

Making Civic Space:

A Comparative Study of Civic Space Design in
the Contemporary Settler Societies of Australia
and New Zealand

Fiona Johnson

October 2019

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia
Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning / Melbourne School of Design
Supervisors: DrJillian Walliss & Professor Hannah Lewi

Abstract

Designers in settler colonial cities around the world are being asked to respond to the demands of decolonisation as nations increasingly acknowledge their ethical obligations to redress colonialism. This thesis explores the state of decolonising practice in design through the lens of civic space in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, as compared through two exemplary projects - Adelaide's Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga and Wellington's Waterfront.

The politics of settler nations are intrinsically spatial, as legislative and symbolic processes of sovereignty negotiate territory. Traversing conflicting layers of history in the spatial present is very complex, as physical ecologies and topographies both disrupt and support the legacy of colonialism.

This research examines the textual, conceptual, spatial and architectural modes of practice which together collectively 'make' civic space. Civic space offers the opportunity to explore shared histories, experiences and practices, between indigenous and settler subjectivities. However, the very notion of 'civic' is problematic within the settler context, where space and politics are inherently 'unsettled'. The study considers the approaches to the design of civic space from placemaking and planning through to the scales of landscape architecture and architecture.

This study found that despite progress and good-will on the part of design practitioners and stakeholders, the position of designers in Australia continues to be compromised by the arrested development of reconciliation in terms of legislation, governance and the redress of history. In the absence of meaningful change, designers are reliant on creative placemaking practices of acknowledgment, applied through techniques of interpretation and curation. When viewed in contrast, the constructs established by the legislative and policy redress of New Zealand have provided designers with a stronger footing from which to explore finer grade spatial design responses to decolonisation. When viewed together these two spaces offer a revealing collision of design, policy and indigenous reconciliation.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

- the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated;
- due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used;
- the thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Acknowledgements

I have been fortunate to receive enormous amounts of support throughout my PhD journey from my family, friends and colleagues, particularly from the staff and students in the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning at the University of Melbourne. This work wouldn't have made it through the many years without the research and pastoral support of the University's professional staff including Jane Trewin, Sally Jones and Ceira Barr.

I wish to say thank you to my committee members Drs Chris Healy and Anoma Pieris for your guidance and support throughout my candidature. Without the early encouragement of Chris and the wonderful staff of the English department during my undergraduate degree I wouldn't have tumbled down the rabbit hole of higher learning.

An extra special thanks to Anoma for her generous, insightful feedback and mentorship. She, along with Janet McGaw and Emily Potter, gave me the opportunity to join Naomi Tootell as a research assistant on their *Indigenous Placemaking* ARC Linkage team. This experience was a gift I will always treasure.

Appreciations to my dear friends Brent Greene and Wendy Walls for being my landscape architecture partners-in-crime for the past decade - through two degrees - and for entering into our 'Game of Thrones' style pact to completion – couldn't have done it without you.

Thank you to my friends and colleagues Jela Ivankovic- Waters, Sareh Moosavi, Tanja Beer, and Kate Archdeacon for sharing your research insights, support and good times. A special thanks to Isun Kazerani for our countless design conversations and our many, many cups of coffee.

Throughout this journey, I have had the opportunity to teach alongside some amazing people in the Landscape Architecture faculties at both the University of Melbourne and RMIT, with special note of my friends Kate Gamble, David Heymann and Alistair Kirkpatrick. I have been lucky to have been offered the opportunity to develop my teaching practice with the support of Margaret Grose, Sidh Sintusingha, Andrew Saniga, Gini Lee, Jock Gilbert, Heike Rahmann and our dearly missed Marieluise Jonas. I want to make special mention of Elliot Summers for co-teaching innumerable design studios with me, drawing on our shared interests, background and humour to experiment and refine our collective teaching pedagogy, much to the confusion of our students.

Thanks to all my family, Heidi Johnson, Russell Mackey and Jacob Mackey – and especially my parents Helen and Jim Johnson, whose own inquisitiveness and quirky antiquarian research proclivities might've set me up for a PhD. Their support throughout my studies has been immense.

There aren't words enough to say thanks to my brilliant supervisors Drs Hannah Lewi and Jillian Walliss for their guidance, support, and feedback throughout my candidature. You have both instilled in me a passion for research and design - and I will be forever grateful. Thank you, Hannah, for your open door, your kindness, intelligence and considered advice. To Jillian, thank you for your direction, mentorship, critique, honesty, incredible patience, humour and friendship. Your belief in the importance of my research and my ability was often my candle in the dark.

