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Reweaving the Spaces of Inter-Cultural Dialogue in Post-Treaty New Zealand/Aotearoa

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ABSTRACT

This study explores cross-cultural dialogue between Māori and settler colonials through the lens of Emily Karaka's paintings. Karaka's paintings are used to probe and reveal the colonial roots of spatial organization at the site where they are displayed. Building on parallels between the life of Karaka's paintings and Treaty of Waitangi documents, this study finds that post-Treaty dialogue between Māori and settler colonials takes place in spaces built on and informed by the spatial biases of settler colonialism. The study concludes that recognizing these biases is crucial for meaningful dialogue and suggests that the Treaty of Waitangi invites a spatial response.

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Introduction

Lieutenant James Cook and observers from the Royal Society were dispatched by the British Admiralty to *Otaheite* (Tahiti) to observe the transit of Venus that would take place in 1769 (Herdendorf, 1986). Successful observation of the transit, it was believed, would determine the solar parallax and enable the calculation of the dimensions of the solar system and longitude. Cook was also given a second set of secret orders. Following a successful observation of Venus, he was to sail south, towards the fabled *Terra Australis*, to explore, map, and take possession of lands (Mackay, 1949). Subsequently, Cook and the *HMS Endeavour* landed in New Zealand/Aotearoa, October 1769. Here, this paper explores the unfolding encounter between the Māori of New Zealand/Aotearoa and the settlers that followed. This article finds that the unfolding encounter remains intimately bound up with colonial patterns of organizing space grounded in cartographic rationality, applied geometry, and the sciences of optics – astronomy, surveying, cartography, navigation, and mensuration.

This study is situated in a tradition that regards the dispositions of space as being expressive and significant and imbricated in the outworking and processes of colonization (Beyes & Holt, 2020; Chrystall, 2021; Holstein & Rantakari, 2022; McKenzie, 1999; Ratner, 2020; Stephenson et al., 2020). In this tradition, space is understood as (1) an agent of communication that "not only communicates in the most basic sense, but [. . .] also organizes virtually everything in life" (Hall, 1959,

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Figure 1. Site of where paintings are displayed (corridor in quad block a (QA), level 2).

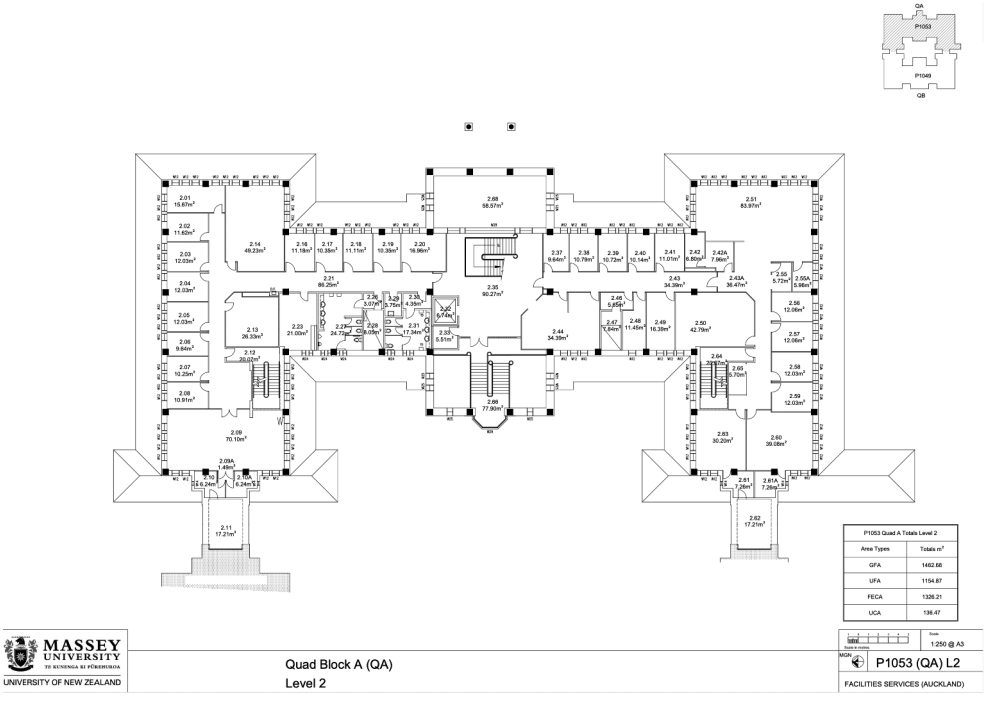

Figure 2. Floor plan of quad block a (QA), level 2.

p. viii), (2) enabling and constraining (Lefebvre, 1991), and (3) a social product *and* producer of social relations, a cause *and* effect of social life (Harvey, 1985). In short, space is understood not merely as *container* but an active and pervasive *process*. Ergo, questions about space are "questions about the underlying dynamics of socio-historical organization" (Conley, 2018, p. 2). Consequently, with Soja (1996), this paper claims that questions of space are among the most pressing today (even though it would be more intellectually fashionable to talk of *atmospheres*).

