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POWER/KNOWLEDGE AND SPACE: THE CREATION AND ALIENATION OF THE 'RESERVE' AT PORIRUA

A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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IN GEOGRAPHY AT
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ROBERT ANDREW McCLEAN BRP(Hons) 1996

ABSTRACT

Maps are common images in society. With the help of a map stories are told, histories are written, the weather is forecast, cities are planned and countries are defined. Usually the map presents a view-point from a position of a birds-eye perspective; a view looking down on 'us' from somewhere above, a vision that can see 'everything'. In this thesis I take a critical 'look' at the map and investigate how the map creates ideas of space and place. Instead of a 'mirror' of reality, I will argue the map is a 'text' produced within a discursive formation and within this formation, mapping discourse presents a representation of social realities.

The map as a discourse also has an ideological role as the spaces on the map are used to reproduce unequal social relationships. In exploring the map as ideological discourse, I will illustrate how the map has been used by colonialism and imperialism to produce an 'Empire'. Thus, imperialism is a social process that creates space (or territory) and invades that space with the help of mapping discourse. Imperialism derives its power by the use of knowledges that defines the 'Other' in a cartographical space.

Mapping discourse played a critical role in the creation of Porirua as a 'district' and in the alienation of the district after the arrival of New Zealand Company settlers in 1840. With the aims of acquiring Porirua for 'settlement' and for the intention of amalgamating Toa Rangatira into 'civilization', three reserves were created with a map in 1847. Later in the 1860s, with the arrival of more settlers from Europe, the surveyors attempted to make the reserves 'disappear' in an effort to individualize the collective lands of Toa Rangatira. This process of cartographical fragmentation was, and still is, contested by Toa Rangatira. However, rather than provide a space for the amalgamation of the tribe into European society, the remnants of the original reserves have become sites of resistance; places where Toa Rangatira can 'stand' together as an indigenous people. This resistance may also influence the re-emergence of small spaces of the original reserves as part of the Waitangi Tribunal claims process.

In order to integrate my own positionality (way of seeing) into this thesis and make it more readable, I have organized the text around an extended metaphor of the tikouka (cabbage tree). Accordingly readers are encouraged to approach this thesis as if you are entering various rooms in a gallery, as opposed to reading the chapters in a traditional linear fashion. With the use of this metaphor, I want to give the impression that, like a tree, this thesis is grounded and situated in the political and social relations of place and time.

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While this thesis carries my name as its author, I have not worked 'alone' and in this sense the product is not only my creation. I would like to say a BIG thank-you to the following persons for their contribution in the construction of this thesis/display.

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Te Wananga O Ruakawa
Victoria University Library
Waitangi Tribunal

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And lastly I want to affirm my partner and wife, Kathrin and our three jewels, Antonia, Mattea, and Josef. This thesis sees the end to five years of student life. They have been good years and all credit must go to Kathrin who has been the major care-giver while I have got lost in my books. Thanks Kathrin!

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Chiara Lubich and all the focolare movement who have been an inspiration to me

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR Appendices to the Journals of the House

of Representatives (New Zealand)

APS Aborigines Protection Society

Col. Sec. Colonial Secretary in the New Zealand

Executive

DLS
Department of Lands and Survey
DOC
Department of Conservation
Governors' Archives (NA)
GBPP
Great Britain Parliamentary Papers

GIS Geographic Information Systems
GPS Geographic Positioning System

GRF Graduate Research Fund (Massey University)
LS Archives of the Lands and Survey Dept (NA)
LS-W Archives of the Wellington Office, Lands

and Survey Dept (NA)

MA Archives of the Maori Affairs Dept (NA)
MA-MT Archives of the Maori Trustee's Office (NA)

MB Maori Land Court Minute Books

MLC Maori Land Court NA National Archives

NM Archives of the Province of New Munster (NA)

NR Native Reserve

NZC Archives of the New Zealand Company (NA)

