do Lorimer and Lund articulate that the using a map interjects certain qualities in peoples' on the ground activities.[14]

Hence it can be imagined that the use of different maps covering the same environment might prompt a range of alternative experiences of space in much the same way that different cooking technologies used in the same location might open up diverse landscopic understandings. To this end it would be possible to consider how maps and guidebooks shape wilderness

10 Harley, 1992, Deconstructing the Map, p238.
11 Ibid, p234.
12 Ibid.
13 Harley, 1990, Texts and contexts in the interpretation of early maps, p3.
14 Lorimer and Lund, 2004, Performing facts: finding a way over Scotland's mountains. In this vein see also Grasseni, 2004, Skilled landscapes: mapping practices of locality. Parks, 2001, Plotting the personal: Global positioning satellites and interactive media. Brookes, 1994, Reading between the Lines-Outdoor Experience as Environmental Text. Baker, 2002, Production and Consumption of Wilderness in Algonquin Park.

experience, and the possibility that their predetermined formats homogenise people's engagement of the conservation estate. Certainly there can be discerned in the comprehensive guidebooks being published by the New Zealand Alpine Club a tendency to treat diverse places and activities in similar ways.[15]

However the focus of this chapter is not to explore how their use could modify activities in the landscape, as it could be expected the landscopic understandings produced would be similar in scope and difference to that of the 'twig stove' and the fossil fuel-based cooker, and also the Humpridge Track boardwalks and the track down French Ridge (discussed in Chapters Five and Six respectively), and which demonstrated that different technologies and interventions qualitatively shape wilderness landscapes.

Instead the purpose of this chapter is to investigate the role of mapping in formulating culturally-bound landscopic relationships, in particular as they relate to the ideation of the conservation estate and wilderness. New Zealand historian Giselle Byrnes states maps are "the ideal postmodern texts, in that they contain a variety of narratives that can be read by different audiences in a variety of ways."[16] It is this possibility of rich interpretation that for Harley makes it possible to 'unsettle' or, if his post-structuralist terminology is used, to 'deconstruct the map'.[17] In terms of this chapter the research is concerned with the qualities of wilderness landscapes past and present cartographical representations might assert or elide. In other words if, as Woods and Fel note, a map is a "cumulation of choices everyone of which reveals a value,"[18] then what values of landscape are inherent in the cartographies of a specific region that is notable as a wilderness?

And while a number of associated maps will be brought into the discussion, this study will be undertaken by examining the official cartographies of the Southern Fiordland region. This begins with its first comprehensive mapping by Captain John Lort Stokes as part of the first complete coastal survey of New Zealand during 1848-1851. It then in turn considers the six other distinct

15 See, for example Cullen, 2002, Barron Saddle - Mt Brewster Guidebook: a Guide for Climbers. ; Jeffries, 2006, The Darran Mountains: an Alpine and Rock Climbing Guide. ; Palman, 2001, Aoraki Mount Cook, a Guide for Mountaineers. ; Uren and Watson, 2004, The Mount Aspiring Region: a Guide for Mountaineers.

16 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p77.

17 Though both Belyea and Andrews question Harley's subsequent analysis. See: Harley, 1992, Deconstructing the Map. ; Belyea, 1992, Images of Power: Derrida/Foucault/Harley. ; Andrews, 2001, Meaning, Knowledge, and Power in the Map Philosophy of J.B. Harley.

18 Woods and Fel cited in Hadlaw, 2003, The London Underground Map: Imagining Modern Time and Space, p26.

series of maps that include those by James McKerrow (1863), John Hay (1883), the Southland Survey Office (1898-1906), and then those maps produced as part of the 1:253449 New Zealand territorial NZMS 10 Series (published from 1924) and 1:63360 NZMS 1 Series (published from 1942). The chapter will conclude with a close consideration of the current Infomap 260 Series and the implication of what is primarily a spatial articulation of landscape, and so set the ground for a comparison of the Infomap 260 Series maps with those explored in the next chapter and in which a more phenomenological mapping of journey will be located in the same region as those maps studied in this chapter.

7.2 BLANK

Figure 7.2a: Sheet XII of Stokes' New Zealand series, being from 'Foveaux Strait to Rr Awarua on the West Coast'

The first map in this study is part of a series of maps produced during Stokes' complete coastal survey of New Zealand. A predominant feature of this map (figure 7.2a) and those of the region that followed up to and beyond the 1930s is their incomplete coverage of the interior. Much of the land is left blank. In a pragmatic sense the reasons are obvious. The interior was largely invisible when viewed from a boat located at sea level. It was also obscured during ground surveys by intervening mountains. Difficulty of access and the limits of the available technologies to observe, record and document findings

meant that regions whose salient attributes could not be differentiated were for the time being put to one side.

These blank spaces on the map, like the 'unexplored' lands they referred to, sparked the imagination and became objects of desire.[19] The comprehensive map of the region accompanying Moir's 1925 guide to the Southern Lakes left a number of areas white and empty save for the comment 'unexplored at present' (see figure 7.2b). Such terminology suggested this ignorance was a temporary condition that would soon be resolved – in no small way – by the attraction of the emptiness on the map, which on being published became the prompt for further exploration.

Figure 7.2b: Excerpt from Moir's 1925 map that accompanied the first edition of his *Guide to the Southern Lakes.* Note the words in the centre stating 'unexplored at present'.[20]

Writing in 1937 mountaineer Marie Byles describes with knowing irony her party's motivation to travel through the land west of Lake McKerrow. "After lengthy consideration as to which was the whitest part of the map, we eventually decided on the Tutuko District, determined to the best of our ability to destroy its blankness. Some people euphemistically call this kind of thing 'pioneering,' an attractive term implying a service to humanity. But, to be truthful, it is exactly the reverse. It is destroying the romance of untrodden lands, well knowing that by so doing you are depriving the rest of humanity of the same pleasure. So you realise that in writing this I am really making a

19 See Harley, 1988, Maps, knowledge, and power.
20 Moir, 1925, Map of Western Otago: to accompany Guide book to the tourist routes of the great Southern Lakes, N.Z.

boast of sin."[21] Her account is accompanied by the 'de rigour' comprehensive map of their discoveries and names that the following party took as the basis for their explorations, and in their published account and map, refined. Similarly Hay's survey of Southern Fiordland, according to his superior, "fill[ed] up a blank which long remained on the map of Middle Island."[22]

This blankness can be considered to serve other purposes. Colonial historian John Noyes writes that the production of empty space was "one of the most important spatial strategies of capitalism in the age of empire".[23] For a blank area not only implied the space was empty of the explorer's knowledge, but also empty of *all* knowledge, and fostered "the notion of a socially empty space".[24] For example in the blank interiors of Stokes' complete New Zealand series, is not only inferred a land "fertile yet vacant, auspicious yet undeveloped,"[25] but also one in which pre-European Māori are absent. Writing of the cartography of the Americas at the time of the Columbian encounter Harley states "we have to read it for a geography of absences… cartography has thus served to dispossess the Indians by engulfing them with blank spaces".[26] And as Ashcroft states "the blank spaces were there because Europe wasn't, these places represented the absence of modernity, of 'civilisation', an absence which must be 'filled' with exploration, mapping and naming."[27]

When the first European settlers arrived in New Zealand they came to a land their imagination had already made abundant and empty. This was in no small part fuelled by their maps of the land that, in their blank expanses, created a conceptual immanence, waiting to be filled by the endeavour of the settlers. Hence the maps of Stokes' survey can also be read as a record of the settler's anticipation for their new land whose emptiness suggested both an opportunity and an imperative to act before the land was all 'taken up'.[28] Their lack of detail helped produce a topographical easiness that suggested

21 Byles, 1937, From Lake McKerrow to Milford Sound, p50.
22 New Zealand Parliament, 1883, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, p2. During the nineteenth century the island now currently known as South Island was called by the settlers Middle Island. The significantly smaller and more southern Stewart Island was then called South Island.
23 Noyes, 1992, Colonial space : spatiality in the discourse of German South West Africa 1884-1915, p7.
24 Harley, 1988, Maps, knowledge, and power, p303
25 Clayton, 2000, On the Colonial Genealogy of George Vancouver's Chart of the North-West Coast of North America, p389.
26 Harley, 1992, Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter, p531.
27 Ashcroft, 2001, Post-colonial transformation, p131.
28 See, for example,Butler, 1863, A First Year in the Canterbury Settlement.(1964 edn, eds Brassington, AC; Maling, PB) Blackwood & Paul.

pastoral scenes suited to both livestock and homesteads could be readily found. It is for reasons like this that Harley demands cartographic silence be regarded as "positive statements and not merely as passive gaps."[29] Silence is "an active human performance"[30] and, along with what is explicitly included, should be considered "constituent parts of the map language, each necessary for the understanding of the other".[31] As will be noted later in the chapter a similar sense of blankness pervades cartographic descriptions of today's conservation estate. And further this emptiness works to support an image of such places as an empty, untouched wilderness. It is for reasons like this Harley asserts "that which is absent from maps is as much a proper field of inquiry as that which is present".[32]

The explicit purpose of Stokes coastal survey – like that conducted in the South-West region by Cook, Vancouver, Malaspina and before – was to make visible and legible the still very new lands of New Zealand. As Carter states "the coast was a pre-emptive clearing."[33] While the empty spaces in the interior intimated a ripeness for settling, the task of charting the complete coast of New Zealand[34] was a vital prior step. For Stokes' survey not only documented the safe harbours and anchorages that provided access to the land but also it sufficiently defined the coast so the content of the country could be progressively added to the map's blank interior.

Thus in the case of Sheet XII of the New Zealand series, being from 'Foveaux Strait to Rr Awarua on the West Coast', the complex coastal edge with its filigree of fiords and islands is comprehensively documented. Yet despite this accurate reading of the coast little attempt is made at describing the terrain beyond a sense of the hilliness of the country that directly flanks the coast. Even the most substantial rivers and ranges quickly dissipate into the blank interior. A small number of peaks are plotted from the coast trigonometrically, but it is primarily from sketches made offshore that the ranges are fleshed out. Around the peaks their vertical nature is accentuated through strong shading before a less precise attempt is made to connect the ranges to the

29 Harley and Laxton, 2001, The new nature of maps : essays in the history of cartography, p86.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Carter, 1999a, Dark with excess of bright: mapping the coastlines of knowledge, p132.
34 Stokes' survey is also often refered to as the Acheron survey after the name of the boat in which much of the survey work was conducted. See Natusch, 1978, The cruise of the Acheron : Her Majesty's steam vessel on survey in New Zealand waters.

coastline. This is attempted either through drawing in of spurs down to the water's edge or the creation of less distinct terraces whose crenulated edge runs broadly parallel to the coastline. The land while present is vaguely drawn leaving an impression of an interior made of expansive plateaus.

Rather than describing the land, Stokes' focus was to define the coastline and his cartographic style works to bring attention to this feature. What is the resulting quality of the coast that he draws? It certainly lacks the fractal sense developed by the mathematician Benoit Mandelbroit who concluded – following efforts to mathematically describe the coastline of Britain – that the coastline is an infinite edge made up of 'turns, returns etc' at every scale.[35] The map also fails to express a coast of ecological inter-relationships between fauna, flora, seasons, climate and tides.[36] Nor is there a sense of the 'thick' interrelations that had preceded the settler's activities in the Southwest corner of New Zealand. For example the archaeological record of Preservation Inlet reveals a coast rich with activities that join the ocean, coast, forest and communities as interconnected sites, and in which materials and food were harvested, and with which also shelter and tools were made.[37] Instead the nature of the coast created by Stokes is akin to a boundary rope set at mean high tide: where on one side is the sea made distinctive by various depth soundings while on the other side is a still uncertain terrain.

It is in this process of bounding the land that Carter, in his spatial history of Australia, notes, "the sea, formerly an asylum, itself becomes a prison, a turbulent, unavoidable barrier to progress".[38] Instead of a land hidden in a known ocean the land becomes fixed and the ocean fluid. Or as Carter phrases it: "sea yields to land; the sedentary replaces the dynamic."[39]

Carter states that the purpose of such maps was to connect "isolated objects to one another",[40] and to forge a coastline that worked as a spatial mnemonic on which the disparate components of settlement, industry, farm and frontier could be commonly referenced. What was included on each new coastal map

35 See Mandelbrot, 1983, The Fractal Geometry of Nature.
36 It should be noted that the more detailed views of specific ports and anchorages give a more detailed view and in which a greater sense of tidal flats and beaches can be discerned
37 Department of Lands and Survey, 1985, Fiordland National Park: A Gazetter of Historic and Archaeological Sites.
38 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p34.
39 Ibid, p35.
40 Carter, 1999a, Dark with excess of bright: mapping the coastlines of knowledge, p125.

was more of what had previously been found and described elsewhere.[41] Thus the line of the coast was extended through a regimen of likes – of similarly recognisable European-based typologies that included promontories, peaks, harbours, anchorages, estuaries, reefs and so on. In this reading the coast described by the Acheron maps is organised through matching like with like in a recursive series of features evaluated against typologies that themselves were "uniform, dimensionless and self-repeating".[42] What made a harbour or reef significant was not that it was unique – rather that it was like the other harbours and reefs on the chart. "In describing novelties, one could not treat language as an objective mirror of reality. Language was not an algebra: it derived its meaning in new contexts from its meaning in old contexts. Even the most objective name was applied by way of analogy; even the least pretentious observation of a 'meadow' employed a figure of speech."[43] That which was unique and therefore incomparable could not be distinguished from its context and as a result was not drawn. Consequently the particular remained unknown.[44] According to Carter the result is "a geometrical analogue of the doctrine of Progress, an irresistible forward movement which poses as the unchanging repetition of the initial impulse."[45] It is this that perhaps explains why Stokes' survey on working through Fiordland saw fit to name in close proximity Solitary Peak, Mount Solitary and Solitary Cone for they shared the same quality: not that they were the only peaks to be seen but that they alone could be individually discerned amongst a sea of otherwise undulating mountain tops.

Captured in the Acheron map is that sense of transition brought about by landfall. Charles Brasch's reasons for its use as the title for the seminal New Zealand literary arts journal are also apt here: "the name, Landfall, is meant to indicate that we have just begun to see our country, but hardly know as yet what sort of country it is going to be".[46] In its clearly defined edge and

41 Carter, 1999b, Gaps in Knowedge: The Geography of Human Reason, p296.
42 Carter, 1999a, Dark with excess of bright: mapping the coastlines of knowledge, p127.
43 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p42.
44 See Carter's expert comparison of Cook's and Bank's respective naming strategies: Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p1-33.
45 Carter, 1999a, Dark with excess of bright: mapping the coastlines of knowledge, p127. For example on Malaspina's chart of Doubtful Sound clumps of Oaks and Cyprusses reminiscent of a European country estate are evenly placed across the land. While the use of these symbols may relate to conventions of the time, it was a convention that described the potential of the place that – rather than being inherent to the land – was itself a form of placemaking. Maling and Casini, 1996, Historic charts & maps of New Zealand, 1642-1875, p68.
46 Brasch in letter to Signore Agnoletti July 23, 1959. http://www.library.otago.ac.nz/exhibitions/charles_brasch/cabinet_1.html Accessed May 12, 2008.

expansive emptiness the map diagrams the potential of the colony without yet articulating what its distinctive qualities could be.

Ultimately, as Stokes completed his survey, the cartographically drawn coast of New Zealand peeled around on itself, until it was joined up as a series of three major islands (North, Middle and South) and a number of outliers. The perimeter that his coastal chart produces allowed a still unknown interior to be located. The map of the coast brought "into being the *terra firma*."[47] For the blank land, bounded in a 'finite' coastal envelope, could now be located on a map that existed *prior* to its physical knowing that in part came about through subsequent land-based surveys.

7.3 SURVEY

Figure 7.3a: Excerpt of "Map of the Province of Otago: "geographical positions & coast lines principally by Captain J.L. Stokes, R.N., interior by J.T. Thomson, chief surveyor & assistants Alex Garvie & J. McKerrow, with additions by J. Drummond, J.J. Coates & W.C. Wright, mining surveyors, Gold Fields Department, including also the explorations of Dr. Hector, W.C. Rees,

47 Carter, 1999a, Dark with excess of bright: mapping the coastlines of knowledge, p145.

P.Q. Caples & W. Arthur".[48] This map published in 1866 shows McKerrow's contribution in the centre and top right. The material in this map is drawn from McKerrow's original 1863 Map.

If the purpose of the coastal survey was to generate a definitive statement of the land's perimeter then the goal of the early land-based surveys was to give the land breadth. Principally this was achieved through scaling peaks in order to 'survey' from a height all the possibilities that lay around. The first surveyor to visit the region was John Hall-Jones great grandfather John Turnbull Thomson. He describes how in 1857, equipped with Stokes' coastal map, "I ascended Twinlaw with the hope of obtaining angles; but the weather proved so stormy and thick that I was disappointed. The Waiau, the great river of the west, was for the first time seen meandering through the plains which extend from the Takitimo mountains to the sea. The country to the west of the Waiau is very mountainous, rugged and woody. To the east, undulating prairies covered with grass have all the requisites of a baronial demesne."[49] In 1862 Thomson's deputy James McKerrow was directed to complete a reconnaissance survey,[50] of the Otago province's southern and western regions and it is this work that produced the material for the second map in the study.

Trigonometry was the critical technology in the reconnaissance survey. It relied on the creation of a network based on fixing the location of physical landmarks in relation to those already calibrated. Hence in McKerrow's case peaks such as Twinlaw were used to determine the location and elevation of yet more distant points. As Byrnes describes: "lines, angles and distances, mediated through theodolite and compass, formed the mathematical matrix through which surveyors created cultural space."[51] And though the outcome is a map in which the features of the land are passively laid out relative to one another, such an array is the product of much movement and the gaining of multiple vantage points as McKerrow's field books attest.[52] Hence, as Carter notes, while an explorer might either advance forward or retreat back along a

48 Map of the Province of Otago: "geographical positions & coast lines principally by Captain J.L. Stokes, R.N., interior by J.T. Thomson, chief surveyor & assistants Alex Garvie & J. McKerrow, with additions by J. Drummond, J.J. Coates & W.C. Wright, mining surveyors, Gold Fields Department, including also the explorations of Dr. Hector, W.C. Rees, P.Q. Caples & W. Arthur. 1866, Map of the Province of Otago: "geographical positions & coast lines principally by Captain J.L. Stokes, R.N., interior by J.T. Thomson, chief surveyor & assistants Alex Garvie & J. McKerrow, with additions by J. Drummond, J.J. Coates & W.C. Wright, mining surveyors, Gold Fields Department, including also the explorations of Dr. Hector, W.C. Rees, P.Q. Caples & W. Arthur.

49 Hall-Jones, 1992, John Turnbull Thomson : first surveyor-general of New Zealand, p47-48.

50 McKerrow's report also notes occasional work to clarify boundaries between adjoining runholdings in blocks that had been taken up prior to survey. McKerrow, 1863b, Reconnaisance Survey of the Lake Districts.

51 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p50.

52 McKerrow, 1863b, Reconnaisance Survey of the Lake Districts.

path "the space of the surveyor was triangular, extending in depth to either side".[53]

In such a survey each peak was part of a collective holding together of the fabric of trigonometric space. Their importance in the construction of this image of the land can be appraised in the way McKerrow graphically depicts the high points on his map. Rather than being constituted as a part of a range they erupt from the page like pimples to accentuate their individual significance (see figure 7.3b). Each is required to sustain the position of the others and their representational priority dictated they be recorded as points, rather than ranges.[54]

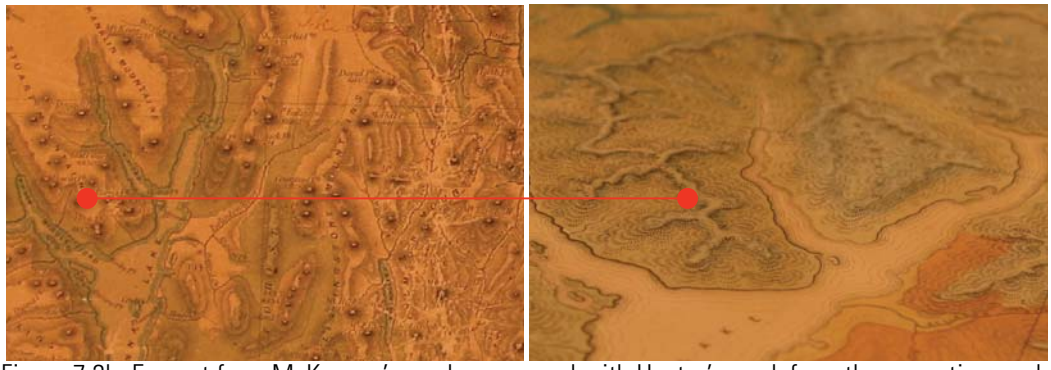


Figure 7.3b: Excerpt from McKerrow's work, compared with Hector's work from the same time and which uses McKerrow's survey data.[55] The same ranges are highlighted.

Landmarks unable to be observed with a theodolite were not included. It is for this reason McKerrow didn't include his observations from the summit of Mount Pisgah, as the ruggedness of the bush had precluded his assistant Goldie from carrying the theodolite. This in turn meant the observations he made were based on his less accurate spirit compass and inclusion of such

53 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History. p108.

54 This is why Turnbull Thomson gave clear instructions as to how a survey was to be conducted. "Mark measured lines in red, and calculated or scaled lines in black, with figures also in red or black. Mark your observed bearings in blue, and calculated or protracted bearings in black. Colour water, Prussian blue, roads, raw sienna, and bush , subdued green, compounded of Prussian blue and raw sienna." Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p79. This demand for accuracy also cmes through in Baker's justification for firing workers in his role as Canterbury surveyor in the later half of the nineteenth century. Baker, 1932, A Surveyor in New Zealand 1857-1896: The Recollections of John Holland Baker, p156.

55 Hector, 1864, Reconnaissance Map of North West District of the Province of Otago, New Zealand. ; Map of the Province of Otago: "geographical positions & coast lines principally by Captain J.L. Stokes, R.N., interior by J.T. Thomson, chief surveyor & assistants Alex Garvie & J. McKerrow, with additions by J. Drummond, J.J. Coates & W.C. Wright, mining surveyors, Gold Fields Department, including also the explorations of Dr. Hector, W.C. Rees, P.Q. Caples & W. Arthur. 1866, Map of the Province of Otago: "geographical positions & coast lines principally by Captain J.L. Stokes, R.N., interior by J.T. Thomson, chief surveyor & assistants Alex Garvie & J. McKerrow, with additions by J. Drummond, J.J. Coates & W.C. Wright, mining surveyors, Gold Fields Department, including also the explorations of Dr. Hector, W.C. Rees, P.Q. Caples & W. Arthur.

content might have compromised the validity, and hence authority, of the map as a whole.

In this adherence to accuracy, *seeing* the land was conflated with *knowing* the land. And similarly only those features that could be seen could be known. Hence McKerrow 'discovered' 'Lake Howloko' from a mountain-top some twenty miles away and not earlier when, aware of its location from the advice of a Māori guide called Solomon, he had been only able to see the mist that lay above the lake.[56]

Further senses of this organising the land can be found in McKerrow's maps. Clearly demarcated are regions with potentially usable forest. Districts are given boundaries and numbered, and follow rivers, ridges or the cardinal points of the compass. Care is also taken to accurately map the edge of significant lakes like Te Anau, Manapouri and Monowai, and also the course of rivers and their tributaries. This attention paid to rivers is matched in the detail given in his accompanying report.[57] Unlike Stokes, who annotates the land's features on any angle so that the minimum of graphical information is obscured, McKerrow, in his maps, creates a more orderly and less tentative appearance by keeping the names of all peaks and settlements horizontal to the page. Also topographical detail is pared back to show only the significant peaks and ridges.

This process of gazing on the land constructs landscape as a field of distinguishable landmarks. What constitutes a landmark is based on their visual distinctiveness to the observer. This knowing the land through visual observation results in an understanding of landscape as being made up of objects and topographical attributes that exist separate and prior to their social life. Both Carter – writing of the colonial project in Australia – and Byrnes – in her spatial history of the New Zealand context – discuss how an emphasis on the gaze emptied and objectified the landscape. It treated land as a waiting stage for the settler. Carter also notes the picturesque

56 See a transcript of Goldie's diary in Beattie, 1947, The pioneers explore Otago : a record of explorers, travellers, surveyors, bushmen, seekers of pastoral country, inland voyagers, and wayfaring men, p132-153. This conflation between seeing and knowing the land is repeated in the stance afforded by scenic lookouts.

57 For example "The Spey has its rise from the watershed of the West Coast, near the heads of Jail Passage and Breaksea Sound; for the greater part of its course it flows E. by N., through a very precipitous gorge; on emerging from it. The Mica Burn joins it, and after a further course of nearly two miles through a narrow wooded valley, the Spey falls into the head of the west arm of the Manipori Lake". In the same passage other rivers 'unite', 'bend suddenly','run', 'receive' (other branches), and 'drain'. McKerrow, 1863b, Reconnaisance Survey of the Lake Districts, p385.

"permitted the illusion of hope"[58] and to enjoy the interplay "between present loneliness and future sociability."[59] Byrnes writes of how a 'picturesque' vision of an 'empty' land "allow[ed] a surveyor to visualise the country in terms of its future colonisation".[60] This is clearly evident in McKerrow's cartography where he fosters a certain image of the land by giving prominence to the various peaks rather than the surrounding landforms, which in turn create a sense of more open and generous valleys that also imply greater agricultural possibility lying between.

The surveyor, by nature, prospected. Carter states "where the explorer aimed to differentiate geographical objects, the surveyor aimed to arrange them significantly. His aim was to centralise features, to compose them into regions".[61] Hence the surveyor sought to maximise its future potential through locating trading sites, travel routes, settlements, and sites of commercial opportunity whether through farming, mining or forestry. Flat land, reminiscent of Thomson's 'baronial demesne', was most sought after as it was readily converted into a multitude of productive purposes.[62] In other words the surveyor's purpose wasn't to find what lay beyond but rather to 'characterise' the country and to identify what future possibilities lay within the land.

Thomson's synopsis of the land from the top of Twinlaw was straightforward: to the west lay mountains and difficulty, to the east lay plains and opportunity. McKerrow's assessment was more detailed. His report lists at length various amounts and categories of land. His inventory begins with a balance sheet-like summary of his detailed calculations. He states "it will be seen that 4883.3 sq. miles have been surveyed; of which, 4579.8 sq. miles belong to Otago, and 303.5 square miles belong to Southland. Of the Otago part there is [in square miles] of Pasture 1372.8, of Forest 954.7, of Lake 325.3, of Barren 1924, of Swamp 3."[63] Elsewhere he separates the land into the following categories: Physical Geography, Pasture, Agricultural Country, Forests, Barren Mountains, and Means of Communications.