And finally - an enormous thanks to my husband and co-director Mark Fenollar for his support, patience, humour and kindness throughout what has been a long journey. It is difficult when your partner undertakes something as demanding as a PhD – and harder still when you run a business together. I look forward to seeing where this journey takes us next.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Declaration	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vii
Table of Figures.....	ix
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	2
1.2 A Decolonising Methodology.....	6
1.2.1 Decolonising Landscape Architecture.....	8
1.2.2 Decolonising the Museum.....	10
1.3 A Comparative Method.....	16
1.3.1 Te Whanganui-a-Tara.....	22
1.3.2 Tarntanya.....	30
1.4 Research Design	37
1.4.1 Thesis Structure	44
Chapter 2 Emplacing Civic: Measures of Control	45
2.1. Introduction: Emplacing Civic	46
2.2. Making Plans: Surveying and Selling the Colonial Settlement in an Indigenous Place	47
2.2.1. A Plan Disrupted.....	54
2.3. Letters and Treaties: Legislating Colony through the City Form.	62
2.3.1. Centre and Periphery: Tensions in the Civic Landscape	71
2.4. The Parklands	76
2.4.1. Reclamation/Exclusion: The Shaping of Harbour and Square	86
2.5. Conclusion	103
Chapter 3 Decolonising Place Wellington	104
3.1 Introduction: Decolonising Place: Wellington.....	105
3.2 On the Waterfront: the Unsettling of the Economies and Politics of Place	106
3.2.1 A New Plan for the Harbour	111
3.3 Decolonising Design in Wellington: Revising Legislation and History	119
3.3.1 Revising the City: Te Aro Park and the City to Sea Bridge	124
3.4 Watching the Waterfront: Placemaking as Civic Catalyst.....	130
3.5 Conclusion	135
Chapter 4 Decolonising Place: Adelaide.....	136
4.1 Introduction: Decolonising Place: Adelaide	137
4.2 Decolonising Adelaide: The City in the Postcolonial Age	138
4.3 Celebrating the Grid: Heritage against Modernism	143
4.3.1 Shifting Plans for Victoria Square	148

4.4	Making Plans: Reconciliation and Renewal	156
4.5	A New Civic Square as Imagined Place.....	163
4.5.1	The Heritage Square: Adelaide Park Lands & Squares Cultural Landscape Assessment Study	167
4.5.2	Civic Placemaking at North Terrace	170
4.6	Conclusion	174
Chapter 5 Space Makers		175
5.1	Introduction: Making Civic Space.....	176
5.2	Making Chaffers Park on the Waterfront in Wellington	177
5.2.1	The Wellington Waterfront Framework.....	185
5.2.2	Chaffers Park in Competition	189
5.2.3	The Design of Waitangi Park.....	195
5.3	Reconciliation in the Creative City – regenerating Victoria Square	205
5.3.1	2003-2007 City Arts and Living Culture Strategy	206
5.3.2	Cultural Heritage in the Parklands	209
5.3.3	Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga: Re-Imagining the square in the creative city.....	213
5.3.4	Victoria Square re-imagined through competition	218
5.3.5	Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Regeneration Masterplan	223
5.3.6	The emergence of the placemaker and the 'New Civic'	237
5.4	Conclusion	249
Chapter 6 Culture Makers		252
6.1	Introduction: Making Civic Architecture	253
6.2	Reciprocal Governance: Te Raukura Te Wharewaka o Poneke	257
6.2.1	Negotiating Biculturalism through Architecture.....	262
6.2.2	Programming the Wharewaka.....	272
6.3	Reconciliation through Placemaking: Mullabakka Kaurua Centre for Culture	278
6.3.1	Making Space at the Centre.....	284
6.3.2	Programming Mullabakka.....	295
6.4	Conclusion	302
Chapter 7 Conclusion.....		304
7.1	Making Civic Space.....	305
7.2	Decolonising the Professions	310
7.3	Reconciling Design	314
Bibliography		316

