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site planning for marae
'IN THE BEGINNING WAS TE KORE, THE VOID. AFTER THE VOID WAS TE PO, THE NIGHT.
FROM OUT OF THE NIGHT AROSE RANGI AND PAPA, THE SKY FATHER ABOVE AND THE EARTH MOTHER BELOW. TO THEM WERE BORN CHILDREN WHO WERE GODS, WHO SEPERATED THEIR PARENTS SO THAT THERE WAS LIGHT, AND IN THAT LIGHT WAS CREATED ALL MANNER OF THINGS, ANIMATE AND IN-ANIMATE. WITHIN THAT MYTHICAL TIME WHEN GODS COMMUNED WITH MAN, THERE AROSE THE DEMI-GOD MAUI. AMONG HIS FEATS HE FISHED UP NEW ZEALAND. IT WAS TO THIS LAND, THE FISH OF MAUI, THAT THE MAORI CAME.'

WITI IHIMAERA.
A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Diploma in Landscape Architecture in the University of Canterbury.

Jacqueline Dyer  B.A.
Lincoln College 1982.
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TIME HAS CHANGED, AND WILL CONTINUE TO CHANGE, THE SHAPE OF THE MARAE AND ITS FUNCTIONS, BUT WHATEVER THE CHANGES THESE CAN BE WITH OUR CO-OPERATION AND WITH OUR KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF OUR YOUNG. SOURCES FOR THE UPKEEP AND MAINTENANCE OF EVERY MARAE MUST BE PART OF ITS PLAN TO ENSURE ITS FUTURE AND AVOID THE RESENTMENT OF OUR COMING GENERATIONS.

TILLY REEDY
HE MATAHUNA, 47.
introduction
Overview

Traditionally the word Marae meant the forecourt immediately in front of a Maori meeting house. This was, and still is, an open area of flat land which is important to the people of a tribe as a symbol of those community members who have died. It is a tapu (sacred) area and as such may not be crossed by visitors until respect has been paid to the tupuna (ancestors) of that community and the tapu has been lifted by words of welcome and the hariru (hand-shake).

As important as the Marae space is, it could not exist without the buildings and houses around to contain it. Thus the concept, 'e whakamahana he whakaminenga hei whakamahana, te marae; (clustered together so that the Marae is warmed), has arisen.

In this light it is appropriate that the word Marae has recently been extended to embrace the meeting house and all associated buildings so that now, when talking about a Marae one is referring to the entire Maori settlement.

To those with strong tribal and traditional ties, the Marae symbolises all aspects of Maoritanga. It is the centre of gravity for spiritual and cultural reasons while the space in front of the meeting house which we will refer to as the
Kaitote Pa, Taupiri, Waikato. 1845. G.F. Angus.
'Marae proper' has become the focal point of communal activities.

In this paper I intend to explore traditional site planning factors of Maori communities, i.e.: the Kainga (unfortified village). My purpose is to gain some knowledge of spiritual, cultural and social reasons for actual, physical site layout. By travelling back into the past I hope to identify traditionally important site planning factors and thus be able to discuss the present trends found in Marae redevelopment programmes with more sensitivity than would otherwise be possible.

Today, obviously, such site factors as elaborate defense systems to protect villages from approaching war parties are unnecessary. However, as New Zealanders living in a bi-cultural society where emphasis is being placed on the understanding and appreciation of our bi-cultural heritage such physical site entities as guest housing, car parking and circulation are becoming increasingly important on the Marae.

As redevelopment programmes build up impetus many questions are being asked. Should the Maori people stick strictly to the site planning practices of their ancestors? Should they abandon the Marae structure altogether and house their people in european subdivisions? Should they disregard site planning factors and let the site grow haphazardly? Or is there some point where old meets new and a happy union between functional utility, culture and tradition can be achieved?

PAPATUANUKA (EARTH) IS PERSONIFIED AS A FEMALE AND IT DOES NOT MATTER WHERE I TRAVEL I FEEL A STRONG AFFINITY TOWARD HER. EACH LIVING THING HAS A MAURI, A LIFE - FORCE, THAT RELATES TO, AND INTERACTS WITH, THE EARTH'S FORCES. OF ALL THE LIVING THINGS AS I KNOW THEM, THE HUMAN BEING IS THE MOST CAPABLE OF EITHER PROTECTING THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OR DESTROYING IT. WHEN MAN CHANGES THE LANDSCAPE COMPLETELY, HE CANNOT RETURN IT TO ITS FORMER STATE.


RANGIMARIE ROSE PERE.
HE MATAPUNA, 26.
I propose to explore the factors involved, i.e: physical, cultural, spiritual and social, both past and present. By doing so I hope to make some tentative suggestions as to the role the planning profession and the Landscape Architect might hope to play in one of the most important redevelopment programmes to ever take place in this country.

The Land

Prior to European settlement in New Zealand the Maoris depended solely on the land and sea for their livelihood. Any land they owned, they owned as a group where the iwi (tribe), consisting of related hapu (kinship groups), had general ownership of large tribal areas.

Springing from their total dependence on it, the Maori people have developed strong feelings for the land which are often expressed through spiritual ties with those ancestors who fought to defend and cared for tribal lands.

'THE LAND IS EARTH MOTHER, IT IS 'TAKU MANA, TAKU IHI' (THE SOURCE OF LIFE FORCE AND POWER). IT IS BOTH THE ESSENCE AND SUSTENANCE OF LIFE. LAND AS TURANGA WAEWAE (FOOTING) IS THE BASE OF CORPORATE TRIBAL IDENTITY.'

On the Marae, the land assumes prime importance. Physical

rongo·i·te·kai

fig 1.
structures are not considered as being as important as a sense of place. They are no more than the physical expression of a strong attachment to tribal lands.

This strong spiritual link with the land is of prime importance in understanding the attitudes of the Maori people to site planning. Considering traditional site planning, such attitudes meant that the natural landscape was one of the main factors in site selection. Both the Pa and the Kainga were sited in accord with their surroundings rather than being seen as structures which should dominate the landscape. This attitude of utilising the natural landscape features to advantage is displayed on many traditional sites where the hills provide an enclosing backdrop for the settlement which is internally structured so that the meeting house can be sited facing a natural feature of traditional tribal importance. (REFER FIG 1.)

The nature and size of the village were largely determined by the physiographic features of the surrounding district. In the rugged land of the Urewera mountains where the forest was the only reliable food source the population was scanty, the villages small and scattered. In the fertile hills of the Tamaki isthmus where the climate and soil allowed for extensive cultivation and the sea was near, the population was larger. The villages were also larger and more complex.
The interaction of the Maori people with their environment was on such an intimate level that Skinner was able to divide New Zealand up into cultural areas based mainly on distinctions between the types of materials used and the form and disposition of buildings in Maori settlements. Firth was then able to take Skinner's classification of material culture and parallel it with the botanical areas delimited by Cockayne in his ecological survey of the New Zealand flora.


3. R. Firth, p 68.
the site
Site Selection

The distribution of Maori settlement is predominantly coastal with inland occupation in the Waikato and Lake Taupo regions. (REFER FIG 2.)

Preference for coastal sites can be explained by three main factors, two of which are pointed out by the archaeologist Aileen Fox. The Maori people, having come to New Zealand in small canoes had only colonized the country for approximately one thousand years before European contact was made. During this time population pressures had not been great enough to cause people to tackle higher terrain or more arduous living conditions before the arrival of the Pakeha.

In the second instance the Maori people depended on a variety of fish, eels and shellfish for their protein intake as the only domestic animal they had at the time was the dog.

It was important that the site chosen had good soil and a climate conducive to growing the crops these people had brought across the seas with them, i.e: Kumara, yam, taro and gourds. Coastal areas with few frosts provided ideal conditions for the cultivation of these foodstuffs.
tribal distribution 1900
Coastal sites also appear to have been preferred as coastal headlands and the ends of Inland spurs provided natural features that could be relied on for lateral defense. A good example of a fortification built on such a site is Pawhetau Point Pa at Clevedon, South Auckland. (REFER FIG 3.)