Questions of space are, perhaps, even more pressing when *the* (inter-cultural communication) issue is the "land" as it does here (Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, 2009).

Explorations of space (and place-making) are most fruitful when done in the particular. Consequently, this paper focuses on Emily Karaka's *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* (1996) series of paintings and the current site of their display: the interior of the Quadrangle building (the Quad), at the Auckland campus of Massey University/Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa, New Zealand. To engage Karaka's paintings, this article is divided into three sections. The first establishes how Karaka "references" tāniko, a distinctly Māori artform, to weave together image and word and map Auckland/Tāmaki Makaurau. Considering the art of tāniko serves to draw attention to Māori place-making practices, and ways of sensing and communicating about the world. This section also contends with Karaka's word-paintings in view of issues with translation and two competing ways of thinking about language(s). The first is derived from maps and mapping and conceives of languages as being made up of a set of compatible symbols (Farinelli, 1998). The second way of thinking stresses differences, the irreducible and the "untranslatable" (Cassin, 2014). In this second way, translation is not impossible but can often result in a reduction, collapse of complexity, and erasure of significant meanings:

> To speak of *untranslatables* in no way implies that the terms in question, or their expressions, the syntactical or grammatical turns, are not and cannot be translated: the untranslatable is rather what one keeps on (not) translating. (Apter, 2014, p. xvii)

One of the reasons for choosing not to translate some words is because "a certain density or richness or colour or tone in the source language seems so completely to defy rendering into another language that we would just as soon not try: the poverty of the result is too distressing" (Apter, 2014, p. xiv). Calling attention to issues of translation serves as an analogue of the incommensurability between Māori and settler colonial spatial biases and ways of organizing space. Settler colonial space is abstract, neutral, quantifiable, and approachable as a grid from a disembodied perspective. Māori places, by contrast, are spaces intertwined with time and story (Nairn et al., 2021; Mika, 2015; Rameka, 2016; L. T. Smith, 2013) and saturated with memory and genealogy. Consequently, this paper does not include a glossary even though convention would suggest one. Direct translations are offered, at points, throughout the paper as provisional handholds but to include anything more (even though it would be more convenient for an international reader) would undermine this paper's aims and purposes.

The second section of this paper makes the claim that *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* can be read as counter cartography. Karaka's paintings perform something of an unmapping. But rather than showing how Karaka's map(s) render visible and make "explicit the colonial origins of taken-for-granted cartography, with the intent of revealing its colonial and dominating functions" (Benson et al., 2023, p. 1), this section uses the paintings to reveal the organizational and spatial biases of the building where the series is displayed. *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* renders visible ongoing colonial domination and epistemological and political control of the site of their display (and, by extension, analogous spaces). The rectilinear embrace of the Quad – the site of display – is shown to be a continuous unfolding of the organizational biases that informed the colonial cartographic enterprise, from observing the transit

of Venus (and Mercury) to Cook's running surveys of the South Pacific. The goal of this section is to present the Quad as an aesthetic companion to scientific management and a "teaching machine" (Negroponte, 1970), whose pedagogy is essentially continuous with cartographic rationality, applied geometry, and the sciences of optics. The Quad, as with a myriad of similar buildings around the world, is a monument to Euclidean or infinite space and the ways of organizing that informed the observations of the transit of Venus.

The final section moves from the particulars to consider New Zealand's *Treaty of Waitangi* (1840) (hereafter Treaty) between Māori and the British Empire (the Crown). The Treaty saw Māori and the Crown enter into a new relationship, and it is often said to legitimize New Zealand becoming a British colony. Today, the *State-Owned Enterprises Act* (1986) has made the Treaty "principles" a prominent feature of the legislative landscape. The "principles" of the Treaty, conventionally abridged and expressed in the form of the three P's – partnership, participation, and protection – have become something of a mantra for service delivery and ethical practice, particularly in the governmental sector (Hudson and Russell, 2009). The Treaty appears to have made bi-cultural dialogue, between Māori and the settler-colonial population (Pākehā), paramount. Yet, that dialogue is often vexed. The inertia of colonial patterns of organizing space creates barriers to the unfolding communicative encounter. Ultimately, our post-Treaty dialogue, after the Treaty between Māori and the settler-colonial population, has and continues to be lived *inside* spaces built on unexamined colonial spatial biases.