Like Thomson, McKerrow found the country to the west of Te Anau and Manapouri (the region now Fiordland National Park) entirely barren

58 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p244.
59 Ibid.
60 Byrnes, 2000, Surveying space: constructing the colonial landscape, p70
61 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p112.
62 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p45-46.
63 McKerrow, 1863b, Reconnaisance Survey of the Lake Districts, p381.

mountains and that cursory examination had revealed no sign of gold.[64] Hence his report concludes with a restatement of the 'utter barrenness' of this western perimeter of the province. However in his closing comment he notes "to the south … there is a considerable breadth of country to the west of the Princess Mountains as yet unexplored".[65] And it is of this land some twenty years after McKerrow's work that John Hay of the Southland Survey Office conducted a reconnaissance survey.[66] The survey covered the south-west corner of 'Middle Island' and produced the accompanying map titled *Reconnaissance Map of part of Fiord County*.

Figure 7.3c: Hay's Reconnaissance Map of part of Fiord County 1883[67]

64 Ibid, p390.
65 Ibid, p391.
66 Hay's superior describes a reconnaissance survey, "as the name implies, is a cursory examination of country, in which the surveyor, availing himself of mountain-peaks, landslips, and other conspicuous natural marks as stations, conducts a rough triangulation over the country explored, making notes and sketches as he proceeds". New Zealand Parliament, 1883, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, p2.
67 Hay and Deverell, 1883, Reconnaissance map of part of Fiord County.

This 'arduous' survey involved Hay and his party taking three distinct westward sweeps across the region by both foot and portable canvas boat in a manner prescient of an aeroplane trajectory.[68] Like McKerrow, Hay first defines the boundaries of his survey and the topographical features outside the region whose position the survey is predicated on. His report notes most of "the country included within these boundaries, with the exception of a strip of bush land, three or four miles wide, bordering Foveaux Strait, is exceedingly rugged, wholly consisting of high rocky peaks and mountain spurs, intersected by innumerable ravines… taking into consideration that the country is poorly grassed, high, broken, and most inaccessible, I fear it cannot be profitably used for pastoral purposes."[69] In what is an appraisal of the commercial potential of the region he states that the land west of Big River "is of a most miserable quality" while up Long Sound the timber "is of no commercial value, being principally birch and of a very inferior description, and in the interior it is even of a more inferior nature".[70] The bulk of Hay's assessment focuses on the strip of land along the south coast and east of Big River. In it "is some very good timber in this block; although a birch forest, it contains a considerable mixture of red pine; and in the immediate vicinity of the coast there is a large quantity of most excellent iron-wood".[71] He also notes this strip of land by being 'moderately level' is to also 'of very good quality'.

A close reading of Hay's map, drawn for him in the Southland Survey Office by W Deverell, reveals the order in which the land is diagrammed. The first element to be sketched is Stokes' certain coastal edge along with the river outlets notched in. Then the surveyed peaks are calibrated and positioned in pencil along with un-surveyed intermediate peaks added at regular intervals. These form the main ridges. Following this a cloth like terrain is draped away from the ridges to form the different valleys, rivers and lakes, which are also at this time drawn. In such a terrain rivers read as tight trenches that drain the steep valley flanks. Peak names and elevations are inked in, as is a bush edge that forms a continuous contour below the ridges. On the attractive terraces of the south coast the rivers are drawn with an approximate quality flowing in

68 Two sweeps were conducted across the land. This included the survey party bringing a collapsible canvas boat so they could cross both Lakes Hauroko and Poteriteri on their journeys west. The final sweep was by boat travelling along the south coast. This included stopping at each prominent river mouth to fix their position by taking bearings of the Solander Islands and any other already surveyed features. See Hay, 1883, Fieldbooks from Reconnaissance Survey of part of Fiord County. Hall-Jones, 1968, Early Fiordland, p173.

69 New Zealand Parliament, 1883, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, p44.

70 Ibid, p45.

71 Ibid.

even, loose and diminishing squiggles directly from the sea. Names of rivers and coastal features are then added, as is a wave like pattern along the coast. Lastly the route taken by Hay to conduct his survey is drawn in, as is a dotted line behind the Princess Mountains declaring the pre-survey 'Limit of Exploration'. Despite a number of opportunities during his survey to describe the land west of his designated survey region Hay leaves this part completely blank.[72] By not attempting to even roughly fill in parts of these ranges the surrounding blankness works to reinforce the 'exceedingly rugged' qualities of the terrain that his map does cover. Also the ambiguous detail provided for the coastal terraces, leaving out the lower hills and also any ravines that are interspersed along the coast, accentuates the 'moderately level' – and hence potentially usable – description that his report to Parliament asserts and which this map accompanies.

In both McKerrow's and Hay's work comes a clear sense of how land was to be read: what resources could be profitably extracted, and also an assessment of the land's suitability for pasture, crops and mining. Land for which no use could be discerned was 'barren', 'miserable', 'inferior', 'inaccessible', and 'poor'. However while their maps and reports were presented as factual evaluations such assessments were not objective descriptions of a land 'out there'. Instead they reveal an understanding of the land's capability to meet the colonial demands for settlement. As Carter notes land is not 'preconfigured': "the explorer was not on one side with nature on the other. Rather, the two emerged as historical objects through and in terms with each other."[73] While these reports set out to report what was there, what they reveal is a desire for orderly settlement and it is from within such perspectives that the land was given or refused value. Indeed it was because the western regions refuted any plausible possibilities for the wider New Zealand colony that those lands which today are known as Fiordland remained beyond the surveyor's capacity to adequately describe them and hence outside of the settler's vision.

The land depicted by McKerrow and Hay cannot be read as neutral descriptions. Rather their cartography and assessments actively work to create a 'plausible place' for the settler to 'settle'. On the one hand maps and

72 See Hay, 1883, Fieldbooks from Reconnaissance Survey of part of Fiord County.
73 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p100.

reports such as these can be understood as historical documents that were instrumental in shaping how the lands they covered were to be understood and engaged. But within the context of landscape architecture it is also pertinent to compare their qualities of neatness and order, of clearly demarcated boundaries and edges, carefully calibrated landforms and their willingness to categorise with the landscape architect's site plans and engineer's reports that are often undertaken before commencing a landscape design. And like the work of the colonial surveyor it can be readily deduced that the site plans too, in their emphasis on the form and physical constitution of a landscape, direct certain modes of understanding, engaging and designing the land. Indeed it is relevant to consider the degree to which, not only the cartographies of the colonial surveyor but also the practising landscape architect, frame the land as a known and waiting resource and whose emphasis on boundaries and topography elide the 'thickness' and social dimensions that also constitute the cultural life of a landscape.

7.4 SUBDIVISION

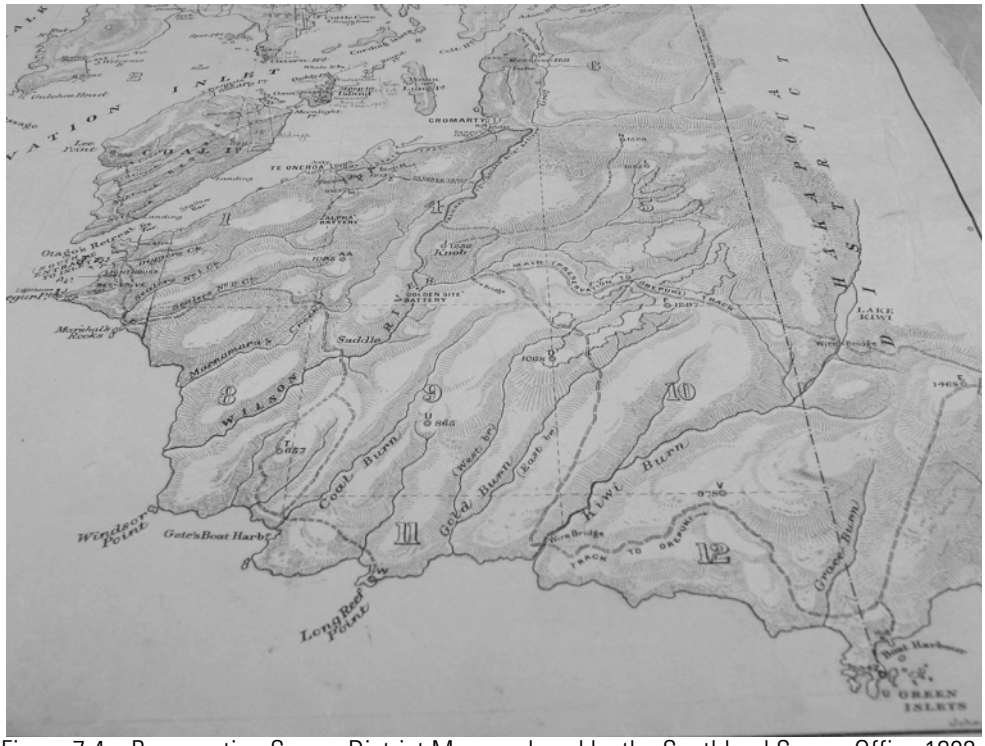


Figure 7.4a: Preservation Survey District Map produced by the Southland Survey Office 1903

The coastal strip along the Fiordland's South Coast is the one part of the region that Hay considered favourably in his reconnaissance survey. It is here that, having been promoted to the province's Chief Surveyor, he directs his

staff from 1899 to 1906 to conduct a complete survey and subdivision in readiness for physical settlement. It is the resulting maps from this work that are the next series in this study.

The four maps that cover the coast west from Te Wae Wae Bay through to Preservation Inlet while each contain similar typologies of information, also have a number of differences. The western maps, which cover the 'miserable country' of Hay's 1883 report are only broken down into Survey Districts.[74] However in the more level forested terraces east of Big River surveying was progressed to include the demarcating of individual properties, and the siting of roads and reserves for schools, cemeteries, and gravel.

While the previous maps in this chapter attempted to make the region increasingly 'known' those in the Southland Survey Office series set out to make the land usable. And though subdivision was marked out on the land and required a number of survey teams working extended periods in the field the map rather than the land provided the conceptual apparatus for this work.[75] For example the orientation of almost all subdivided properties is provided by the cardinal points of the compass: north-south, east-west, northeast-southwest, and northwest-southeast. This disciplining presented on the map and to prospective purchasers a sense of order and already commenced domestication.

Byrnes notes "the straight line was a thing of beauty."[76] Such boundaries, both on the map and on the land, "sought to delimit, divide and assert demarcation".[77] Joined together these lines created a grid-like lattice that Harley states "homogenis[ed] everything in its path".[78] The regimen of the grid allowed land to be commodified. For developers and speculators it meant "land *there* could be regarded very much like land *here*".[79] Carter notes this gave everyone an equal chance: each block of land and each settlement theoretically had the same opportunity of success as any other. "The grid would seem to negate such spatial properties as direction, nearness, even 'here' and 'there'. For, by definition, the grid plan equalises parts, rendering

74 It is likely that this was done in case of any further mining claims being made.
75 See the Ottway's field books that describe the work undertaken there. As the entries are dated a sense of the difficulty and slowness of survey can be gained. Ottway, 1902, Fieldbooks from South Coast District Survey
76 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p59.
77 Harley, 1992, Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter, p529.
78 Harley, 1988, Maps, knowledge, and power, p285.
79 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p204.

everywhere the same. In this sense, the grid plan is characterised, like the map grid, by its 'placelessness', by its elimination of viewpoints, of comings and goings, and indeed of history."[80] Indeed, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the Cartesian grid similarly elides qualitative distinctions within the conservation estate, and so further assists an understanding of it as a homogeneous wilderness.

The maps produced by the Southland Survey Office with their numbered titles, calculated acreages and surveyed roads suggest much imminent activity. Yet because of difficulty of access and also harsh climatic conditions the subdivided sections were never settled. Most remained under the control of the Ministry of Forests. However in the early twentieth century a number of the coastal blocks were transferred to Māori groups as compensation for being made landless – and 'placeless' – elsewhere. However difficulties of access remained which meant this was maintained mainly as a land-bank. By the 1980s the value of the timber on these blocks had increased sufficiently to lead to a proposal by Feltex Corporation, on behalf of the owners, to build a logging road that followed the paper roads surveyed by the Southland Survey Office. This proposal created considerable national debate between proponents of the scheme and conservation groups until the issue was finally resolved with the owners setting aside their milling rights in return for compensation which included the allocation of milling rights on blocks of land held elsewhere.[81] It is relevant to note none of this activity would have taken place but for the production of property titles that, while on the ground are indistinguishable, on the map continue to influence and structure the social life of the landscapes they cover.[82]

It was Hay, as the survey of the Waitutu block subdivision neared completion, and also as the gold seams at the mines around Preservation Inlet dried up, who proposed to his superiors the setting aside of "the whole of what I may term the Sounds district as a national park. Commenting that conferring park

80 Ibid, p204.

81 See Bamford, Cawthron Institute., Cawthron Technical Group. and Feltex Industries., 1982, Environmental impact assessment : Waitutu State Forest roading proposal. ; Elliott, Ogle and New Zealand. Fauna Survey Unit., 1985, Wildlife and wildlife habitat values of Waitutu Forest, Western Southland. ; Joint Campaign on Native Forests (N.Z.), 1984, Waitutu, the track to preservation : a submission. ; New Zealand. Department of Lands and Survey. and New Zealand. National Parks and Reserves Authority., 1986, Waitutu State Forest national park investigation : report. ; O'Connor, 1999, Huge Addition to Fiordland National Park.

82 Similar approaches have nowadays been adopted by conservation groups. In these cases members of the public can purchase nominal title to small tracts of forest as a means of ensuring their preservation. See, for example http://www.staro.org/index.php?id=saveanacre accessed May 14, 2008.

status might limit economic yield he states "it may appear a very extensive reservation, but the country within the suggested boundaries is excessively rugged, and I may say quite unfit for pastoral purposes, owing to its high altitude and inaccessibility, and any rents that might accrue from it in this direction would be very small in comparison to what might be derived there from tourists and others, were it stocked with big game &c; and, moreover the native flora and fauna would be preserved, which is very desirable."[83] The Superintendent of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, T.E. Donne, vigorously supported the proposal stating it "could become one of the colony's foremost attractions and in time one of its greatest assets. The Surveyor General and Secretary for Crown Lands, J.W.A. Marchant, also gave his support suggesting gazetting "extensive areas of forest and scenic reserves … will afford additional security for the maintenance of timber supplies."[84]

Histories of Fiordland National Park note Hay's foresight and the formative influence of his 1883 reconnaissance survey.[85] Yet what is revealing is it was the land that he had earlier described in 1883 as 'miserable', 'inferior', 'poor' and 'destitute' that is included in the proposed reserve while those lands and forests he described as 'very good', 'most excellent', and 'generous' are excluded.

As already noted Park has argued that the New Zealand national parks are in many ways the remnant land from the colonial project of settlement. For a variety of reasons they had proved both uninhabitable and unprofitable to the settler. Such land – called 'barrens' in McKerrow's report – was not worth the cost of survey. Importantly and as already discussed in Chapter Three these lands with their precipitous mountains, impressive waterfalls and strange forests appealed to Victorian aesthetics.

While in the intervening years there had been a significant shift towards 'scenery preservation' there is also be a pragmatic reason for Hay's proposal for a 'Sounds National Park'. The survey and subdivision of the Waitutu block was difficult and time consuming work, and the lack of a viable port along the south coast, and difficulty of access across the Wairaurahiri River made the

83 Begg and Begg, 1973, Port Preservation : the story of Preservation Inlet and the Solander grounds, p298.
84 Ibid, p296.
85 See, for example, Ibid, p297. Hall-Jones, 1968, Early Fiordland, p181.

likely success of any settlement marginal at best. Just the task of dividing the land west of Big River into Survey Districts, with its cut boundaries and tracks to survey stations would have been logistically difficult and financially expensive.[86] The prospect of his office having to continue this work Westward across Long Sound and north towards Milford Sound was far beyond the resources available.

It is likely that the Sounds National Park proposal was as much driven by the surveyor's need to organise the land as due to an urge for 'scenery preservation': the proposed national park was that which was left over, that which could not yet be readily converted into a sensible cartography, and which having already been extensively prospected offered little hope of commercial gain beyond tourism revenue. Indeed the proposed park was a region that surveying had struggled to characterise because its interior had so far repulsed the 'interrogation' of the surveyor's theodolite and chain.

Hence its designation as a national park came only once all other options had been considered. The land that was included in the proposed 'Sounds National Park' was not determined by selecting the most suitable land for a reserve. Instead its boundaries were determined by the limits of various surveys that had already reckoned with the 'very good' land and 'most excellent' timber. Hence the proposed park was a parsimonious solution. It ensured that no land was left uncharacterised and hence that no land in this new country was absent from the colonial vision.

At the same time Hay was proposing a national park he was directing the subdivision of the Waitutu forest so its timber and development potential might be realised. As an entity it was created by what remained on the other side of these boundaries – namely the coastline drawn by the Acheron, the lake coastlines, the various farms west of the Waiau surveyed by McKerrow, and the land north and west of Hay's Waitutu subdivision – rather than the result of any prior valuing of its interior.

And in this process – which was similarly carried out throughout New Zealand's backcountry – endemic 'nature' was changed from being a frontier

86 North-south and east-west boundaries between survey districts were cut four feet wide on the ground creating openings that in some cases around Preservation Inlet can still be followed over 100 years later. Tracks were also cut to service the different local trig stations while the corners of each property were pegged out and each property boundary, again almost always following a cardinal direction, was physically measured by the chain.

and into a preserve. With this its value was recognised from offering the prospect of material wealth to embodying qualities from which various modes of recreation, tourism and preservation-based attitudes developed.

The intent of the cartographies derived from the reconnaissance surveys was to create inventories of the land that in turn were based on typologies that privilege the gaze. However the purpose of the Southland Survey Office in creating survey districts and subdivided land parcels was to give the land a use by the design of a viable programme. This latter task is not dissimilar to the work currently conducted in the disciplines of landscape architecture, architecture, and planning. While it is not difficult to confer a sense of fait accompli – or destiny – to the region's designation as a National Park – as if this was its *only* and *inevitable* outcome – what this study suggests is that different cartographic strategies and programmatic imagings could have been instrumental in revealing other productive possibilities for the region that were different from those contained in its current expression as a National Park within the conservation estate.

Indeed what this chapter opens up is the possibility that an energetic and designerly process of mapping the past and present contexts found in this region could present other possible, plausible and viable choices for this and other parts of the conservation estate. In other words given this region as a context with which to design from could alternative landscape designs – other than the National Park that Hay proposed – be plausibly developed? And specifically could other cartographies be enlisted in such a transformative task?

7.5 A SPARSE TOPONYMY

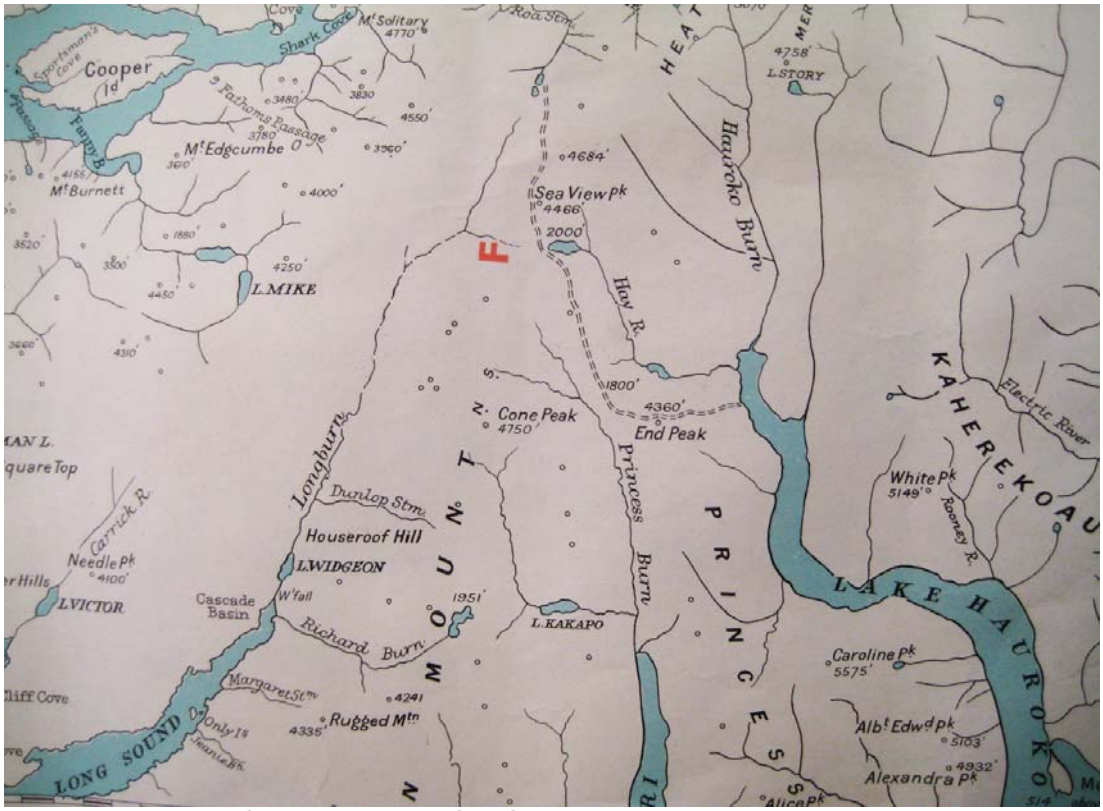


Figure 7.5a: Excerpt of Sheet 30 from NZMS 10 Series, 1957. Note Hay's route from 70 years before is still marked as a fully formed track.[87]

The NZMS 10 Series is distinct from the maps produced by McKerrow, Hay and the Southland Survey Office in that they are part of a national series that was produced according to a common standard. Since the production of the previous Southland Survey Office series there had been no new surveys conducted in the Southern Fiordland region. Consequently the NZMS 10 Series maps for this area are entirely derived from those that preceded it. Yet in the NZMS 10 Series there is a significant reduction in the level of detail from those produced by the Southland Office.

An important reason for this was the imminent prospect of future surveys being conducted from the air. The first aerial survey in 1915, as part of World War 1 in Europe, had soon followed the advent of powered flight.[88] It is the anticipation of this significant advance combined with the knowledge that there were a number of errant ranges and rivers in previous maps that perhaps explains the spartan detail in the NZMS 10 Series maps that cover

87 NZMS 10 Series Sheet 30. 1957, NZMS 10 Series Sheet 30.
88 See Piper, 2002, Cartographic fictions : maps, race, and identity, p13

the Fiordland region. Only those peaks whose location and height had been trigonometrically determined are included, while rivers are drawn without any reference to the landforms they flowed through. Hence, compared to Hay's maps, there is no sense of the undulating nature of the country. In contrast to the exclusion of Hay's topographical representation of the landscape is the inclusion of Hay's supply routes in 1883. These are erroneously marked as fully formed tracks across an otherwise flat featureless and once more undifferentiated land.[89]

In many ways this map's renewed formlessness is reminiscent of Stokes' interior. If the maps preceding this series can be characterised as an iterative and steadily more detailed series of attempts to both know the land and also direct how it might be engaged, then this series marks a stepping aside from considering the region's potential to only documenting its most certain physical features.

What does result in this bare presentation of landform is a succinct communication of the toponymic record of the region. Brought clearly together on the map are the various names given by Cook, Vancouver, Stokes, McKerrow and Hay, as well as – among others – those attributed to various sealers, whalers, miners, timber millers, and members of the Southland Survey Office.

Carter notes that the types of names used could be descriptive, evocative, refer to distinctive qualities or incidents associated with the place, allude to the explorer's journey, or to personal names.[90] For example Tower Peak, named by Hay, describes its form while Stokes' Houseroof Hill is perhaps more imaginatively evocative. Coal Burn and Gold Burn refer to minerals that could be found there, while End Peak, at the northern head of Lake 'Hauroto', reflected the order of Hay's survey of the lake, while Seaview Peak – which like many tops have a view of the ocean – was for Hay the first opportunity to see the sea on his most northern sweep. Names also commemorated. The Princess Mountains, which also included Beatrice, Caroline and Alexandra

89 This error was carried over onto a number of other maps including those that accompanied the first edition of the Moir's Guide to the region. Subsequent editions of Moir's note this error – one states: "these routes are shown on most old maps, but offer extremely rough going and should on no account be taken to be walking tracks...its is not a cut track, nor even a recommended route". Hall-Jones, 1969, Moir's guide book to the tramping tracks and routes of the great southern lakes and fiords of Otago and Southland, p143.

90 See Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p2. See also Stuart-Murray, 1995, Unnameable landscapes.

Peaks, was named by McKerrow to honour Queen Victoria's daughters. Byrnes in her discussion of McKerrow's nomenclature notes that they "domesticated, memorialised and celebrated the British settler presence".[91]

Yet throughout Fiordland is a dearth of nomenclature that explicitly depicts the experiential qualities of the landscape. For while the likes of the Gold Burn suggests activities associated with prospecting and the gleam of excitement that came from a find, what is absent are names that explicitly evoke the multi-sensate qualities of place.

The common activity in considering place-names is to ask if they are suitably apt. For example Hall-Jones in his *Guide to Fiordland Place-names* considers Hay's use of people's first names to name the region's coastal waterways – such as Edwin, Frances, Agnes, Grant, Grace, Fred, Andrew, Jeanie, and Richard – as inappropriate.[92]

Yet the use of names reveals more complex qualities. For example Hay's chief assistant is acknowledged in the topographically significant Arnett Peak. McKerrow's assistant is also recognised in Goldies Hill though this peak is so small and insignificant that it isn't included McKerrow's exhaustive list of peaks recorded in the appendix to his report. While the above example might reveal different social relationships there can also be deduced a difference in how the physical landscape was perceived. For example McKerrow's work suggests he saw ridges as a series of peaks rather than a range while Hay's work – who named far fewer peaks than he could have – suggest the reverse. For example in his field book he names one isolated peak Mouat Peak, but later, when drawing up his map, he uses the name elsewhere and leaves this part unmarked.[93]

Carter states "the landscape that emerges from the explorer's pen is not a physical object: it is an object of desire, a figure of speech".[94] In this way the substance of the land is not captured in the name, for the world does not come 'pre-labelled'. Rather the name is part of the process of negotiation,

91 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p87-89.
92 Hall-Jones, 2003, Fiordland place-names, p8.
93 Hay, 1883, Fieldbooks from Reconnaissance Survey of part of Fiord County, p66.
94 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p81.

part of giving the land substance.[95] Hence in Hall-Jones' reading of Hay's landscape mountains hold greater significance than rivers.