Table of Figures

Figure 1.1. Fiona Johnson, <i>Insistence: Landscape Architecture Design Thesis</i> , 2010	5
Figure 1.2. Michal Klajban, <i>Te Papa Tongarewa. Wellington, New Zealand</i> , 24 May 2015, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wellington,_Te_Papa_Tongarewa,_May_2015.jpg , CC-BY-SA-4.0.	11
Figure 1.3. <i>National Museum of Australia Canberra, ACT</i> , November 24, 2012, https://www.flickr.com/photos/eileenmak/8249818775/ , eileenmak, CC BY 2.0.	12
Figure 1.4. <i>Treaty of Waitangi.</i> , Dominion post (Newspaper): Photographic negatives and prints of the Evening Post and Dominion newspapers. Ref: EP-Ethics-Waitangi Day and Treaty of Waitangi-03. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23090536	18
Figure 1.5. Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom erecting and establishing the Province of South Australia and fixing the boundaries thereof, 19 February 1836, Privy Council (UK), State Records of South Australia, SRSA: GRG 2/64	18
Figure 1.6. Left: John Pearse, <i>Wellington Harbour - from road leading to the Barracks</i> , 1852, [Ref: E-455-f-034-1. Alexander Turnbull Library, NZ. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23158816 ; Right: W.A. Cawthorne, <i>Aboriginal family walking through scrub country</i> , 1847, 'South Australian drawings ca.1843-1879', State Library of New South Wales.	21
Figure 1.7. Charles Heaphy, <i>Birdseye view of Port Nicholson</i> , 1842-1843, Ref: C-029-006-b. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22875686	21
Figure 1.8. Charles Emilius Gold, <i>Rata tree Wellington N. Zealand</i> , 1849, Ref: B-103-003. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22851765	22
Figure 1.9. Port Nicholson. Showing Native names, from information supplied by Messrs. Elsdon Best and H. N. McLeod. on a map compiled by Mr. H. J. W. Mason, published by the Lands and Survey Department, 1916, in: Ward, Louis Ernest. 'Early Wellington', Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928:190.	24
Figure 1.10. Samuel Charles Brees, <i>Pipitea Point, Wellington</i> , [Between 1842 and 1845] Engraved by Henry Melville. Drawn by S C Brees. [London, 1847], Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, /records/23168219	25
Figure 1.11. William Mein Smith, <i>Courtyard in Pipitea Pā at Wellington</i> , 1842,, (lithograph) R. A. Day & Haghe., London : Smith, Elder & Co., [1845] Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, /records/23151660	26
Figure 1.12. George Richard Hilliard, <i>Te Aro Pā</i> , 1841, Ref: A-113-023. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22713215	26
Figure 1.13. Samuel Charles Brees, <i>The beach at Te Aro</i> , 1842-1847, [Ref: A-109-037. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22527537	27
Figure 1.14. Edmund Norman, <i>Pā, Te Aro, Wellington looking towards the Hutt River</i> [1842 or 1843?]	27
Figure 1.15. Charles Decimus Barraud, <i>Wellington</i> , 1851 Reference Number G-596, http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/detail/?id=31044	29
Figure 1.16. <i>Plan of the City of Wellington, Port Nicholson, New Zealand</i> 1841 Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZ Map 3761, http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/HeritageImages/images/maps/maps103f/3761.jpg	29

Figure 1.17. <i>Kaurna Native Title Claim map</i> , Land Services Group, Government of South Australia.....	30
Figure 1.18. W.A. Cawthorne, <i>Mt Lofty (from the hills) after sunset</i> , 1847, 'South Australian drawings, ca.1843-1879', State Library of New South Wales.....	31
Figure 1.19. Author unknown, <i>Golden Grove</i> , 1920, State Library of South Australia, http://www.catalog.slsa.sa.gov.au:80/record=b2024720~S1	31
Figure 1.20. William Rodolph Thomas, <i>Aboriginal family group on the Onkaparinga River near Hahndorf, South Australia</i> , 1870, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-vn4935828	34
Figure 1.21. Eugène von Guérard, <i>Winter encampments in wurlies of divisions of the tribes from Lake Bonney and Lake Victoria in the parkland near Adelaide</i> ,1858, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.....	34
Figure 1.22. Alexander Schramm, <i>Native encampment in South Australia</i> , 1859, chalk-lithograph printed in colour on paper from two stones by Penman and Galbraith, from the original by Alexander Schramm. B 70985, State Library of South Australia.....	35
Figure 1.23. Left: Charles Emilius Gold, <i>Pipitea Pa, Thorndon, from the rear with Kaiwharawhara hotel and the Hutt Valley in the background</i> , 1847, 'Sketches by General Gold, 1846 to 1860', Ref: A-288-009. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22833115 ; Right: W.A. Cawthorne, <i>Aboriginal ceremonial ground</i> , 1847, 'South Australian drawings, ca.1843-1879', State Library of New South Wales.....	36
Figure 1.24. Research Design and Methodology.....	43
Figure 1.25. Thesis Structure Diagram	43
Figure 2.1. Left: Source of advertisement unknown, likely Birmingham newspaper in Ward, John. "Information Relative to New Zealand: Compiled for the Use of Colonists". John W. Parker, 1840. Right: Advertising <i>South Australia in Britain</i> , 1835, Marsden, Susan, and Kathy Gargett. "Adelaide: A Brief History." Adelaide, SA. History Trust of South Australia, 1996.:9.....	47
Figure 2.2. New Zealand Company, <i>A proposed plan of the city of Wellington in the first settlement in New Zealand, founded 1839-40</i> [copy of ms map]. Drawn by Samuel Cobham, Newgate Street, [London]. [n.d.]. Ref: MapColl-832.4796a/1839/Acc.15648. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22796123 ;	51
Figure 2.3. Donald Leslie Johnson, <i>Town of Adelaide</i> , in 'Anticipating Municipal Parks: London to Adelaide to Garden City', Wakefield Press, 2013:96.t.....	51
Figure 2.4. Louis Ernest Ward, Sectional Plan of Wellington Terrace, surveyed by Robert Park in 1861, showing the cuttings and fillings (exaggerated 6.8 horizontal), 'Early Wellington', Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928:315.	54
Figure 2.5. Walter Baldock Durrant Mantell, <i>Day. Night. Pleasant. Very</i> , 1840, 'Scrapbook. 1840-1872'. Ref: C-103-012-1. Alexander Turnbull Library, http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23144393	54
Figure 2.6. William Mein Smith, <i>The harbour of Port Nicholson and the town of Wellington (sketched in the middle of the year 1842)</i> ,1842; in Wakefield, Edward Jerningham, "Adventure in New Zealand". Ref: PUBL-0011-16-1. Alexander Turnbull Library. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23221896	56
Figure 2.7. William Mein Smith, <i>Plan of the Town of Wellington, Port Nicholson : The First and Principal Settlement of the New Zealand Company</i> , 1840, London: Smith, Elder & Co. for the New Zealand Company.....	56