Storied Spaces of Te Ipu Kura a Maki

Emily Karaka (b. 1952-) has been exhibiting for over 40 years. Her first solo exhibition was in 1980. With the passage of time, there has been a hardening of the categories used to describe the artist and her work. She is conventionally categorized as a Māori, female painter who is largely self-taught (Ihimaera, 1997), but the designation "outsider artist" is not used (Cardinal, 1972). It is *de rigueur* to gesture in the direction of her status as a triple minority without saying it directly. She was born in Auckland (Tāmaki Makaurau) and has connections to iwi (tribe) and hapu (sub-tribe) from other regions too. At the time of writing, she is celebrated as an artist/activist and often (re-) presented in relation to canonical New Zealand painters: Ralph Hotere, Colin McCahon, Philip Clairmont, Alan Maddox, and Tony Fomison – figures Karaka frequently cites as her influences (Bryce, 2021).

Emily Karaka's work is frequently categorized as Abstract Expressionist or Post-Modern Expressionist. She is known for her use of strong colours, particularly deep blues, maternal reds, and bold yellows, the integration of text and image, complex layering, roughness of stroke, and discordant vibrancy. It is not uncommon for accounts of Karaka's style to be tightly paired with an account of the issues-driven content of her works. Karaka too claims that her work "has always been either a kind of self-portraiture or about heartfelt Treaty issues [. . . and] Activism to bring political or social change" (Bryce, 2021, n.pag). As an artist/activist, her works can (and, perhaps, should) be positioned in relation to what Steer (2018) has called the changing metaphors used in colonial historiography, particularly after 1975. Briefly, our images and understanding(s) of the unfolding encounter between the Māori and the

Crown are dynamic, fluid, and evolving. The encounter, which has been very much a "process of mutual discovery, reaction, adjustment and reflection" (O'Malley, 2012, p. 289), is just as dynamic today. Karaka has been a persistent voice in these conversations.

Tāniko

Our concern here is Karaka's *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* series. The series comprises six paintings: *Te Wai o Huia*, *Ngai Tai*, *Te Ipu Kura a Maki*, *Ngati Paoa*, *Te Kawerau a Maki*, and *Te Taou*, all painted in 1996. They (the corpus of six paintings) are treated here as one image. *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* exhibits all the hallmarks of (the later-) Karaka's style, and all could be said to draw heavily from, or stand in direct relation to, her cited influences. But *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* also stands apart. One of the more noteworthy features of the *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* series is that Karaka appears to have used and references tāniko, the distinct and unique Māori artform, to weave together a polyglot assemblage – words and images, space and time, the mundane and spiritual – into an integral whole.

Tāniko is often translated, literally, as a method of weaving but it is not weaving in the conventional sense. Rather, as Mead (2019) argues, Tāniko is a system of twisting or twining using, primarily, the *Phormium tenax*, a native flax plant. Māori did not use looms, shuttles, and the mechanisms common in the Northern Hemisphere. Considered part of a wider cultural pattern, tāniko touch nearly all aspects of Māori life and world-view, including and extending beyond ritual, religion, gender, roles, time keeping, agricultural knowledge and practices, and the organization of space. Tāniko is intimately bound up with the tenure of land, its use and distribution, and the resources of that land. Tāniko is also intimately bound up with identity, initiation, ritual practice, cosmology, place-making, storytelling, and the creation of symbolic order. The elaborate geometric patterns used are said to be imbued with meaning, mana and stories (as are nearly all Māori artforms): "Master weavers are a staple of ngā toi Māori. Their hands weave our stories through time, generations plaiting muka (flax fibre) and our stories into te ao mārama with knowledge and care" (Jolley, 2022, n.pag).[1] Tāniko, and weaving traditions more generally, has and continues to play an integral role in passing on memories and traditions and serves as means and modes of cultural replication. For this reason, Te Whare Pora, translated literally as the house of weaving, has been described as a "state of being" as well as a place (Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d., n.pag).