NZLR New Zealand Law Reports NZMS New Zealand Map Series

OLC Archives of the Land Claims Commission (NA)

PD New Zealand Parliamentary Debates RMA Resource Management Act, 1991 RNZTPA New Zealand Town Planning Appeals

SC Supreme Court

SOE State Owned Enterprise

WT Waitangi Tribunal

ROOM ONE:

THE ROOM OF INTRODUCTION

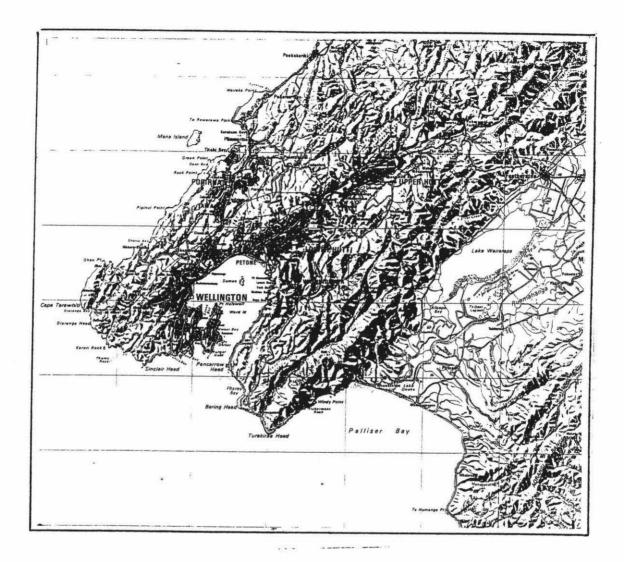


Figure 1.1 Porirua City. Source, NZMS 262, WGTN, 1:250 000, 1986, DLS.

This thesis is located within a place called Porirua City. Instead of 'reading' the map above (Figure 1.1), I invite the reader to imagine that you have jumped or entered into the map of Porirua. Once inside the map feel the landscape around you; the sounds, smells, colours. Then travel on the delineated roads until you arrive at Plimmerton (or Taupo). In your hand you have the invitation......

YOU ARE INVITED TO AN **EXHIBITION** OF THE

THREE RESERVES AT PORIRUA

PLACE: THE TIKOUKA OR CABBAGE TREE 'SOKOL' 14 STEYNE AVE PLIMMERTON

Come and view the cartographic geographical history of the Porirua three reserves of Toa Rangatira.

Members of the public may view the exhibition with the express permission of Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira.

At a place called No.14 Steyne Ave, you might see a large white and red house built about 1900s.

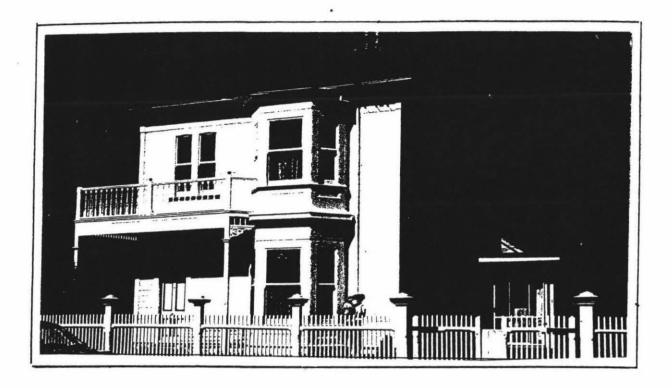


Figure 1.2 'Sokol', No.14 Steyne Ave, Plimmerton.

I wish to draw your attention to a small cabbage tree or tikouka that is situated on the right of the house called 'Sokol'. Now walk up to the tree and enter inside and find yourself in a room called.... THE ROOM OF INTRODUCTION. On the rounded wall of this room are many diagrams and one map. Different parts of the wall have different labels. The first is....

¹ Sokol (Croatian) is regarded by my family as meaning 'strength'.