Names of explorers, scientists and other notables also helped validate both the surveyors' work and the map itself. For example by naming after Stokes the second most prominent mountain at the head of Lake Pukaki (other than Mount Cook), Thomson added authority to both Stokes and his work. Haast's name change some five years later to that of Sefton is a contest of endorsement, between Thomson's exploration effort and his Otago affiliations, and Haast's patron and the superintendent of the Canterbury Province.[96]

According to Byrnes, names provide a "cultural palimpsest, where the layers of systems of nomenclature provide an index to its history of occupancy and colonisation".[97] It is through naming that cultural connections are made and contested and place and landscape was forged. As Carter states, "the would-be settler was more than ever obliged to settle the country rhetorically, rather than etymologically: he had, more than ever, to conjure up the object of his desire and, through the act of articulating it, to bring it into being."[98] The land that the settler found was a "rhetorical construction, a product of [the settler's] language.[99]

The use of indigenous names like Howloko[100] and Waiau helped verify the map against the already known. Berg and Kearns argue that the use of indigenous names was often an attempt to normalise Māori environmental terms within a colonial framework.[101] Hence the township Te Oneroa, in Preservation Inlet, is a Māori translation, given by the surveyor J.W. Spence at the time of survey, of its earlier European name of Long Beach while at the same time other pre-existing Māori names in the area were not adopted.[102]

95 Seddon, 1995, Words and weeds: some notes on language and landscape.
96 See von Haast, 1948, The life and times of Sir Julius von Haast, K.C.M.G., Ph. D., D. Sc., F.R.S. : explorer, geologist, museum builder, p202,213.
97 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p80.
98 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p137.
99 Ibid, p136.
100 Lake Hauroko "meaning 'the soughing of the wind' … is a good descriptive name for the howl of the northerly gale on this lake. Earlier spellings were 'Howloko' (by McKerrow 'Hauroka' (by Mantell) and 'Hauroto' (by Hay), but Hauroko is the correct version". Hall-Jones, 2003, Fiordland place-names, p41.
101 Berg and Kearns, 1996, Naming as norming:'race', gender, and the identity politics of naming places in Aotearoa/New Zealand, p99.
102 For example Spit Island "named because of the sand spit that connects this island to the mainland at low tide" replaced its prior name of 'Matauira'. Hall-Jones, 2003, Fiordland place-names, p76.

For example the significantly located pa site Matauira, whose name asserts a Māori history in Preservation Inlet was renamed the topographically descriptive Spit Island. Byrnes also notes a propensity for using Māori names for indigenous flora and fauna, like Weka, Tui, Kakapo, Rata, Rimu etc but avoiding names that had significance prior to settlement.[103] Byles explaining her proposed names following her journey west of Lake McKerrow takes English terms and has them carefully translated into Māori equivalents.[104] In this approach Māori knowledge was "broken down into data"[105] and preserved out of their context so as to still fit within a colonial schema.[106]

Carter's analysis understands the names that Stokes, McKerrow, Hay and others chose – for example Jim Monk's naming of Lakes Mike and Victor after the call signs ZK-AVM and ZK-AVB of the amphibian planes that he used to land on those lakes – can be considered as both "resting places for the imagination"[107] that naturalised those giving the name to that place, and also as a form of 'spatial punctuation'. What these names did, as distinct to what they might mean, is that they allowed specific parts of the land to be referred to, "transforming space into an object of knowledge, something that could be explored and read."[108] Indeed the giving of names also gave the land a history.[109]

It is perhaps for this reason that there have been very few new names approved in the Southern Fiordland region since the first publication of the NZMS 10 series maps. Apart from those relating to Jim Monk fledging tourism business, the erroneous granting of a sex change to Alexandra Peak – now Alexander Peak – and also the introduction of some bilingual names that allow 'Spit Island' and 'Matauira' to be located alongside each other, on

103 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p90-94. Gibbons, 2002, Cultural colonization and national identity. p11.

104 This was not an uncommon practice. For example Mount Ongaruanuku in Milford Sound is "not a genuine early Māori name but concocted by M. Gill and I. Bieleski who made the first ascent (in 1958). The meaning is 'the coming of the two gods' ". Hall-Jones, 2003, Fiordland place-names.

105 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p94.

106 The reverse also occured. Harley, Carter and Byrnes each point out instances of where local guides were obscurant. Harley, 1992, Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter. ; Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History. ; Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand.

107 Charles Darwin cited in Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p68.

108 Ibid, p67.

109 As Carter notes: "it was names themselves that brought history into being, that invented the spatial and conceptual co-ordinates within which history could occur. For how, without place names, without agreed points of reference, could directions be given, information exchanged, 'here' and 'there' defined." Ibid, p46.

the most recent maps no new names have been added.[110] Perhaps this reluctance to bring in new names matches a desire to keep Fiordland as an area less cluttered by overt cultural references. For such a strategy conceptually supports it as a place where fewer histories exist and so works to foster an ideation of it as a remote and untouched wilderness.[111]

Much of this section has focused on the names of specific features. Yet in the establishment of Fiordland as a name – itself a progression from the Fiord County of Hay's 1883 Survey – naming not only describes this region but also asserts it. Indeed if naming is considered a negotiated making of place, rather than the ascribing of names to pre-given forms, then the term *Fiordland* has also been part of making the unfamiliar known. [112] For what had been a series of fragmented peripheral locations lying beyond diverse senses of frontier has with the enlisting of the name Fiordland been transformed into a distinctive locus with significant preservation, recreational and tourism potential.

During the nineteenth century the southwest corner of New Zealand's Middle Island was an ill-defined region whose qualities came from lying beyond being surveyed. For Stokes it was a continuation of the West Coast, while for McKerrow it was part of the 'utter barrenness' that continued to the northern end of his survey in the Wanaka region. Subsequent attempts to map this unsurveyed corner came from a number of quarters. Hay's southern survey was for the Southland provincial office, Wilmot and Hector's survey west and north of Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau was for the Otago provincial office, while Douglas reported to the Westland District Surveyor.

Consequently just as Fiordland's articulation as a distinct entity took place a matching ideation of wilderness, not as frontier, but as a sanctuary was occurring. And in order to foreground its overarching naming as Fiordland, and also its formulation as the Fiordland-and-wilderness noted in the third chapter, the introduction of individual cultural markers such as named features in the landscape was kept to a minimum.

110 See New Zealand Department of Survey and Land Information, 2005, Te Wai Pounamu : the land and its people, circa 1840.

111 It should also be noted that any new names within the conservation estate consultation with the Department of Conservation is 'encouraged'. See http://www.linz.govt.nz/core/placenames/proposingaplacename/index.html accessed May 12, 2008

112 The term Fiord County was used on maps between from the 1880s to the 1920s when Fiordland, which had begun to be used in the 1890's became the predominant term. See Hay and Deverell, 1883, Reconnaissance map of part of Fiord County. ; Deverell, 1924, Map of Fiord County & parts of Lake & Wallace Counties. ; McHutcheson, 1892, Camp-life in Fiordland, New Zealand : a tale of the Sutherland Falls.

It is in this tension of naming that can be discerned some of the underlying cultural qualities of the conservation estate and the potential for further landscopic research. For it is also interesting to consider how distinctive names like Fiordland National Park, Mount Aspiring National Park, Mount Cook National Park and Westland National Park have become amalgamated into the Te Waipounamu World Heritage Area, and similarly how the singularity of standards applied by the Department of Conservation have led to creating a further landscopic entity named the 'conservation estate'.

On the one hand this analysis of topynomy suggests a fertile location for environmental history-based research. For example what does bundling up into one entity almost all of the crown-owned lands that contain this country's principally endemic ecosystems and unmodified landforms create? In this regard what does the term 'conservation estate' assert and elide? And even what of the irony in the adoption of the term Fiordland as a term for Fiordland National Park? For a literal reading anticipates both a land defined by fiords and fiords defined by land. However the physical constitution of Fiordland National Park is different. It is made up only of the land and bounded lakes while the fiords – being anything on the sea side of Stokes' boundary line – falls outside the national park. Hence Fiordland National Park is a reserve defined along its western perimeter by its fiords, though is itself not a reserve of fiords.[113] Notwithstanding such possibilities there also exists in a consideration of landscopic topynomy purchase for a more designerly investigation. For how could an alternative programme of naming at either a regional or local level design a different understanding of place?

For instance how could the topynomic and cartographic projects of the type conducted by Louise Hopkins, Doug Aberley, Paul Carter and Studio 4.1.3. be developed in the Southern Fiordland context?[114] What landscopic relationships might different strategies enable, and how would such a process modify the specific ideations of wilderness that are derived through a current strategy to assert topynomic silence? Though such a designerly

113 See Guardians of Fiordland's Fisheries., 1999, Beneath the reflections : a characterisation of Fiordland's fisheries 1999.

114 See Hopkins, 2007, Thinking Eye. , Aberley, 1993, Boundaries of home : mapping for local empowerment. , Carter, 2001, Arcadian writing; two texts into landscape proposals. ; Carter, 2002, Inscriptions as Initial Conditions: Federation Square (Melbourne, Australia) and the Silencing of the Mark. ; Carter, 2004b, Nearamnew. , Weller and Barnett, 2005, Room 4.1.3 : innovations in landscape architecture. See also Abrams and Hall, 2006, Else/where: mapping new cartographies of networks and territories. Clifford and King, 1993, Losing your place. Harmon, 2003, You Are Here: Personal Geographies and Other Maps of the Imagination. Wrights & Sites, 2006, A Manifesto for a New Walking Culture:'Dealing with the city'.

exploration of the semiotics of the National Park generally falls outside the phenomenological emphasis of this particular research, there can nonetheless be identified any number of creative topynomic possibilities. For example what if the Glaisnock wilderness area was broken down into many much smaller regions. Would the resulting busy-ness brought on by a multiplicity of names upset the emptiness and homogeneity inherent in its current large-scale expansiveness and singularity? What also if such naming conventions loosely overlapped each other rather than being butted up along a precise boundary? Indeed how could various naming and cartographic strategies creatively contest the terms Fiordland, Fiordland National Park and the conservation estate?

7.6 A BETTER MAP

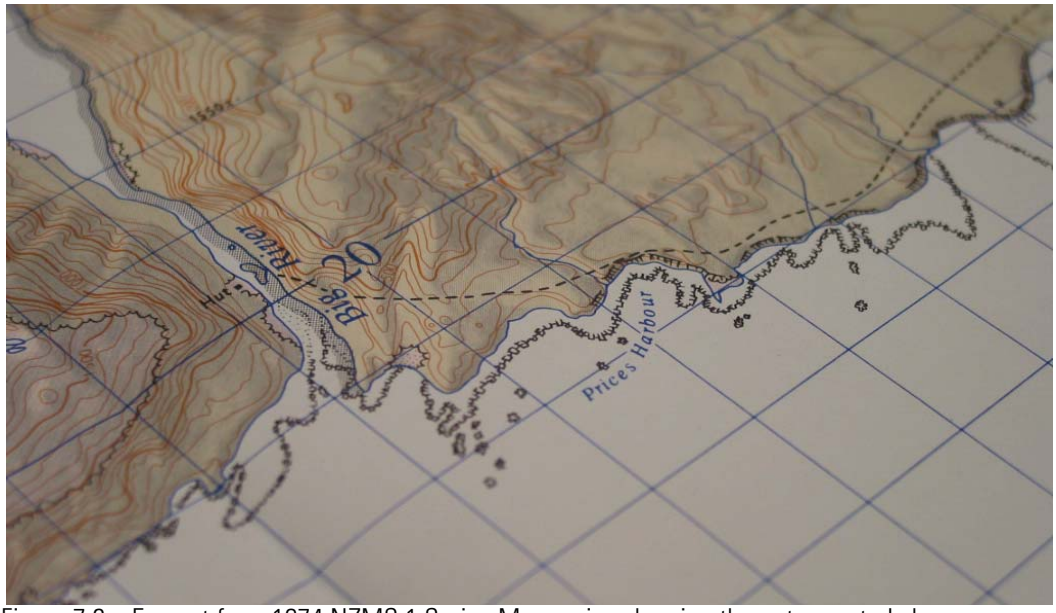


Figure 7.6a: Excerpt from 1974 NZMS 1 Series Map series showing the entrance to Lake Hakapoua[115]

Figure 7.6b: Excerpt from 1996 Infomap 260 B46 Puysegur looking across Lake Hakapoua[116]

Turnbull states that the 'explicit mission' for la Perouse, on his travels through the Pacific, was "bringing *back* a better map".[117] It is a similar urge that has driven the development of cartography in the New Zealand context, and in this regard the most recent maps in the study are considered to be the most accurate and complete representation of the region. A primary reason for this

115 NZMS 1 Series S173 & S174 Preservation & Hakapoua., 1974.
116 Infomap 260, B46 Puysegur. 1996.
117 Turnbull, Watson and Deakin University. School of Humanities. Open Campus Program., 1993, Maps are territories : science is an atlas : a portfolio of exhibits, p55. (Turnbull's emphasis)

is that the most recent maps use data gathered from orthophotographic images taken during aerial surveys.

Concerns as to the course of rivers, ranges and valley systems were comprehensively resolved by the definitive aerial survey work that resulted in the ground-breaking 'inch to the mile' NZMS 1 Series map. The intricate contouring allowed the surface of Fiordland, with its abrupt mountains, tight valleys and a seemingly endless quantity of creeks, streams and rivers to be understood in a way that made the land appear vibrant with form. The level of detail also allowed routes to be plotted in which people may or may not pass: geological fault lines, gorges and karst-like features not withstanding. Seen in this light it is not difficult to comprehend why areas had been marked as 'unexplored at present' for the length of time that they had. And now described with such certainty it also seems obvious that from now on no part of the map need be marked with the same comment.

The first NZMS 1 Series map in New Zealand was produced in 1942. However because of cost and the low demand relative to other locations it was only in 1974 that the Fiordland region was covered. The same occurred with the release of the later metric Infomap 260 Series. The first maps in this series were produced in 1978 but it was not until 1996 that the most western areas of Fiordland were covered. While there are a number of subtle differences between the two series – as well as a shift from an imperial to a metric scale, and also analogue to digital data – they by and large present a similar landscopic image of the land. Hence the following discussion, while focusing on the more recent and currently adopted Infomap 260 Series also applies to the earlier NZMS 1 Series.[118]

The Infomap 260 Series visually presents the information contained in a national Geographic Information System (GIS) inventory that covers all New Zealand. This inventory is a "spatial database that is manipulated via a set of spatial operators or commands".[119] Using frameworks that include layers, entities, classes and attributes, features are organised around different themes including hydrography, topographical relief, utilities, transport,

118 For example: contours lines are more detailed in the Infomap 260 Series being at 20 metre rather than 100 feet intervals; less trig stations are shown in the metric series; tracks are not annotated with comments such as overgrown or disused in the metric series, and also different ink colours are used to respectively denote vegetative cover, hydrography and contour lines.

119 National Topographic/Hydrographic Authority, NZTopo Data Dictionary: Data Documentation Guide, Topographic Data for GIS, p27.

structures and categories of vegetative and non-vegetative landcover.[120] Objects are defined according to the nature of their spatial characterisation, and are either a point, line or polygon. For example in the hydrography theme a spring is a point, a small river a line, and a lake, swamp or substantial river a bounded polygon. Objects like these are then graphically represented in printed editions by different symbols, description levels and shading.[121]

Due to the various image capture, analysis, archiving and publication techniques employed, these maps reveal information at a scale and accuracy that had been considered previously impossible. Indeed when combined with rapidly advancing imaging techniques and also internet based publishing options the production of cartographic information at resolutions of 1:1, and possibly greater is no longer implausible.

Yet paradoxically with each improvement in the level of resolution achieved has come a declining need for 'ground truth' gathered from on the ground investigations of the region being mapped. Karen Piper describes how "triangulation, aerial photography, and now space imaging mean cartography doesn't require being on the ground. Instead data is generated removed from the context and is calibrated against other data sets".[122] In other words data rather than the ground contains significance.[123]

In this process details about the land are acquired through remote images taken from aeroplane and satellite which then, "using stereoplotting equipment … enable orthogonal capture and delineation of topographic features, contour lines and spot elevations."[124] This knowledge is derived and maintained through a disciplined adherence to technical processes and standards. For example the minimum area for 'capture' of a forest, forest clearing, scree slope, swamp and many other categories is 2500 m2, while for scattered scrub, defined as "a tract of land covered by vegetation less than 3m high in a random manner"[125] a minimum area of 10,000 m2 applies.

120 Ibid, p8-13.
121 Ibid.
122 Piper, 2002, Cartographic fictions : maps, race, and identity, p168.
123 See also Pickles, 1995, Ground truth : the social implications of geographic information systems. ; Flowerdew, 1998, Reacting to Ground Truth.
124 National Topographic/Hydrographic Authority, 2002, Technical Specification for the Maintenance of NZTopo data, p10.
125 Ibid, p56.

Comprehensive technical notes, covering every data-type are included to ensure a consistent approach.[126]

Rather than needing names to be distinctive prominent points have their specific elevation documented on the map. Such spot elevations are calculated by calibrating aerial photos and not from conducting any on-site measurement. A number of these are then placed on the map to ensure the 'typical coverage' that standard demands of 50 per 10km x 10km area on hilly, mountainous terrain.[127] In one sense these mimic the spot soundings recorded by the Acheron along the coast. However they differ in one crucial sense: those by the Acheron come from physically being there. They are located and spaced on the basis of routes followed and their location on the map also reveals their specific course along the coast. In the Infomap 260 Series the itineraries revealed by the spot elevations are different. It is that of the trail of a mouse cursor moving along a high definition computer screen being guided by an 'operator', and whose task is determined not by the specifics of travel on the ground, but by a need to achieve the required density set out in the technical specification.

The maps up to and including the Southland Survey Office series were made within the context of a journey. The decision to investigate an area came from information gleaned earlier in the survey. Itineraries were iterative and during the process at times inconclusive. As McKerrow sailed up Lake Te Anau he named each of the major arms coming into the lake in the order of his finding them.[128] It was only back in Dunedin as he drew up his map did he change their names from First, Second and Third Arms to South, Middle and North Fiords. Likewise Hay leaves clues to how his map was made by including the routes he took as part of his survey.

If Hay's supply line is a trace of his methods then in those maps derived from aerial survey only a small number of elevated trig stations that allow for

126 As well as dealing with specific issues of how to mark, for example braided rivers - see National Topographic/Hydrographic Authority, 2000b, Technical Standards for the Production of New Zealand 260 Series Topographic Maps, p30 This standard also deals with how a map is to be printed. For example its paper (high wet strength 90-95g/m2 litho paper), size (950mm x 660mm folded to 220mm x 118.75mm) and ink colours (Black, Process Blue, LR Warm Red, Green PMS 367 and Orange PMS 151) along with their specific ink densities. National Topographic/Hydrographic Authority, 2000a, Standard for Printed New Zealand Topographic 260 Series Maps.

127 National Topographic/Hydrographic Authority, 2000b, Technical Standards for the Production of New Zealand 260 Series Topographic Maps, p26.

128 See McKerrow, 1863a, Fieldbooks from Reconnaissance Survey of the Lake Districts.

calibration of a map's elevations remain. On the ground survey benchmarks[129] – like that near the mouth of the Wairaurahiriri River that was used by the Southland Survey Office for the Waitutu subdivision – are no longer required. The technology of the map lies almost completely outside the land that it describes.

For Stokes, McKerrow, Hay and the Southland Survey Office the map is derived from knowledge built up from the ground. Negotiating the land preceded the drawing of the map. However in the Infomap 260 Series the reverse occurs. Instead of the map being inferred from 'ground truth', the land is inferred from the map. Only when the magnification of the source image has failed to clarify a significant element is there a request made to an operator's supervisor for on-ground clarification.

With the shift to a central mapping office has also come a change in the significance of individuals in the process. In the earlier maps their content, quality, scope and graphical form was the result of particular people.[130] How a map was received was determined in part by the reputation of the individuals involved. Hence in these maps the involvement of various individuals, and the bodies they represent, and work conducted, are clearly stated. For example in the Otago Province map of 1866 (figure 7.3a) eleven different surveyors are named on the map while the later 1904 Southland Survey Office map of the Preservation Survey District also names five different people. In such maps a strong sense of the personal authorship is presented.

However in the Infomap 260 Series, job titles rather than people are noted. The maps in the series are published under the authority of the Surveyor General, Land Information New Zealand (LINZ) with all 'errors, omissions or changes' to be mailed to the General Manager Topo/Hydro at LINZ.[131]

Instead of individuals it is the standards, organisational structures and job specifications used to maintain the GIS database and transcribe them into visual form that produces the map. Hence, while considerable care is taken to

129 This is used as the base reference point upon which all points in a subdivision are ultimately referenced to.

130 Byrnes concludes her extensive study by noting "the colonial land surveyors were not simply indistinguishable components of a monolithic system, but individuals who were anything but innocent sources of information. They were human beings every bit as complex and self-contradictory as ourselves". Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p125.

131 In the specification is also listed the contact details for the National GIS co-ordinator for the Department of Conservation, through which "any gathering of information on DOC lands is to be co-ordinated through." National Topographic/Hydrographic Authority, 2002, Technical Specification for the Maintenance of NZTopo data, p69.

state each standard's genealogy, it is not in terms of the different teams of people who developed them, but through the many different versions each revision supersedes.[132] Also included are the processes to be followed should any revisions be made to either a specification within the database or to the standard itself, so that the quality of interpretation of orthophotographic images is consistent. Such an approach – in which not only the land but also the processes by which it is interpreted and engaged are objectified – is similar to the track standards discussed in the previous chapter.

The maps in this study have sought to characterise the land through how it matches the respective definitions given various typologies. For example specific 'solitary' peaks are noted because they can be distinguished from the 'milieu'. Certainly this attribute can be considered a universal attribute of maps. As Fabian states "maps are devices to classify data. Like tables and diagrams they are taxonomic ways of ordering cultural isolates with the help of categories of contrast and opposition: source vs variant, centre vs periphery, pure form vs. mixed variant, displaying criteria of quality vs. those of quantity."[133] But what do these classifications specifically reveal? For example how are Fiordland's endemic forests described? The undoubted detail of the Infomap 260 Series map gives an initial impression that they might not contain Harley's earlier noted 'critical silences'. The maps appear full of information. However a closer examination reveals many absences that are clouded by the level of topographical detail.

For example in the relevant standard native forest is defined as "a tract of land covered by trees native to New Zealand".[134] It is also the dominant landcover category for the 16 maps that cover the 1,260,740 hectares of Fiordland National Park. It is noted that operators can, in the orthophoto images, distinguish between native forest and exotic forest in that the former is "usually dark in appearance and more lumpy in texture."[135] What constitutes forest cover is certainly more variable than what this single category brings. Both McKerrow and Hay make considerable effort to describe the range of species available in the areas they surveyed. In a survey

132 See, for example, National Topographic/Hydrographic Authority, 2000a, Standard for Printed New Zealand Topographic 260 Series Maps, p3.
133 Cited in Noyes, 1992, Colonial space : spatiality in the discourse of German South West Africa 1884-1915, p276.
134 National Topographic/Hydrographic Authority, 2002, Technical Specification for the Maintenance of NZTopo data, p43.
135 Ibid, p44.

of Waitutu Forest No.19, conducted by the New Zealand Forest Service, over twenty-five distinct categories of forest based on different species mixes and merchantability are described and mapped.[136] Such a characterisation, itself still at a very general scale and including many tracts of between 1,000 and 10,000 acres in size, suggests a greater diversity of flora than the description of the same area in the 260 series maps would suggest.

In the Infomap 260 Series the same fractal qualities that were absent in Stokes' coastal edge are also missing here. In the maps there is no attempt at an ecological representation of the forest with its variety of canopies, species interactions, soil conditions, solar aspect and differing climatic conditions. Indeed the 'characterisation' of landcover is almost binary. What is mapped is the presence or absence of native forest at a particular location. However due to its generic definition any deeper sense of the manner of the forest cannot be deduced. What is defined is neither the substance of a category nor its liminal qualities. Instead what is marked is a boundary whose vector-like properties have no specific weight. In this regard the all-encompassing category of native forest, combined with the disciplines of the GIS database standards, homogenises – rather than distinguishes – the multiple qualities of the forests and rivers in the conservation estate. Indeed the singular treatment of indigenous flora with Green PMS 367 is reminiscent of the use of white by Stokes and McKerrow to describe a similarly barely discernible interior.

136 These include: "alpine vegetation, beech forest with considerable mountain beech, silver beech over kamahi, silve and/or mountain beech swamp forest, silver/mountain beech, very variable mixture beech and rimu, medium volume silver beech with 8-10 rimu per acre over kamahi, valley type silver beech with odd podocarps, coastal scrub, denuded coastal area, bracken fern areas, fern and stumps with fallen logs, kahikatea low volume with some beech, poor swampland kahikatea rimu matai & beech, high altitude stunted rimu/totora, high altitude mixed mountain and silver beech, podocarps with up to 50% beech, excellent quality rimu with up to 50% beech, silver and mountain beech & rimu on easy country, mixed overmature rim & silver beech with vigourous ountain beech, often pure rimu,… open bog or swamp, silver pine bog, and scrublands other than manuka". Nicholls, 1977, Forest types of Waitutu State Forest and adjoining areas.

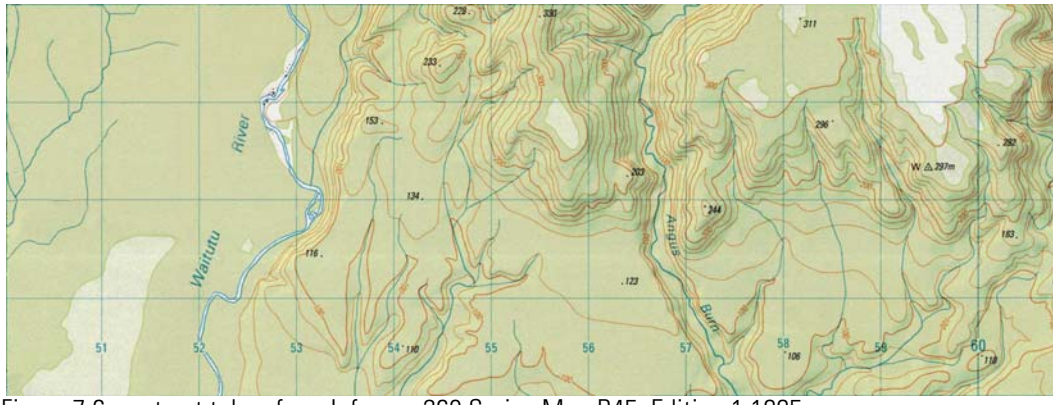


Figure 7.6c: extract taken from Infomap 260 Series Map B45, Edition 1 1995.

In the above map (figure 7.6c) I have removed on the left hand edge the contours west of the Waitutu River. What remains is a several square kilometre expanse of undistinguished 'native forest', a number of watercourses, and also a section of 'scrub' towards the south. In looking at this section it is difficult to imagine what such a forest might seem like and it is relevant to compare this description of the forest with that contained in the photos in Figure 7.7d that were taken there.