Although the Pa and Kainga were built in accord with the natural features of the land, the Pa was never located on a concealed site. The Moari was a warrior and as such always faced his opponent. In other words, the prominence of the Pa was a statement to his enemies that he believed his village powerful enough to defeat them if they dared to attack.

The Pa was usually located above the Kainga which was often sited on a naturally formed, low, flat piece of land. It had few or no fortifications. In the event of war the people would retreat up to the Pa for safety. The extent of the views from the Pa and Kainga were carefully considered in choosing a site in order that the village could not be taken by a surprise attack from a raiding party.

The Kainga was often tucked in at the base of a hill for protection from the wind. Because the village community needed a year round water supply the Kainga was always located near a river or spring. It also had to be near the bush, not only for food and timber supplies but also as a emergency escape in times of war.
pawhetau point pa

fig 3.
The site was always carefully chosen so that the Pa and Kainga could be developed as one of three basic preferred types. These were noted by Les Groube as being, i; terraced sites, ii; sites defended by transverse ditches and banks, iii; sites defended by transverse lateral ditches and banks including sites wholly enclosed by a 'ring - ditch'.

The variations in construction of fortifications were mainly related to expected modes of attack. However, I feel I need not dwell on warfare tactics and modes of defense as they bear little relevance to today's situation. Suffice it to say that in discussing the internal layout of the Kainga, it must be remembered that internal spatial relationships cannot be totally divorced from external factors such as defense systems. My intention here is to concentrate on structure and planning within the Kainga, the emphasis being on the site as a dwelling place and centre for social activity rather than as a defense unit.

**Site Layout**

Considering the disposition of buildings within a Kainga, three factors are of prime importance. The hierarchical social structure was important in that everyone was subservient to a chief and the houses were generally set out to show the relative mana (Prestige) of community members. The concept of Whakapapa (genealogy) meant that the village elders, those who were 'whakapapa wise' would meet and discuss the relative merits of a person

4. L. Groube, p 133.
wanting to build a house. These people would make the decision as to where it was to be sited and this decision would be respected and adhered to.

A site would also be laid out in such a way that the last rays of the sun, during the winter months, shine on a building of significance to the people. The spiritual significance of the sun lay in the recognition of its necessity to everyday life. The sun was warmth and life and a timer of daily activities.

A third point to be noted in the discussion of general site layout is the placement of buildings in relation to the winds. Various studies have shown that the Maori people do not like facing their houses toward the West. This comment would appear to be justified. Looking at a variety of sites it appears that houses face all directions from North-West through to East. This means that most dwellings sit well to the sun but there also appear to be underlying spiritual reasons for this orientation. Phillips and Wadmore when discussing the house Mataatua at Whakatane note, 'WHEN FIRST ERECTED THIS HOUSE CONFORMED TO THE ANCIENT RULE THAT THE TAHU (RIDGE POLE) MUST RUN NORTH/SOUTH SO THAT THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD ON THE WAY TO TE REINGA (SPIRIT WORLD) WOULD NOT HAVE TO CROSS IT.'

The spirits are wind borne and travel down ara whanui a Tane (the broad path of Tane) to the spirit world which lies in a

5. N. Buller, f. 33r.
westward direction true to the path of the setting sun. To face one's house westward is to interrupt the path of the spirits on their way to Te Reinga.

A fourth factor which had to be considered in the spatial arrangement of buildings was the necessity for everyone to have quick, efficient access to the Marae proper if the chief wanted to summon all the people together in an emergency.

Social contact was also considered important in site layout, as the welfare of individuals and household units was the responsibility of the whole community. So that people would be more likely to make social contact, direct paths were not laid between buildings and at times obstacles were even set up so people would be forced to pass whares (houses) that they would not otherwise have any contact with. A crude but effective solution to a design problem, this was a type of physically enforced social contact which meant that everyone was aware of the welfare of everyone else in the community.

THE CHIEFS WHARE - HOUSE.

The home of a chief was always conspicuously larger than the rest of the houses in a Kainga. The size of his house was a reflection of his mana (prestige). Part of his mana lay in the number of wives he took and the number of offspring they bore. His house had to be large enough to accommodate them all as well as any important visitors whose privilege it was to sleep in the Chief's whare.
The Residence of a New Zealand Chief.
1827. Augustus Earle.
The site chosen for this whare was always the furtherest from the entrance to the Kainga and all other areas susceptible to enemy attack. In most cases these precautions resulted in a central site which meant that not only was the chief well protected but that he was amongst his people and had easy access to everyone else in the community.

WHARE KAI - DINING HALL.

The whare kai has always been a feature of the Kainga. In the past food was eaten by people sitting on the ground and the whare kai was constructed of local materials. It was not until the advent of sawn timber that it acquired a wooden floor.

The whare kai was sited either to the left or the right of the meeting house partly depending on the tribal etiquette. For some tribes the right hand side signified the fighting hand and the left was less aggressive. In such a case the whare kai would be sited to the left of the meeting house. This cannot be the only consideration in siting this building as several sites have been looked at, all of which belong to the Ngati Kahunguna tribe where the siting of the whare kai varied from left to right. Clapcott, in his study of five Marae suggests that 'THE DINING HALL MIGHT BE CONSTRUCTED ON THE OPPOSITED SIDE OF THE MEETING HOUSE FROM THE BURIAL GROUND'.

I suspect this arrangement related to the concepts of tapu (sacred) and noa (ordinary). Space on the site was ordered largely in accordance with these concepts. The meeting house and burial

6. L. Clapcott, f. 24r.
fig 4.

meeting house alignment
ground are both tapu where as the whare kai being associated with food, is noa. It may be that to place two activities, one noa and one tapu on the same side of the meeting house is to contravene the laws governing the concept of tapu.

Whichever side it was placed on, the whare kai was always in close proximity to the meeting house as the sharing of food was and still is an important part of showing community hospitality to guests. It is associated with the powhiri (welcome) and the hariru (speeches) which take place on the Marae proper. However, a respectable distance is maintained between the two buildings for two reasons. So that those involved in ceremonies on the Marae proper will not be distracted from the proceedings by the smell of food. Also because the whare kai is noa and the meeting house tapu, the two cannot be physically united.

WHARE NUI - MEETING HOUSE.

Selection of a site for the whare nui was very important as it often dictated the basic layout of the rest of the buildings on the site. Traditionally it was built facing an easterly direction so it would receive the first rays of the sun in the morning. This was the community's way of showing respect for their tupuna (ancestors). It was fitting that they should receive the first warmth of the day before the people. The whare nui was aligned with Te Wahanga te Marangai (the doorway to the east). If a site with a backdrop of hills was chosen, as was often the case, the point where the sun rose was taken and aligned with the hills to give an axis for the positioning of the meeting house. (REFER FIG 4).
A whanau about to receive visitors on to their Marae. The meeting house is behind them.
The whare nui was positioned in accord with the landscape. It was oriented to command the largest, uninterrupted view afforded by the site. The positioning of the whare nui was always considered in relation to the Urupa (burial ground). It was considered a bad omen to face the whare nui towards the Urupa. The people preferred to have their tupuna behind them supporting and strengthening them rather than in front of them.

THE MARAE PROPER.

The whare nui opens out onto the Marae proper, an area used for formal assemblies and greetings. It is traditionally defined by the surrounding houses making it the focal point for communal activities. Seats are located around this open space so it can serve as an arena for important activities. Definition of the boundaries of the Marae proper is traditionally given by the bodies of the hosts and the guests who stand facing each other across the Marae space. Thus, it is the way people use this open space, and place their bodies in it that give it meaning and definitive boundaries.