Tāniko, to come at the same matter from a slightly different angle, can be said to reflect or give expression to and re-create what we might call a distinctly Māori ecology of sense and way of organizing space. A Māori sensibility appears to encounter and experiences the world as a compound – of bodily, intellectual, and "religious" senses (the scare quotes indicate potential issue of translation). The processes of making sense and meaning(s) emerge from the interplay of several (visually disconnected) domains – body, mind, spirit – and relational components – family and familial relations, and land (Mark & Lyons, 2010). Karaka's tāniko in paint weaves all these elements or dimensions together, achieving a simultaneous order in a way that is not fragmented by the one-at

-a-time-and-sequential-and-segmented-world-of phonetic writing you are reading right now.

The Cartography of a Weaver

According to Bywater (2020), Karaka offers us a cartography bound to local landscapes. Aoake (2021) says something similar: Karaka outlines "the whakapapa of the land around Tāmaki Makaurau," depicting and/or mapping "the maunga, marae and motu of surrounding whenua of Tāmaki Makaurau" (n.pag). The very naming of the *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* series gestures towards the adequacy of Bywater and Aoke's claims. *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* is the original Ngāti Whatua (Māori iwi or tribe) name for Auckland. Here, this paper develops these claims of Bywater and Aoke and looks to relate them, specifically, to the *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* series.

Karaka's cartography is not topographic, political (in the sense of providing boundaries between political divisions), navigational, nautical, relief, climate, statistical, or historic. *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* is not a specialist map where any of these abstractions exists in isolation. Rather, *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* appears to be the cartography of a Māori weaver, and it is of *place*. In the words of Tuwere (2000): "place is space in which vows have been exchanged, promises have been made and demands have been issued. It [place] is a declaration that our humanness cannot be found in escape, detachment, absence of commitment, and undefined freedom" (p. 91). Karaka's maps are a similar species as the kinds of map that would have supported the ancient Polynesian navigator (National Library of New Zealand, 2023); maps that have been called pre-colonial, indigenous cartographies that depict complex networks of relationships between people, place, environment, culture, cosmology, religion, and history (Roberts, 2012).

How Karaka's series manifests a distinctly Māori organization of space can, perhaps, be seen more clearly if we examine the weave of the words in the paintings. As already noted, the *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* series makes heavy use of text. Karaka subverts the kind of literary experience afforded by her stated influences, e.g. Colin McCahon. Yet we can discern some script. Reading the *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* (1996) painting (singular), from top-to-bottom and left-to-right, we find the words: I, iwi, te whenua, Wae wae whenua, ZION ZION, Maunga Tapu, Rangitoto, IO, Ngati, Tamaki Makaurau. Karaka's use of the "maunga" warrants sustained examination. Maunga can be translated as mountain, and "maunga tapu" can be translated as "sacred mountain." Maunga can be applied to physical places and/or cultural landmarks, e.g. Rangitoto, the name of a very prominent volcanic island in the centre of the Auckland Harbour.

> New Zealand (NZ) Māori identity, as is the case for indigenous peoples the world over, is inextricably linked to a sense of place of origin, Tūrangawaewae, literally, "a place to stand one's feet." Place here is obviously first and foremost about land, but also includes the rivers, lakes and sea that have sustained Māori communities since their arrival in Aotearoa, almost a thousand years ago. (Walker-Morrison, 2014, p. 25)

But the ambiguities of the English word "mountain" are not parallel. The translation, in some sense, fails because of epistemic compression, ontological misalignment, and the flattening or squeezing of a density of meaning(s) into a thin referent. The invitation to accept easy equivalence between the two languages

betrays a grounding in what Apter (2014) calls a Neoplatonic fantasy of an always perfect equivalence that is in turn grounded in a mathematical understanding of the world. Karaka's use of maunga suggests a bond between place, people, and identity that is not of the abstract kind. Rather, it is profoundly localized, embodied, and specific. The bond is to a very particular part of the land for which there are no substitutes. The universal is inextricably coloured by the particular. Karaka is talking about *this* land *here*, and not some other land somewhere else.

In addition to specificity, any consideration of maunga extends to include whakapapa (genealogy), cosmology and creation stories, and whenua. Whenua can be literally translated as land, country, or ground. What is missing is what we might call a symbolic aspect. In the fullness of its meanings (or at least fullness as it can be approximated here in writing), whenua expresses relationships and connects earth and people. Translating whenua as "land" erases the relational, genealogical, and bodily dimensions. It also erases the imbrication of "space" with memory. In the words of Walker-Morrison (2014), "As Māori we describe ourselves as tangata whenua, 'people of the land'" (p. 26). The land is life. A person's basic constitution as a human being is from the whenua. If we can accept, at least provisionally, that what Tuwere's (2002) claims apropos the Fijian situation also hold true in Aotearoa/New Zealand then we can say that the land is a "social fact" that "holds life together and gives it meaning" (p. 36). A relationship to land, specified precisely by way of identifying Maunga (and the associated linguistic assemblage), defines what it is to be human (Tuwere, 2002, p. 39).