Figure 2.8. William Light, Plan of the City of Adelaide, in South Australia: with the acre allotments numbered, and a marginal reference to the names of the original purchasers, 1840, State Library of South Australia, SLSA: C194A.....	58
Figure 2.9. William Light, John Gliddon, and Day & Haghe, <i>South Australia the Port and Town of Adelaide, on the Eastern Coast of St. Vincent's Gulf</i> , 1839, National Library of Australia, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231420901	58
Figure 2.10. William Light, A View of the Country and of the Temporary Erections near the Site for the Proposed Town of Adelaide in South Australia, 1838, State Library of Victoria.....	60
Figure 2.11. W H Longway, <i>Adelaide in embryo</i> , 1838, Ref: A-133-003. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22805968	60
Figure 2.12. William Light, Plan of the City of Adelaide, in South Australia: with the acre allotments numbered, and a marginal reference to the names of the original purchasers, 1840, State Library of South Australia, SLSA: C194A.....	61
Figure 2.13. Left: Charles Heaphy, <i>Warepori or "Dark house"</i> , 1845, London: Smith, & Elder. Ref: PUBL-0011-02-1. Alexander Turnbull Library, http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22308729 ; Right: Charles Heaphy, <i>Epuni or "Greedy"</i> , 1845, London: Smith, & Elder. Ref: PUBL-0011-02-2. Alexander Turnbull Library, http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22314439	62
Figure 2.14. Top: Mathew Felton, Plan of the City of Wellington, Port Nicholson, New Zealand, 1841 Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZ Map 3761, http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/HeritageImages/images/maps/maps103f/3761.jpg ; Bottom: Sheet no.101 Adelaide, 1845-1850 Adelaide. http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk697	63
Figure 2.15. Louis Ernest Ward, <i>Potato cultivations at Port Nicholson, 'Early Wellington'</i> , Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928:13.	65
Figure 2.16. Left: <i>Te Aro Pā, Wellington - Map C.1. No 2</i> , This map appeared in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives in 1871 (p. 55). http://www.wcl.govt.nz/Māori/wellington/tearopa.html ; Right: <i>Pipitea Pā, Wellington - Map C.1. No 1</i> , Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives in 1871 (p. 56) http://www.wcl.govt.nz/Māori/wellington/pipiteapa.html	66
Figure 2.17. Samuel Thomas Gill, <i>Matthw [i.e. Matthew] Moorhouse's, Aboriginal Protector's residence, North Adelaide</i> , 184-, National Library of Australia, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an2376951	68
Figure 2.18. James Shaw, <i>View of Adelaide, South Australia</i> , 1851, National Library of Australia, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an8605443	70
Figure 2.19. Left: Samuel Charles Brees, <i>Barrett's Hotel, Wellington</i> , 1842-1845, Ref: A-109-027. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22625814 , Right: E.A. Opie, <i>Adelaide, South Australia, North Terrace</i> , 1841, drawn on stone by J. Hitchen, S. Straker lithographer, State Library of NSW, V3 / St / N Ter / 3	71
Figure 2.20. Richard Baker, <i>Major Baker's cottage, Wellington, May 1st 1841..</i> Ref: A-357-001. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22693126	72
Figure 2.21. Cartoonist unknown, <i>Member of the Aboriginal Protection Society. Punch, or the Wellington Charivari</i> , 1868 (p.19). Ref: J-065-009. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22606459	72
Figure 2.22. Louis Ernest Ward, <i>Courts of Justice, 'Early Wellington'</i> , Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928: 273, http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WarEarl-t1-body-d16-d5-d5.htm	74