Today, monuments and flagpoles are often found on the Marae proper. They were introduced about the time of Te Kooti and are symbolic of the villager's ancestors. Along with trees and permanent outdoor seating these have become additional elements which help to reinforce the Marae space yet they are placed such that they do not compete for attention with the speechmakers or activities taking place on the Marae proper.
A King country whare with high storehouse in the background.

A Kainga site on Mokaoia Island.
WHARES - HOUSES.

Whares within the Kainga were rectangular with pitched roofs and wide eaves. They were approximately ten to fifteen feet in length and used mainly as sleeping quarters. All whares had a flat earth floor and many had a small circular warming hearth.

Each household had its own food pit, hangi pit and a pit for storing weapons and tools. After the Pakeha arrived in New Zealand some whares had enclosures attached to them for the sole purpose of keeping domestic animals such as pigs, penned in. There were no fences around individual whares and no private gardens. All gardening was done on a communal basis. Guest houses, which were larger than average and often had two or three warming hearths, began to appear about the 1820's.

The siting of individual whares, as I have pointed out in the introduction, was done by those who were 'whakapapa wise'.

COMMUNITY BUILDINGS.

Other buildings on the site with specific functions were the whare huata, a place where weapons were kept and men were trained in warfare tactics. The whare tiaki tamariki was a creche where certain women were allocated the task of child minding and the whare pukako was a place of enjoyment, primarily for men.

Buildings with such specific functions as these were obviously not found within every Kainga. It had to be a large, well organized
A carved pataka at Maketu, about 1879.

Storehouse on the Upper Wanganui, about 1900.
community to require the services of a creche or leave enough leisure time to need a whare pukako. This and the fact that these functions were often just allocated a specific area within the settlement and no actual buildings were involved make any speculation as to their siting impossible.

**PAEPAE HAMUTI - TOILETS.**

Paepae hamuti were tapu for the sake of hygiene and were normally sited on the edge of the settlement or outside it. Often, as far as a hundred yards away.

**PATAKA AND WHATA - STOREHOUSES.**

Pataka and whata were built on platforms raised above the ground in order to keep the rats and dogs out. They were traditionally built with an east - west orientation. They never faced the north as this would have interfered with the departing route of the spirits of the dead.

These storehouses were used for storing preserved and dried foodstuffs, tools, vessels and garments. They were an extremely important element in the Kainga complex as no community could maintain prestige unless it was supported by well stocked storehouses. In pre-european times food was one of the most important forms of wealth.

The pataka was the most elaborate, elevated storehouse on the site. It was used for storing garments of the finest workmanship and other works of art. Because it contained articles of great value it was sited near the chief's whare and thus increased his mana in the eyes of his visitors.

The front of the Pa was a quarter of a mile in length with a line of fortifications of wooden posts and stakes fastened together by flax cords. On the top of many of the posts are carved images of men in attitudes of defiance.
APPROACHES.

There is no knowledge of a traditional site ever having been built with an approach from above the settlement. Where possible, a slightly elevated site was preferred and entry was limited to one or two paths up an incline. Where an elevated site was not available the approach would be along a single path, through the entrance, along an axial alignment onto the Marae proper.

Approach routes are important as the meeting house and Marae proper were often sited in relation to them. Tauranganui meeting house at Port Waikato depicts this relationship where the meeting house faces the Waikato River. Visitors need only have stepped out of their canoes and onto the Marae proper where a welcoming committee would be waiting.

The nature of space

So far we have considered the cultural and spiritual signifiance of individual structures and their preferred placement on the site. Our next step is to look at the overall concept of space within the Kainga, see how the buildings relate to each other and consider the significance of the spaces they define.

The containment of space within the Kainga was dynamic. Space worked outward from the house, through the Marae proper to other buildings, the boundary fence and finally moved into the wider landscape. It also worked in reverse so the the landscape became the containing element for the settlement.
fig 5.

space on the marae
This dynamic interplay between spaces lent a sense of enclosure to the site, e.g.; backdrop of hills, while at the same time it gave the village a sense of belonging to the wider landscape, e.g.; broad, encompassing view from the meeting house.

The spiritual importance of spatial arrangement cannot be emphasised enough. By analysing (FIG 5), a diagram devised by Gerrard Rautangata, we can gain some idea of the interplay between the spiritual and physical elements of space on the Marae.

On entering the site one passes through a gateway which signifies a transition from the 'neutral' to the 'living' world. The welcoming ritual required by the host group is then performed. This ritual renders the visitor 'noa' whereby the spiritual world of the Marae ceases to exist for the visiting person or group. The transition from 'neutral' to living ground occurs along a linear axis which serves to emphasise the importance of the Marae proper and the meeting house. The Marae proper may appear to be sparse but its open, uncluttered nature serves to emphasise the importance of the activities taking place on it rather than the space itself.

The Marae proper is enclosed from behind by the meeting house which serves to remind those taking part in an activity there of the connection between the 'living' world of the Marae and the 'spiritual' world of the meeting house.
The transition between these two worlds is reflected in material form by the Whaka mahau (porch) of the meeting house. From here one enters the unicellular Whare nui, the body of an ancestor and the physical representation of the spiritual world. Behind the meeting house is some mass enclosing element, e.g.; hills, which serve to differentiate the living world of the Marae from the external, neutral world outside the community. Encompassing the entire site is some form of delineation between these two worlds. It need not be a fence as such, merely some means of delineation between the two.

These zones of transition between worlds and their related spaces are the most important factors on the site. Everything else is arranged in accord with their placement and serves to heighten their importance. The houses are clustered around the Marae proper and the meeting house to reinforce their importance as the focal point on the site and entry to the Marae is dictated by the axial alignment necessary for the welcoming of visitors into the 'living world'.
Cultural Determinants

Having considered traditional interaction between the environment and the Maori culture, I feel that it is appropriate at this stage to discuss this relationship in a more theoretical sense.

In the opinion of many geographers the aggregate of the physical qualities of a region is assigned first priority as the major cultural determinant. However, I believe that the issue is rather more complex than this and that such intangible factors as spiritual beliefs arise out of a more complex set of interactions than an environmentally deterministic approach can account for.

As Firth states, 'Even in the domain of economic organization and material culture, which of all aspects are most closely in touch with the natural environment and have as their primary object the reduction of certain of its features to man's service no rigid determining factor can be held to exist. The economic life is related to a complex set of motives, feelings and concepts depending upon the psychology of man in his social relations and moulded by the forces of culture and traditions. 7.'

My aim in including this section is to point out that when discussing the relationship between a physical factor such as site planning and something with as many complex determinants as culture one cannot state categorically that any one factor is dependant on any other factor to the exclusion of all else. One must be wary of the

7. R. Firth, p 57.
principle of environmental determinism which is exceedingly difficult to carry through into the field of social organization.

Manuhui Bennet talking about the land states, 'ATTITUDES TO THE LAND ARE MANY AND VARIED BUT IN ESSENCE THE CONCEPT OF TURANGAWAWEWA IS THAT THE LAND BECOMES AN OUTWARD AND VISIBLE SIGN OF SOMETHING THAT IS DEEPLY SPIRITUAL. IT IS A SOURCE OF NOURISHMENT TO THE INNER MAN RATHER THAN TO HIS PHYSICAL NEEDS. HIS IDENTITY BELONGS THERE, HIS SENSE OF SELF - AWARENESS BEGINS THERE, HIS SENSE OF MANA AND IMPORTANCE ORIGINATE THERE.'

This quote expresses the idea that the environment is in part a determining factor in the individual or group's sense of self-awareness yet it also provides nourishment for the deeper, inner life of man.

Thus, when considering cultural factors and the physical environment we are led to ask certain basic questions about the relationship between them. We cannot make assumptions as to the strength of this relationship.