1.1 ORIENTATION AND INTRODUCTION MAP

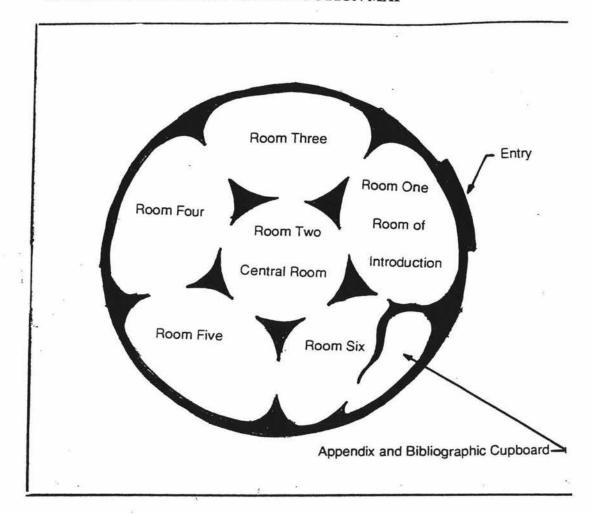


Figure 1.3 Plan of inside the tikouka

This thesis is organised around the analogy of an exhibition held within a tikouka and within a map.² I invite the viewer to travel into six rooms, the five exhibition rooms and the central room. The journey may be made without entering the central room, for example, you may wish to visit room three, four, five, and six and then leave through the Room of Introduction. However I would like to invite you to enter the central room (Room Two) immediately after the Room of Introduction. After visiting this room you may enter any other room at random. An appendix and bibliographic cupboard is annexed to

² I owe this idea of an exhibition to, D Turnbull *Maps are Territories: Science is an Atlas* (University of Chicago Press, 1993).

Room Six. You may wish to inspect the contents of this cupboard at any time during the tour.

In each of the exhibition rooms are a number of maps. Each map is a representation of the three reserves of Toa Rangatira at Porirua. You may quickly fly through the exhibition and let the maps tell you the stories on their own. For those persons with more time, you may stop and read the passages of writing underneath each map.

Organized within the central room are ideas which may be defined as 'theory' although, as I will discuss, the 'boundary' between theoretical knowledge and 'other' knowledges is problematic. This central room of theory, however, provides the unity to the rooms of exhibition. The words flow from the core to the side-rooms and from the side-rooms to the core, theory to practice and practice to theory if you like.

Firstly I would like to present myself as your tour-guide. My name is Robert McClean. I was born in Wellington and my family shifted to No.14 Steyne Avenue when I was four years old. On my mothers side, my grandparents came from Croatia, Ireland, and Shetland Islands in the 1870s. The Croatian side of this family known as the Vellas leased Mana Island for sixty years and lived at 'Sokol'. My father, who is a descendant of the Scottish clan 'McClean', arrived in New Zealand/Aotearoa in the 1950s from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I attended Viard College, Porirua, and after college served an apprenticeship as a Plumber occupied in the maintenance of State houses. After leaving the Plumbing trade, getting married, having kids and shifting to Levin, I completed a degree in Resource and Environmental Planning at Massey University. I am now a masterate student in Geography at Massey.

During the summer of 1995-6 I worked as a planner and researcher for Toa Rangatira (also called Ngati Toa). The aim of my work at the time, which was funded by the Porirua City Council, was to prepare a report on Maori historical places within the Porirua district. The report, entitled **Me Huri Whakamuri Ka Titiro Whakamu** (Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira, 1996) was completed during July 1996. It was this involvement with the Runanga that stimulated me

to carry out this thesis as I wanted to carry out research that would be of benefit Toa Rangatira.