Figure 7.6d: Images of the forest directly west of the Waitutu River

The imperial NZMS 1 Series maps of the region, like the later metric Infomap 260 Series, reveal little of the various activities associated with this region. For example the archaeological record of middens, shelters, pas and find-spots is left un-noted. Similarly unrecorded in the maps that cover Preservation Inlet and the South Coast are the sites of sealing gangs, New Zealand's first commercial whaling station, gold, quartz and mica mines, pubs, schools, townships, tram-lines, stamping batteries, rowing regattas, irregular sailing schedules, ship wrecks, wharves, huts, tracks, telegraph lines, bridges, cut survey lines and also at one stage the largest timber mill in the Southern Hemisphere.[137] By the 1890s Cromarty and Te Oneroa were busy settlements

137 For a local history of the Preservation Inlet area gleaned from press clippings see Watt, 1971, Port Preservation.

there was up to 1000 people living in the region.[138] While in retrospect such settlements might now be described as 'temporary' – as in the current Fiordland National Park management plan[139] – they were at the time, and as the town surveys indicate, established with the ambition of a long and prosperous future. From 1897 a serviced ten foot wide track, with huts and bridges, was built from near the Waiau River along the South Coast to Cromarty, and was followed in 1908 with the installation of a telegraph wire from Tuatapere to the Puysegur Point lighthouse. However even when equipped with the most detailed maps of the area the 'visitor' today will find few aspects of the region's heritage noted. Of the sites just described only four feature on the most recent map. These are the still maintained short track to the Puysegur Point lighthouse, the lighthouse itself, the cemetery near Puysegur Point, and the tramway line leading from Cromarty that is maintained as a walking track. In addition names of bays and points, like Cuttle Cove – the site of New Zealand's first land-based whaling station and Moonlight Point – the site of gold rush in 1890's on the water deprived Coal Island – help those carrying the Begg Brothers local history of the region to orientate themselves.[140] Also the names of the former settlements Cromarty and Te Oneroa are included on the map and hover over an undifferentiated forest.

Of recent engagements in the region only those facilities maintained for 'visitors' are shown. The identification of such roads, huts, bridges and tracks within its land is at the discretion of the Department of Conservation[141] and buildings not available to the public or tracks maintained for the department's pest eradication or species protection programmes – including an extensive network in the Murchison Mountains, Waitutu Forest and on a number of Restoration Islands[142] – are not included on the map. The following images in Figure 7.6e are also taken from the expanse of undifferentiated forest west of the Waitutu River previously discussed in Figure 7.6c. This complex network of tracks is part of the extensive possum eradication programme being undertaken there.

138 Hall-Jones, 1968, Early Fiordland, p177.
139 Department of Conservation, 2007c, Fiordland National Park Management Plan, p19.
140 Begg and Begg, 1973, Port Preservation : the story of Preservation Inlet and the Solander grounds.
141 National Topographic/Hydrographic Authority, 2002, Technical Specification for the Maintenance of NZTopo data, p65.
142 These include Chalky Island and Coal Island in the Preservation Inlet region.

Figure 7.6e: Track markers used as art of pest eradication programme west of the Waitutu River

The point here is that despite significant annual numbers of people in the region, and also a myriad of more recent activities undertaken there – including pens built for live deer capture, scientific surveys of birds, flora, fish and pests, pest eradication trapping programmes, the mapping of glacial moraines, the mapping of forestry reserves, and the many journeys undertaken by trampers, fishers, hunters, crayfishers and kayakers as well as the numerous tourists who are jet-boated, helicoptered and float-planed to numerous locations – the park appears on the cartographic record to be almost entirely devoid of a human presence. With only its toponymic record as a guide, the Infomap 260 Series maps silences the past and present activities of people in this region. As a result the landscape that this map presents is one that is untouched and historically empty, further allowing a sliding elision into its image as an untouched and remote wilderness.

The primary information given on the Infomap 260 Series topographic maps of the Southern Fiordland region do not relate to land cover, rivers or cultural heritage. Rather their sense of coherence comes from the contour lines on the Infomap 260 Series that are placed at twenty metre intervals. These lines describe the position of the land at a uniform elevation above sea level.[143] If the coastline is read as the first contour, at an elevation of zero metres above sea level, then the next contour describes an imagined line where the land meets the atmosphere at uniform elevations above sea level. It is these that provide a sustained description of the changes in height in the terrain. With a little training it is possible to read the folds of the land as it undulates, steepens or flattens out onto a plateau before dropping away again to the coast. It is in the contours of the map that the surface of the land can be

143 See Ambroziak and Ambroziak, 1999, Infinite perspectives : two thousand years of three-dimensional mapmaking.

appraised and compared: from the 'moderately level' land along the south coast to the exceedingly precipitous nature of Fiordland's far north.

Earlier in this chapter, I applied Carter's discussion of charting the coast to the work of the Acheron survey and concluded the coastline that Stokes produced was an envelope for an interior that in turn allowed what was inside to be located even prior to knowing. It meant places could be described, even if only as 'presently unexplored'. In the same manner that Stokes' coastline is a perimeter to what lies inside, so also are contour lines a similar boundary within which, in the Fiordland context, can be found various landforms, plants, animals, people, activities and so on.

It is in this way that the maps developed from aerial survey can be considered as making a second coastline. For the linear envelope described by Stokes as he sailed around each island has a similar quality to the surface envelope recorded by aeroplanes flying over the same islands. In each is a graphical representation of a container: one is linear the other planar. Rather than creating an island when the coastlines join, in the latter, when the surfaces meet a globe is created. Ingold notes this creates an illusion of a world beneath that is imagined as a laminar surface on which activities, artefacts and life are placed. Contained in such a representation is a topographical cartography that is not dissimilar in construction to a death mask that covers the earth, and echoes the following account by Lewis Carroll who writes of a map made "of the country, on the scale of *a mile to a mile*!'. 'Have you used it much?' I enquired. 'It has never been spread out, yet', said Meinn Herr:' the farmers objected: they said it would cover the whole country, and shut out the sunlight! So we now use the country itself, as its own map, and I assure you it does nearly as well."[144]

As previously noted during fieldwork for this research I was involved in a search and rescue operation. As well as using ground teams the search included having three helicopters in the air looking for the lost person. From my aerial vantage point on one such flight the forest appeared cloud-like in its form as individual trees sought to match their respective purchase to the land with the most advantageous form above ground. At times the forest parted to reveal not necessarily the ground but lesser canopies below. Located in the

144 Lewis Carroll cited in Smith, 2003, Baudrillard's non-representational theory: burn the signs and journey without maps, p75.

helicopter as it twisted, hovered and spun to get a view it became quickly apparent, even as a part of a highly manoeuvrable machine, that trying to observe, close at hand, what was going on within the porous, billowing fauna was almost hopeless. The forest and the land had too much thickness: there were simply too many places to look.[145] Only by gaining elevation did the scale become 'intelligible' (see figure 7.6f).

Figure 7.6f: Images taken from helicopter during Search and Rescue operation

For Ingold "the world can only be perceived to have an exterior surface by a mind that is situated above and beyond it."[146] However from such a position a sense of depth is lost. Of the boot not only placed on the earth, but also at one moment buried within it before being moved within the atmosphere, itself also with materiality though invisible to the eye, to embed itself again in the land another pace on. In figure 7.6g is a montage of images that suggest at various scales a nested spatial richness exists that a contoured description would always struggle to convey.

Figure 7.6g: Images taken while crossing from the Dingle Burn to the Ahuriri River

It is only by positioning the map maker and map user as being apart from – and usually above – the land can an image of the *landform as a surface* be rendered. It is this sense of being removed from the land that has always had a certain organisational appeal for the surveyor – of working on a flattened

145 The lost person was eventual found a number of kilometres distant, when first their footprints were found on one of the few beaches in the region.

146 Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p241

map of the land rather than working in the land of the map. This panoptic perspective suggests that with sufficient distance all can be seen, and that the most accurate representation comes from the greatest distance.[147] As Ashcroft states, within the panoptic rests "the power of the fixed, all-seeing viewpoint: the power to create a universal space".[148] And with it, as Byrnes comments, one that is "voyeuristic in that it assume[s] a neutrality on behalf of the viewer and a passivity on behalf of the subject."[149]

Ashcroft considers that in the panoptic an unequal relationship is both created and disguised: "for the observer, sight confers power; for the observed, visibility is powerlessness."[150] Byrnes states "the panoptic gaze offers an elevated viewing point which allows the observer to read the land from a position of omnipotence: to be a solar eye, looking down like a god… It positions the viewer not only *above but also* in *the centre of the world*."[151] Nor is such separation just one based in representation. For in the panoptic gap that the topographic map creates between the land, the mapmaker and the map-user there is also a loss of dialogue. Just as the separation between visitor and conservation estate diminishes wilderness' capacity to shape people so too the land under examination struggles to shape those holding a panoptic stance.[152]

Implicit in the panoptic is a removal of complexity. Land is simplified and so also the potential understanding and engagements people might have of and with it. It is by removing particularity that the panoptic urge of cartography generates a certain placelessness. On the Infomap 260 Series maps place is not defined according to the specific relationships formed with surrounding topographical, ecological and cultural characteristics. Instead they are located as a set of coordinates that is determined by an overarching Cartesian grid laid over the land. In such a reading features no longer need names. Instead a grid reference suffices – one that is no more or less distinctive, or particular, than any other. And while each grid reference is unique, what the

147 Nor should the aerial-derived maps be considered responsible for generating such an urge for 'oversight'. Thomsons's already noted comments on climbing Twinlaw are equally apt (see page 269)

148 Ashcroft, 2001, Post-colonial transformation, p129.

149 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p41. See also Foucault, 1977, Discipline and punish : the birth of the prison, p195-228

150 Ashcroft, 2001, Post-colonial transformation, p141.

151 Byrnes, 2001, Boundary markers : land surveying and the colonisation of New Zealand, p62.

152 Instead, as David Spurr notes, "the organisation and classification of things takes place according to the writer's own system of value." Cited in Ashcroft, 2001, Post-colonial transformation, p142. See also Crary, 1990, Techniques of the observer : on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century.

cartographic space of the Infomap 260 Series map locates is never one of a kind. Rather what is identified is the presence (and implied absence) of predetermined typologies. In other words in the Infomap 260 Series map everything shown is the clone of an archetype: hence while the coordinates might be particular what it locates is not.

In figure 7.6h is an excerpt from the imperial NZMS 1 Series of the Port Craig region.

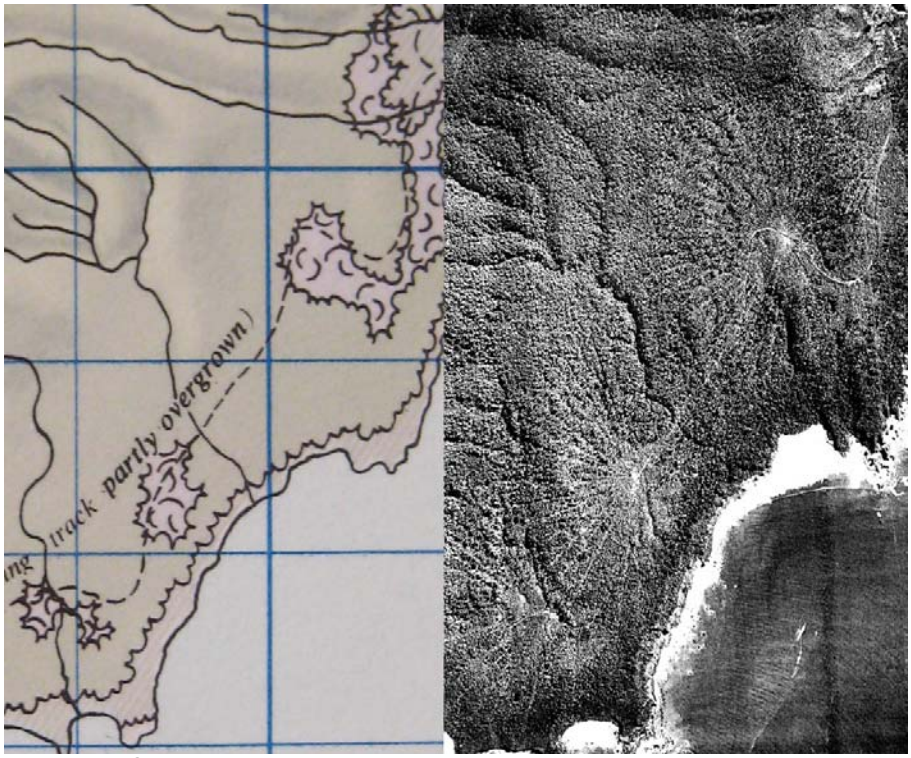


Figure 7.6h: On the left is a map of the district produced in 1967 by the Department of Lands and Survey[153], while on the right is the aerial photograph taken in 1947 upon which this section of the map was drawn from. The image shows "the haul tracks radiating from the Lidgerwood's operating sites beside the main tramline between Port Craig and Sand Hill Point.[154]

On it can be seen where clearings and scrub give way to indigenous forest, the location of a hut, and also the route of the track that leads to the South Coast. The photographic image on its right was taken as part of the aerial survey used to construct the map excerpt. On it is revealed considerably more information. The snaking nature of the track comes from its function. It is a tramline constructed on a very gradual gradient so that the trams – whose boilers were fired by wood cut from the surrounding forest – could transport

153 NZMS 1: 175 Orepuki. 1967.
154 Bird, 1998, Viaducts against the sky : the story of Port Craig, p50-51.

the logs also cut from the forest to the Port Craig mill that operated from 1918-30. The two star like formations, which were still visible thirty years later, arise from the marks made by the logs as they were dragged by a wire and pulley setup to a central spar made from "two sturdy tree trunks, butted together and spliced with about six hardwood blocks, bolted through and made tight with rope binding" before being loaded onto wagons and freighted to the mill.[155]

Ingold, describing topographic cartography, states it "creates the appearance that the structure of the map springs directly from the structure of the world, as though the mapmaker served merely to mediate a transcription from one to the other."[156] Yet such a map does not "grow or develop, it is *made* … so the world it describes is not a world in the making but one ready-made for life to occupy"[157] What it conveys is a terrain that is "a theatrical stage from which all the actors have disappeared, the world – as it is represented in the map – appears deserted, devoid of life. No-one is there; nothing is going on".[158] Certainly that is the effect of the map that covers Port Craig. Instead of conveying a sense of how the track came to take its contour-hugging form the impression given is of a track already and always complete.

Only in such timeless representations, devoid of practice, can John Turnbull Thomson's comment on the possibility of finding Moa in this region still find its echo in 2006.[159] Consequently the relationship the map makes is solipsistic, rather than communal. Unaware of the previous journeys, paths imagined and traced on the map, as well as those then made physically across the land, are made anew each time on a land that these maps allow to be imagined as without past and present histories. Instead it is untouched, and hence unspoilt and distant: a wilderness no less.[160]

155 Bremer, 1983, Port Craig and Waitutu Forest, 1925 and 1983, p60. See also Bird, 1998, Viaducts against the sky : the story of Port Craig. ; McMechan, 1997, Timber town : a history of Port Craig : a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of BA (Hons) at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. At its peak Port Craig was reported as the largest producing timber mill in the country .

156 Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p234.

157 Ibid, p235. (Ingold's emphasis)

158 Ibid, p234.

159 See, for example, Focus, 2008, Hunting Mythical Creatures.

160 For an example of this being unwittingly rendered see Molloy, Smith and GeographX., 2002, Landforms : the shaping of New Zealand.

7.7 HALL JONES AND HIS MAP

The map in Hall-Jones hand partners his stance and his gaze. Multiple perspectives on landscape are embedded in a map whose properties can be traced through the maps that preceded it. However, as Piper observes cartography doesn't just construct a certain understanding of environment, it also constructs a certain understanding of 'man'.[161] For the map in Hall-Jones' hand not only describes the ranges behind him, it also generates his stance, his understanding of the region of Fiordland National Park, and the qualities of wilderness he imbues such a place with.

Foremost is a landscape defined by a panoptic separation. The map organises the land but not the reverse. Regardless of which part of New Zealand's conservation estate might lie behind Hall-Jones the underlying structures of the map treats all regions the same. Hence predetermined and sight-based typologies of native forest, scrub, lake and river shape what is and is not described. From its elevated all-seeing stance only the archetypal is noted or what Carter terms "the endless repetition of a point already reached."[162] And as a result the particular and the unique are left un-noted, unrepresented and silenced. Neither landscape as a process or landscape as an event is expressed. Instead across the map, and inferred upon the land beyond Hall-Jones' gaze, is the homogenous entity of Fiordland: a remnant of the colonial survey project, and in whose constitution is found a the transition from wilderness as a shifting frontier that lay beyond the colony, to its emergent manifestation as a preserve both bounded and threatened by the culture that founded it.

And though topographically the folds and forms of the valleys and mountains are described in emphatic detail, and while also the number, size, length and expanse of various features can be meticulously accounted for,[163] absent in these cartographic images is a qualitative sense of what is there. Instead the Pantone® Ink PMS 267 green expanses is recreated the same waiting blankness that Stokes prepared for the colony 150 years before.

161 See Piper, 2002, Cartographic fictions : maps, race, and identity, p14. Note her choice of gender here is intentional.
162 Carter, 1999a, Dark with excess of bright: mapping the coastlines of knowledge, p135.
163 In ways similar to McKerrow's tabulations of land cover recorded in 1862-3. McKerrow, 1863b, Reconnaisance Survey of the Lake Districts.

The underlying purpose of the imperial NZMS 1 Series and the metric Infomap 260 Series maps is to give the spatial properties of landscape priority over its involvement. In such maps landscape is conceptualised firstly as a site that only once defined is engaged. In these maps features are positioned according to their Cartesian location while at the same time are abstracted from their social and temporal constituents. Hence elements are understood first and foremost on the basis of their capacity to be located as a point, line or polygon. So while a historical midden site might be considered a point and given a specific coordinate this process at the same time abstracts the seasonal behaviour and coastal travels, as well as the location of the shell food, fish and birds that it has been made of. For while the midden site can be located on the land geo-spatially the landscape the midden describes is of its context: the interweaving of activities that connects up the sea and coast and forest and which is unable to fit tidily within the geometry of a point, line or polygon. What results are maps in which the land is rendered as a waiting tabula rasa and one that implicitly suggests its underlying form might provide the framework by which it is negotiated.

Further these cartographies describe a landscopic relationship that is based on seeing land. Such maps are instrumental in asserting landscape as a scene, a stage and a site in which people are absent.[164] What these cartographic descriptions of landscape direct is the positioning of a phenomenological engagement of environment as being subsequent to its form. In other words what cartography does is describe landscape as the stage upon which people subsequently act, and not a landscape whose substance that is formed through people's interactions with their environment. Hence in both the precision of the park's boundaries, and also the cloak of topographical description laid over the restrictive ground-cover typologies, can be found an expression of landscape as closed, contained and mute.

This mindset results in a diminishing of the relevance of people's actions. In most cases individual actions are presented as being inconsequential to the landscape's overall form. In such a conceptualisation of landscape Cronon's call to minimise the residual marks people leave appears plausible.

164 Nor is this restricted to wilderness. See Certeau, 1984, The practice of everyday life, p91-130.

Across the landscape architecture discipline landscape as *landschaft* rather than *landskip* is increasingly invoked. Yet landscape architecture's similar use of cartographic typologies to those identified in this study of Southern Fiordland's official cartography suggests that the scenic is still rooted strongly in the graphical apparatus of the discipline. If it is acknowledged that maps have landscopic agency – in that they not only describe relationships with landscape but also direct them – then the use of current cartographic typologies works counter to a *landschaft*-like articulation of landscape. Their adoption implicitly shapes an ordering of landscape in which landscape's practice and participation – its phenomenological dimensions – occur after its conceptual shaping around the formal and visual criteria that are prevalent in the cartographic tradition.

In other words the cartographic tropes identified in this study of Southern Fiordland's official cartography diminishes the instrumentality of phenomenological practice within the landscape. Instead they produce an image of landscape structured around the separation of the panoptic gaze, and associated strategies that organises landscape as blank, subdividable and bounded. Landscape practice can only take place *on* the landscape but is less likely to give landscape its substance. It is an attempt to counter the implicit singularity that such cartography asserts that has led to a call to enlist mapping as an instrumental creative strategy. For it is possible that if used differently cartographic methods could open up other possible landscapes and landscopic opportunity. It is a reconsideration of mapping as a creative means by which landscopic possibility is enabled that has driven the call by Corner, Berger and Abram's (among others), to consider the instrumentality of mapping as a major area for study.[165] And likewise for Aberley, Harrington and Stevenson, and Sparke (again among others) to seek to realign mapping's hegemonic applications to ones in which community and minority voices might be articulated.[166]

Yet while Corner's call for a re-imaging of landscape's eidetic qualities attempts to diffuse the panoptic singularity inherent in recent cartography his direction generally lies elsewhere to this particular study.

165 See page 247 of this dissertation

166 See Aberley, 1993, Boundaries of home : mapping for local empowerment. Oberst, McElroy, Potter, Anckar, Campling, Havice, Bertram, Feyrer and Sacerdote, Island Studies Journal–ISSN: 1715–2593 Vol. 2, No. 2, November 2007. ; Sparke, 1998, A Map that Roared and an Original Atlas: Canada, Cartography, and the Narration of Nation.

Indeed it could be argued that Corner's studies and more recent work by Berger operate in a halfway house between *landskip* and *landschaft.*[167] For while their respective work interprets the content of landscape as qualitative, particular and instrumental it struggles to embody the processual and social dimensions of a landscape in which neither landscopic practice nor landscopic form, but instead an unfolding dialogue between the two could have priority. To this end, while Corner and Berger's work seeks to convey the richer semiotics of *landschaft,* they struggle to also bring into being the underlying processes that Ingold and Massey articulate, and by which *landschaft's* 'being-in-the-world' is a state of becoming.

However, it must be stressed, such a lack does not limit the potential of progressing a phenomenological cartography of landscape. For while this chapter notes that the drivers for the region's current formulation as Fiordland National Park can be discerned in its cartography, and also that those same cartographies have not only described but also been instrumental in the region's ideation as an unspoilt, remote and uninhabited region, such a study also opens up a rich set of possibilities. For what is also revealed in Southern Fiordland's official cartographies is a creative process out of which a particular outcome has been generated. In considering Southern Fiordland's current constitution this study also makes it possible to consider that other processes might have differently categorised, organised, named, imaged and interpreted the land. And were that to have been the case then also the result would have been a different set of outcomes than is evident in the region's current qualities. Indeed what this chapter outlines is not such much a cartographic *History* of a region's destiny but a *creative and designerly process* out of whose iterative negotiability has been built Fiordland National Park. And hence it can be readily imagined within the context of a design-directed investigation that other mapping and diagrammatic strategies could propose other transformative and landscopic programmes for the region. And it is to this possibility that the next chapter considers.

167 Nor should Corner be singled out. In an Australian context it can be argued that the practice of both Richard Weller and Paul Carter, while succeeding in innovatively representing landscopic engagement struggles to directly provoke innovative landscape practice.

CHAPTER EIGHT: MAPPING PERCEPTIONS OF WILDERNESS ON THE CONSERVATION ESTATE

This chapter begins by considering how cartography has been enlisted by researchers working in tourism and leisure studies to construct wilderness regions that are based on people's perception of wilderness purism. It considers how their cartographic images work to geographically locate wilderness region by region such that certain management strategies and policies for the conservation estate become advisable. However it also finds the cartographical representations employed, rather than being neutral, are strongly instrumental in continuing to assert wilderness and the conservation estate as *other*.

Having considered this approach I ask how the same relationships might be diagrammed according to the temporal qualities arising from activities undertaken in the same locales. To this end cartographic images of the region that elicit a more phenomenological expression of landscape are explored. Then specific attributes that might visualise a dwelling-based perspective of landscape are identified before these are applied to a diagramming of specific experiential qualities of landscape that relate to journey duration.

Finally it contrasts these with the formal and stage-like characteristics of landscape that current topographical representations pursue.

8.1 WILDERNESS PERCEPTION MAPPING

Over the last fifteen years there has been a sustained body of research produced around the qualities and locations of wilderness experience within the New Zealand context. This includes work developed by researchers working in tourism and recreation related disciplines at the University of Otago, and more recently at the Department of Conservation, Lincoln University and Waikato University.[1] Multiple studies have investigated issues including perceptions of overcrowding, displacement to other regions, impacts of other activities including aircraft overflights, relationships between concessionaires, the public and the governmental agencies.[2] Kay Booth, in a recent review of the state of Visitor Research for the Department of Conservation, categorised the types of research being pursued as follows: visit numbers, visit and visitor characteristics, the visitor experience (from motivation to satisfaction), visitor impacts, recreational benefits, recreation resource demand and supply, and recreation management processes and techniques.[3]

In 2000 the Department of Conservation published the *State of Wilderness in New Zealand* which sought to bring together various bodies of research around the following three themes: the Wilderness Movement, Wilderness Issues and Wilderness Perceptions.[4] This publication included work from a series of studies that both identified and also mapped specific locations of wilderness experience in both Fiordland National Park and Kahurangi National Park. It is these maps and the problematic way in which they inventory specific wilderness sites that this chapter first considers before later attempting to develop a more phenomenological cartography of wilderness experience in one part of Fiordland National Park.

A foundational premise in the above body of work is a conceptualisation of wilderness that is defined, not by archetypal attributes or geographical range,

1 Booth and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2006, Review of visitor research for the Department of Conservation, p37-38.
2 For examples see the extensive catalogue of Science and Technical Publications published by the Department of Conservation. See http://www.doc.govt.nz/templates/defaultlanding.aspx?id=39150 accessed May 13, 2008.
3 Booth and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2006, Review of visitor research for the Department of Conservation, p8.
4 Cessford and New Zealand. Department of Conservation., 2001, The State of wilderness in New Zealand.

but in terms of personal perception. What wilderness is and where it might be sensed is individual. As Kearsley states in an earlier study, wilderness "exists where personal cognitions say that it might be; different people perceive wilderness in different ways and in different places."[5]

A primary research method in tourism and leisure studies research is based on what is termed 'wilderness perception mapping'. This is an experiential approach that investigates individual and demographic differences in attitudes to wilderness. It is a predominantly quantitative method that analyses statistically written responses to surveys. "The aim is to predict population-wide patterns of perception based on a selected sample".[6] This method has been extensively applied to provide a 'snapshot' of visitors' perceptions of specific wilderness sites including Fiordland and also to selected demographic groups.[7]

The dimensions of wilderness and its common characteristics have been developed over a sizable number of linked studies. In different research 'domestic tourists', international tourists' and the general public have been asked, using a five point Likert scale, whether the presence of sixteen particular 'wilderness perception variables' would enhance, detract or be neutral to their being able to attain a sense of wilderness.[8] These variables were: developed campsites, stocking exotic species, road access to wilderness boundary, commercial recreation, maintained tracks, bridges and walkwires,

5 Kearsley and University of Otago., 1997, Wilderness tourism : a new rush to destruction? p14.

6 Swaffield and Foster, 2000, Community perceptions of landscape values in the South Island high country : a literature review of current knowledge and evaluation of survey methods, p17.