This being the case, to what extent can those working in the field of Landscape Architecture take physical features and relate them to cultural and spiritual phenomena? Just how much of Maori tradition is expressed through site planning practices? Could it be that site planning is the physical expression, for the Maori people, of a link between the spiritual world and a sense of well-being?
being and belonging? If this is so are we justified in approaching Marae planning as a physical site design exercise and if not how are we to approach it, if at all?

I raise these questions now as in the next section I intend to look at present day planning legislation concerning Marae redevelopment. It is vitally important that we keep the culture and beliefs of the Maori people clearly in mind when discussing the Pakaha's approach to our native people. We must not let ourselves become bogged down in a sea of red tape and bureaucratic jargon to the extent that we blind ourselves to the possibility that the system in its present form may not necessarily be the best alternative for the people.
Wharetaewa Pa, Mercury Bay. A reconstruction of the Pa from descriptions from Captain Cook’s first voyage to New Zealand.
marae today
Types of marae

Today, although the nature of Maori communities has changed dramatically since the arrival of the Pakeha, four things remain vital to the Maoris sense of continuity and belonging. They are the land, language, kin and people and the Marae.

Six Marae types can be identified as existing today. Paramount Marae are used for pan-tribal gatherings. Through their location and function they hold status of wider significance than just the centre of a local community. Community-based Marae traditionally belong to a specific tribe or hapu (extended family). The land and buildings are set aside specifically for their use. Emergent community-based Marae are developing in metropolitan areas. They are the work of relocated Maori individuals and families and as such belong to the community rather than any one tribe. Church-based Marae have been established by adherants to a particular religious faith with a predominantly Maori congregation. Family Marae are owned and set aside by an extended family group for their exclusive use.

The most recent type of Marae to emerge is the national Marae. The first of which is still under construction in suburban Christchurch. This is to be a Marae for the use of all cultures in New Zealand. It is to be a community facility which everyone can identify with on a cultural level and has the right to use.
Although six types of Marae have now emerged, the basic concept behind them and their relationship to the people and their ancestors has persisted in one form. The Marae still provides a setting where Maori values are fully recognized and tapu is practiced. The individual's worth is still given its fullest recognition through the right to stand up and speak. The meeting house still stands as a symbol of group identity through the life force of its founding ancestor. The Marae is still the only place where whakapapa (geneology) may be recited and where tangihanga (funeral rites) take precedence over all other activities. The Marae is still a place of tradition where Maori values, culture and language dominate and stand strong.
After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi the rights of the Maori people to sell their land to the Crown made it necessary to establish valid titles for those who wished to sell. Due to continuing disputes over land issues the Maori Land Court was established under the Native Lands Act of 1865 which acts as an important arbitration tribunal in matters of land dispute.

The Honorable Henry Sewell said in 1870 in a Parliamentary debate 'THE OBJECT OF THE NATIVE LANDS ACT WAS TWO-FOLD: FIRST TO BRING THE GREAT BULK OF MAORI LAND WITHIN THE REACH OF COLONIZATION. THE OTHER OBJECTIVE WAS THE DETRIBALIZATION OF THE MAORIS.... IT WAS HOPED THAT BY THE INDIVIDUALIZATION OF TITLES TO LAND..... THEY WOULD loose THEIR COMMUNISTIC CHARACTER, AND THAT THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEM WOULD BE ASSIMILATED TO OUR OWN.'

The first objective was achieved by the time Ngata introduced his Maori land settlement policy in 1929. Over fifty per cent of Maori land had been alienated. In order to bring what remained into productive use it was converted from dairying to agriculture which meant the land base was no longer large enough to sustain the existing rural Maori population. Uneconomic units and small farms were abandoned and people began to drift to the cities.

By 1960, ninety-five per cent of the land had been alienated. With the growth of the Maori population combined with succession and
partition orders; multiple ownership and fragmented titles had become common place. Maori land could no longer be used as collateral to borrow capital for development and the 'idle Maori land' syndrome developed.

Today, with the advent of the Maori land marches, Bastion Point dispute and more recently the controversy over the Treaty of Waitangi there has been a reawakening of concern over land matters. Bureaucratic regard for the rights to Maori land has increased and the Maori Council now acts as guardian of the land by seeking to influence all new legislation affecting Maori land while it is still in its formative stages.

The Town and Country Planning Act under section 3g, dealing with matters of national importance that shall be recognized and provided for in regional and district schemes includes, 'THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MAORI PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE AND TRADITIONS WITH THEIR ANCESTRAL LAND 9.' Section 6 of the Act also states, 'WHERE IN THE OPINION OF THE REGIONAL COUNCIL THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT MAORI LAND HOLDINGS WITHIN ITS REGION, THE COUNCIL MAY REQUEST SUCH MAORI DISTRICT COUNCIL AS IT CONSIDERS MOST APPROPRIATE TO NOMINATE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MAORI PEOPLE IN THE REGION AS A MEMBER OF THE REGIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE 10.'

In the first and second schedules of the Act which refer to matters to be dealt with in regional and district planning schemes

10. Ibid, p 117.
provision is to be made for Marae and ancillary uses, urupa reserves, pa and other traditional and cultural Maori uses.

Realization by politicians and planners that the needs of Maori people are different from those of the Pakeha goes a long way toward solving the problems of land alienation yet considering the Marae, this newly introduced legislation is not without it teething problems.

Tauranga: Planning Legislation in Action

In 1980 Evelyn Stokes carried out a study on the impact of urban growth and its encroachment onto rural Marae in the Tauranga district. In this study planning legislation can be seen in action and the resulting problems in terms of site planning can be clearly identified.

In the Tauranga district pressures on Maori land have become critical due to both rapid urban growth and the expansion of horticulture in the area. These pressures have become so great they have caused a complete change in the life style of rural Maori communities in a single generation.

There are twenty Marae around Tauranga harbour, each identified with a whanau (extended family) or hapu (sub-tribe) of the Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui tribes. They are traditional rural Marae with a cluster of households around them and associated, scattered dairy farms.
'A CERTAIN DEGREE OF AESTHETIC INTEREST IN HIS ENVIRONMENT MUST NOT BE DENIED TO THE NATIVE. APART FROM THE ABUNDANT USE OF METAPHOR AND SIMILE DERIVED FROM NATURE IN HIS POETRY, HIS SPEECHES AND HIS PROVERBS, THE MAORI ALSO SHOWED HIMSELF APPRECIATIVE OF THE LANDSCAPE. THUS A VILLAGE SITE WAS OFTEN CHOSEN IN ORDER TO GIVE A FINE VIEW, THE TREES WHICH WERE HELD TO ENHANCE THE APPEARANCE OF THE HAMLET WERE NOT CUT DOWN, EVEN THOUGH FIREWOOD HAD TO BE FETCHED FROM A CONSIDERABLE DISTANCE.'

FIRTH, P60.
Since the 1950's Tauranga has seen much Marae redevelopment. However, since the increase in the population of Tauranga in the 1940's several Marae have been engulfed by expansion of the urban area. These Marae were preserved as they came under the category of 'existing land use' in the 1955 Town and Country Planning Act, yet the areas around them have been developed as residential, industrial, commercial etc. with scant regard for the integrity of the existing Maori communities. Many other Marae although not directly threatened by the expansion of the city are coming under pressure due to urban growth. Hairini Marae is a good example of this. It was a quiet rural community with houses scattered along the Peninsula. The meeting house was located at the end of an inconspicuous gravel road and it commanded a view across to Matapihi and Mangatawa.

The first major change, the construction of a causeway and bridge to Matapihi obscured the view from the meeting house. The causeway meant increased traffic flow which led to the second major change. Wider, tar sealed roads were built to carry heavy logging trucks and tourist traffic. The third development was the construction of a boat launching area.