Figure 2.23. <i>Louis Ernest Ward, The Stocks, Mulgrave St., 1841, 'Early Wellington', Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928.:273</i>	74
Figure 2.24. Top: Mathew Felton. <i>Plan of the City of Wellington, Port Nicholson, New Zealand, 1841</i> , Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZ Map 3761, http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/HeritageImages/images/maps/maps103f/3761.jpg ; Bottom: William Light, <i>Plan of the City of Adelaide, in South Australia: with the acre allotments numbered, and a marginal reference to the names of the original purchasers</i> , 1840, State Library of South Australia, SLSA: C194A	77
Figure 2.25. Samuel Charles Brees, <i>The Hutt Road taken at the gorge looking towards Wellington, 1847</i> , Alexander Turnbull Library, http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22510170...	79
Figure 2.26. Alexander Schramm, <i>Adelaide, a tribe of natives on the banks of the river Torrens</i> , 1850, The National Gallery of Australia: Canberra.....	81
Figure 2.27. The native location highlighted from the Kingston map of Adelaide; excerpt from map by George Strickland Kingston, <i>Map of Adelaide, South Australia, shewing the nature and extent of every building of the city, as surveyed and laid down by G.S. Kingston, Esqre., George S. Kingston & Edward Stephens, the proprietors, through their agents, Edward J. Wheeler & Co., London, 1842 – 1843</i> , National Library of Australia, MAP RM 1132.....	82
Figure 2.28. Martha Berkeley, <i>The first dinner given to the Aborigines 1838</i> , 1838, Adelaide, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide.....	83
Figure 2.29. John Arrowsmith, William Chesser, Boyle Travers Finniss & William Light, <i>The maritime portion of South Australia from Captn. Flinders & from more recent surveys made by the Survr. Genl. of the Colonies</i> , 1840, NLA, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230641284 [Author's vignette - 'plenty of crayfish'].....	83
Figure 2.30 – McClevery deeds 1848 in comparison to the the remaining Tenths Allocations by 1873.[map by author] <i>A rough plan of the town of Wellington, at Lambton Harbour, Port Nicholson, New Zealand transmitted to England (via India) by Francis Molesworth, Esq. 1841</i> , New Zealand Company.; Smith, Elder, and Co, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, http://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/content-aggregator/getIEs?system=ilsdb&id=892501	87
Figure 2.31. Charles Emilius Gold, <i>Landslip caused by earthquake near Wellington N Zealand</i> , Jan 1855. Ref: B-103-016. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22330780	88
Figure 2.32. Photographer unknown, <i>Te Aro Flat, Wellington, 1857</i> , Government House Collection: Prints of Te Aro flat, Lambton Quay, Parliament Building, Government Buildings, Post Office and Governor's residence. Ref: PAColl-D-0008. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22755927	89
Figure 2.33. <i>Typhoid Area in Te Aro, 1892</i> . Wellington City Archives Reference: 00233:34:1892/740 typhoid map, http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/zoomify/24425/typhoid-map-wellington ; Also found in: Yska, Redmer. <i>Wellington: Biography of a City</i> . Raupo, 2006.....	89
Figure 2.34. Felton Mathew. <i>Plan of the City of Wellington, Port Nicholson, New Zealand, 1841</i> , Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZ Map 3761, http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/HeritageImages/images/maps/maps103f/3761.jpg	90
Figure 2.35. Wellington City Council, <i>Waterfront Reclamation, 2014</i> , http://wellington.govt.nz/about-wellington/history/history-of-wellington-waterfront/waterfront-reclamation	91