> In many Pacific languages, the word for land is related or identical with the word for womb or placenta. The best examples are: fanua (Samoan), fonua (Tongan), fenua (maohi Nui or Tahitian) and Whenua (Māori). They have parallel meanings with Fijian vanua, referring as it does to the basis of life on earth. (Tuwere, 2002, p. 36)

> The central idea is belonging [. . .] Belonging begets meaning. One will never receive the same depth of meaning away from home. What is conceptualized in the vanua is the life that acquires its meaning when lived in community with others—not only with other human beings but also with ancestors, with seasons and festivals, plants and animals, land and sea and everything on it. (Tuwere, 2002, p. 69)

Therefore, for Māori, to be cut off from a right relation to the "land" is to be cut off from the very source of life.

At this juncture, we are approaching the crux! The colonization of New Zealand/Aotearoa was the outworking of a reordering of space at the symbolic level, and this preceded (and followed) the literal dispossession from the land:

> [Pākeha] renamed and inscribed their colonial identity onto the landscape to make it theirs. Western constructs were superimposed over Māori ways of knowing to subjugate, colonise and ultimately alienate Māori from their land—the source of Māori identity, historically, socially, politically and geographically. (Rangiwai, 2011, p. 62)

In the wake of Cook's (re-)discoveries, European settlers began arriving in New Zealand. By 1858, the population of settlers passed that of Māori. According to Mead (2019), this was the point of no return that brought with it a period of serious adjustment and structural change including the breakdown of leadership and the religious systems, depopulation, dispossession of lands, and a loosening of the whole social fabric. By

1890, a mere 50 years after the Treaty signing at Waitangi, Māori constituted less than a tenth of the population (Pool & Kukutai, 2011). By 1900, the relatively new state had acquired, by a variety of means, over 90% of the country for the state and its settler population.

Colonial Corridors and Counter-Cartography

Discussing the 22nd Biennale of Sydney, Bywater (2020) notes how Karaka's *Ihumātao* paintings "infiltrated the old 'Court Galleries' [. . .] [and] electrify the always already political stakes of the picturesque colonial depictions of landscape they interrupt" (n. pag). Similar claims are made by Southon (2022) on the occasion of the *Emily Karaka: Matariki Ring of Fire* exhibition at Te Uru Waitākere Contemporary Gallery, Auckland in 2022. No such claims can be made of *Te Ipu Kura a Maki*! The works are currently displayed in the narrow corridors of the Quad building at Massey University's Auckland campus (see Figure 1). Mounted at eye level on the walls of narrow corridors, it is impossible to stand far enough back from any of the works to view them in their fullness. And why would we? At best, their display invites viewers to encounter the works as if they decorative fixtures or the quotidian watercolours found in low-cost working men's hotels or hospitals.

While neither electrifying nor setting the space alight, *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* may still be read as counter-cartography, revealing the organization of space of the site of display. Karaka's series performs something of an un-mapping, rendering visible the rectilinear embrace of the Quad and revealing an organization of space that shares much in common with Cook's cartographic enterprises.

The Quadrangle (or Quad) was built in the early 1990s. As per its name, the building is a centreless rectangular structure that encloses a rectangular open space. The fundamental organizing principle is the grid and parallel straight lines. The exterior, along with the rest of the Auckland campus, is styled on or tries to simulate the casual excellence of Stanford University, California. Moving to consider the interior, each of the buildings' three levels has a corridor that circumnavigates the internal courtyard. The central corridor connects and facilitates movement between the offices and hybrid spaces that run off the central corridor facing both the interior quadrangle and the building's exterior. *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* is on display in the south-eastern corner of the second floor (of three); the area that currently houses the Centre for Professional and Continuing Development, and Facilities Management. The interior hallway is (almost) completely cut off from the outside world, given that it runs in the middle of the building, between the offices facing in and out. In stark contrast to the ecological unity of *Te Ipu Kura a Maki*, the interior of the Quad appears to promote a species of dualism, between inside and out, culture and nature, people and environment (Bellone et al., 2017). In this respect, the Quad appears typical of white-collar administrative spaces of the period, and very much in the (anti-) tradition of the modern university; that is to say it is international and married to a form of bureaucratic and technological efficiency that operates precisely because of its "dislocation from the immediate vicissitudes of time and place" (Parker, 2011, p. 971).