The results of this development are increased traffic, more visitors to the area, increased noise due to power boats and heavy traffic flows and pressure on the land from people wanting to build holiday homes on the Peninsula.
Council's failure to foresee the results of unco-ordinated development such as this has caused the disintegration of the total Marae environment. Many planners and developers are unaware that the most prominent landscape features stand as enduring symbols to many tribes. To obscure the view from a meeting house can make nonsense of an entire site layout. Planners must realize, that the Marae, especially the rural Marae is not a complete entity within a punga fence. The external environment is as vital to the cultural and spiritual well-being of the people as is the internal structure of the Marae yet nothing is built into the overall planning legislation which protects the Marae environment.

A major problem when development of this type occurs is that Maori communities fail to appeal against it. In 'Waahi' Robert Mahuta notes that Maori communities are generally less well organized, less educated and less able to afford the expenses involved in compiling and preparing evidence for costly litigation suits than Pakeha communities. Moreover their objections are based upon traditional and communal rights rather than economic and compensatory factors which have more validity under our present legal system.

Tauranga County Council decided to build something into their legislation which would ensure co-ordinated Marae redevelopment in the district and ease the pressure on land surrounding Marae. They based their decisions on proposals written by the Town and Country Planning division of the Ministry of Works and Development in 1975. The Town and Country Planning division suggested four different approaches to the problem of planning for Maoris in rural areas.
Their first suggestion was to cater for Marae development under conditional use provisions in the district scheme. These are flexible enough to enable conditions to be tailored to meet local needs. However, this approach could only be effective in small rural counties where the number of conditional use applications is not likely to be high.

The second approach was to exchange rural Maori land for sites or shares in sites within townships. This suggestion shows a gross lack of understanding for the cultural and spiritual ties of the Maori people to their ancestral lands.

The third model was for the establishment of special residential zones in rural areas where control could be maintained by ordinances stipulating section size, service requirements etc. This approach is unrealistic as it does not take into account Maori lifestyle or values and would ultimately lead to subdivision in rural areas which is exactly what the planners are trying to avoid.

The fourth suggestion and the one which Tauranga County Council has opted for allows for the establishment of Marae Community zones in areas of land zoned for community purposes. These zones, under the district scheme, allow for the development of Marae as cultural centres for community activities with some residential areas in otherwise rural zones. To set up a Marae Community zone a management committee or group of trustees must be formed to take responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the Marae and surrounding area within the zone. A development plan for the area
must be prepared which shows; overall development, stages of development, provision of services, access, parking areas, landscape works in relation to community buildings, sports grounds, recreation facilities and housing areas. This plan must be approved by the council before development begins. The council states that residential development for such a project is to be a minor or ancillary land-use provision. The Town and Country Planning division's third proposal was not adopted as subdivision is seen as a restrictive form of housing for Marae. Instead, the council has made provision for some residential areas to be included in the Marae development plans. Such a site layout is yet to occur in the Tauranga district as the council have not been able to overcome the problem of administering land in multiple ownership.

The problem arose from the 1865 Native Land Act which established the Native Land Court for the individualization of communal land titles. Joint ownership was limited to ten persons, however, Maori custom obliged the court to pass on a land share to each of the owner's offspring. The number of owners of a block of land has now multiplied to the point where it is impossible to keep track of them in order to get a consensus of opinion on land matters.

A related problem concerns securing finance for low income families. If a Maori household cannot obtain a proper title it is extremely difficult for him to raise a mortgage.

Because of these problems large scale community housing redevelopment on Marae is not one of the objectives of the scheme. It is feared
that housing could become limited to provision for old people and caretakers. The Maori people in the district want their young people to be able to make their homes on the Marae and maintain an interest in them. They don't want their Marae falling into a state of disrepair and neglect. District schemes vary on policy decisions but in general they tend to resist large scale housing development in rural areas except where such development is directly associated with such rural economic activities as timber milling and mining.

Tamapahore Marae (REFER FIG 6) illustrates the type of housing presently being provided within the Marae Community zones. In this case land for housing was set aside by the council and was subsequently subdivided under the Counties Amendment Act. Individual titles for residential lots were established and the overall development plan was drawn up by a local firm of surveyors. All allotments had to meet the council's minimum requirements of frontage area and shape. The roads had to be upgraded to eight metres of seal with kerb and channeling.

By this example and those of other Marae Community zones it can be seen that provision of housing has been interpreted by the council as a means of providing a minimum amount of homes while retaining strict control over their form.

This is an unnecessarily restrictive attitude which is creating urban style subdivision in rural areas. These could easily come to be seen as 'Maori housing zones' due to their visual appearance. This is the very type of development the council was trying to avoid by not adopting the Town and Country Planning
fig 6.

tamapahore marae
Division's third proposal. It is inappropriate for both Marae communities and rural areas.

The success of such a scheme depends very much on its acceptance by the Maori communities involved and the general public. Public approval will not be forthcoming if people see suburban development taking place in the rural landscape. The Maori people in the district are objecting on the grounds that this type of housing does not have regard for the values or lifestyle of the people who occupy it. Unlike the Pakeha, the Maori has no spiritual attachment to his house. He vests this attachment in the land, the meeting house and the community. It is vital that the form and placement of houses reflect this attachment and reinforce the importance of the community as a single unit rather than emphasising the individual household. Houses are considered as a backdrop for social interaction. As such they should be designed and arranged to reflect the importance of this concept.

Councils and planners must be clear on the complexity of the relationship between occupants, houses and external spaces. Until this is so they will continue to fail to realize that the form and siting of houses on Marae is just as important as provision.

Understandably, councils are treading cautiously in promoting such a new idea as the Marae Community zone and obviously feel the need to be restrictive until they see that the plan is working. Yet it is this very restrictiveness which will cause the scheme to
fail.

Since Tauranga made provision in its district scheme for Marae development other counties have included provisions suited to their own local needs. However, before any real site planning progress can be made problems caused by multiple ownership of land must be solved. Until then, Maori people in rural areas are not going to get the type of development best suited to a rural Marae lifestyle. At this point in time, councils see the only solution being the subdivision and sale of individual titles yet a better solution must be found if the integrity of the Marae lifestyle is to be retained.

Evelyn Stokes puts forward the suggestion that where a collective group of owners exists a trust or incorporation could be established which would hold responsibility for building residences which can then be settled on a cross leasehold system. 'AN INCORPORATION CAN BE FORMED BY A RESOLUTION OF OWNERS AT A MEETING CALLED UNDER PART XXIII OF THE MAORI AFFAIRS ACT 1953 OR IF THERE ARE LESS THAN TEN OWNERS, BY AGREEMENT OF OWNERS HOLDING HALF OR MORE OF THE AGGREGATE SHARES. AN ORDER OF INCORPORATION IS MADE BY THE MAORI LAND COURT AND A COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT APPOINTED WHICH IS EXPECTED TO REPORT BACK TO OWNERS AT AN ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING. 11.'

The other alternative is to establish a Trust which can be appointed by the Maori Land Court following an informal meeting of owners. Terms of a Trust can vary according to the needs of a situation and are set out by the court in a Trust order. This is also a convenient way to deal with land owned by large numbers

11. E. Stokes, Tauranga Moana, p 68.
Both these methods ensure secure mortgages for housing development without alienating the land which can remain in group ownership under a perpetual trustee. In order to ensure the success of such a scheme Maori landowners must become involved in larger financial ventures such as forestry and intensive horticulture in order to maintain their land holdings.