Figure 2.36. Author Unknown, <i>Te Aro</i> , 1903, STQRY 'Waitangi Park' 2015, http://www.stqry.com/v/Waitangi-Park/i_7b5ef3480f5ad8595d8d6b16886cc00c	91
Figure 2.37. Author Unknown, <i>Kent Terrace and Oriental Parade</i> , Wellington, 1920s, Ref: 1/2-116556-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22838426	93
Figure 2.38. Sydney Charles Smith, <i>Graving dock under construction</i> , Wellington harbour, 1909, '1888-1972: Photographs of New Zealand', Ref: 1/1-019641-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22416460	93
Figure 2.39. W. W. J. Spreat, <i>Plan of allotments within Te Aro Pah</i> , 1872, City of Wellington [copy of ms map]. W. W. J. Spreat. Lith., Survey Office, Wellington, [ca.1880], MapColl-832.4799gbbd/A/[ca.1880]/Acc.23571 Also published in: Yska, Redmer. Wellington: Biography of a City. Raupo, 2006.	94
Figure 2.40. Author Unknown, <i>Aboriginal Corrobboree At Adelaide</i> , 1885, June 29, 'The Australasian Sketcher',	96
Figure 2.41. Author Unknown, 'Group of natives' in grounds of Jubilee Exhibition building, North Terrace, Adelaide, 1887, State Library of South Australia, https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+10212/27	96
Figure 2.42. The Farnese 'Hercules' Statue in Victoria Square, Adelaide." [In en]. (1893).	97
Figure 2.43. H. Davis, Samuel White Sweet, and Sims Australian Photo Company, <i>King William Street Looking North from Victoria Square</i> , 1870, Art Gallery of South Australia, 805HP74	97
Figure 2.44. Victoria square planting and circulation patterns from colonial foundation through to modernism. (Author's diagram).....	98
Figure 2.45. Townsend Duryea, <i>Panorama of Adelaide :Photographed from the Town Hall tower</i> , 1865, B 5099, State Library of South Australia, http://adelaide.sa.gov.au/panoramas/duryea-panorama	98
Figure 2.46. Edmund Gouldsmith, <i>King William Street, Adelaide</i> , 1885, State Library of South Australia [B 73636].....	100
Figure 2.47. T. McGann, <i>Victoria Square - King William Street - looking north from Supreme Court Building</i> , 1890, Adelaide City Council Archives HP1/HP1807,	100
Figure 2.48. Artist unknown, <i>Coupled tram in Victoria Square</i> , 1950, State Library of South Australia, Victoria Square Collection B 69723	100
Figure 2.49. Author Unknown, <i>Victory Day, June 10th, 1946 - Lieutenant General Rowell and Aides</i> , 1946, SLISA: Robjohns Collection PRG 287/1/13/32	102
Figure 2.50 - Author Unknown, <i>Unveiling of Queen Victoria's [Victoria] Statue</i> , 11/08/1894, Adelaide City Council Archives, HP1/HP1341	102
Figure 2.51. Author Unknown, <i>Unveiling ceremony for Captain Sturt's statue</i> , Victoria Square, Adelaide, 1916, SLISA, PRG 280/1/15/518	102
Figure 2.52. Author Unknown, <i>William Light's Statue in Adelaide</i> , South Australia. 'The Advertiser' on Tuesday 12 March 1918, page 5.	102
Figure 3.1. Christian F. Heinegg, <i>Maori Land March approaching Wellington along the motorway</i> , October 1975, 'Photographs of the Māori Land March', Ref: 1/2-110288-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23136024	107
Figure 3.2. Richard Norman, <i>Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition</i> . 'The Evening Post', August 23 1983, 11-12.....	108