The Topic

The substantive topic of this thesis is an exploration into the cartographic history of the three reserves created in 1847 at Porirua. These reserves were created by the Crown for Toa Rangatira as part of the 'contract' that alienated the Porirua district from the tribe. This contract was made on 17th March 1847 and the Deed of Sale was signed by eight chiefs of Toa Rangatira and representatives of the Crown.³ The description of the land that was to be sold for two thousand pounds was as follows,

These are the lands that are given up by us to the Governor beginning at the boundary formerly laid down to us by Mr Spain, at the Kenepuru, running to Porirua, Pauatahanui, Horokiwi, extending as far as Wainui, then the boundary takes a straight course inland to Pouawa, running as far as Pawakataka.

The deed then goes on the describe boundaries of the three places to be kept in reserve for Toa Rangatira in exchange for the lands given up to the Governor,

Beginning at Te Arataura, running in a straight line inland, then it crosses and comes out at the house belonging to Mr Jackson, running along the Water edge. The other boundary comes as far as Waitawa, and runs straight along the water side until it reaches Te Arataura.

The boundary of which runs from Jackson's house until it reaches the Creek on the side of the cultivated ground of Te Hiko, then it runs straight along that River running straight along at the back of the ridge, then breaking out again to the waterside at Papakohai a little outside the settlement of Oahu.

The boundary begins at Tawitikuri, running along the ridge until it reaches opposite the reeds. It then crosses inland according to the plan laid down in the map reaching the Mountains above the Paripari, then it runs along the ridge to Wainui, and it there descends into the Wainui river. It then runs straight along that river to Pouawa running to Pawakataka, the part outside of this boundary we still retain as ours.

³ The eight chiefs were; Rawiri Puaha, Nohorua, Nohi te Hua, Henere Matene Te Wiwi, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Nopera te Ngiha, Ropata Hurumutu, and Paraone Toangina. The deed was not signed by Te Rauparaha or Te Rangihaeata. The Crown's representives included Colonel McCleverty, Captain Armstrong, Lieutenant Elliot and Servantes. A copy of the deed of sale is included in appendix I.

Cultivation areas outside the three 'reserves' were also to be retained by Toa Rangatira, as the deed stated,

If any of our cultivation's that are above Taupo should fall within the boundary of the Governor's Land, they are to be returned to us.

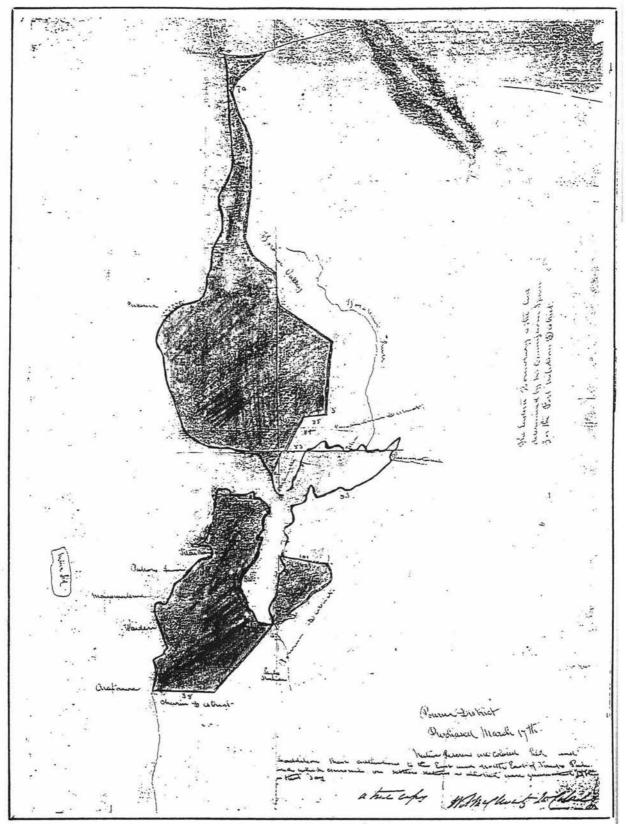


Figure 1.4. The Three Porirua Reserves.