The south-eastern corner of the Quad features a reception and administrative space, 11 offices (between 10 and 12 m^2 each), 2 small teaching areas (approximately 30 m^2

each), a hybrid, shared working space (85 m^2), and several small service areas including kitchenette, ventilation unit, and photocopying room (see Figure 2). Walking the straight uniform lines of the corridors, punctuated only by a glass door, is to involve oneself in the metronomic arrangement of (infinitely) repeatable units (Craib, 2000). Standardized equivalence, uniformity, and homogeneity are amplified in a variety of ways. The Quad has a lot in common with the dominant white cube approach to the display of art, pioneered by the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in the 1930s. But where Alfred Barr, the inventor of the white cube, sought to minimize visual distractions and direct viewers towards a pure experience of the artwork, the anonymous design of the Quad's interior seeks neutrality through use of standardized components and modular design. Office doors are uniform, the same wood is used for each. The standardized wood used for the doors warrants mention because the frames for each of the *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* paintings use the same stained wood (maple or thereabouts). While each of the frames has been specifically designed and carved in an identifiably Māori way, they (the frames) work to further occlude the paintings by blending them into their surrounds.

Each of the offices, as with all fixtures and fittings, including fire hoses and the very paintings we are discussing, is numbered and labelled with little plaques. These wayfinding aides recall the logic of the European imperial archive and its geodetic writing system (Edney, 2009; Lefebvre, 1991), "that by the mid-eighteenth century privileged the universal grid and with it the desire to locate, classify, and control all that it surveyed" (Brückner, 2021, p. 2). Each plaque derives its name and meaning from a "cartographically determined supersystem of 'proper' 'places'" and props up a "vision of the world as controlled and predictable, and free from the errata of the real, or 'improper,' aspects of everyday life" (Pelletier, 2003, p. 13).

The corridors of the Quad are clean and well lit (for walking at least). The ceiling is white, consisting of uniform rectangular panels and halogen lighting. The walls are off-white, and they are lightly textured. The carpet is mottled (or marbled). Perhaps, the dominant colour is aqua, but it might just as easily be said to be maroon or brown. The function of the carpet design seems to be to disguise the passage of time and use. Modernity is often spoken of as being anti-traditional and forward looking (Guillén, 1997). Here, however, modernity's drive has been pushed to excess; you could stab someone and have them bleed out on the carpet and, having moved the body, there would be little trace. There are no threats to attention, and nothing unseemly to detract from the clear focus on efficiency and productivity in the ahistoric now. The space is functional, regular, and simple. The Quad might also be said to be the aesthetic companion to a detached logic and the West's cultural mythology of rationalism and scientific management (Guillén, 1997; Pelletier, 2003).

In the Quad, there is no visual access to the interiors of offices; privacy is the preserve of sight rather than sound. The soundscape, too, betrays a distinctly ocular bias. Visual privacy is sacrosanct such that sounds from the *outside* world (keeping in mind that inner and outer is a visual gradient) are largely eliminated. Yet little to no attention has been afforded the interior soundscape. Interior noise is of the "constant hum of strip lighting, air conditioning units and computer fans provides the keynote sounds now" (Parker, 2011, p. 970). Paper-thin walls (that, in practice, are not actually paper thin) mean that all conversations travel between offices and from offices into the hallways and back again. The acoustic environment of the interior

is maintained through social decorum and politeness (not that the organization promotes conversation). The corridors are, in the main, 1.6 m wide. When more than two people gather, passage for others is impeded. The cellular offices too offer little space for anything more than hushed conversation between two people. Rather, each of the cellular spaces is dominated by individual workstations – a desk, computer, and screen for sedentary work. The main work done here is by atomized individuals, equal subjects of self-contained, autonomous, spatial units (Pelletier, 2003). And the work they do is mind work – silent reading and writing in front of their screens.