It must be recognized that Pakeha laws of supply and demand affecting land prices, valuation and rates do not take into account attitudes to ancestral lands and the desire to retain them. These matters must be dealt with and answers found before any large scale rural Maori resettlement, production and cultivation programmes can be considered as viable options. There is existing legislation for dealing with multiple ownership in order to develop Marae communities which are socially, functionally and visually acceptable without alienating the land. The problems are not insoluble yet a great deal depends on the attitudes and knowledge of the owners. It they are going to leave it to Councils to sort out then naturally Councils will opt for an approach and a system with which they are familiar i.e; subdivision.
Maori Queen's Farm

Power Project

Coal conveyor from Huntly West Side No. 1

Lake Hakanoa

Central Business District

Fig 7.
Planning Case Study: Waahi Marae

A case which clearly demonstrates the restrictive nature of planning procedures for marae redevelopment is Waahi Marae. The home of the Ngati-Mahuta tribe it is situated on the banks of the Waikato river opposite the coal-mining centre of Huntly, (REFER FIG 7.)

In 1972, the New Zealand Electricity Department (N.Z.E.D.) outlined proposals to build a coal fired thermal power plant at Huntly. The most suitable site was found on the shores of the Waikato river next to Waahi Marae. Government gave approval for the project in 1973. The land was acquired by means of the Public Works Act, 1928. Environmental impact reports were published in June and October and construction began in November, 1973.

The only formal public participation procedure in this case involved the granting of water rights. The Marae community at Waahi used this opportunity to object to the siting of the plant. When their case was taken to the Appeal Board many of the Maori issues involved were found to be outside the jurisdiction of a water rights hearing. Formal objections and submissions were also made directly to ministers and government departments.

The main grievance of the people was to do with the effect the power station would have on the surrounding community and the fact that planning legislation in such a case does not make adequate provision for values other than economic. This is illustrated in the following statement made by R. Mahuta in the communities submissions to the

' Some acknowledgement of the special regard which Maoris have for land and more especially for their ancestral estates should be embodied in the legislation and the existing machinery adjusted to make promulgation more effective, bearing in mind the particular difficulties arising from the complexities of land ownership and the intense emotional attachment which Maoris have for their land. The formalities surrounding the town and country planning procedures are formidable enough for the ordinary, educated person; they are especially forbidding for the majority of Maoris.

The problem areas were clearly outlined but little notice was taken of Maori issues and by 1976 the people of Waahi were considering direct protest action as they felt they had exhausted all proper channels in their dealings with the government who had proven themselves insensitive to the spiritual link between the tribe and their physical surroundings. The planning process had proven itself incapable of assessing 'quality of life' factors in anything but economic terms.

A specific example of the lack of forethought on the part of the government in this case was the proposal to erect stop banks around the area due to a risk of flooding. No attempt was made to assess the social impact of such a move. It wasn't until the community of Waahi objected on the grounds that it would separate the Marae from the Waikato river that the existence of values

12. R. Mahuta, p 34.
which could not be compensated for in economic terms were recognized.

The local tribe took their name from the Waikato river. They regard it as an ancestor who has long provided sustenance for the people who dwell along its banks. It is a resource for traditional foods as well as the 'EMBODIMENT OF TRIBAL MANA AND SPIRITUAL PRESTIGE 13' thus, 'THE RIVER, THE MOTHER OF THE WAIKATO TRIBES PLAYS AN IMPORTANT PART IN THE WAY WAAHI PEOPLE PERCEIVE THEIR TRADITIONAL ENVIRONMENT 14.'

Such a system where values other than economic are not even recognized until objections are made and then when they are made explicit, get brushed aside because they are not quantifiable in compensatory terms goes against any serious attempt to plan for a culturally diverse society. Planners may be concerned about recognition of cultural diversity yet in reality the system has no adequate means of assessing minority group values.

In the case of Waahi, the values of the people were at variance with the strict, european format of an Appeal Court system and the economic viability of the project.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL.

As a result of the failure of the people of Waahi to persuade government to resite the Huntly power plant a series of negotiations


between the Marae committee and government took place in order to obtain a compensation settlement. These negotiations were also fraught with difficulty as the community was asked to quantify, in economic terms, the cost of replacing their community facilities.

This is an impossible task when a group of people place great importance on the historical and sentimental value of their buildings and the government refuses to accept the validity of such values.

However, after a period of five years a settlement was agreed upon which included; flood protection works, creation of buffer zones, alteration of waterways, landscaping and the construction of community facilities and Marae housing. The estimated total cost of compensation was $1,200,000. The community decided that the specific components which were to be based on the compensation settlement would be five houses, a dining hall, community lounge, football club rooms, landscaping and earthworks.

The point about the redevelopment programme at Waahi, relevant to this study is that it makes available to us a model situation for comprehensive Marae development. The land is held in Trust so subdivision was out of the question and the money was available for the beginning of a complete community redevelopment programme. As such, the people were able to plan the development as a whole and create an environment suited to a modern Marae lifestyle.
The opportunity was available to develop a physical site layout which would reflect their ideology and values by combining traditional and modern aspects of Maori culture. For the first time, the people of Waahi had the money available to do things their own way.

As a result of the communities involvement with the redevelopment programme conflict arose over the type of housing designed by government for the site. The Trustees argued that the design did not take into account the social needs of Maori families. As a result, a community, psychology research project was devised to ascertain what Maori values are in relation to architectural design and the use of space. The specific aim of the project was, 'TO ENCOURAGE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE MAORI COMMUNITY AND RELEVANT AUTHORITIES SO THAT TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE MAY BE COMBINED WITH CULTURAL NEEDS TO PRODUCE BUILDING DESIGNS WHICH WERE ACCEPTABLE AND MEANINGFUL TO THE PEOPLE OF WAAHI MARAE.'

Those involved in organizing the format of the study were architects, psychologists and the Marae Trustees. The legal implications of site development were presented and all community members had the opportunity to participate in the design and siting of the houses.

Maori preferences for houses and flats which face the Marae area and encircle it came out clearly. They repeatedly indicated that houses should be part of the Marae proper and not sectioned off from it or from each other by planting or fencing.

15. L. Caplin, p 128.
A preference for pensioner flats to be sited in close proximity to the meeting house was expressed as this would allow the Kaumatua (elders) to be near the place of central activity, the Marae proper, and also close to their traditional and ancestral heritage represented by the meeting house. The people also displayed a preference for the houses to be sited on the far side of the Marae away from the main road and close to the Waikato river. Everyone was adamant about the preservation of the inner Marae space.

In house design a preference was shown for open plan living which maintains a community atmosphere by incorporating cooking, eating and relaxation in one large area.

As a result of the project building and spatial designs were produced which were both acceptable and desirable to the community.

This study clearly points out that there are discrepancies between the authorities perception of Marae development and those factors which the Maori people consider to be of paramount importance. As the study clearly shows, once the compensation settlement had been reached, government considered that the whole issue was more or less over. It was not until the controversy over housing designs arose that they realised planning for Marae development must take traditional and cultural values into account.
SITE LAYOUT.

If we look closely at Waahi Marae since the redevelopment programme began (REFER FIG 8), we should be able to get some idea as to how much emphasis the Maori people have placed on traditional and cultural site planning practices in a modern Marae situation.

As we have seen in the previous section the tribe has a close spiritual link with the Waikato River and does not wish to lose its physical and visual link through the erection of flood protection works. This physical link has already been compromised by the erection of a road past the Marae to the power plant.

The traditional concept of the Kainga and Pa being sited on an area of land as high as or slightly higher than the surrounding area has been preserved as when the level of the land for the power plant was raised so too was the level of Marae land.

In the organization of buildings on the site we see that the traditional hierarchical social structure prevails. The queen's residence is the largest house. It is sited in a central position which allows her easy access to the rest of the site while at the same time it is placed as far away from the entrance way as possible without isolating it from the rest of the community. The queen's residence is entirely fenced off from the rest of the site. This is not traditional but I suspect it has been done in order to prevent visitors ignorant of tradition, from straying too close to her residence.
Waaahi Marae

NOT TO SCALE
The houses built under the redevelopment scheme, i.e. all those on the site apart from the queen's residence and the state housing area, have no fences around them and no private gardens. All gardening is done on a communal basis in the traditional manner. These houses encircle the Marae space and as such preserve the concept of 'Keeping the Marae warm.'