The map formed part of the 1847 Porirua Deed of Sale Source, Waitangi Tribunal.

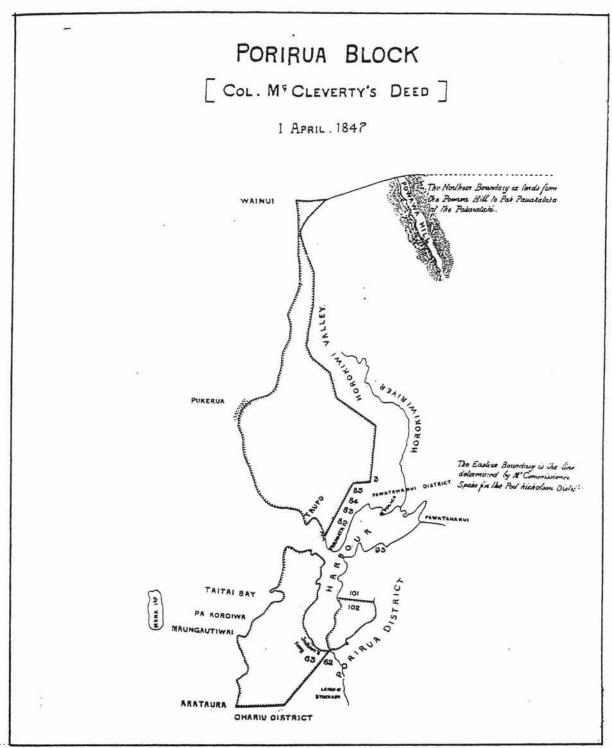


Figure 1.5, Porirua Block.

Map of the 1847 reserves redrawn by Turton.

Source, Turton Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island (1878).

Maps have played a central and critical role in both the creation and alienation of 'reserve' lands at Porirua. The three places to be kept in reserve, were spatially 'marked out' as a 'reserve' using a map within the 1847 deed. Maps enabled the wider territory of the Porirua District to be named a 'district' as the territory of the district needed to be created first before it could be alienated. In this thesis I use the cartographical history of the reserves to illustrate how maps create and reproduce territory or 'landscape'. Here lies the power of cartographical knowledge; the ability of the map to provide the space, the context or 'stage' on which history is written. As this thesis will illustrate, if the land wasn't created on a 'map', then it wasn't created at all! For example those cultivation's falling within the Governor's land mentioned in the 1847 deed, were not marked out on the map, they never appeared in reality!

1.2 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

Room Two: The Central Room

Within the Central Room, I will attempt to 'unmask' the power of the map and it's role in the construction of colonial landscapes. Instead of seeing maps as 'natural' and 'objective' images which provide a 'mirror image' of 'nature', I will illustrate how the map produces a 'vision' of a landscape divided into spaces, places, territories, and boundaries and this vision or visuality⁵ is produced in a discursive formation. This formation which produces mapping discourse, sets the rules on what is defined as a 'map' and what is defined as 'truth' and 'false'. The discourse of mapping can also be ideological. Ideological discourse is used by people in institutions to produce and reproduce oppressive and unjust social relationships. It is therefore necessary for me, in this thesis, to make a value judgment on what forms of visuality or mapping are classified as ideological.

⁴ Paul Carter. The Road to Botany Bay (London:Faber, 1987).

⁵ See, Hal Foster (ed) Vision and Visuality (Seattle:Bay Press, 1988).

My emphasis is a historically specific examination of the map as part of an ideological colonial discourse. I thus aim to avoid totalizing statements and explanations; for example, all maps are ideological. Instead I wish to show in the history of the three Porirua reserves, the reserve landscape has been produced by unequal colonial power relationships; the knowledge of the map is power and power is productive.⁶

Maps as a text are also written by 'someone'. In many instances, the three reserves have been drawn by surveyors and as agents, the surveyors, produced a vision within a social context. I have illustrated the social context of the cartographical vision using the modes of spatial representation model⁷ (Figure 1.6). This model is based on a realist understanding that neither agents of institutions (structures) create outcomes in society. Instead agents, with the use of power/knowledge create institutions to produce social outcomes. These outcomes in turn can become hegemonic; natural spaces for action. As John Kasbarian argues "we struggle to change the world, but under conditions never of our own choosing." Understandings of realities (space, history, time) is socially produced and this reality in turn can limit the ability of agents to produce alternative realities.