7 Shultis, 2001, The duality of wilderness: Comparing popular and political conceptions of wilderness in New Zealand. ; Shultis, 1991, Natural environments, wilderness and protected areas : an analysis of historical Western attitudes and utilisation, and their expression in contemporary New Zealand : a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Geography at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. ; Higham, 1996, Wilderness perceptions of international visitors to New Zealand : the perceptual approach to the management of international tourists visiting wilderness areas within New Zealand's conservation estate : a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. ; Higham, Kearsley and Kliskey, 2000, Wilderness Perception Scaling in New Zealand: An Analysis of Wilderness Perceptions Held by Users, Nonusers and International Visitors. ; Kearsley, Kliskey, Higham and Higham, 1999, Perception of wilderness in the South Island of New Zealand : a multiple images approach.

8 The three studies were Shultis, 1991, Natural environments, wilderness and protected areas : an analysis of historical Western attitudes and utilisation, and their expression in contemporary New Zealand : a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Geography at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. ; Kliskey, 1992, Wilderness perception mapping : a geographic information systems (GIS) approach to the application of wilderness perceptions to protected areas management in New Zealand : a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. ; Higham, 1996, Wilderness perceptions of international visitors to New Zealand : the perceptual approach to the management of international tourists visiting wilderness areas within New Zealand's conservation estate : a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Higham's work included a further five variables that related to the attributes of huts – provision of gas cookers, toilets, water – signposts, and restricting group sizes and numbers of people to prevent crowding. Higham, 2001, Perceptions of international visitors to New Zealand wilderness, p77.

hunting, logging, motorised travel by visitors, huts and shelters, hydro-electric development, commercial mining, solitude (not seeing many other groups of people), remote from cities or towns, free from evidence of impact, and large size (taking at least two days to traverse).[9] Respondents were then clustered, according to their aggregate score, into four distinct categories. Those who considered most variables would adversely affect their perception of wilderness (cumulative scores between 66-80) were classified as 'strong purists'. Respondents scoring between 56-65 were classified as 'moderate purists', 46-55 as 'neutral' and 16-45 as 'non-purists'.[10]

There is a sustained set of research that has applied wilderness perception variables and the wilderness purism scale to studies of different user groups. In a paper that brings together work across a number of studies it was noted Kliskey's 'domestic tourists' "are negative towards solitude. Higham's [international tourists] non-purists are neutral and Kearsley's [general public] require it. This all serves to emphasise that wilderness perceptions vary among individuals, groups and times".[11] The following tables show firstly the respective breakdown of these purism class memberships (figure 8.1a), and secondly responses by purism class and user group to wilderness perception variables (figure 8.1b).

9 Shultis, 2001, The duality of wilderness: Comparing popular and political conceptions of wilderness in New Zealand, p65.

10 Kliskey, 1992, Wilderness perception mapping : a geographic information systems (GIS) approach to the application of wilderness perceptions to protected areas management in New Zealand : a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, p139.

11 Kearsley, Kliskey, Higham and Higham, 1999, Perception of wilderness in the South Island of New Zealand : a multiple images approach, p3. in wilderness. Maintained tracks, huts and bridges, in contrast to offical descriptions of wilderness, were strongly desired. Also noted Domestic users are likely to be more purist than the general public and less positive as to the place of facilities, hunting and commercial recreation. Higham elsewhere notes other differences: "the most non-purist visitors … were Japanese and Israeli. Those nationals who were predominately 'neutral' or 'moderate' purists proved to be Continental Europeans, namely Swiss, German, Dutch and Austrian. The most purest perceptions of wilderness were held by North Americans, Britons and Australians". Higham, 2001, Perceptions of international visitors to New Zealand wilderness, p77.

SAMPLE	NON-PURISTS	NEUTRAL-ISTS	MODERATE PURISTS	STRONG PURISTS
Domestic users (Shultis 1991; Kliskey 1992)	11.0	37.0	34.0	18.0
International users (Higham 1996)	4.4	28.7	45.0	21.9
General public (Kearsley 1995)	40.4	42.9	15.9	0.8

Figure 8.1a: Purism Class Memberships for the three samples (percentages)[12]

WILDERNESS PERCEPTIONS VARIABLE LIST	DOMESTIC USERS (Shultis 1991; Kliskey 1992)				INTERNATIONAL USERS (Higham 1996)				GENERAL PUBLIC (Kearsley 1995)			
	NP	N	MP	SP	NP	N	MP	SP	NP	N	MP	SP
Campsites	+	+	-	-	+	/	/	-	+	/	-	-
Exotics	/	/	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Road access	+	+	+	-	+	+	/	-	+	+	/	-
Commercial recreation	+	/	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	/	-	-
Maintained tracks	+	+	+	-	+	+	/	-	+	+	/	-
Bridges	+	+	+	-	+	+	/	-	+	+	/	-
Hunting	+	+	/	-	/	-	-	-	/	-	-	-
Logging	/	/	/	/	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Motorised travel	/	-	-	-	+	/	-	-	/	-	-	-
Huts/shelters	+	+	+	-	+	+	/	-	+	+	-	-
Hydro-electricity	/	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mining	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Solitude	-	+	+	+	/	/	/	/	+	+	+	+
Remoteness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Little human impact	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Size	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NP = non-purists, N = neutralists, MP = moderate purists, SP = strong purists.
+ = acceptable, / = neutral, - = unacceptable.

Figure 8.1b: Comparison of Wilderness Perception Criteria for the different samples[13]

Kearsley, Kliskey and Higham in a number of publicly funded research projects attempted to match these perceptions to the potentially available 'wilderness resource' in order to generate an inventory of available wilderness sites. Their research focused on two locations: Kahurangi National Park in the north-west of the South Island, and Fiordland National Park, along with its direct neighbour, Mount Aspiring National Park in the south. In this work specific facilities and activities are located on maps of the respective national parks.

12 Higham, Kearsley and Kliskey, 2001, Multiple Wilderness Recreation Management: sustaining wilderness values–maximising wilderness experiences, p85.
13 Ibid, p84.

For example tracks, huts, airstrips, energy related infrastructure including power transmission routes are all marked. Then spatial buffers are set according to the degree to which a facility or activity negatively impacts on each purism class's perception of wilderness. Kliskey states by "taking a 1 km buffer as a starting point, it is possible progressively to increase the distance across purism groups, in recognition of increasing undesirability of an item".[14] For example, for domestic tourists the existence of a road or a track has no impact on the perceptions of non-purists and so no buffer is required. However because of the negative impact on strong-purist's perceptions of wilderness a 3 km corridor is set on either side of the road, and a 2 km corridor either side of a track, before wilderness qualities that meet the expectation of strong purists can be considered to begin. Figure 8.1c shows the different buffer distances that were set.

WILDERNESS PERCEPTION VARIABLES*	DOMESTIC USERS (Shultis 1991; Kliskey 1992)				INTERNATIONAL USERS (Higham 1996)				GENERAL PUBLIC (Kearsley 1995)			
	NP	N	MP	SP	NP	N	MP	SP	NP	N	MP	SP
Campsites	–	–	1	2	–	1	1	2	–	1	2	2
Exotics	–	1	1	2	–	–	–	1	1	2	2	3
Road access	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	3	–	–	2	3
Maintained tracks	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	2	–	–	1	2
Bridges	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	2	–	–	1	2
Logging	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	2	2	3	4
Motorised travel	1	1	2	3	–	1	1	2	1	2	2	3
Huts/shelters	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	2	–	–	2	3
Hydro	–	1	2	3	–	1	2	3	1	2	2	3
Mining	1	1	2	3	–	1	2	3	2	2	3	3
Solitude	–	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3

* Excluding those wilderness attribute variables that can not currently be mapped.
NP = non-purists, N = neutralists, MP = moderate purists, SP = strong purists.

Figure 8.1c: Wilderness Perception Buffers (in kilometres)[15]

Using GIS software these buffers have been applied to develop maps that show each park's available inventory of wilderness. Through shading these displayed the location of the various buffer zones based on the known location of the wilderness variables being evaluated. For example, in Fiordland, these include the Dusky, Kepler, George Sound and Milford tracks and huts, the Manapouri Hydro scheme, and the Borland and Grebe

14 Kliskey, 1992, Wilderness perception mapping : a geographic information systems (GIS) approach to the application of wilderness perceptions to protected areas management in New Zealand : a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, p155.

15 Higham, Kearsley and Kliskey, 2001, Multiple Wilderness Recreation Management: sustaining wilderness values–maximising wilderness experiences, p86.

transmission lines. Each purism class is separately mapped according to their respective buffer sizes with those areas remaining unshaded forming the available wilderness resource available for each class. The following maps (figures 8.1d and 8.1e) show the respective purism renderings for 'domestic tourists'. The researchers note that "the more purist the perception the less extensive the wilderness".[16] Further for the strong and moderate purists each additional hut, track, road or activity "degrades wilderness quality"[17] and consequently diminishes the area of available wilderness.

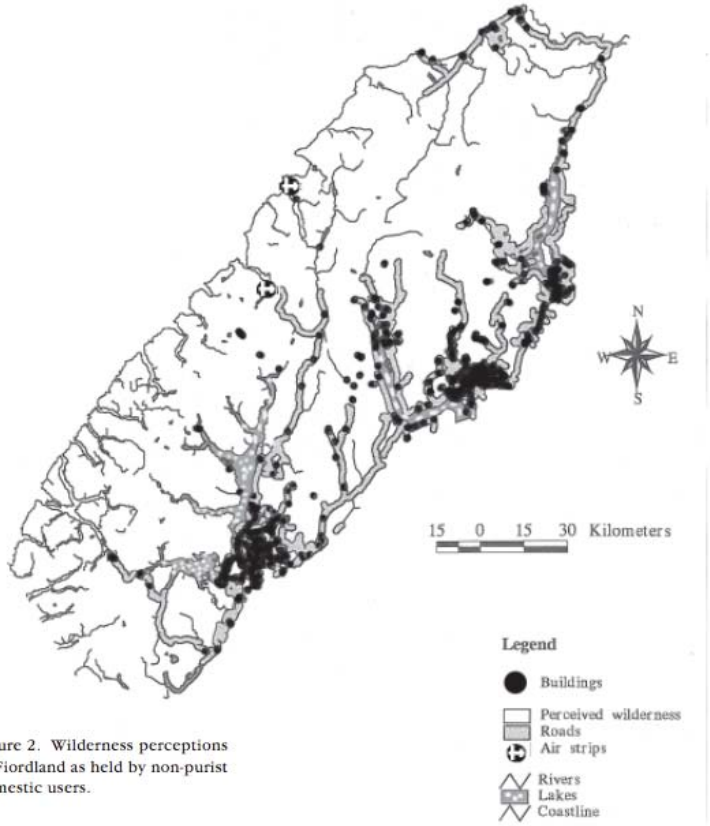


Figure 2. Wilderness perceptions of Fiordland as held by non-purist domestic users.

Figure 8.1d: Wilderness perceptions of Fiordland as held by non-purist domestic users[18]

16 Kearsley, Kliskey, Higham and Higham, 1999, Perception of wilderness in the South Island of New Zealand : a multiple images approach, p5.

17 Higham, Kearsley and Kliskey, 2001, Multiple Wilderness Recreation Management: sustaining wilderness values–maximising wilderness experiences, p93.

18 Ibid, p90.

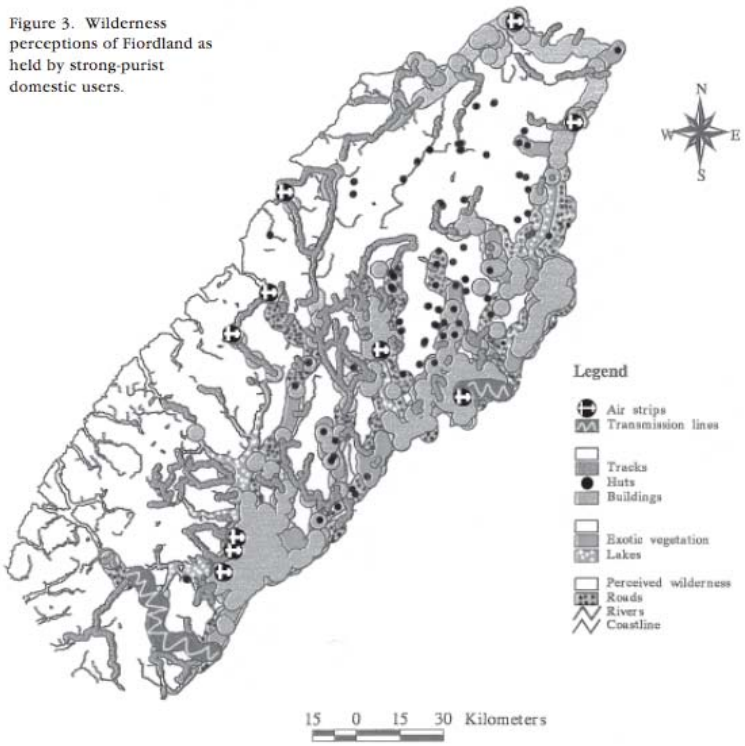


Figure 8.1e: Wilderness perceptions of Fiordland as held by strong-purist domestic users[19]

These researchers note that "further work is required to refine the imagery collected and to check the presumptions of wilderness imagery against actual experience as surveyed on site".[20] It suggests that the value of this research is to assist management of wilderness areas so that "difficult decisions regarding the designation of wilderness areas and rights of access need to be made if the resource base is not to be further impaired".[21] Proposing a research program with similarities to the Australian wilderness inventory[22] the report closes by stating "ultimately, it is hoped that this work can be extended to provide complete experiential wilderness inventory for New Zealand to act as a complement to legislative and biological definitions of wild places".[23]

19 Ibid, p91.
20 Kearsley, Kliskey, Higham and Higham, 1999, Perception of wilderness in the South Island of New Zealand : a multiple images approach, p20
21 Higham, Kearsley and Kliskey, 2000, Wilderness Perception Scaling in New Zealand: An Analysis of Wilderness Perceptions Held by Users, Nonusers and International Visitors, p221.
22 See Hall and Page, 2006, The geography of tourism and recreation : environment, place, and space, p264-272
23 Kearsley, Kliskey, Higham and Higham, 1999, Perception of wilderness in the South Island of New Zealand : a multiple images approach, p20.

8.2 THE LIMITS OF WILDERNESS PERCEPTION MAPPING

Given sufficient funding for surveys, utilisation of the Department of Conservation's Visitor Asset Management System database, and provided software and hardware issues can be negotiated, this is a technically feasible goal. Certainly, as the study concludes, "images of wilderness can be collected from various samples of users and the general public. These images can be translated into maps that depict the spatial extent of wilderness for a specific place, according to the standards and expectations of each purism perception class."[24] Notwithstanding the technical possibility of such a project I would suggest that their research approach is problematic for the following reasons.

First, while the authors agree that wilderness is a personal construct, and therefore for the individual inherently qualitative, the questions asked of their perceptions of wilderness do not relate to their own engagement of it. Hence though subjects are asked if the presence of a track would diminish their ability to perceive wilderness, it is not thought necessary to ask if their personal use of a track would diminish their own wilderness experience. Similarly the use of motorised transport to gain access may detract for the strong purist, but what of their own use to gain access – would their use, say of a boat to Preservation Inlet, diminish the quality of their own wilderness experience? By not asking individuals to align their own activities as being acceptable or unacceptable in a wilderness the research already pre-defines an idea of wilderness that separates the respondents' own activities – but it should be noted not necessarily others – activities from what does or does not constitute wilderness.[25]

Perhaps this explains the reason why hunting is viewed negatively in these surveys. As it would seem that the domestic and international users surveyed

24 Ibid, p20.

25 This approach is also implicitly asserted in wilderness research currently being conducted by the Department of Conservation in Fiordland National Park. In this case wilderness diaries have been given to 'visitors' to complete. Subjects are asked to write about what they enjoyed and disliked, what was unexpected, annoying, disappointing and unique with the following external factors – and not the actions of the writers – as prompts for each days entries. It states next to the empty panel a subject is meant to daily fill in: "think about (but do not limit yourself to) the following issues: signs of human disturbance/visitor impacts; encounters/interactions with other groups; encounters with the sights/sounds and activities of humans; seeing or hearing motorised transport (vehicles, aeroplanes, helicopters, boats); your sense of solitude/freedom". Department of Conservation, 2004b, Wilderness Trip Diary.

in the field have little involvement in hunting.[26] Likewise the negative response by backcountry users to commercial recreation is possibly because they themselves weren't undertaking a commercial activity. The research is not clear as to what was the actual activity being undertaken by users at the time but it is difficult to imagine hunters and commercially guided walkers considering their own activities so negatively.

In another survey of backcountry users Kearsley found domestic users strongly supported a park user's fee that targeted international tourists, but negligible support amongst those surveyed to pay the same fee. International visitors exhibited similar equanimity. Is it possible these responses reveal a keenness by backcountry users to demand something of others they might not demand of themselves? While New Zealander's might consider "solitude is an important aspect of the wilderness experience",[27] it is worth noting the research suggests an expectation of solitude is based, not so much on not meeting others, but on not meeting those others – such as hunters and guided groups – whose activities are based on different perceptions and, hence, different understandings and engagements of wilderness.

Perhaps the negative view held by a strong-purist of almost all activities and facilities in wilderness, reveal attitudes to other groups of users as much as peoples particular modes of using wilderness. By demanding a wilderness free of facilities, strong-purists may also be expecting a wilderness free of those groups of people, such as non-purists, who would only be present if they were able to use such facilities.[28] For what may separate the strong purist from the neutralist may be less the purity of the wilderness they need and more a greater level of *intolerance* for others engagement of wilderness and alternative ideas as to what wilderness might be.

Second the translation of parameters into a spatial scale only works for those attributes that can be located in a GIS framework. This means that while tracks and fixed wing aircraft landing strips can be included, hunters and helicopter landing sites can't, as they are both transient and possible at

26 See also here Shultis, 1991, Natural environments, wilderness and protected areas : an analysis of historical Western attitudes and utilisation, and their expression in contemporary New Zealand : a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Geography at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, p286,300.

27 Higham, Kearsley and Kliskey, 2000, Wilderness Perception Scaling in New Zealand: An Analysis of Wilderness Perceptions Held by Users, Nonusers and International Visitors, p85.

28 Especially in the case of the "more extreme non-purists members considered further developments, such as flush toilets and hot water, as being consistent with their personal views of wilderness". Ibid, p85

almost any site. While time-based maps that show moving spheres of diminished wilderness are possible – and where, at any given time, helicopters are landing, hunters are moving through or commercially guided walkers are eating their lunch – presenting 'evidence of little human impact' is even more difficult. Other than heavily managed restoration islands and sanctuaries, with their obvious signs of activity, including mazes of tracks, huts and helicopter assisted arrivals of field workers and scientists, the conservation estate is in the main relatively silent of avifauna. Indeed the remoter areas that even strong purists consider as wilderness are, in terms of ecological integrity, some of the more degraded. Their isolation makes it prohibitive in terms of cost, resources and scale to adequately monitor, manage and keep introduced pest numbers down. Ironically recreational hunting is often the only pest destruction taking place. Hence while isolated and peaceful, they are also emptier of native fauna, and less 'unspoilt' to those more managed and often more accessible locations. In terms of developing the maps it is noted that as hunting, commercial recreation, little human impact, and solitude "are not features and therefore cannot be mapped".[29] Yet were they to be, if each possum, deer, rat, mustelid, hunter and concessionaire's client to be given a 1 km buffer then it is highly unlikely any areas of wilderness would remain, even for the neutral and non-purists.

Third there is a significant difficulty in attaching a spatial value – in this case a radiating 'as the crow flies' dimension – to conceptual perceptions of impurity brought on by the presence of those facilities and activities that are fixed to a specific site. It is obviously a very crude approximation that necessarily ignores both the particular topography and utilisation of a site, and further it struggles to translate factors of density, usage and awareness. Might it be more plausible to measure such buffers – based as they are on an individual's perception – according to the travel time taken rather than a spatial distance? For it is possible to become 'lost in the wilderness' within minutes rather than kilometres of leaving a track. Perhaps in such a map the more appropriate scale would be time travelled rather than distance moved.

Also if a user's perception was given priority perhaps also a distinction could be made in terms of travel direction. For it would seem, based on personal

29 Kearsley, Kliskey, Higham and Higham, 1999, Perception of wilderness in the South Island of New Zealand : a multiple images approach, p5.

experience, that the sense of remoteness that comes only minutes after leaving the road and heading up some untracked valley is lost hours before arriving back at the road some days later, as thoughts turn to what lies beyond the trip.

However if a temporal scale was applied to the track then it follows it would need to be applied to the wilderness 'resource' as well. Rather than being measured in hectares it would also need to be modelled temporally. The resulting maps, in Fiordland, would reveal a temporal expansion as it moved to the more thickly forested western fiords. Indeed with such a map it could be argued that alternative management-based solutions could be adopted to increase the amount of available wilderness by slowing travel times instead of reducing facilities. Hence the following possible strategies could include (and in some cases put forward slightly mischievously): the use of heavier packs; the use of inferior or no footwear; having to stop to make camp and hunt for food from found resources; limiting the time travelled by a 'visitor' in any one day; and by designing tracks whose route or surface ensure it takes longer to travel on.

Perhaps it would be possible for the above three issues to be worked through, provided a diligent, if somewhat pedantic, generalised structure was adopted. Maybe a national inventory of available wilderness could be produced. However there remain further, more substantive issues that affect a research approach based in Wilderness Perception Mapping.

De Certeau describes the city (or as he phrases it the 'Concept-city') that being "like a proper name, provides a way of conceiving and constructing space on the basis of a finite number of stable, isolatable and interconnected properties".[30] It is predicated on three principles. Firstly "the production of its *own* space"[31] and the corollary that its singularity is maintained by "repress[ing] all the physical, mental and political pollutions that would compromise it".[32] Secondly time is 'flattened' into a synchronic understanding which enables an omnipresent organisation and direction of its properties. Lastly is "the creation of a universal and anonymous subject which is the city

30 Certeau, 1984, The practice of everyday life, p94.
31 Ibid, p94.
32 Ibid.

itself"[33] around which are coalesced all its previously dispersed and contested functions. In other words the 'Concept-city' is an organisation and production of space that, in being made into an object, is compliant to a removed and panoptic control of its properties.

It is interesting to match de Certeau's properties of the Concept-city with what could, for the sake of discussion, be termed the 'Concept-wilderness' that the Cartesian drivers for Wilderness Perception Mapping and ideas of wilderness purism direct. For the 'Concept-wilderness' Wilderness Perception Mapping performs is similarly totalising. While the researchers assert wilderness is individual it continues to conflate such multiplicity into a singular term. In other words in their work the role of wilderness is the catchall term for all people's use of the conservation estate. Its definition is achieved, not in an open-ended way, but by surveying the stated perspectives of people on a finite number of variables that, due to the manner of questions, leaves unexamined the inherent separation between the respondent and wilderness. In this frame wilderness exists beyond its experience and implicitly its integrity can only be degraded in its engagement.

In the four categories of wilderness produced, from the strong purist to the non-purist, no differentiation is made in the application of the model between the geographical extremities of New Zealand's South Island: being Southern Fiordland and North-west Nelson. In both locations tracks, huts, hunting and mines are considered to have identical impacts. If, as the researchers advocate, this proposal was to be rolled out across the entire conservation estate, the same parameters would be consistently applied regardless of location. In this all-seeing modelling of National Parks externally derived parameters are applied on the land from a conceptually removed position in a manner strongly reminiscent of the colonial surveyor, and their often arbitrary, binary and universalising organisation of the land into categories and grids.

For the real flaw in this work, and generally problematic for visitor research in the conservation estate, is *this work doesn't consider how an experience of wilderness is fostered and made*. Instead the work is structured in such a way that it is only capable of identifying the factors that diminish it. Further it considers only those factors that are external to the activities of the user.

33 Ibid.

Hence it fails to investigate what behaviours by respondents such as strong purists might also diminish (or enhance) wilderness experience for both their own and other purism classes.

Instead of attempting to map where a sense of wilderness is and where its qualities are most concentrated what this work constructs is a wilderness of absence. Or to be more accurate a map of where wilderness isn't. In other words wilderness is defined as a double negative and as a *non non-wilderness*. Consequently this method, like Hay's proposal for the Sounds National Park, is only capable of making wilderness from what is left. Understood as a remnant its scope can only continue to diminish unless the numbers of facilities and activities are themselves lessened. It is from this position, and as was noted in Chapter Three, that Kearsley asks if the "growing demand for wilderness recreation" is a similar threat to that presented a century earlier by logging interests." For him "wilderness has become a scarce and threatened resource which we wish to both experience and preserve. The problem is whether the two are at all compatible goals or whether a rush to destruction has indeed begun." For nature, and wilderness, in this frame are threatened by the very people who value it so highly. Without its careful management wilderness, and the integrity of the conservation estate, will continue to decline.

Yet it can be argued that the threatened wilderness he refers to – because of the nature of the research inquiry and its translation onto a topographical understanding of the conservation estate – is constructed by the very research framework being adopted. It is a wilderness that has already assumed an inability for people to ever be part of.

De Certeau comments are pertinent here. He states, "the Concept-city is decaying".[34] Those that administer it speak "of catastrophe and no longer of progress".[35] "They transmute the misfortune of their theories into theories of misfortune. When they transform their bewilderment into 'catastrophes' they seek to enclose the people in the 'panic' of their discourses, are they once, more necessarily right?"[36] For inherent in the model of wilderness this research constructs a degraded relationship with wild nature, in which the

34 Ibid, p95.
35 Ibid, p96.
36 Ibid.

status of wilderness is always close to crisis and one in which only the organising gaze of management can avert.

It should be noted, however, that the researchers call for further funding to extend this model across the whole of the conservation estate went unheeded. Instead the Department of Conservation has continued it use of the Recreational Opportunities Spectrum as the means by which visitors' activities are modelled. Perhaps the reason not to support the call for a wilderness inventory is because it would have conjured up categorisations of land use that would conflict with those delivered by the Recreational Opportunities Spectrum. And because each attempts to construct an all-encompassing framework both models can permit no others.

The purpose of the tourism and leisure studies research cited here is to develop a model to manage sites according to their fit to a pre-determined image of wilderness. As such the purism scale is a framework to manage the conservation estate as a resource for the users, tourists and visitors that, together, are the interchangeable and revealing terms they use in their various studies to describe people in the conservation estate. Knowledge of wilderness is not drawn from the contexts where it is practised. Rather wilderness is an already defined ideal to be applied to such contexts. In other words wilderness in such models pre-exists its practice. It is something to be 'acted out' rather than created. As a result wilderness is about experiencing a product that must hold true to its promise and that when its delivery fall short then either the specific, and seemingly incorrect, designation of a site needs to be modified or the site needs to be physically altered to minimise any loss of wilderness values that might now exist there.