The meeting house provides the traditional back-drop to the Marae proper and is sited such that it receives the early morning rays of the sun, showing respect for tribal ancestors.

The Marae Proper is a large, uncluttered space with seating and trees scattered around it. Nothing has been planted or erected close enough to the central area which could provide distraction from the speaker.

The dining-hall and cook-house (noa) are physically separated from the meeting house (tepu) yet they are sited in a traditional manner such that access from one to the other is uninhibited.

I suspect the siting of the dining hall was also considered with traditional reference to prevailing winds which come from a northerly direction. Thus, any distraction from the speaker due to cooking smells is kept to a minimum.

The meeting house and dining hall are the two most important buildings when a gathering takes place on the Marae. Traditionally, they must be
Meeting House : Te ane-i-te-Puhuke.

View across Marae toward Meeting House.
physically separated yet at the same time, closely associated. This association has been maintained on the site.

The tapu on the ablutions block seems to have been lifted as on this site they are close to the Dining hall. This is not surprising as ablution areas were traditionally tapu for reasons of hygiene. With the advent of modern sanitation such a tapu is no longer necessary.

There are no formal pathways between buildings which would indicate that the traditional concept of social support is still very important in the day to day life on the Marae. As we have seen in the first part of this study paths were not laid down in order that people would not necessarily always traverse the same route from building to building. The belief was that people would be more inclined to drop in on different families if their route wasn't premeditated, thereby keeping the well-being of individual households on a community level.

An interesting point to note is the final decision arrived at concerning the siting of pensioner flats. The Community Psychology research project showed that the people preferred to site them close to the meeting house so the old people could be close to their ancestors and near the area of central activity. Both these aims have been achieved in their final siting. Pensioner flats are a relatively new addition to the Marae as previously old people lived with their relations. The point relevant to this study is the way in which the community have been able to take a modern element and site it with reference to traditional factors. This would indicate that the Marae is far from being a rigidly ordered, traditional site but one
Dining hall Miria te Kakara, Huntly power station in background.

View from playing fields toward dining hall. Marae house in foreground.
which has the flexibility to adjust to modern ideas and modes of living as long as the siting of these new elements can be incorporated with reference to cultural factors.

The carving shed, as is traditional is sited well away from the noa influences such as the dining hall. It is tapu and the siting of female elements in proximity to it are still considered undesirable.

The traditional axial alignment from the entry way onto the Marae proper is very important and is heavily stressed in the layout of this Marae. The meeting house does not face the gateway at Waahi. This would appear to have been unavoidable as the meeting house is orientated to the previous site layout before the power plant was constructed. This is the only building in the original site layout which was at such a level that it did not have to be shifted or demolished to make it safe from flooding. The resulting problem of alignment has been solved by the construction of a formal pathway with adjacent garden beds which guide people from the car park onto the area of the Marae proper in such a way that by the time the meeting house comes into view visitors find themselves aligned axially to it.

THE RESULT.

Studying the approach taken to the redevelopment programme by the people of Waahi, we can see that this community has involved itself as much as possible in the planning process, exercising their rights to the fullest.
This Marae development has not been without its problems and frustrations but the resulting site layout indicates that these people have had a certain degree of success in persuading the relevant authorities of the needs of a Marae community, their preferred style of living and social organization.
National Marae

The National Marae has already been mentioned in an earlier section dealing with the types of Marae that have emerged in New Zealand. It is a new concept and the first of its type is still under construction in Christchurch. The idea is to provide a multi-cultural facility which all races in the community can identify with. Each race will be represented by an object of significance to their cultural heritage, placed somewhere on the Marae. The European race is to be represented by a statue of Captain Cook placed in the Meeting House. Displays and exhibitions are to be a feature of the Marae so New Zealanders, tourists and archaeologists can all learn something of New Zealand's heritage.

The SITE.

The site chosen for this Marae is in Pages road, next to Cowles Stadium, a large sports facility and no more than three hundred metres from Christchurch's main sewage treatment works. The Council and Drainage board collaborated on the deal and offered the land to the Marae board for a nominal sum. It is not traditional Maori land and the configuration of the site is such that it is not suitable for the development of a traditional Marae, (REFER FIG 9).

SITE LAYOUT.

The design of the buildings and the layout of the site was supposedly done at 'grass roots' level, involving the Marae Trust Board whose members include representatives of all the major tribal groupings in the country, individual chiefs who represent the canoe ancestry of the tribes, local
fig 9.

national marae
hapu representatives, a Polynesian and a Cook Island representative, the Christchurch City Council and people from local Maori and Pakeha communities.

Maori elders took an active role in proceedings by expressing concern that such a development could mean the involvement of non-Maoris in sacred, traditional practices. Apart from this it would appear that the natural reticence of Maori people to express their opinion in the presence of better educated people, who hold positions of authority, was expressed in their general reluctance to put forward ideas other than to dispute any development plans which were blatantly contrary to traditional practices.

The chosen design includes a traditional meeting house at the front of the site connected to an ultra-modern complex incorporating a dining hall, recreational and conference facilities. The final design compromises many traditional and cultural values of the Maori people.

The Meeting House and the Dining Hall are linked by covered walkways which have never been done before as the Meeting House is tapu and the Dining Hall is noa. Externally, the Dining Hall is segregated from the Meeting House and the Marae proper by the erection of a fence to block out the proposed car parking area. The car park is sited in order that the Marae proper can be approached from the back of the Meeting House by visitors rather than always being approached along an axial alignment from the front.
of the site, as is traditional. The length of the path from the gateway to the Meeting House has been shortened. This is one aspect that the Maori members of the committee did object to. There is a traditional ceremony called a 'tangi' which is associated with welcoming visitors onto the site 'manaaki i te manuhiri', and also with tangihanga (funeral rites). This ritual is performed by elderly Maori woman and includes walking the path from the entrance up to the Marae proper. This ceremony traditionally takes five minutes but on this Marae it will take rather less time as it was decided the buildings could not be relocated to accomodate the full length of the ceremony.

Another factor which raised objections from Maori representatives on the Marae Trust Board concerns the construction and phasing of the dining hall. It was designed so that a part of the kitchen may be used before the building is completed. When this proposal was put forward the Maori contingency objected: the dining hall is a female building on which a tapu exists until the building is completed. Until this tapu is lifted the building may not be used. A tapu cannot be lifted off part of a building. In this case, a compromise was reached. The kitchen will not be used to cook in until the building is completed, but it will be used to eat in, do the washing up in and the toilet facilities will be in use.

The failure to account for traditional factors such as I have outlined shows clearly that anyone working in such a field must be fully aware of cultural and traditional practices, not only for the sake of preserving these practices, but also for reasons of economics and
phasing of construction works.

**Marae or Community Facility?**

The report of the committee on Marae subsidies, 1974 quotes the honorable Matiu Rata in stating their reasons for the need to perpetuate Marae.

'MARAE ARE PLACES OF REFUGE FOR OUR PEOPLE AND PROVIDE FACILITIES TO ENABLE US TO CONTINUE WITH OUR OWN WAY OF LIFE AND WITHIN THE TOTAL STRUCTURE OF OUR OWN TERMS AND VALUES. WE NEED A MARAE FOR A HOST OF REASONS;

THAT WE MAY RISE TALL IN ORATORY,
THAT WE MAY WEEP FOR OUR DEAD,
THAT WE MAY PRAY TO GOD,
THAT WE MAY HAVE OUR GUESTS;
THAT WE MAY HAVE OUR MEETINGS,
THAT WE MAY HAVE OUR WEDDINGS,
THAT WE MAY HAVE OUR REUNIONS,
THAT WE MAY SING,
THAT WE MAY DANCE,
THAT WE MAY LEARN OUR HISTORY,
AND THEN KNOW THAT RICHNESS OF LIFE
AND THE PROUD HERITAGE WHICH IS TRULY OURS.'