The Colonial Grid

Describing the space of display – the Quad – could be extended almost indefinitely. But I am hopeful that at this juncture multiplying details is unnecessary because it has become evident that the organization of space where the *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* is displayed has been brought into view. In short, the space of the Quad appears to have been modelled along the lines of the organizing principle that informed Captain Cook's cartographic endeavours. What should we call the principle? Does it have a name? Bellone et al. (2017) have sought to call this pattern of organizing space an assemblage of the Cartesian reference system, Euclidean geometry, and Galilean physics. Turnbull (2000) refers to it as a calculative framework:

> When perspective, geometry, and the grid of latitude and longitude were combined, it was possible to calculate accurately the location of any spot on Earth. It was this calculative framework, the space within which to assemble knowledge that, according to some historians of the Renaissance and the scientific Revolution, provided the essential precondition for the possibility of modern science. (p. 113)

And Apter (2014), in view of languages and issues of translation, calls it the illusion of a mathematical or mathematizable or quantifiable space that resides, somehow, behind language. For the sake of simplicity, it is perhaps expedient to refer to the organizing principles as *the grid*. It is thought that the Quad was designed as a monument to Euclidean or infinite space characterized by Cornford (1976), although no records survive that would concretely establish this as a design principle.

In solving the problem of longitude, the international (read European) scientific community established a new international space where "all sites would be rendered equivalent, and localness would vanish in the homogenization and geometrization of space" (p. 121). Determining longitude was the key to accumulation and assembling knowledge in space and time and creating equivalences between pieces of heterogeneous information: "the application of mathematical principles produces a formal ensemble of abstract places and collates on the same plane heterogeneous places" (Turnbull, 2000, p. 100). As Laurel et al. (1995) note: "the Panoptic Cartesian grid, extended by projective geometry, casts its net of domination over all that is observed, surveyed and measure" (p. 2). All subsequent mapping of the world (in the Western tradition) became, in essence, the (impossible) task of filling in the gaps. And for this reason, we might say that even Cook's nautical and topographical maps can be seen as very Euclidean in effect even while not purely Euclidean in approach (Sbacchi, 2001). If this article has been even

partially successful, then it should be apparent that the organizing principle that informed the design of Quad is starkly at odds with patterns of order in *Te Ipu Kura a Maki*. It should also be apparent that much of what has been said about maps, mapping, and cartographic protocols applies also to the Quad if not much of our built environment (assuming the Quad is in fact an exemplar). Maps and mapping were *the* tools of settler colonialism, capitalism, and imperial domination (Brückner, 2016). Maps were key to the British Empire's conquest of space (Crombie, 1991; Mesquita, 2018; Razack, 2018; Sbacchi, 2001; Hunt & Stevenson, 2016), and they continue to colonize:

> In effect, these maps continue to colonize. This is a part of the perpetual and ongoing process of dispossession that is intrinsic to settler colonialism, a process that involves a "thoroughgoing rewriting of land and production of social space," not just by surveyors or town planners or farmers, but through all the structures of settler colonial control and governance intervention, advanced by "the police, the architects of social policy, the census takers, the missionaries, the protectors and officers of Native welfare, or the town councilors who voted on by-laws and curfews, who recoded spaces as white and settled, wild and untamed, or hybrid and dangerous. (Banivanua-Mar & Edmonds, 2010, p. 6)

These claims by Banivanua-Mar and Edmonds have been substantiated by Sammler and Lynch's (2021) study of the co-constitution of scientific observation and colonial occupation through the lens of astronomical observatories in Hawaii. Sammler and Lynch show how astronomers do not just cognitively inhabit the Archimedean point but (re-) produce material sites and infrastructures that enable this perspective. Here, I have made similar claims of the Quad building but in relation to the (Cartesian) *grid*. Can post-Treaty dialogue take place in these kinds of *container*?

Retrofitting Spaces for (Post-) Treaty Dialogue

Following the signing of the Treaty, some documents spent a good amount of time hidden away in a basement. In 1841, Treaty documents only just escaped destruction by fire. Then, having been placed in an iron safe in the Colonial Secretary's office, they were transferred to Wellington in 1865. Copies were made and the originals were put into storage where they were damaged by water and rats, and they fell into significant disrepair. The original documents were eventually discovered in 1908, buried in a heap of old papers and rubbish in a basement underneath the old wooden Government Buildings in Wellington. It was not until a century after signing that the Treaty was displayed in public. Further restoration was only undertaken in the 1970s when the Treaty re-entered the legislative landscape with the *Treaty of Waitangi Act* (1975) and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal. Today, however, the Treaty documents are displayed at the National Library of New Zealand in a manner not dissimilar to the display of fine art.