⁶ Michel Foucault. "Truth and Power" in Gordon. C (ed) *Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge* (Sussex:Harvester Press, 1980).

⁷ The term 'modes of spatial representation' is used by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge,1992), to illustrate how the imperial eyes of the metropolitan power construct the image of itself 'European' and the subordinated 'Other' by the use of borders.

⁸ John Kabarian, "Mapping Edward Said: geography, identity, and the politics of location" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14 (1996) page 554.

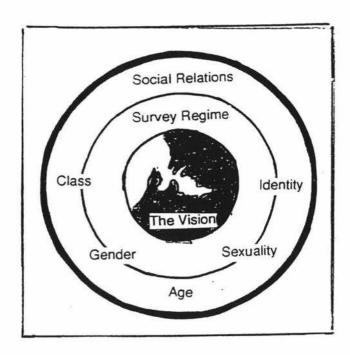


Figure 1.6. The Vision of the Theodolite, Modes of Spatial Representation

The model illustrates that the map, as a creation of a surveyor, must be understood within a social context. This social context is organized between two spheres social relations and survey regime. Social relations encompass relations that are based on notions of class, gender, identity, sexuality, and age. These relations influence the formation of specific survey regimes which consist of various institutions who promote and support the cartographic enterprise; the vision of the theodolite. In this thesis I will concentrate on the social relations of identity, class and gender and so avoid questions of sexuality and age. I suggest the colonial mapping vision of the three reserves has been driven by a social context dominated by capitalism, which requires land to be organized in a way that it can be used as a factor of production, and the idea of 'race'. Race,

¹⁰ See, Virginia Blum and Heidi Nast. "Wheres the Difference? The heterosexualization of alterity in Henri Lefebvre and Jacques Lacan" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14 (1996) pages 559-580.

⁹ Survey regime or called 'scopic regime' by Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity", in Foster, H. *Vision and Visuality* (Dia Art Foundation, 1988) pages 3-28. Also see, J Duncan, 'Sites of Representation', in J Duncan and D Ley (eds) *Place, Culture, Representation* (Routledge, 1993), page 41.

meanwhile, is a powerful ideology and taxonomic strategy which divides people into 'races' or classifications according to biological features (for example, Native, White, Oriental, Asian, Islander). Racism is founded on these classifications and views the 'Other' as inferior and primitive; separate from 'Us' who is superior and advanced. In this ideology of colonial racism there have been three key sub-themes; amalgamation, assimilation and integration. All three ideas aim to bring the 'Other' (defined as separate race) into some sort of unequal relationship with the dominant colonial power. Henceforth while having similar and complex meanings, I view amalgamation as the combining of distinct elements to form a new hybrid whole (1 + 2 = 3), while assimilation refers to a process of becoming alike (1 + 2 = 1) and integration is an action of bring distinct elements into a diverse whole (1 + 2 + 3 = 6 containing 1,2,3 elements).

These three ideologies have intermeshed with other ideas like space and time and have been used by colonialism to achieve and produce a colonial territory.

Within these 'theoretical' discussions there is a need for me to 'locate' or situate myself in the text; in other words, from what perspective or space do I write this (grand) narrative. As Donna Haraway argues the academic cannot claim a "god-trick of seeing everything from nowhere." ¹¹ Situated knowledges requires accountability and responsibility with those groups or peoples I seek to 'see and speak with'. In this regard Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak calls for a 'responsibility structure'. ¹² Only within this structure is authority granted to 'speak'. In an effort to build a situated knowledge I have used the analogy of a tikouka tree. The tree represents my positionality within the politics of location and my entanglements with complex and intersecting groups and institutions. It is from the 'perspective' of the tree (grounded at Plimmerton) that this thesis is constructed. The thesis itself is presented within the tikouka.