The committee goes on to state that, 'THE WIDER COMMUNITY NEEDS TO BE ACQUAINTED WITH THE RAISON D'ETRE FOR MARAE IF ONLY TO PREVENT THE MAORI MARAE CONCEPT FROM BEING MISINTERPRETED BY HAVING IT SUBMERGED

UNDER MULTI RACIAL COMMUNITY CENTRES AND THE LIKE. FOR SIMILAR REASONS POLYNESIAN GROUPS NEED TO STATE THEIR OWN REQUIREMENTS FOR CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN THEIR OWN TERMS AND NOT HAVE THESE SUBSUMED UNDER THE MAORI MARAE SCHEMES 17.

It is my opinion that the National Marae concept does not provide a refuge for the Maori people and their values. As we have seen in the development of the first National Marae compromises have already been made in the areas of the 'tapu, tangihanga, and manasiki i te manuhiri', three of the cornerstone concepts of Maori tradition.

National Marae can only further the erosion of Maori values which has been taking place in our wider society. As a means of defence against this erosion the Marae has gained in strength and importance in the last three decades as a place where Maori values stand strong in order to ensure their preservation.

If the concept of National Marae takes hold, and there is already talk of developing a second site in the North Island, it is my belief that it can do nothing but weaken the last stronghold of Maori culture and tradition.


18. Thid. n 18.
the landscape architect
and marae development
Site Layout and Development Plans

Having considered present planning legislation as it relates to Marae development and the results in terms of site planning practices, it is clear that few Maori communities are receiving professional advice in the development of site layout plans suited to a modern Marae lifestyle. There are several areas in which the Landscape Architect could help to ensure the development of an appropriate environment.

A development plan is essential before a Council will approve the establishment of a 'Marae Community Zone'. The perogative for such a plan lies with the Marae management committee who either give the task to a team of surveyors or draw on people from within their own ranks to devise a plan.

Apart from the creation of a suitable environment for Marae activities it is vital that these zones are visually acceptable to the surrounding community. This acceptance depends largely on how well they are assimilated into the rural landscape.

It is clear that all rural Marae must be committed to structured development. For the sake of their own validity, a well co-ordinated site plan and development programme must be drawn up. It is in this area that I believe the Landscape Architect has a valuble contribution to make.
Any Landscape Architect choosing to work in such a field must be sensitive to Maori tradition and culture, tribal affiliations, local conditions as well as national and local planning legislation. Provided these factors are taken into account the Landscape Architect could play a useful role as development co-ordinator. In consultation with the management committee, council and local people, he/she could be responsible for drawing all relevant information together and devising both a site plan and development guidelines which would ultimately result in a well structured site not just acceptable, but beneficial to all parties concerned.

In the case of Waahi Marae a Landscape Architect could have devised a planting plan with emphasis on large scale planting to reduce the impact of the Huntly power plant. A comprehensive planting programme could have been instigated at a very early stage and by now visual buffer zones, erosion control planting, wind breaks and amenity planting could be well established.

In reality, the site is still very bare and any planting that is being done is being staged in accord with the siting and erection of individual facilities. As a result, planting is becoming specific to these facilities and functions rather than being viewed as a unified whole which could have provided visual and functional continuity of vegetation throughout the site. Some isolated domestic planting is taking place but nothing which could act to reinforce the concept of an overall, unified site.
Such a planting plan would not be possible unless the Landscape Architect were to be involved right from the beginning in both the design and siting of the facilities. A well co-ordinated site results from a multi-disciplinary effort to extract the fullest potential from it. A unified planting plan cannot be expected to pull a site together on its own. The Landscape Architect, the Architect, Engineer and the community must all participate in a joint effort if a functional and visually acceptable site is to be the result. Planting design can do no more than reinforce the basic site layout. Neither can a planting programme be instigated before facilities are built unless the total site layout is fixed beforehand.

It could be the job of the Landscape Architect to point out these factors in site planning and to play the role of co-ordinator between the parties concerned. Keeping in mind the restraints imposed by planning procedures and the potential of the site, the Landscape Architect could be responsible for devising a site layout and development plan which would comply with Council regulations, make the best possible use of the site and give the community the type of environment which, while reflecting their culture and traditions, provides living conditions suited to a modern Marae lifestyle.

Planning

As noted earlier, Maori communities often fail to appeal against decisions which adversely affect their lands and communities because they are unfamiliar with the appeal court system, they often lack the technical
skills needed in such an exercise and their values are incompatible with those of the policy and decision makers.

The Landscape architect could be of value in such a situation. Part of his/her job concerns wrestling with procedures for the quantification of landscape values which until recently have been considered intangible, subjective concerns. In order that these values be recognized as legitimate planning concerns, the landscape profession had to work out methods of quantifying them. As such, I believe the Landscape Architect is in a good position to represent and defend minority group values. Many of the values held by the Maori people are also intangible and are not recognized as valid for the simple reason that planners rely on quantification of tangible data to base their decisions on. Having had to wrestle with procedures in order to fit landscape values into such a formal system in order to give them validity I believe the Landscape Architect is in possession of a system which could help to give the values of the Maori people validity in the eyes of planners.

The Landscape Architect is also familiar with the Appeal Court system and should be capable of expressing the concerns of the Maori people as they relate to the land and environment in such a way as to ensure they are considered valid concerns within the jurisdiction of a particular court hearing.
Recommendations

1. That a Landscape department be established within the department of Maori Affairs to comment on and offer proposals for all major Marae develop­ments throughout the country.

   This department to be responsible for producing a basic set of guide­lines to aid appropriate visual management of Marae in rural areas.

   This department to provide a land utilization advisory service to expose Maori land owners to viable land-use options.

2. That it be mandatory for local councils to call in a Landscape Architect to work with them and Marae development committees on development plans for all proposed Marae complexes.

3. That provision for housing a cross-section of age groups be recognized as an intrinsic element in the development of rural Marae complexes.

4. That planning for urban Marae includes the provision of Kaumatua housing, (for the elderly), in the vicinity of the Marae.
5. That the concept of a 'Marae community zone' be extended to include the Marae and all adjacent and nearby Maori land owned by members of the hapu belonging to that Marae. Thereby making alienation of land more difficult by requiring discussion of any potential sales by the community. This recommendation would also ensure planning for the whole area rather than piecemeal development.

6. That a zone be established around all rural Marae ensuring appropriate land-use, guarding against harmful industrial development and ensuring protection from any encroaching urban development.

7. That these zones be clearly documented in all district schemes.

8. That before a district scheme or major development proposal is drawn up or its five yearly review undertaken, Maori opinion should be consulted where any Maori - owned land is affected in anyway.

9. That an inventory be provided which documents Maori land holdings in all districts. Such an inventory to include:
   - freehold land
   - customary land
   - reserved land
   - Crown land leased by Maori people.
10. That the Town and Country Planning Act, 1953, be amended in order to protect both the site and character of Marae.

11. That the origins and functions of Marae in New Zealand be clearly restated for the purpose of establishing guidelines for Marae development and granting subsidies.

12. That dissemination of information concerning financial and technical assistance available to Maori communities be improved.

14. That survey requirements for proposed Marae be fulfilled by the department of Lands and Survey in consultation with their own Landscape Architects until such time as the department of Maori Affairs acquires a Landscape Architect.

15. That planners recognize a distinct Maori identity and culture in New Zealand society which must be recognized and catered for in all aspects of Town and Country planning.

This could be achieved by including a comprehensive section on Maori culture, including Marae visits, into the existing Town Planning course and by arranging short courses for practicing Town Planners.
WHATU NGARONGATO TE TANGATA: TOI TU TE WHENUA.

THOUGH PEOPLE MAY FADE AND PASS AWAY THE LAND REMAINS.
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