In this frame place is fitted to the ideal. At its core this research suggests that for wilderness and the conservation estate to be managed they must be reduced to their barest notions as a site and a resource. Further, it follows the means by which to effectively provide for wilderness experience is through effective organisational strategies that optimally subdivide and allocate the conservation estate according to the demands and expectations of different pre-determined user groups. In the case of the Recreational Opportunities Spectrum it is the seven classes of visitors to the conservation estate, while in the Wilderness perception mapping model the four discrete wilderness purism classes. In other words what this research effectively establishes, as

also does the Recreational Opportunities Spectrum, is the conceptual space for wilderness to be something that can be managed.

This construction of wilderness separates out practice from place. Ultimately wilderness is applied to, rather than drawn from particular locales. The wilderness this research produces and defines is – to again use Jack Turner's phrase – 'The Abstract Wild'. In this sense landscape in a wilderness context is a subject for study and organisation but whose agency and instrumentality are not enabled. What is lost in these models is the conceptual purchase to explore the generative possibility and potential of specific wilderness landscapes. By not asking how wilderness is created and only how it is lost, and by seeking to generalise rather than tease out diversity, a genuine dialogue with wilderness landscapes cannot be fostered. Instead in such models wilderness can only be diminished. And as a consequence adherence to such frameworks leaves unasked what a vibrant, localised relationship with Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous landscapes in the twenty-first century could be.

It is in the intersection of the wilderness maps Kliskey, Kearsley and Higham have produced, the cartographic histories of Southern Fiordland, and the discussions of how the practice of the foot-and-path might be diagrammed that I would now like to develop a discussion of what a more phenomenologically enabled cartography of wilderness might be. How might mapping be used to describe, rather than organise, a practice of wilderness such as following a route. And equally what could a cartographic image of wilderness practice, rather than a cartography of a non non-wilderness, look like?

8.3 HAKAPOUA SURVEY DISTRICT MAP

The most illegible but also most striking of the maps in the previous chapter's study of Southern Fiordland's official cartography is that produced by the Southland Survey Office and which covers the Hakapoua Survey District. It states it was "drawn by N M Macrae Sept 1906 – Hills by W Deverell" and also includes endorsements by John Hay, Chief Surveyor, Southland, W. D. B. Murray, Chief Draughtsman, Head Office, Department of Lands and Survey, Wellington, N.Z., John Mackay, Government Printer, and Thos. Humphries, Surveyor General (see figure 8.3a).

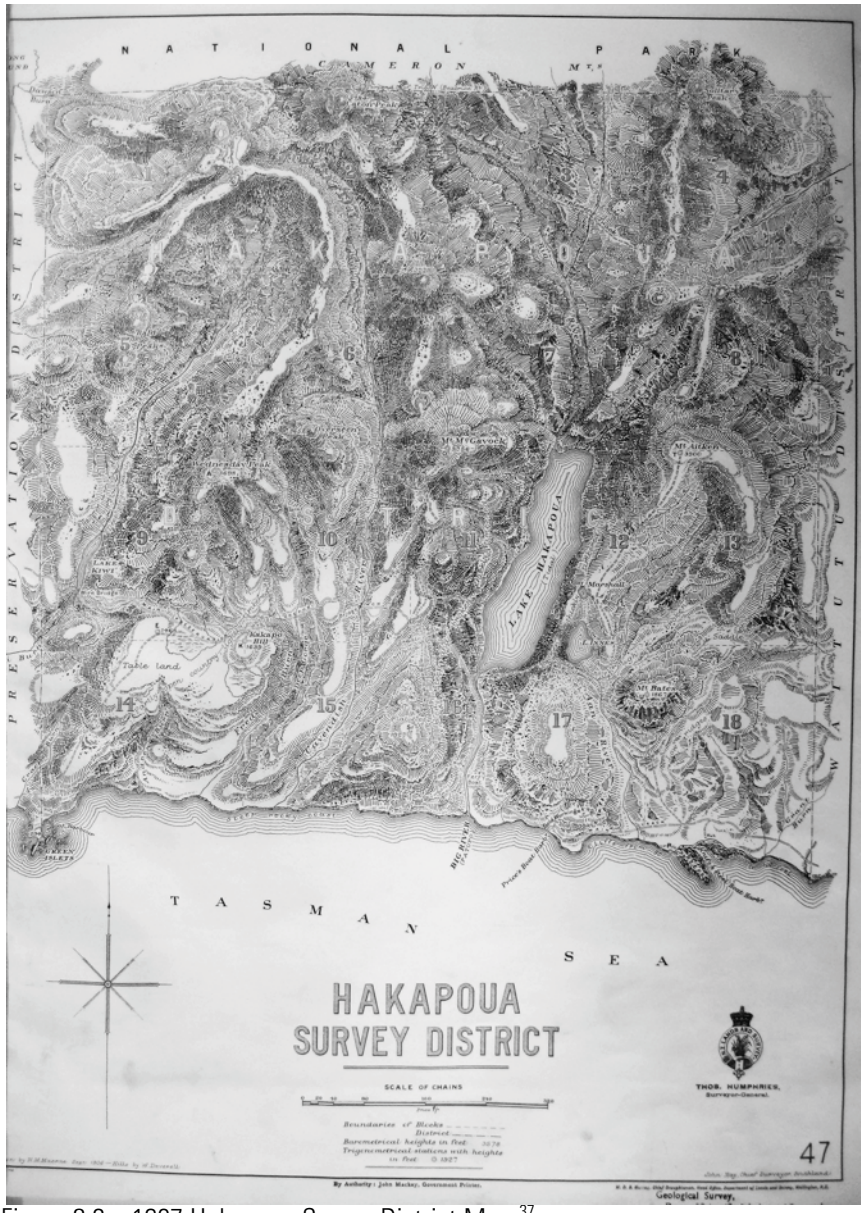


Figure 8.3a: 1907 Hakapoua Survey District Map.[37]

37 Hay, Deverell and Macrae, 1907, Hakapoua Survey District Map.

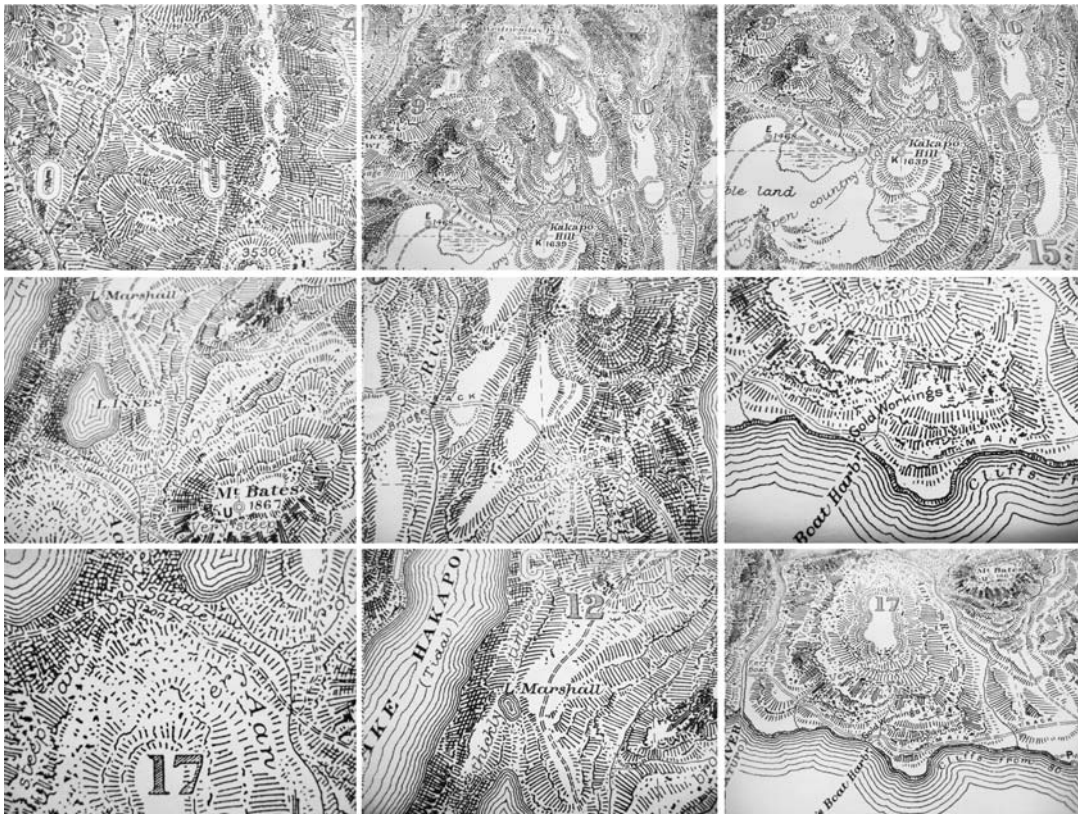


Figure 8.3b: Excerpts from 1907 Hakapoua Survey District Map.[38]

The map presents a broad range of information including: the boundaries and numbering of each 'survey block'; the location, names, trig station types, and height of certain peaks; names and position of coastal, lake and waterway features; short descriptions of terrain attributes such as 'saddle', 'Very steep', 'Low ridges', 'Rough broken country' and 'Very steep and broken thickly timbered' are interspersed across the map; the course of the 'MAIN (PRESERVATION TO OREPUKI) TRACK' as well as the feeder tracks used to mainly gain access to trig stations; and the location of huts, 'gold workings', a 'ferry boat' and 'wire bridge'. On the northern boundary of the Survey District is marked "Perpend of Trig N^0 (Beatrice P^k), while further above, in reference to the proposed Sounds National Park, is written 'NATIONAL PARK'. To the west and east is marked 'PRESERVATION DISTRICT' and 'WAITUTU DISTRICT' respectively.[39] In the body of the map itself the graphical description of the landforms is done without contours or shading. Instead there is extensive use of hatching, crosshatching and pointillism.

38 Ibid.
39 These are shown in Figure 7.4a and 7.4b respectively

What makes the Hakapoua Survey District map unusual, and distinct both from the other series of maps and also those maps drawn by the Southland Survey Office at that time, is how its content is arranged. Other than making the distinction between the type of dotted line that differentiates between a survey block boundary and that of the survey district there is no key. In other words no standard typologies are explicitly set or adhered to. Nor is the content of the map organised with any discernible hierarchy. Topographical elements neither take precedence, nor appear to be treated as a tableau for the more overt cultural elements to be sited on. It is as if the land has been formed around, over, through and with the primary features of the map. Or perhaps the reverse. For example Hay's route from 1883 wanders across a U in the prominent white lettering of 'HAKAPOUA SURVEY DISTRICT' while other tracks give way to the names of lakes and descriptions of the land. Tops, like 'Bald Peaks', 'M^{t} M^{c}Gavock' and 'M^{t} Bates', are almost swallowed up by the surrounding landforms. Similarly the 'Knife & Steel Boat Harb^{r}' nearly succumbs to the coastal landforms. In one place neither the track, a creek and the term 'Gold Workings' give way: each is laid across the others. In some cases the cross-hatching of the land-forms stop short to give space for the inscriptions, yet in other parts of the map lettering blurs into the hatching and cross-hatching of the land. The overall impression is one without an overarching schema and also in which the addition or removal of any elements is impracticable.

It is in the ensuing graphical ambiguity that a *landschaft*-sense of landscape, and more qualitative and particular values of landscape practice become apparent. The map expresses place as a series of engagements between and within various elements associated with survey, settlement, prospecting and landform. It implicitly evokes a landscape whose layers of information are sometimes folded under, other times laid over, and still other times merge. Within these multiple histories, spaces and perceptions is a heterogenous understanding of the region's constitution. The focus is shifted from attempting a coherent arrangement of the Hakapoua Survey District and towards the articulation of practices like prospecting, coasting, surveying, walking and traversing. The qualities evoked are fluid and multiple. Descriptions rarely repeat, nor is there a discernable pre-determined pattern adopted in the hatching of landforms. The overall effect is of a shifting, busy landscape, in which the interface between people and landscape – as well as

the attempt to represent it – is dynamic and complex. In many ways the map appears as a still-frame in an active animated series. Indeed it can be readily imagined that, were such a series to be played out, something akin to the following description by Ingold would be evoked as elements, for example, might fragment, dissolve, reform and give way. "What appear to us as the fixed forms of the landscape, passive and unchanging unless acted on from the outside, are themselves in motion, albeit on a scale immeasurably slower and more majestic than that on which our own activities are conducted. Imagine a film of the landscape, shot over years, centuries, even millennia. Slightly speeded up, plants appear to engage in very animal-like movements, trees flex their limbs without any prompting from the winds. Speeded up rather more, glaciers flow like rivers and even the earth begins to move. At yet greater speeds solid rock bends, buckles and flows like molten metal. The world itself begins to breathe. Thus the rhythmic pattern of human activities nests within the wider pattern of activity for all animal life, which in turn nests within the pattern of activity for all so-called living things, which nests within the life-process of the world."[40]

Of particular interest is the manner in which movement across the land is diagrammed. The long dashed lines of the main track reads at times as hatched topography and yet elsewhere – such as below Lake Hakapoua – as a river's second channel. Likewise the shorter dashed lines of the feeder tracks begin to become lost when they follow the direction of hatching. Within some of the hatched landforms there is at first the semblance of a track, only for it to dissipate further along and become legible as the edge of a terrace.

The Hakapoua Survey District Map conveys a landscape that is not constituted as a backdrop or a stage to some larger activity. Instead it expresses a landscape formed in the multiple dialogues between people, the artefacts they have brought and made, and the environment within which they are working. What comes through in this representation is not the distillation of a landscape's meaning but rather a mutual unfolding of landscopic relationships.

It is a sense of movements responding to other movements that permeates the Hakapoua Survey District map: of paths weaving under, over and through

40 Ingold, 2000, The perception of the environment : essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill, p201.

other processes; of gold workings lying across the 'MAIN TRACK' which in turn has its calligraphy over-run by the Cavendish River. In this map one perceives an attempt to describe not just a trigonometric breadth but also the interactions these spaces have with the activities that have made this locale tangible. Hence descriptions like 'Very steep, broken, thickly timbered', Deep Gorge', 'Table lands' and 'Partly open country, lightly timbered' are not only a stock take of attributes as it may have been for Hay. They are – given the difficulties associated with a journey along the South Coast – more importantly give direction to how one might move within the land.

From a *landschaft* architecture perspective the appeal in the Hakapoua Survey District map comes from its struggle to present landscape as merely a stage. Nature and culture – rather than being distinct as in the maps developed through Wilderness Perception Mapping – coalesce. And in its inconsistencies and lack of formal typologies there arises a fluid ambiguity. And instead what is given form are the various qualities of movements, meeting points, itineraries and transience.

8.4 A CARTOGRAPHY OF UNFOLDING MOVEMENTS

De Certeau considers the map, since the "birth of modern scientific discourse … has slowly disengaged itself from the itineraries that were the condition of its possibility".[41] Hence in Hay's reconnaissance survey map only his supply line – rendered falsely as a formed track of some substance – and not his many ridgeline scrambles are shown.[42] As a result de Certeau notes the map – being "a plane projection totalising observations"[43] – has become opposed to the itinerary which he defines as being "a discursive series of operations" or practices".[44]

However these links between cartographic space and movement that the Hakapoua Survey District map suggests are also clearly visible in the first maps of New Zealand. In Chapter Two Tasman's map of his discovery of New Zealand was discussed as a metaphor for design-directed research. It can also be read as a description of the relationship between itineraries of

41 Certeau, 1984, The practice of everyday life, p120.
42 See Hay, 1883, Fieldbooks from Reconnaissance Survey of part of Fiord County.
43 Certeau, 1984, The practice of everyday life, p119.
44 Ibid, p119.

movement and topographical form. These qualities are also evident in Cook's maps that were produced from his first journey to New Zealand. Like Tasman, Cook ensures that the route he took is also clearly shown (see figure 8.4a).

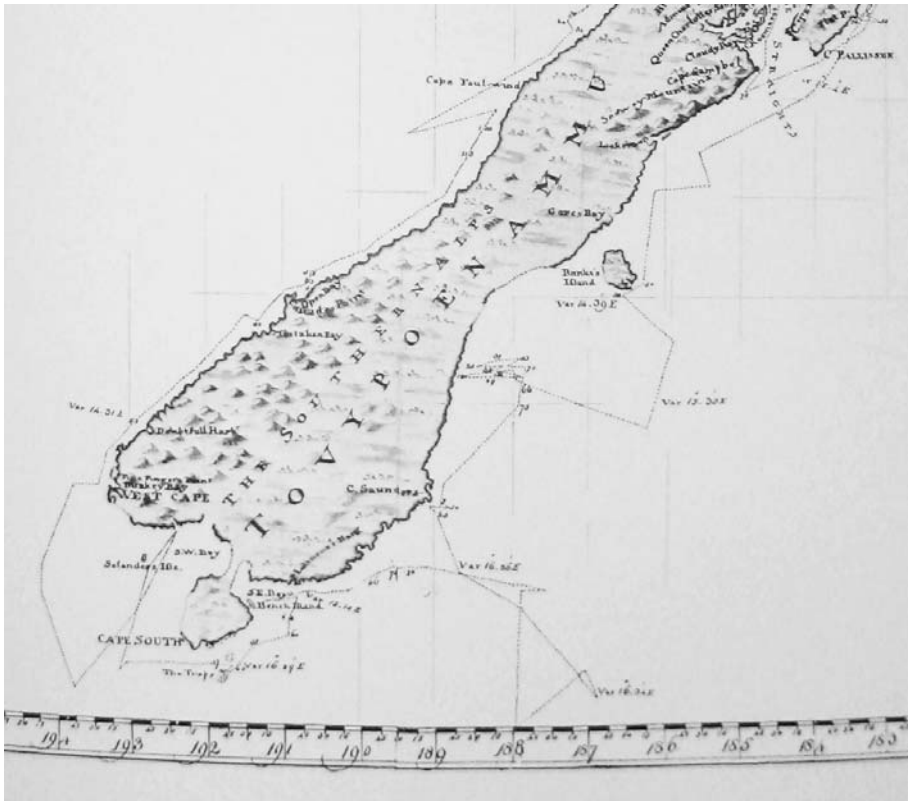


Figure 8.4a: Excerpt from "First complete manuscript chart of New Zealand, by James Cook, 1770".[45]

Hence following Cook's dotted line it is not difficult to understand why Banks Island (now Banks Peninsula) is not connected to the 'Island of Tovypoenammu' (now the South Island), and similarly why today's Stewart Island is joined to Tovypoenammu by an isthmus. While a reading based in the hindsight of today might trace their respective journeys in relation to an already formed knowledge of the complete coastal form of New Zealand, the maps also disclose an unfolding knowledge. In both Tasman's and Cook's maps is equally contained an image of an accompanying land *being revealed* through their respective movements. For Carter this is a pivotal point that is amply demonstrated in the names Poverty Bay, where landfall was made, and the Bay of Plenty where his coasting ended. For they rhetorically introduce and conclude a journey that began in poverty, but ended in the plenty of a successful circumnavigation of New Zealand. Carter considers Cook "named

45 Maling and Casini, 1996, Historic charts & maps of New Zealand, 1642-1875, p48,49

not so much a country as, by the direction of his writing, the course of a journey".[46] "Place names were tools of travelling … they did not sum up a journey, but preserved the trace of passage".[47] In Cook's maps and journal was embedded the tempo of his movement. One that as Carter concludes "retained the possibility of multiple futures, endless journeys, arrivals and departures".[48]

46 Carter, 1987, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History, p23.
47 Ibid, p32.
48 Ibid.

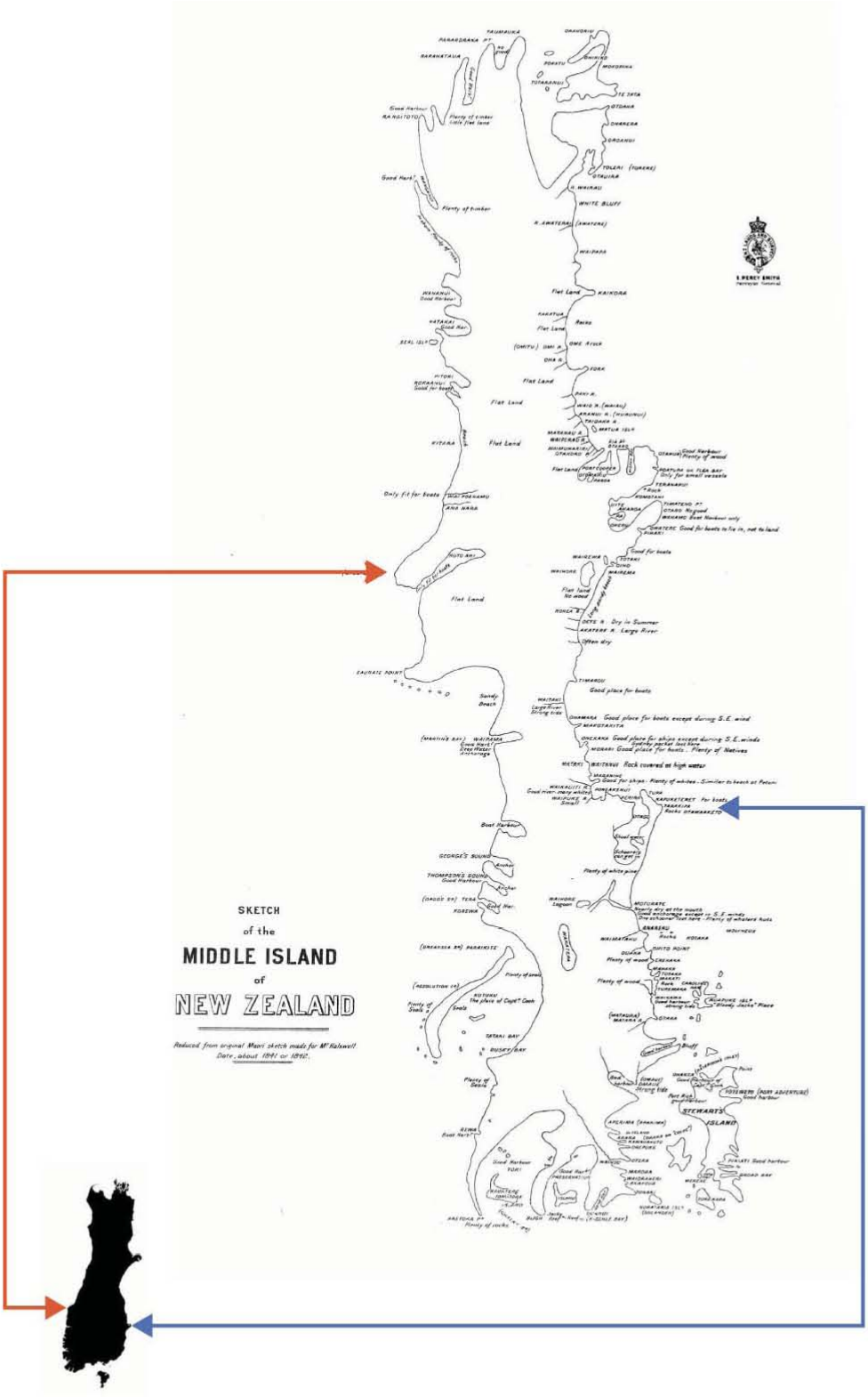


Figure 8.4b: "Sketch of the Middle Island of New Zealand reduced from an original Maori sketch made for Mr. Halswell' in either 1841 or 1842," published in Appendix to Journals of House of Representatives, 1894.[49]

49 Maling and Casini, 1996, Historic charts & maps of New Zealand, 1642-1875, p130.

Figure 8.4b is a remarkable map that was redrawn from one made by Kai Tahu Māori in the early 1840's. Like many maps at the time it defines the island principally as a coastal edge into which rivers flow and bays are formed. However beyond this there is little similarity between it and the maps associated with European exploration and survey. The map does not describe an accurate Cartesian arrangement of the island, but instead its temporal configuration. Stretches of the coastline expand or contract according to the degree of activity in an area. The west coast with its few safe boat landings is collapsed in terms of distance on the page while today's Fiordland and South Coast is at a much larger and almost exploded scale. The island itself is long and very thin which, in turn, accentuates the importance of the coastline. Harbours, reefs, tidal zones, rivers and settlements by which any coastal journey would be known are marked in sequence.

Spatially the map is unrecognisable as the South Island. Indeed the original map was orientated with the southern end of the island at the top of the page and the northern end at its base. Yet, as a map of the manner in which the land was being inhabited at the time, it is strongly evocative. Malcolm Lewis, describing maps produced by Amerindians at the time of the encounter states they were "topographically structured 'conserving connectivity between the parts but distorting distance, angles and, hence, shape".[50] Likewise this map of New Zealand's Middle Island can be read, as being an amalgam of form and as the congealing of many journeys. Dimensioned by the directions and time taken to travel, it presents the land as both fundamentally temporal and inhabitated.

A further quality inherent in this map is its composite nature. It is not the record of a single circumnavigation but the accumulation of multiple descriptions that have been passed on – not as spatial representations and maps – but in dialogue. Turnbull states, "animated discussion of every conceivable aspect of places visited or known by repute makes up a good part of camp and wayside conversation. This is an important factor in extending a person's range".[51] Such an approach tends to steer away from developing an inventory of the region in the manner of McKerrow and Hay. Instead knowledge is developed in exchanges, with gestural amplification, as to the

50 Cited in Turnbull, Watson and Deakin University. School of Humanities. Open Campus Program., 1993, Maps are territories : science is an atlas : a portfolio of exhibits, p19.

51 Ibid, p53.

route to be followed and aspects to be identified along the way to confirm one is still on course.[52]

Like the Hakapoua Survey District Map there is a sense of improvisation and contingency in the map of 'Middle Island'. It is clear that different conversations about the coastline would have resulted in a different form being drawn. What is evoked is a snapshot of landscape's processual qualities – but even more so what it captures is the sense of the landscape as the *event* that Massey notes in her work. For in these maps is a gathering together of practices, movement and place into a single image. In this sense what is described is a knowing of the land, the coast and the sea *formed from being part of it*.

8.5 A CARTOGRAPHY OF JOURNEY

In Chapter Five I introduced an account from 1894 of a party of three people who increasingly lost both their way and the resources by which they might survive. In Fig 8.5a I have charted their route east of the Waitutu River when the bulk of the narrative takes place. I have attempted to locate from their account their respective location at each night. Overlaid on the same map I have also placed where I spent the night during one of my field trips to the region. This followed a similar route but in this instance uneventful due to the affordance of a track, map, long-range weather forecast and modern equipment.

It is clear that spatially both journeys cover very similar routes. Further, they traversed forested regions of which much has remained essentially unchanged over the intervening century. However when temporal factors are considered, these initial mappings suggest that certain experiential qualities, based on travelling times, generate a different relationship with the landscape.

52 The shifting location of Green Lake on early maps of Middle Island can be understood this way. For its steady move westwards was a result of those locations nearby being progressively made known while the yet to be seen lake's temporal location remained 'still further away'. This shift over time can be noticed in the maps covering the Southern New Zealand in Maling and Casini, 1996, Historic charts & maps of New Zealand, 1642-1875. Harley similarly describes "recurrent features such as artificially straightened rivers or circular lakes, symmetrical river networks, topography that is duplicated" as evidence of oral, rather than surveyed descriptions of the land. Harley, 1992, Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter, p527.