Figure 3.3. Richard Norman, <i>Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition</i> . 'The Evening Post', August 23 1983, 11-12.....	108
Figure 3.4. Richard Norman, <i>Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition</i> . 'The Evening Post', August 23 1983, 11-12.....	110
Figure 3.5. Richard Norman, <i>Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition</i> . 'The Evening Post', August 23 1983, 11-12.....	110
Figure 3.6. <i>The Lambton Harbour Redevelopment Areas</i> , "Lambton Harbour Development Project." edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:5.	112
Figure 3.7. <i>The proposed low-density development behind Chaffers marina, (today the Waitangi Park area)</i> . "Lambton Harbour Development Project." edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:19.	112
Figure 3.8. <i>Capital Hotel & Casino, Wellington</i> , "Lambton Harbour Development Project." edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:20.	117
Figure 3.9. Wei-Hang Chua, <i>Te Aro Park</i> , 2010, https://flic.kr/p/8C79bA , (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)	124
Figure 3.10. Gregory Bodnar, <i>Urban twist</i> , 2010, https://flic.kr/p/8ygma7 , (CC BY-SA 2.0) ..	125
Figure 3.11. Author's photo, <i>The City to Sea Bridge on approach from the waterfront</i> , 2013,	127
Figure 3.12. Author's photo, <i>Maui's fishing line cleaves through the space to Civic Square</i> , 2013.....	127
Figure 3.13. Author's photo, <i>Matchitt's timber structures form a number of seating spaces to occupy</i> , 2013.	129
Figure 3.14. Author's photo, <i>Sculptural elements abstract a whakapapa of Wellington</i> , 2013.	129
Figure 3.15. <i>The Queens Wharf retail centre as proposed in the Lambton Harbour Development Plan</i> , "Lambton Harbour Development Project." edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:13.	133
Figure 3.16. <i>Conceptual Overview of the Queens Wharf Precinct</i> , "Lambton Harbour Development Project." edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:12.	133
Figure 4.1. John Teerds, <i>SA tribe wins full land rights</i> , July 24, 1978. 'The Age', July 25, 1978.	140
Figure 4.2. H. Bechervaise, G. Legoe and R. Olsson, <i>The Design of Adelaide</i> , 1986, The Department of Planning and Development. Adelaide, Centaur Press.....	144
Figure 4.3. H. Bechervaise, G. Legoe and R. Olsson, <i>The Design of Adelaide</i> , 1986, The Department of Planning and Development. Adelaide, Centaur Press.....	145
Figure 4.4. H. Bechervaise, G. Legoe and R. Olsson, <i>The Design of Adelaide</i> , 1986, The Department of Planning and Development. Adelaide, Centaur Press.....	146
Figure 4.5. D. J. McKenzie, <i>Grenfell Centre</i> , Adelaide, 1978, 1978, National Library of Australia, < http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-143403473 >	147

Figure 4.6. The masterplan of Victoria Square has been redesigned on average every 25 years in the 128 years from 1838 through to 1966. (Author's diagram)	148
Figure 4.7. Author Unknown, <i>Victoria Square Fountain Opened in 1968 by Hrh the Duke of Edinburgh</i> , 1968, Adelaide: Adelaide City Council Archives.	148
Figure 4.8. <i>The 1966 design for Victoria Square overlaid with 1930 Pelzer Plan</i> ; in "Remodelling of Victoria Square as Prepared by the City Engineer & Surveyor ", 1966, Adelaide: Adelaide City Council Archives.	150
Figure 4.9. H. Bechervaise, G. Legoe and R. Olsson, <i>The Design of Adelaide</i> , 1986, The Department of Planning and Development. Adelaide.....	152
Figure 4.10. <i>The Victoria Square tower redevelopment proposal</i> , 1992. "Victoria Square Development- Associated Architects." Architecture Media, http://www.archmedia.com.au/unbuilt/results/	164
Figure 4.11. <i>Thiele Proposal Section and Plans</i> , 1992, "Victoria Square Development- Associated Architects." Architecture Media, http://www.archmedia.com.au/unbuilt/results/	164
Figure 4.12. Jan Gehl and Helle S�holt, SA Planning, South Australia, Capital City Committee, and Gehl Architects Aps. <i>Public Spaces and Public Life: City of Adelaide</i> , 2002. Planning SA, 2002: 82.	165
Figure 4.13. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, <i>North Terrace Redevelopment</i> , http://tcl.efront-flare.com.au/cms_images/275_13-09-2012_3953.jpg	170
Figure 4.14. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, <i>North Terrace Redevelopment</i> , http://tcl.efront-flare.com.au/cms_images/275_20-09-2012_8985.jpg	171
Figure 5.1. <i>Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan Design Description</i> , 1991, Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-21. Wellington, New Zealand, 1999: 4.....	179
Figure 5.2. <i>Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan Design Description</i> , 1991, Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-21. Wellington, New Zealand, 1999: 15.....	180
Figure 5.3. Option 1: 100% park; <i>A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront</i> . Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997:4.....	181
Figure 5.4. Option 2: Buildings on the seaward side; <i>A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront</i> . Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997:4	181
Figure 5.5. Option 3: Buildings on the landward side.; <i>A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront</i> . Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997:4	181
Figure 5.6. Option 4: Buildings on both sides; <i>A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront</i> . Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997:4	181
Figure 5.7. <i>Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan Design Description</i> , Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-21. Wellington, New Zealand, 1999: 18	182
Figure 5.8. Author Unknown, <i>Photograph of Variation 17 meeting</i> , Wellington, 2000; in Dominion post (Newspaper): Photographic negatives and prints of the Evening Post and Dominion newspapers. Ref: Dom/2000/0201/1/19-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22654952	184
Figure 5.9 – Photograph by Jonathan Hill, <i>Photo Essay - the Wellington Waterfront Plans</i> , 1999, 'Scoop Independent News', 22/12/1999.	184
Figure 5.10. Wellington City Council, <i>The Wellington Waterfront Framework</i> , 2001, "Report of the Waterfront Leadership Group", Wellington: New Zealand.....	188
Figure 5.11. Author's photograph, <i>The isolated waka landing ramps at Te Marae, Te Papa</i> , 2013.....	188
Figure 5.12. Cartoon by Grant Buist, <i>"I considered it my civic duty! No one wants another mess like Queens Wharf do they?"</i> 27 November, 2002., [Jitterati digital cartoons published	