In summary the central room focuses on three questions:

(eds) The Spivak Reader (New York;Routledge, 1996), page 293.

Donna Haraway, Simians, Cyborgs, and Women. The Reinvention of Nature (London; Free Association Books, 1991), page 189.
 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Talk", in D Landry and G Maclean

- * What is space and place and how does the map create space?
- * What has been the role of the map knowledge in the creation and maintenance of colonial power?
- * From what space do I construct this narrative and how can I construct knowledge which is situated, non-oppressive and responsible?

Rooms Three, Four, and Five.

Room Three explores the map as an expression of amalgamation ideology. ¹³ I begin by identifying and defining the reserve space as a form of legal spatial discourse used by the imperialist process to control the indigenous peoples. This idea of a reserve was used by the New Zealand Company for humanitarian notions; the Company wanted the Porirua lands for settlement in return for a number of small dispersed reserves for the chiefs. Thus the reserves would help in concentrating and civilizing the indigenous population. This 'plan' was disrupted by both the tribes and the Colonial government. The tribes resisted the survey ideology and the government tried, to a certain degree, to 'protect' the indigenous population using the Treaty of Waitangi. Thus the interaction and conflict between these three main groups influenced a very confusing mode of spatial representation within the contact zone. ¹⁴ The maps of the Porirua reserves displayed in Room Two were produced within the colonialist discourse of amalgamation; by living on a small reserve under the guidance of a

Alan Ward, A Show of Justice, Racial Amalgamation in nineteeth century New Zealand (Auckland University Press, 1974).
 The term contact zone is also used by Mary Louise Pratt to refer to the "space"

¹⁴ The term contact zone is also used by Mary Louise Pratt to refer to the "space of colonial encounters" where "disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, page 4-5).

missionary it was hoped Toa Rangatira would be protected from the 'fatal impact' of colonization and benefit by the arrival of 'civilization'.

Room Four presents the history of the reserves after 1852 when the mode of spatial representation and survey regimes was becoming dominated by assimilation ideology. Assimilation was promoted by a settler government using three key institutions; the Native Land Court, Survey Department and Land Transfer Office. These three institutions worked together (and apart) to construct a survey regime that would produce 'accurate' and 'scientific' images of the reserve lands. Using these map/images the boundaries of the reserves could re-drawn, fragmented and rearranged. The result was that the reserves nearly 'disappeared' as the tribe was expected to take up individual properties within the tradition of British Common law.

Room Five presents a tentative argument that a new mode of spatial representation may be emerging in New Zealand/Aotearoa since the 1970's. This mode is based on a number of ideas including globalisation and biculturalism. I have classified the ideology of this mode as integrationist; mapping is used to locate a diverse number of groups within the boundaries of the nation-state. This is achieved using computer technology which as enabled the surveyors gaze to shift from birds-eye to satellite-eye. Important survey regime institutions include the Waitangi Tribunal, Land Information New Zealand and the local authorities. In this context I will discuss the remnant reserves as a 'site of resistance' and the potential for the re-emergence of the reserves within the context of Toa Rangatiras Waitangi Tribunal Claim, as it is anticipated that a number of Government owned land blocks will be returned to the tribe.