Figure 8.5a: The 1894 and 2006 journeys overlaid on the same topographic map (spatial scale remains constant). 1894 campsites at beginning of each day marked red, 2006 campsites at beginning of each day marked purple.

I have adjusted the maps from both journeys using computer software to warp the cartographic images so that the temporal duration, rather than spatial distance, is set at a constant scale. What results in Figure 8.5b are two contrasting images of the same region.

Figure 8.5b: Two distinct cartographic images of the same locale produced by keeping temporal duration rather than spatial distance constant. Upper image is 1894 journey by Evans, Harvey and Kelly (temporal scale constant). Lower image is 2006 journey by author (temporal scale is constant). Note the comparatively reduced temporal scope in the more recent journey.

For instance the surrounding region is made large in scale as the progress of the 1894 party slows prior to the party splitting up at the Wairaurahiri River. However immediately after being separated Harvey found easier travel along the beach and as a result the surrounding region contracts. Also significant is the variation in the overall temporal 'distance' of the region when both journeys are compared. In the more recent journey a readily followed track has meant the temporal scope of the landscape has been significantly reduced. This is also due to the technological changes in the type of

equipment carried which requires less time be spent making camp, fires and finding food.

In Chapter Four Park's call to seek out the middle landscape was discussed. For he considers it might be here that it could be possible 'to progress both people and the land's indigenous life'. While it was noted that a topographic understanding of the conservation estate would suggest that middle landscapes might lie along its geographical borders it was suggested that a phenomenological understanding of landscape would find the middle landscapes where the activities of people took place within the conservation estate: the foot-and-path for instance. Similarly though a topographical record of people's activities might elide the instrumentality of people's particular practices to forge distinctive landscopic relationships with the conservation estate, in the above temporal maps this approach to mapping movement makes such differences more visible.

What these temporal mappings reveal is how such meetings build qualitative differences in the landscape being formed in such an engagement. What can be readily appraised are reasons why different activities in the same region – because of their contrasting temporal values – may prove to be incompatible when combined with each other.

The two maps in figure 8.5c broadly describe two distinct journeys that traversed the South Island from south to north. On the left is marked a journey I made during 1988-1989, while the on the right is marked that made recently by Lani Evans, Helen Nortje and Bronwen Waters during 2006-2007.

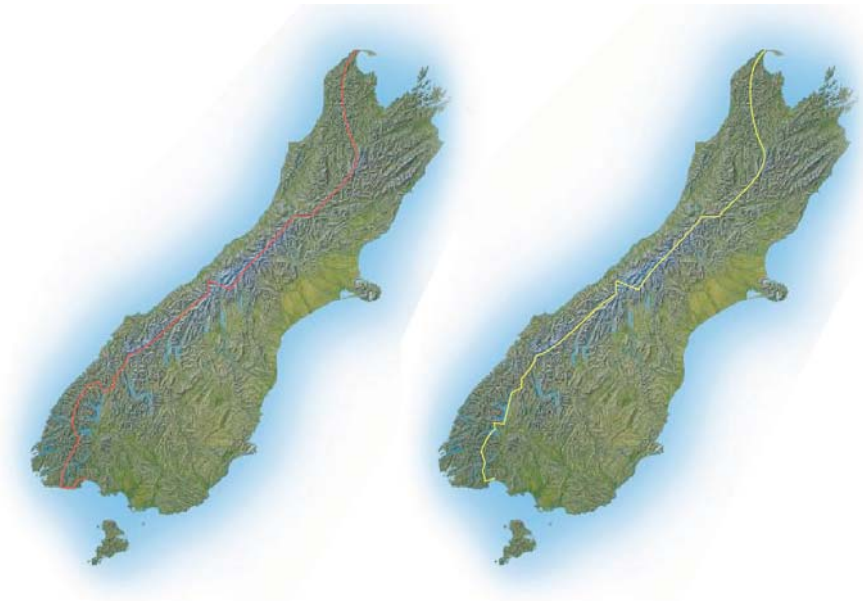


Figure 8.5c: 1988-89 Journey on left, 2006-7 Journey on the right (spatial scale)

Following the maps it can be seen that spatially both journeys, apart from through Fiordland, follow similar routes. While separated in time by nearly two decades it could be expected that the landscape experience would be strongly similar.

However again by shifting the map scale from a spatial scale to one that is temporal, significant differences in the journeys are made visible. When, as in figure 8.5d, the 2006-2007 journey is divided into eight equal sections of days travelled (in this case eight sections of ten days) the southern region is reduced in scope, the central section expands, while the northern section also contracts.

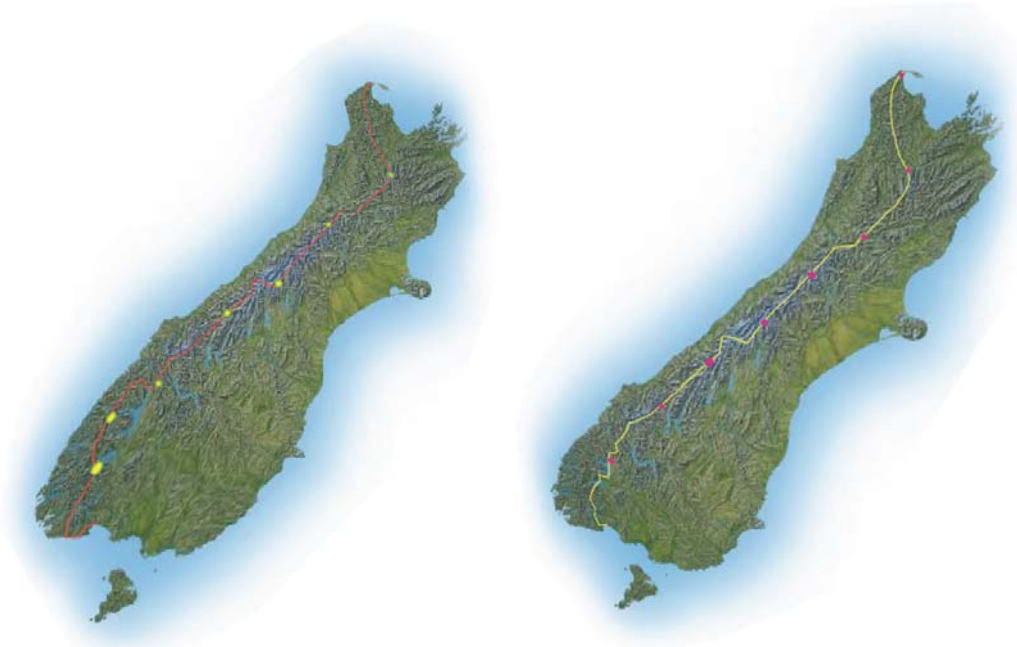


Figure 8.5d: 1988-89 Journey on left, 2006-7 Journey on the right (temporal scale). The gap between each dot is one eighth of the total number of days the journey took.

When the same method is applied to my earlier journey (though in this case eight sections of sixteen days) the Fiordland region is made large while the northern section is considerably shortened.[53] Again this analysis suggests, when temporal duration rather than spatial distance is considered, different experiential qualities generate diverse relationships with the landscape.

What both sets of temporal maps visualise is the role different practices and tempos associated with movement play in shaping a diversity of landscopic understandings and engagements. What is revealed is a more qualitative and layered cartography of landscape. In these maps is conveyed how the meeting of foot-and-path, the iterative dialogue developed between people in their environment – and that is brought together in Massey argument for understanding landscape as an 'event, 'happenings' and 'moments' – that is qualitative and open-ended rather than being scripted and stage-like. For though prospective routes can be readily traced out over a spatially determined cartography it does not follow that the practice of travelling that route, and also the landscopic dimensions realised, will be the same for different parties travelling in the same country.

53 Interestingly this map in outline is similar in a number of ways to that in Figure 8.3b.

Hence these maps also suggest that subsequent journeys, and modes and rates of travel, have the potential to shift the experiential qualities of a landscape in multiple, diverse and also personal directions. This more phenomenological description of landscape conceptualises it as open ended and determined by the various modes by which it is and will be practised. Indeed what this exploratory mapping notes is that relationships with landscapes are shaped as much through the tempo and manner in which they are travelled.

Subsequent work could break down such itineraries into finer-grain intervals of hours or even minutes duration. Similarly mappings, which involve more coming and going, and that seek to describe activities around an area, such as making camp, could also been investigated. This approach suggests a number of other fruitful avenues for a cartographic expression of landscopic relationships. Pilot studies undertaken by the author have applied this approach to describing the temporal scope of urban environments as experienced through the practice of walking. Also it should be noted that in the just worked through examples temporal parameters are given priority. But it can be readily imagined that other sets of mappings could also be developed that gives emphasis, not to people's physical movement, but to their depth and length of association.

Such a cartography is at odds with most management approaches to preserving and fostering wilderness values. As Dassmann's earlier comment noted these primarily involve setting suitable boundaries, controlling access, and limiting commercial activities in such sites. However this more temporal imaging directs that more careful consideration is required, by both the manager and wilderness user, when selecting technologies and facilities that might alter the experiential qualities of wilderness landscapes: to focus less on portraying the pristine and remote qualities of the site and instead reflect more on the practices performed, and the sense of landscape that they foster, while people are there.

When the temporal elements of the party in 1894 are mapped they visualise a temporal dimension that is as folded, refolded and contorted as the physically undulating terrain upon which such travel is undertaken. Indeed a temporal form as crenulated as the forms in figure 7.6g can be readily anticipated. These maps also suggest that subsequent journeys, and modes and rates of

travel, have the potential to shift the experiential qualities inherent in wilderness landscapes in multiple, personal and diverse directions. Such a conceptualisation of wilderness frames it as open-ended and also determined by the various modes by which it is engaged and practised. Indeed what these maps suggest is that wilderness might be shaped by the tempo and manner in which they are travelled. This is at odds with most management approaches to preserving and fostering wilderness values. These primarily involve setting suitable boundaries, controlling access, and limiting commercial activities in such sites. However what these maps suggest is careful consideration is required, by both the manager and wilderness user, when selecting technologies and facilities that might alter the experiential qualities of wilderness landscapes: to focus less on the pristine and remote qualities of the site and more on the practices performed, and the sense of landscape that they foster, while people are there.

Massey notes landscape's fecundity is heightened at its interface with practices. Similarly this mapping approach suggests that the site for wilderness perception doesn't come from a panoptic conception of a vast and unspoilt reserve but along the always being negotiated vectors of journeys being undertaken. Indeed it is in the liminal qualities of meeting and moving, between space and place, practice and agency, and journey and narrative that holds the opportunity to create a sustaining, transforming and open ended engagement of wilderness.

And indeed these qualities have been to the fore in the trajectory of this dissertation. Yet, though each chapter's study begets more threads that could be productively pursued, the task now is to bring together the significant strands that this particular research has identified.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS

9.1 SUMMARY

This dissertation has pursued a layered programme of research. It interrogates the interface of wilderness and landscape – and in particular landscape's phenomenological dimensions. As well it considers the potential of design-directed research strategies within the discipline of landscape architecture.

As articulated in Chapter Two the impetus for the research comes from Paul Carter's call to creatively interrogate intersecting fields, utilising design-directed research approaches as a means of identifying 'imaginative breakthroughs'. To this end a research strategy has been adopted that might allow multiple and diverse qualities associated with the research context to be teased out and later recombined. As a result the following strategy has been pursued.

In Chapter One reasons why the discipline of landscape architecture has mainly ignored wilderness as a creative context in which to operate were identified. Yet in these reasons opportunities there were noted significant opportunities within current understandings of wilderness within which landscape architecture could operate. In Chapter Two the possible shape of a design-directed research programme in landscape architecture was

considered, and in particular those that are based in the creative and designerly imperatives inherent in the discipline. In Chapter Three dimensions of wilderness specifically within New Zealand's conservation estate were identified, and also shortcomings noted in approaches based in aesthetics, environmental history and tourism and leisure studies. Then in Chapter Four the potential to extend wilderness through its reconsideration as a phenomenologically dimensioned landscape was developed.

From this position the research strategy took these multiple threads and 'alloyed' these disparate qualities around a conception of landscape that frames it as the outcome of phenomenological practices in the environment rather than an already formed site for activity. Hence in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight the research investigated what manner of wilderness landscape is produced through alternative modes of cooking, walking and cartography.

In conclusion four significant outcomes can be drawn from this programme of research. Shortly these will be considered in more detail but in summary these are:

First, it finds that a landscopic interpretation of wilderness, and its tangible manifestation in New Zealand's conservation estate has the potential to suggest a greater depth of dialogue in which its cultural life might flourish as productively as its ecological diversity and distinctiveness.

Second, it finds that the designerly scope of landscape architecture has significant potential to broaden both its relevance and types of productive outputs beyond its current intent to shape specific sites. It identifies that artefacts and representations can be creatively manipulated to suggest alternative and – in the context of this dissertation's focus on a phenomenological expression of landscape – more participatory perceptions and engagements of landscape. In this sense simple technologies such as cookers, track markers and maps – most of which are not admitted into current conventional conceptions of 'landscape architecture' – can be enlisted to design alternative formulations of landscape.

Third, through self-critique the potency of a programme of design-directed inquiry to produce forward-looking 'imaginative breakthroughs' is

demonstrated. This dissertation demonstrates the application of design-directed research in a previously untapped context, and reveals new knowledge about both the context and the method deployed. Hence design has been enlisted to extend the formal, diagrammatic and conceptual dimensions of wilderness, New Zealand's conservation estate, as well as a phenomenological expression of landscape. The current work is limited by the doctoral framework, in terms of timing, scope and the use of collaborative approaches, yet it illustrates the potential for further work that could enable design-directed research methods to be more widely adopted in ways that could extend landscape architecture's contribution beyond the design arena into broader, multi-disciplinary domains.

Fourth, it finds a pressing future direction for landscape architecture research is to further identify and develop techniques to diagram landscopic practice and performance with the same richness and detail that spatially derived descriptions currently offer. Specifically it is the considerable distance between the spoken and written poetics of phenomenology and the visual and diagrammatic articulation of these qualities that is a problematic and also productive site for ongoing creative research.

Having summarised the programme of research I would now like to conclude this dissertation by expanding on each of these four outcomes.

9.2 THE POSSIBILITY OF LANDSCAPE IN NEW ZEALAND'S CONSERVATION ESTATE

The conservation estate is significant in size and constitution. It accounts for almost one third of the country's and area and contains New Zealand's more endemic and least modified ecosystems and landforms. However conceptually the New Zealand conservation estate, and in particular wilderness, is framed as untouched, remote and outside culture.

While its prevalent understanding can be encapsulated as being *100% Pure! New Zealand*, this research has noted that each engagement 'on the ground' modifies both its physical make-up and conceptual properties. It is for this reason that the Department of Conservation's call to 'leave the land undisturbed' – though expressing a widely held 'leave-no-trace' sentiment – is unable to be sustained. While Cronon asks for a consideration of 'what

marks we might leave' this research asserts that a more landscopic interpretation of wilderness would call for a consideration of '*what marks might we make'*. Such a forward-looking orientation of the issue brings out the creative opportunity in how the conservation estate and wilderness might be engaged. It also shifts the framing of the relevant issues from investigating how the conservation estate and wilderness might be organised and managed to a question of how, as landscapes rich in cultural possibility, it might be practised.

This work also positions people as participants located within wilderness and the conservation estate rather than as custodians or visitors external to the context. However such an alignment diminishes the efficacy of organising the conservation estate around panoptically derived inventories that might subdivide it around universalising visitor categorisations and purism classes. Instead there is opportunity to enable wilderness and the conservation estate to be understood as an instrumental landscape that not only provides a setting for people's participation but also one with the capacity to shape the practices and perceptions of people. Graham Dingle's call for all of New Zealand to be considered a national park reintroduces the possibility that New Zealand's more endemic regions might act not only as preserves, but also, as landscapes where longer term practices relating to local senses of identity and sustainability can be developed and then fed into a wider New Zealand context.

Nor must such an approach be necessarily focused on a conceptualisation of the conservation estate as a whole. A more grounded approach to landscape might emphasise a consideration of landscape as moments that come together in specific locales and temporalities. To this end, the research has identified the landscopic potential both through land-based forms– such as boardwalks, track markers and other structures – and also more portable technologies enlisted by people such as cookers and maps.

Recently the business cards given out by staff working for the Department of Conservation were changed (see Figure 2). On the reverse is now written 'tiakina, hākinakinatia, whakauru: protect, enjoy, be involved'.

Figure 9.2a: Reverse of current Department of Conservation business cards

It is this call to 'be involved' that suggests an expanded possibility for landscape-derived understandings in the conservation estate and also the possibility of an increasing receptivity to themes that this research has developed. In terms of developing its volunteer projects, which include ecological and archaeological restoration, and also increased partnerships at community levels, the Department of Conservation has been active. There is also renewed emphasis towards fostering people's participation in the conservation estate by managers of the conservation estate. For instance the 2006 'New Zealand Recreation Summit: Mountains to Sea – putting Kiwis in touch with their country' concluded with a call for a national outdoor recreation strategy.

Yet it can be argued that a real opportunity to describe, and even inscribe, a relationship with the conservation estate lies in taking the time to carefully work through the issues that are presented in those many specific places where people and their associated technologies and facilities meet the land. It is in these meeting points this research notes an as yet untapped potential to express a participatory relationship with the land, and progress an ongoing landscopic articulation of wilderness and the conservation estate. Similarly haptic and other experiential qualities can be more deeply considered. For the facilities provided and technologies carried not only provision access *to* the conservation estate but also present the possibility for a participatory knowing, based on an engagement *within* the conservation estate. Further, the emphasis on participation that a kinaesthetic understanding of wilderness and the conservation estate enables, demands a consideration of personal and community engagements that also are necessarily local.

Much current research into wilderness and the conservation estate is aligned around paradigms of management and organisation. Yet it is the possibility of wilderness – *an exploration of what it could become* – that offers significant scope to a landscopic and designerly programme of research. Indeed such questions around the *generative* potential of a wilderness landscape have been at the core of this dissertation and lie in stark contrast to those research programmes based in management that were discussed in Chapter Eight. Indeed this programme of research has opened up a creative and landscopic consideration of the same context that tourism and leisure studies would seek only to organise. Further, it notes significant potential for New Zealand's conservation estate to be conceptualised less around a predetermined and singular understanding of wilderness, and more as a contingent, unfolding landscape based around phenomenological parameters of practice, performance, engagement and participation.

This research suggests wilderness landscapes are not performed in the manner that 'visitors' when 'visiting' the conservation estate might merely act out. Rather it notes that the content of the conservation estate is formed and reformed out of the way it is negotiated. Hence a path that promotes a more connected and kinaesthetic knowing of the physical landforms, the materiality of the ground, and the ecological fabric within which one moves, creates a fundamentally different knowing of landscape than one in which a road-like path moves across, but separate from, the land.

Nor is such landscopic possibility constrained to solely a phenomenological framing of landscape. For while that has been a particular emphasis of this research programme, this work also prepares the opportunity for a more designerly consideration of the semiotic content of the facilities and technologies found within the conservation estate. Hence not only is a wilderness landscape found to be performative in a phenomenological sense, but also has greater capacity for it to be expressed formally.

9.3 A BROADENED SCOPE FOR LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

It was observed that design-directed disciplines are generally constituted by their alignment to the outcomes that they produce, rather than the contexts that they might work in, or the types of processes that they might enlist.

Hence in their professional constitution and related programmes of learning Industrial Designers produce artefacts, Architects produce buildings, Graphic Designers produce print media and imagery, Interaction Designers produce websites, Engineering Designers structures including viewing platforms, boardwalks and bridges, and Landscape Architects shape sites.

This research suggests that such an alignment around the outputs of design hampers the scope of landscape architecture. Understanding landscape as an *immersive context* orientates landscape architecture's outputs to those that consider more than a site-based outcome. Artefacts more likely to be produced by Industrial Design or Communication Design – such as the cooker and the map – are instrumental in shaping people's perceptions and engagements of landscape. Further it notes that constraining the discipline's foremost role to shaping landscape as-a-site steers it to organisational and operational processes that are in part established by maintaining a panoptic separation between the landscape architect and landscape. It is possible that such emphases, along with the common use of the site plan and ground plane, contributes to a structural diminishment of landscape's agency that Corner's theoretical writing works to counter.

This tension is evidenced in Corner's practice. For example in Corner and Allen's proposal for an urban park on the former military base at Downsview in Toronto the emphasis is on designing the site. They state "we do not determine or predict outcomes; we simply guide or steer flows of matter and information. Thus, we present the park as a precisely engineered matrix, a living groundwork for new forms and combinations of life to emerge".[1] By way of contrast, in Mau and Koolhaas' winning scheme their focus is less the production of a site-bound programme then on using the project as a means to enrich a greater community engagement of the urban landscapes of Toronto. And further this is attempted is by enlisting Communication Design to develop materials that could provoke the wider community's participation in the project.[2]

1 Cited in Czerniak, 2001, CASE--Downsview Park Toronto, p58.

2 However this scheme has not met with universal acclaim. Architectural critic Robert Somol states: this proposal "stutters the iteration of a single gesture – ascetic, arid, generic, primitive: the graphic equivalent to Tourette's syndrome …[It is] "the branding of nature. In the performative immediacy of transforming trees into logos (or Tree City™), the scheme … is as quickly consumed as the "fast painting" of Kenneth Noland… It thus delineates as much a marketing plan as a planting plan". Somol, 2001, All Systems GO!: The Terminal Nature of Contemporary Urbanism, p131.

As a result Mau and Koolhaas' aligns designerly thinking around a common context rather than the specific productions expected of each design discipline. Applied to wilderness and the conservation estate this approach might result, from a brief to design a boardwalk that minimises trampling, in the design of innovative footwear that achieves the same goal. Or similarly, as in the case of this research, producing a cooker that is fuelled by twigs collected from the surrounding forest as a means to foster a more local and connected engagement of wilderness landscapes.

Secondly this approach shifts the emphasis in the designerly process from resolving an already identified problem – such as an instruction to shape a certain site – to identifying the problem. As Mau notes "'traditionally, the designer begins work only after the content has been shaped. The designer determines how something is said, but has no influence over what is being said. We are interested in expanding and extending the role of the designer to include the substance of the message itself."[3]

Hence in the context of this research much of the work has sought to grapple with what could the conservation estate and wilderness become. And also what could be suitable acupuncture points that would allow a more formal exploration of this potential. In this regard the research has focused on the experiential, conceptual and especially landscopic possibilities various equipment, paths and cartographies might afford. And it has not, for example, sought to articulate in spatial form, on predetermined sites various organisational frameworks that would reinforce people's place in the conservation estate as outsiders or 'visitors'. This expanded role for landscape design is schematically described in the following figure by Owen (figure 9.3a).

3 Mau, Maclear and Testa, 2000, Life style, p319,321.

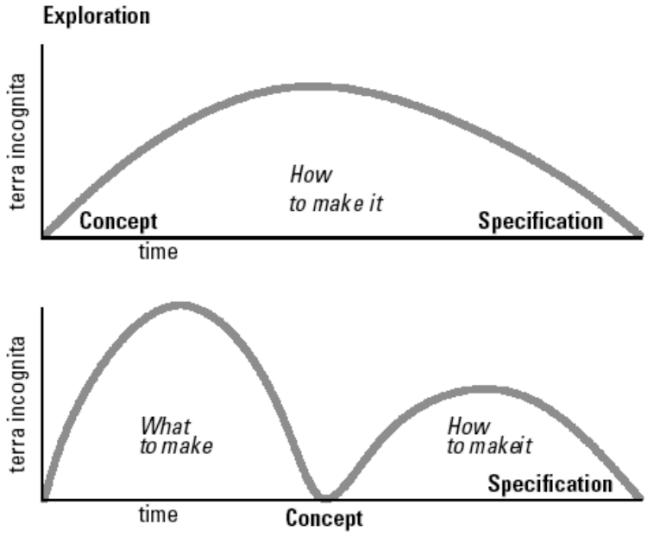


Figure 9.3a Owen 2001 Structured Planning in Design

Owen notes that design is understood as a task that resolves *how* something might be done: for example how a successful website, print piece, structure and so on might be put together. However, he argues that the prior and more significant function of design is to determine what should be made: for example what suite of strategies and productions might foster a participatory landscopic engagement of the conservation estate. And it is on this latter approach that this particular research programme has been engaged in.

Thirdly Mau and Koolhaas' approach locates the designer as an agent immersed within the context being explored rather than as external consultant. Both the proposal and the realisation of the project have come out Mau working from within the context as an active and ongoing member of the Toronto community within which he is designing.[4] In this sense his role is not to 'gift' an already resolved solution. Rather it is to facilitate the production of an outcome by working as a catalyst within the community.[5] To this end Mau has since worked to develop a book of further scenarios that in themselves are not conclusive but are also intended to provide greater depth

4 Mau was originally agreed to be a judge for the competition but then stepped down because he decided he wished to enter. Since the competition Rem Koolhaas and OMA have removed themselves from the resulting commission to such a degree that they make no reference to the project in a retrospective publication that covers their work at the time. See Office for Metropolitan Architecture., Koolhaas and McGetrick, 2004, Content : AMOMA Rem Koolhaas, p540-541.

5 See also Heller and Vienne, 2003, Citizen designer : perspectives on design responsibility.

of possibility for the wider community as the process of realising the Downsview Park project evolves.[6]

My purpose in discussing the different approaches in this particular project by Corner, Allen, Mau and Koolhaas is not to suggest that landscape architecture ignore the opportunities offered by site-based projects. However it is to suggest that a singular focus on the confines that the site, the brief and the separating out of the landscape architect from the client, limits the scope of the discipline. Corner states: "*landscape* as a noun (as object or scene) is quieted in order to emphasise *landscape* as verb, as process or activity. Here, it is less the formal characteristics of landscape that are described than it is the formative effects of landscape in time. The focus is on the agency of landscape (how it works and what it does) rather than upon its simple appearance".[7] And while this definition of landscape can works within the containment of the site I consider his writing is arguing for something more substantive. For if, as he writes, landscape's vitality is to be sufficiently 'recovered' and 'reclaimed' such that it might 'enrich culture' and provide "a basis for rootedness and connection, for home and belonging"[8] then its scope must be broader than specific sites and so also the strategies it enlists and the outcomes it produces.

And in terms of this research project that has been its scope: to challenge a resource-based conception of the conservation estate that would discipline it as a set of sites to be managed; and instead reconsider the conservation estate as a phenomenological landscape in which a participatory dialogue is creatively fostered by enlisting a diverse range of structures, artefacts and representations.

The following progression of diagrams further articulate this tension.

6 Nor, should it be noted, has the project progressed smoothly since the competition. See, for instance, http://canada.archiseek.com/news/2006/000179.html accessed 20th August 2006.
7 Corner, 1999c, Recovering Landscape as a Critical Cultural Practice, p4.
8 Ibid, p12.