The life of Karaka's *Te Ipu Kura a Maki* is not dissimilar to that of the Treaty. The six paintings came to Massey University, on loan from the SkyCity Entertainment Group, in the late 1990s. They (the paintings) were officially gifted to Massey University in a ceremony on December 17 2011. Like the initial signing of the Treaty, much was made of the event (Sirota, 2020). Yet, when I began writing this paper in 2021, the paintings were improperly stored and collecting dust in the basement of Massey University's Albany Library. There were no protocols surrounding their handling. It

was only very recently that they were hung in the hallway of the second level of the Quad building. Here, they are improperly displayed, and for all intents and purposes, they are side lined, much like the Treaty itself prior to the 1970s. Here, this partial parallelism is read as an invitation to move from a consideration of Karaka's paintings and the site of their display to explore the unfolding encounter between Māori and settler colonials, and the organization of space at sites where post-Treaty dialogue is legislated to take place.

One conclusion that could be drawn is that we, in New Zealand/Aotearoa, have been trying to conduct post-Treaty dialogue in spaces built on unexamined spatial biases of settler colonialism. Treaty principles have been, and continue to be, thought about in colonial spaces. Technologies may evolve – the tools of mapping, design, and architecture – but the sensibility and assumptions that inform Western cartographic rationality remain intact. And this becomes an issue because post-Treaty dialogue can only be the *content* of an ocular-centric environment that shows every sign of being continuous with drive of settler colonialism to remake space in its own image. Subsequently, post-Treaty dialogue is, perhaps, little more than a name for discourse that props up the illusion of New Zealand as a treaty nation. In lieu of an adequate spatial response, it appears that we have a situation where so-called dialogue, under the signs of partnership, participation, and protection, is simply working to bring settler colonialism to its conclusion. Here, it would be hard to be more concise than Sissons (2004): "The great-unfinished project of post-settler nationhood is to convert illegitimate possession into legitimate belonging" (p. 19).

What (if anything) is to be done? Is the recognition of biases enough? It would be conventional at this juncture to establish and claim a need for more research. But I have a lot of sympathy with Lefebvre (while not holding to the fullness of his political convictions). According to Lefebvre (1991), the answer is: "Change life! Change society! These precepts mean nothing without the production of an appropriate space" (p. 59). There is, here, a clear mandate for new works in design and architecture. But, perhaps more importantly, we need to address those spaces of the everyday banal, those spaces like the Quad we are inclined to treat as invisible because they are so normal and unworthy of note, where we think, act, imagine, and enact Treaty dialogue. In this respect, the work of Crum et al. (2019) holds out a possible, if not necessary, (spatial) response. Crum et al. offer guidelines for best cultural and technical practice for the retrofitting of Marae in the face of seismic challenges, relevant legislation, and Māori values. The problem they faced was that "there is no recognized western design methodology that facilitates the incorporation of indigenous approaches into accepted seismic strengthening practice, nor a formalized strategy towards the implementation of indigenous knowledge into developed guidelines for practitioners" (Crum et al., 2019, p. 2). Here, we are faced with an analogous problem. There are no recognized methodologies that facilitate the creation, design, or refurbishing of spaces to facilitate post-Treaty dialogue. There are no formalized guidelines for administrators, planners, architects, and the ongoing stewards of our built environment(s). Subsequently, with Crum et al. (2019), this paper also claims that "a reliance on current systems to lead this change will not [. . .] always give effect to the desired outcomes. New systems must be developed that consider socio-cultural matters present in Māori communities" (p. 13). What shape should these guidelines take? An answer is well beyond the scope of this work. But, following Parker, it seems reasonable to assert that we must begin to take responsibility

for dimensions of experience, in this instance space, that is "no less real or significant simply because we barely attend to it" (Parker, 2011, p. 962). We need a new mindset. At the very least, what appears to be in the offing is a need to do everything we can to raise the spatial unconscious to the level of intelligibility. And we also need to integrate a theoretically informed spatial sensibility into the design, transformation, and ongoing maintenance of spaces where dialogue is supposed to take place. More work needs to be done thinking through the work of figures like Brian Larkin, who look at infrastructure as language, and adapting these thought forms for the New Zealand situation. Without any such spatial intervention and new patterns of organizing how can there be meaningful dialogue? The inertia of settler colonial patterns of organizing space seems only to (re-) create conditions whereby Māori continue to experience exile in their own land (A. Smith et al., 2021).

Note

1. This account is, perhaps, slightly romanticized. The relationship between tāniko and meanings associated with patterns is complicated. Despite significant attempts to classify the meaning(s) of ancient Tāniko patterns, Phillipps (1960) concluded that interpretation of their meanings has become vexed, if not impossible. However, Phillipps' claims have not discouraged others from finding and making (univocal) claims about the message and meaning of tāniko patterns.

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