From Room Five the tour finishes at Room Six. At this point I will briefly sum up my main arguments concerning the epistemological issues of doing cartographical and geographical research and the history of the three reserves.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The historical geography of the three Porirua reserves is complex and dynamic. Each reserve and the land blocks that now make up the original reserve have their own specific history, their own story to tell. No doubt a full and comprehensive history would involve many theses and much oral history provided by Toa Rangatira. This thesis tells the story of the three reserves from 'my' perspective, which is informed by a particular geographic and post-colonial academic enterprise. The making of this perspective (or viewing-point) has also relied upon 'official' documented archival material (written in the English language)¹⁵ and other sources (books, journals). I hope such a perspective may complement Toa Rangatira's own oral history of the reserves. This thesis is also subjected to many constraints including page length, time, finance and resources. I have, therefore, not attempted to provide 'the history' of the three reserves. Instead this display attempts to give the viewer a brief outline of the cartographic representations of the three reserves. That is, how the three reserves have been mapped since 1840.

The methodology used in this thesis has encompassed two main processes; the actual information collection process from archival sources and the requirement to build a responsibility structure with those persons I am accountable to. My thesis explores the history of the three reserves created by the 1847 deed of sale. I am, therefore, exploring the history of Toa Rangatira and it's relationship with the Crown and the reserves. The research is, therefore, on 'sensitive' ground as I will illustrate in the central room that history and geography are closely bound with 'identity'. To conduct research in the 'proper way' is to respect and value the perspectives of Toa Rangatira and ensure a measure of control rests with the iwi authority. For this reason, I believe the research could proceed only with the permission and support of Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira.

Toa Rangatira is a tribal group which is located in the lower North Island/upper South Island area. Toa Rangatira trace their whakapapa to the captain of the

¹⁵ Some material, however, was recorded in Maori. For example the history of the Northern block in the Minutes of the Maori Land Court. As this thesis has a focus on how the dominant group has constructed knowledge and this knowledge used the 'English' language, my mono-lingual capacity was not a major limitation.

Tainui waka, Hoturoa. The official 'voice' of Toa Rangatira is the legal iwi authority, Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira. This was confirmed in a recent Maori Land Court decision (MLC 21, 1994, Ngati-Toa Decision). In the context of my working relationship with the Runanga, I was given consent by Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira to undertake this thesis research on the 8th of February 1996. The permission was given on the understanding that I would provide a draft thesis to the Runanga during October 1996 and I would provide a final report and copy of the thesis during December 1996-January 1997. On receiving the draft thesis, the Runanga have evaluated the thesis content in regard for the need of any changes to the text and for the need to restrict public access to the master copy held by Massey University in order to safe-guard confidentiality and the intellectual property of Toa Rangatira. I will also seek permission from the Runanga if I want to use any of the archival material for publication purposes.

Table 1.1 combines the ethical responsibility process and research process used for this thesis.

1996	ETHICAL PROCESS	RESEARCH PROCESS	FOCUS	
Jan	Discussions with Miria Pomare on thesis options	Historical Research on Porirua	Porirua History	
Feb	Permission given by Te Runanga o Toa	Topic of Thesis chosen		
Mar		Submitted Draft Thesis Proposal to Massey Supervisors		
Apr		Focus on Cartographic History	Historical Geography Post- Colonial Theory	
Мау	Submitted Research Proposal to Runanga			
June	Lodged Application with Massey Human Ethics Committee			
July	Approval given by Massey Human Ethics Committee			
Aug		Begin Writing Draft Thesis	Porirua History	
Sep				
Oct	Submitted Draft Thesis to Runanga (six copies) and Massey Supervisors			
Nov		Began re-writing Draft Thesis		
Dec	Presented Thesis, Maps and archival material to Runanga	Presented Thesis to Massey		

Table 1.1 Thesis ethical and research process

In summary, the key aims of the methodology were;

- * To build a responsibility structure with Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira and Massey University. Within this structure the content and focus of the thesis would be negotiated.
- * To conduct research that focused on theoretical understandings of space, maps, and power/knowledge within the social sciences.
- * To conduct archival collection and investigation on the three reserves.
- * To build a thesis that was ethically defensible and would promote my personal (and collective) commitments to love, justice and peace.