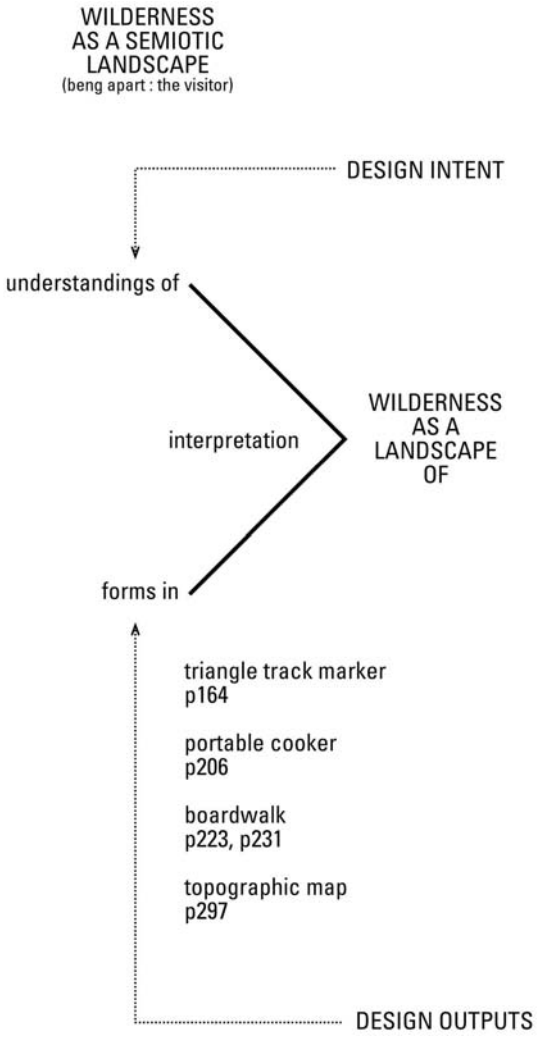


Figure 9.3b: Designing wilderness as a semiotic landscape

In figure 9.3b the role of the landscape architect in designing wilderness as a semiotic landscape is described. Here the landscape architect's function is to discipline how landscape is understood to ensure its consistent interpretation as a landscape *apart* from the 'visit' and the 'visitor'. Hence design outputs are understood as forms that are placed into the landscape (or in the case of the topographical map over the landscape), but in ways that landscape is a site for locating such artefacts, rather than as a distinctive generator for such forms.

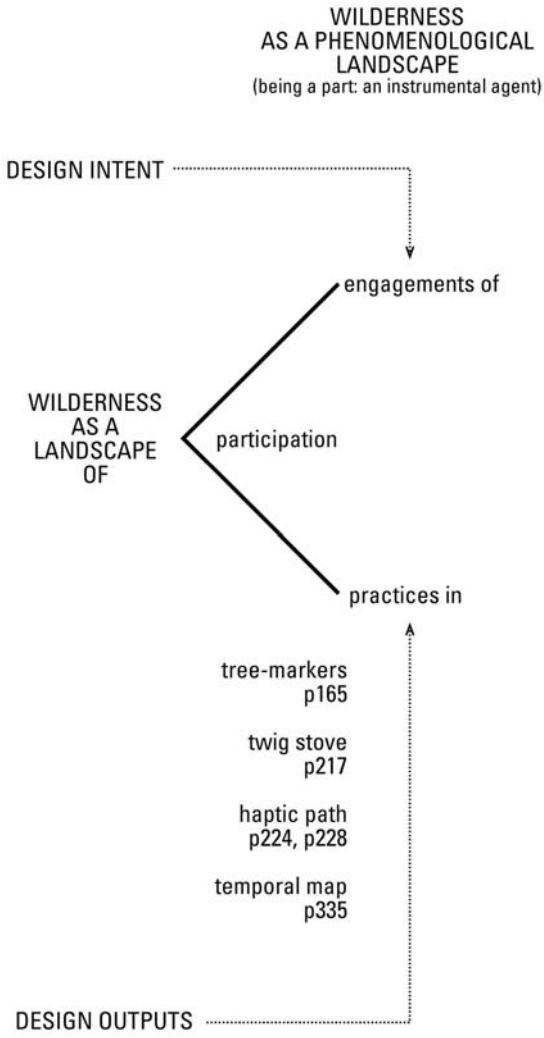


Figure 9.3c: Designing wilderness as a phenomenological landscape

In figure 9.3c a schematic of wilderness as a phenomenological landscape is proposed. Here the intent of the designer, rather than being to construct already determined understandings of landscape, is to prompt landscape's engagement. Hence the purpose of the landscape architect's design productions is to reshape landscape's substance through the performance of rich and local practices.

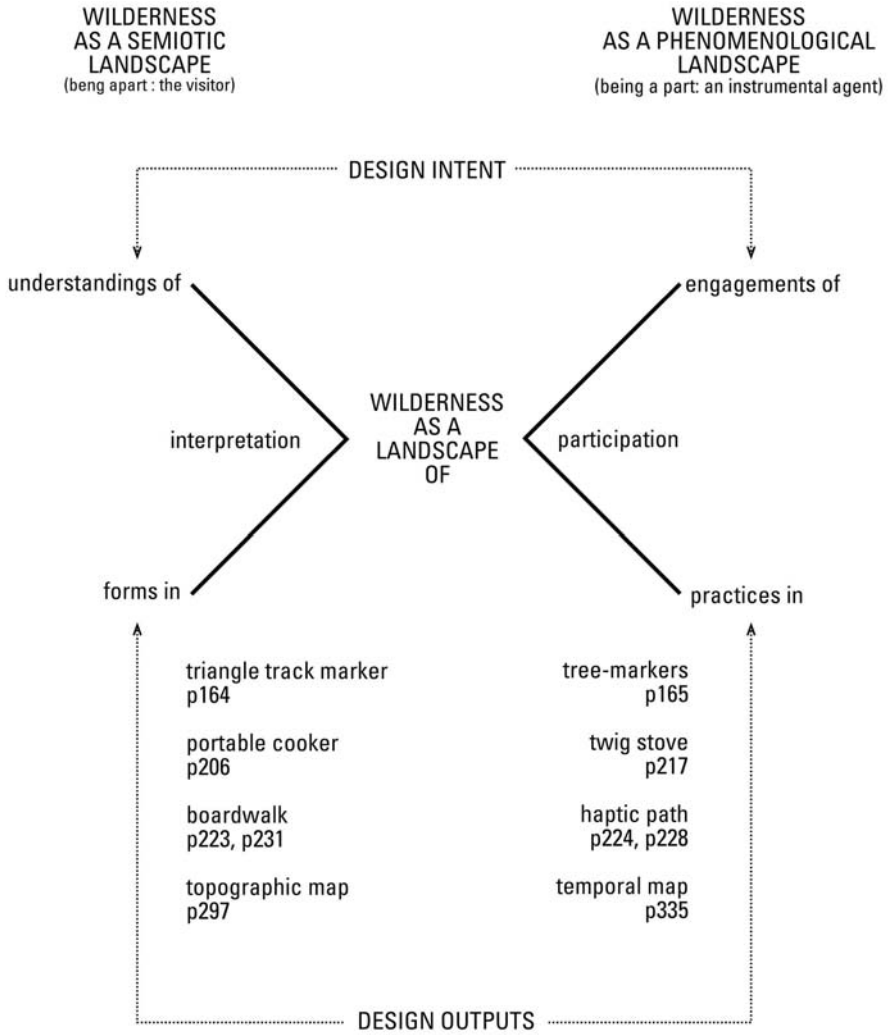


Figure 9.3d: Articulating the relationship between the semiotic and phenomenological underpinnings of designing wilderness as a landscape

In figure 9.3d I have brought these diagrams together. In this schematic it becomes clear that a binary opposition in which only phenomenological qualities are valued skews the possibility of landscape design in only one direction. Yet as this dissertation makes clear it is landscape's semiotic qualities that are often the singular criteria around which the tasks of landscape design are organised – in which sites, forms, understandings and interpretations of landscape are explicitly considered – while landscopic practices that target a phenomenological engagement remain scantily acknowledged.

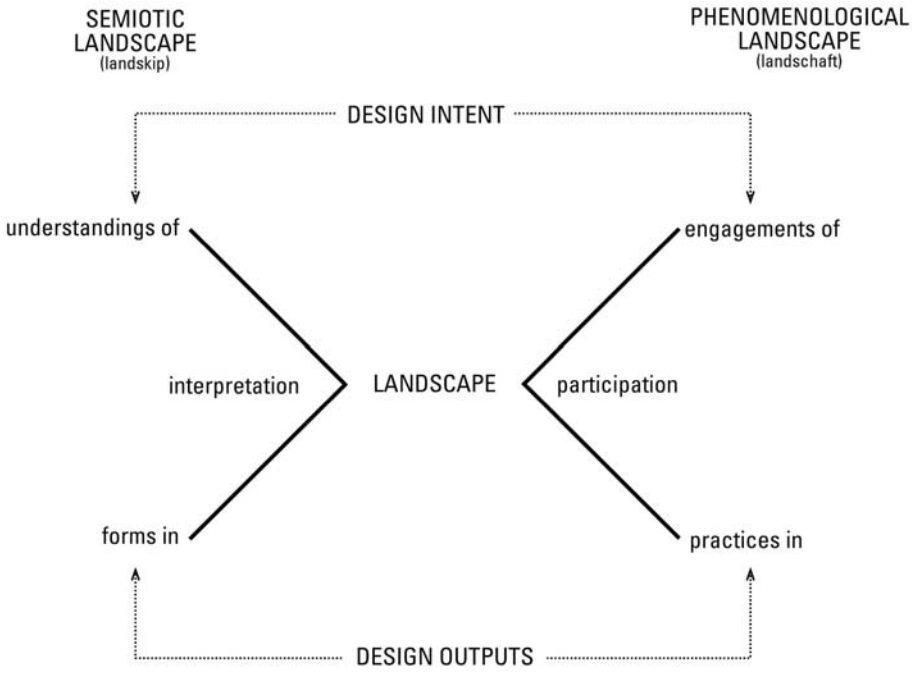


Figure 9.3e: Considering the relationship between the semiotic and phenomenological underpinnings in landscape design

Hence in the final diagram (figure 9.3e) the relationship between the phenomenological and semiotic qualities of landscape are brought together in a way that understandings and engagements of landscape can be seen as two sides of the same coin of landscape: likewise for interpretation and participation, and also forms and practices.

Yet while such a diagram imparts a spirit of designerly synthesis the tensions that have been at the core of this research project still remain. For which should be the orientation of the landscape designer? Should a participation and engagement in landscape be seen as the inevitable by-product that results in an emphasis on design sites and forms? Or should it be the reverse? And it is a focus on the potential of examining the phenomenological drivers for landscape design – with site and artefact the secondary by-products – that have driven the findings of this particular research project.

9.4 THE PLACE OF DESIGN-DIRECTED RESEARCH

In Chapter Two I proposed a potential model for landscape architecture research that not only informed design but was also directed by a designerly process. In this regard several qualities were identified. First designing was considered to be a synthetic approach in which disparate elements were

brought together. Second, its purpose was not the production of formal innovation (though nor was this precluded as a beneficial aspect of the process) but instead the production of 'imaginative breakthroughs'. Third, the focus of such research was often exploratory in that it was orientated to future possibility rather than asserting already formed positions. And fourth, such methods, while considered by other disciplines, were in their instrumentality were what makes research within the design-led disciplines distinctive.

Designer Richard Buchanan notes the study of the past and the future "share a subtle affinity. They are both children of the moving present."[9] In other words statements of the past, and also designs that anticipate possible, imaginable and desirable futures, reveal what is valued today.[10] This dissertation's use of analysis, argument and also past and present examples is similar in parts to studies that might be found in other non-design related disciplines. Yet there is a significant difference. While such other work is orientated to identify significance, prevalence and also underlying hegemonic characteristics, the focus of this work has been on identifying possibility. Hence, in discussing the Kai Tahu map drawn for Halswell, a design-directed research approach side steps the repression of indigenous perspectives in colonial New Zealand, even though such a conclusion can be readily formulated. Rather, its design-directed strategy seeks out how this approach could be transformed into a technique that could be applied to better visualise current qualitative dialogues between landscape and people's experience. Likewise a consideration of various cartographic histories of Southern Fiordland might find in its typologies, topynomy and boundaries specific drivers for Fiordland National Park's current form. And while in this particular study this was the case, its significant finding – from a design-directed research perspective – was in identifying its current constitution was part of an ongoing creative and contingent interrogation of landscape that suggest possible points where further mutability might be both examined and *designed*.

In this sense the purpose of design-directed research is not to assert a truer understanding of a specific context. Instead it is motivated to uncover multiple

9 Buchanan, 2001, Children of the Moving Present: The Ecology of Culture and the Search for Causes in Design, p73. Dening similarly states "histories are fictions – something made of the past – but fictions whose forms are metonymies of the present". Dening, 1996, Performances.

10 Buchanan, 2001, Children of the Moving Present: The Ecology of Culture and the Search for Causes in Design, p67.

forward-looking possibilities that can be applied to a better imagining of the future. Hence the research has worked hard to identify sufficient difference, and a spread of possibilities from which to work worth. For its goal is not to bestow significance by a more valid interpretation of specific contexts. Instead significance in this programme of design-directed research comes from identifying where *landscape's instrumentality* is both at its most potent and also able to be partnered in a designerly programme. In other words the research task has not been to attempt a factual assessment from which to form judgements and management policies. Instead its outcome has been to develop a vibrant lexicon *with which wilderness and the conservation estate, at both conceptual and experiential levels, can be designed*.

In studies not directed by design it is not uncommon for almost all the research to focus on identifying significant factors, and only in the conclusions direct the discussion to a cursory consideration of how such findings might be applied. Hence in the work of tourism and leisure studies and also geography and planning – which also investigate topics relating to landscape's cultural qualities – the conclusions might state the research identifies a need for 'better interpretation', 'better signage', 'greater community participation' and 'a more sustainable focus', but not in any sense the multiple ways such goals could be articulated that would richly bring such possibilities together.

In terms of this research this has not been the case. Its approaches have been firmly fixed on identifying possibility. For example, it noted the manner in which the New Zealand Outdoor Equipment and Clothing Industry was able to create alternative images of wilderness than those held by a representative sample of the New Zealand public. This, as well as studies into the histories and cartographies of wilderness suggest that the conservation estate's current articulation as untouched wilderness is considerably more fluid than might the Department of Conservation, special interest groups and researchers assert. It is in this mutability that a design-directed approach finds purchase to intentionally shape – design no less – other conceptualisations and manifestations of both the conservation estate and wilderness. Indeed, *determining that the conservation estate of the future need not be imagined as a continuation of present trends can be considered the foundational 'imaginative breakthrough' of this research.*

Other 'imaginative breakthroughs' that this research has produced include: foregrounding the role of technology and artefacts in shaping landscopic understandings and engagements; the intellectual gap that exists between a quantitative cradle-to-cradle conception of materiality and the qualitative attributes of the specific landscapes from which that materiality is also part of; a haptic consideration of movement which suggests potential for a richness of path design beyond current road-like productions that would imply walking is a mechanistic rather than performative activity; an analysis of Southern Fiordland cartographies that identifies a process of creative and designerly production; and a mapping of itineraries of movement according to their temporal duration that images landscape as a qualitative negotiation of place.

It is the optimistic and forward-looking orientation of design, that seeks opportunity and innovation in messy contexts – as wilderness and the conservation estate most certainly are – that suggests the potential for design-directed research to reinvigorate disciplinary contexts of interest that concern broader research and community groupings. For though the imaginative breakthroughs developed here have arisen out of the distinctive framework of a doctoral dissertation such possibilities are not intrinsically esoteric. Hence, in the process of conducting this research and articulating provisional findings, these various 'imaginative breakthroughs' have become instrumental aspects of wider collaborative research projects that have been formed across a diverse number of disciplines in the humanities, and social sciences.[11]

This uptake by wider communities of interest suggests a further distinctive property of design-directed research. For while this chapter is predictably titled *Conclusions* a possibly more appropriate title when working in a designerly paradigm might be *Connections*. For in this chapter there is a bringing together of the possibilities this research has developed. And in the various collaborative research projects it has led to there can be discerned some of the multidisciplinary directions the outcomes of this research might

11 These include currently co-editing, with Richard Reeve, a book considering possible futures for wilderness and the conservation estate in a New Zealand setting; receiving, with Janet Stephenson, competitive research funding to review how landscape visualisations are enlisted in applications to approve major infrastructure projects; receiving, with Holger Regenbrecht and Janet Stephenson, competitive research funding both progress and translate into a web-based environment the temporal cartographies in Chapter Eight; and also coediting, Jacinta Ruru and Janet Stephenson a book on New Zealand landscapes titled *Beyond the Scene* which presents a diversity of perspectives on landscape in Aotearoa New Zealand.

now be orientated to.[12] For it is the potential of design-directed research to introduce its findings at more formative stages to other inquiries that suggests significant possibility to extend landscape architecture's contribution beyond the design arena into broader, multi-disciplinary domains.

One further point can be made. In bringing together this layered programme of design-directed research there exists an underlying tension between diagramming designerly outcomes and writing about them. On the surface it could be expected that the designerly productions of design-directed research are those that are formal in their constitution and so able to be graphically communicated. And certainly in the course of this research I have sought to develop through iterative sketching and modelling various forms of track markers, cookers, paths, platforms, steps and cartographic maps. Yet would their inclusion, along with a discussion of their respective formal merits, help convey the deeper design-directed insights that this research has produced? For example would viewing a range of track marker designs – for instance based on a chamfered rata leaf as a distinctive form, or a sphere with leaf patterns notched out, or the current form with the tree type embossed on it, or inked on – assist the underlying 'imaginative breakthrough': namely that track markers should lead people into the forest, by not only showing the way but also prompting people to learn about forest in intimate, meaningful, kinaesthetic and particular ways? In other words to use markers, along with other devices, as tools that shift what it means to be *within* the forest.

For it must be stressed that in this dissertation a designerly process has not been enlisted to deliver some archetypal production of a track marker cooker, path, boardwalk, map or something else. Instead a design-directed research strategy has been used to prepare the possibility for such work to be produced. Hence from an conception of design based on 'alloying' this research makes, for example, the following possible: from Chapter Five to produce artefacts that foster a more local knowing of landscape; from

12 Nor should the current projects be considered to exhaust the possible applications. For I am also keenly aware, and as noted in Chapter One, that wilderness is but one pole in a rhetorical position that places at the other end the urban. And also that the insights developed in this dissertation can readily be applied beyond Pollan's 'wilderness and the lawn'. For instance what would a comparative temporal cartography of pedestrian experience of inner cities be like? See, for instance, Bosselmann, 1998, Representation of places: reality and realism in city. ; Gehl, 2001, Life between buildings: using public space. ; Gehl and Gemzøe, 1996, Public spaces, public life. Also following the lead of Debord could also cartography, and not just an expansive building programme, breathe life into urban experience? See, for instance, Careri, 2002b, Walkscapes : el andar como práctica estética = Walking as an aesthetic practice, p100-118. And further what would a more kinaesthetically expressive city be like? And so on.

Chapter Six to produce structures and paths that produce a more kinaesthetic engagement; from Chapter Seven to produce a less panoptic articulation of the conservation estate; and from Chapter Eight to produce a mapping that visualises a more phenomenological being-in-the-world. And in 'alloying' these diverse and also 'alloyed' elements together it becomes possible to imagine how a participatory, phenomenological and landscopic practice of the conservation estate could *either structurally shift the way wilderness is understood in a New Zealand context or alter the degree to which the conservation estate continues to be linked to the idea of wilderness*.

9.5 VISUALISING A PHENOMENOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE

Michel de Certeau describes the arrested movement of New York, when viewed late last century, from the top of the Twin Towers.[13] He argues that this gaze from above enables the construction of a totalitising conception of the city that, in turn, directs cultural mechanisms to bound, standardise and organise. According to his analysis this projection of the panorama-city, used by planners and cartographers, is possible only through "an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices"[14]

On descending from the Towers to the hustle and bustle of New York a different sensibility constitutes the fabric of the urban landscape. Here "bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' … use the spaces that cannot be seen … [and] compose a manifold story that has neither author or spectator, shaped out of trajectories and alterations."[15]

Similarly there is considerable opportunity to understand landscape from positions and cartographies that are developed from stances other than the panoptic. For it could be considered that the value of cultural practices in landscape lies less in their being geographically bounded, or in their perceptibility as representing a typology, or in having a distinguishable edge. Instead landscape values can be found by a consideration of cultural practices as "vectors of direction, velocities and variables"[16] that exist according to their relative densities, proximity, and heterogeneous connectivity in a combination

13 Certeau, 1984, The practice of everyday life, p91-110.
14 Ibid, p93.
15 Ibid, p93.
16 Ibid, p117.

of temporal and spatial scales. What this dissertation signals is there remains considerable scope – and also challenges – in identifying how practices might constitute the landscape, the role of landscape architecture to prompt such practices, and how cartographies that visually assert a practice of landscape might foster an expanded understanding of the content of landscape.

In Chapter Eight a temporal diagramming of movement in the landscape was developed that has significant potential for further development. Yet, while it offers an insight into what a more phenomenological cartography could look like, it is but one potential way the gap between a phenomenological practice of landscape and a diagramming of such practice might be bridged. For though the artefact that prompts practice is readily drawn there remains significant difficulty in visualising various practices like walking, cooking and way-finding (to name just the few covered in this programme of research) could be usefully diagrammed.

Hence, while it is relatively straightforward to diagram the room in which I am currently writing, and also to draw alternative options on how it might be modified, and further select one and resolve it in a set of finished drawings, the same cannot be said for the activities I have undertaken here over the last two hours. In other words while space might be readily explored in plan, section, axonometric and perspective views the same cannot be said for the activities that might take place there. And the difficulty arising in recording such activity is further compounded should I wish to use diagrams to directly design alternative practices. Instead, from a design perspective, the tendency is to design an artefact that prompts certain landscopic practices (such as a cooker) rather than attempt an exploratory design of those specific practices (such as making fire).

It is for these reasons I consider landscape architecture continues to struggle in progressing into various design productions its theoretical attraction for landscape-as-*landschaft*. For example though Corner writes of the appeal of the working landscape his formal designs are more orientated to a landscape-as-*landskip*. What is produced in the likes of his and Allen's Downsview and Freshkills proposals is a landscape that treats people as actors who move about in generally scripted ways on a landscape that, while processual and articulate, is rarely intimately instrumental in the personal practices of

people.[17] And so in return such designed landscapes struggle to also be shaped by those same intimacies of practice. Instead in such work landscape's agency is directed back onto itself such that the people there are expected to value the semiotic richness of the design but not to be overly expectant of the specific ways these landscapes might intimately shape, and be shaped by, their activities. Likewise diversity comes not by what people and the landscape do with each other but rather the outcomes of an unpredictable layering of the more formal components of landscape.

Hence the final outcome from this specific programme of research is to underscore the current paucity of cartographies that not only consider the eidetic qualities Corner calls for, but also a more overt multiplicity of mappings that might allow the practices of *being-in-the-world* to be the subject *around which the materiality of the world is arranged*. For it is the difficulty in both graphically visualising and manipulating practices of landscape that is likely to restrict the degree to which the discipline might design a *landschaft*-like realisation of landscape.

Yet in the optimistic and forward-looking stance that design-directed research takes such a problem is also a significant opportunity. For the development of a phenomenological cartography is also of considerable importance beyond both landscape architecture and design-led disciplines. Turnbull notes that maps, because of their capability to connect across ideas, maps and 'representational devices', have been instrumental in changing not just what we think but how we think.[18] Hence knowledge itself is becoming increasingly map-like.

As a result the way the world is understood and engaged is becoming increasingly organised around the cartographic trope. Through their capacity to work metaphorically they suggest new routes within the worlds of ideas, activity and environment.[19] Yet as David Demeritt notes no single "metaphor can provide total, unmediated vision. Rather, metaphors are enframing

17 See Massey's critique of Tschumi's work, Massey, 2005, For space, p112-115.

18 Turnbull, 2000, Masons, tricksters, and cartographers : comparative studies in the sociology of scientific and indeigenous knowledge, p92-97. Turnbull, 2007, Maps Narratives and Trails: Performativity, Hodology and Distributed Knowledges in Complex Adaptive Systems–an Approach to Emergent Mapping.

19 There are similarities with this unfolding, contingent form of the abstract world of ideas in which Ingold's thesis is part of, and with Ingold's interwoven concepts of taskscape, in which skills, artefacts and community are formed, and the landscape. Indeed, while Ingold leaves this dimension out of his model, Turnbull's metaphor of maps allows, as one possibility, a consideration of an 'ideascape' that could partner Ingold's phenomenologically based model of the landscape and taskscape.

devices that make the world knowable while always already precluding still other ways of ordering the world."[20] Each metaphoric approach omits those aspects that are beyond its immediate goals. And while a metaphorical visualisation of landscape's spatial qualities is strong, a partnering cartography of landscopic practices is not. Yet is it possible that the development of rich cartographies that emphasise the experiential and temporal qualities of landscape might further unlock a *landschaft*-like direction for landscape. And, following Turnbull and Demeritt's line of argument, could such work not only open up landscopic contexts but also hitherto unconsidered experiential and temporal knowledge spaces? As Turnbull states "ultimately maps and theories gain their power and usefulness from making connections and enabling unanticipated connections. *That, and not their individual appeals to 'logic, method and consistency, is their essence:* making *connections* whenever and wherever it is socially and politically strategic."[21]

While Byrnes earlier considered a map a 'text to deconstruct', Turnbull's approach suggests maps be considered as agents to unlock critical concepts. Their potential lies less in their particular representational hierarchies and more in their fertile associations with other mappings.[22] As Michael Crang observes "we need a sense of the event and the process of time, rather than letting thinking be dominated by static representations. It may be that we can develop representations that within them encode the forces and movement of time".[23]

Is it possible that a rich phenomenological cartography could be developed from insights and research methods intrinsic to landscape architecture? And could their qualities expand more than just the conceptual possibility of landscape? To develop a rich cartography that deflects what Crang and Travlou observe as "the reliance on space as a container of time"[24] and instead is a *creative* and *connective* "becoming of velocities, directions, turnings, detours, exits and entries".[25]

20 Demeritt, 1994, The nature of metaphors in cultural geography and environmental history, p181.
21 Turnbull, Watson and Deakin University. School of Humanities. Open Campus Program., 1993, Maps are territories : science is an atlas : a portfolio of exhibits, p61.
22 See also Pickles, 2004, A history of spaces : cartographic reason, mapping, and the geo-coded world.
23 Crang, 2001, Rhythms of the City: Temporalised space and motion, p206.
24 Crang and Travlou, 2001, The city and topologies of memory, p167.
25 Crang, 2001, Rhythms of the City: Temporalised space and motion. %206.

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