from 2001 in The Capital Times newspaper]. Ref: DCDL-0008055. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23019707	192
Figure 5.13. Megan Wright Landscape Architects (Wellington), Stantiall's Studio Athfield Architects, NSW Dept of Public Works & Services , and Landscape Environment & Urban Design Unit (Australia). "Entry 190." 2002.	194
Figure 5.14. Rachel Hughes with Beca Carter Hollings &, Ferner (Wellington), "Entry 148." 2002.....	194
Figure 5.15. John Gray, Michael Sorkin, Tim Nees, Catherine Alington (Wellington). "Entry 201." 2002.....	194
Figure 5.16. Vignes, Benoit, and Ariane Smythe. "Entry 142." Landscape Architecture Students (Versailles, France), 2002.	194
Figure 5.17. Chris Yandle and Peter Rough. "Entry 188." Peter Rough Landscape Architects (Christchurch), 2002.....	194
Figure 5.18. Wright+Athfields, <i>Waitangi Park Masterplan Level 0 A1-00 (Resource Consent Area 1)</i> , 2006, Wellington Waterfront Limited: Wellington, https://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.wellingtonwaterfront.co.nz/docs/A_100_masterplan.pdf	196
Figure 5.19. Neil Price, <i>Waitangi Park</i> , 2016, http://www.landezine.com/index.php/2016/10/waitangi2/	196
Figure 5.20. Neil Price, <i>Waitangi Park</i> , 2016, http://www.landezine.com/index.php/2016/10/waitangi2/	196
Figure 5.21. Author's photograph, <i>Waitangi Park Graving Dock</i> , 2014.....	198
Figure 5.22. UN Studio /Arup/JASMAX, <i>Waitangi Precinct Design Competition. Area 2. Museum Extension:Harbour Edge Uplift</i> , 2006, https://web.archive.org/web/20061004131618/http://www.wellingtonwaterfront.co.nz/docs/waitangipark/un_01-n.pdf	202
Figure 5.23. <i>Aerial view of KBR Masterplan for Victoria Square showing central space</i> ; in Kellogg Brown & Root Pty Ltd, "Victoria Square– Tarntanyangga Urban Design Master Plan Technical Consultation and Design Revision Report." Adelaide: City of Adelaide, 2003: 28.....	204
Figure 5.24. <i>The Central Space looking North</i> ; in Adelaide City Council "CWP Draft Urban Design Master Plans - the Central West Precinct New Directions." 2002: 5.....	215
Figure 5.25. <i>Master plan depicting journey lines radiating from the Central Ceremonial Space</i> ; in JimFitzpatrickArchitects. "Portfolio - Urban/Landscape: Victoria Square Master Plan and Cultural Layering, Adelaide, South Australia (Tcl)." https://www.jfarchitects.com.au/portfolio-items/urban-landscape/	215
Figure 5.26. Kellogg Brown & Root Pty Ltd, <i>Victoria Square- Tarntanyangga Masterplan</i> , 2002, "Victoria Square– Tarntanyangga Urban Design Master Plan Technical Consultation and Design Revision Report." Adelaide: CITY OF ADELAIDE, 2003: 26.(Ltd 2003).....	217
Figure 5.27. <i>Three conceptual design options drawn up by undisclosed consultants for Adelaide City Council</i> ; in Craig Bildstein, "Seven Ways to Get Some Action." The Advertiser, Monday August 13, 2007 2007, 5.....	218
Figure 5.28. Adelaide City Council, <i>ESD 0019 Victoria Square/ Tarntanyangga Community Ideas Competition</i> , 2008, Adelaide City Council, http://web.archive.org/web/20080725002616/http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/adccwr/publications/forms/esd_0019.pdf . (Council 2008)	219
Figure 5.29. <i>Entry USD 0045 included a figurative paving pattern depicting the tail of a red kangaroo</i> ; from Adelaide City Council, "Esd 0045 Victoria Square/ Tarntanyangga	

Community Ideas Competition."	
http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/adccwr/publications/forms/usd_0045.pdf	220
Figure 5.30. <i>Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Masterplan</i> ; in Taylor Cullity Lethlean, "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:18.	222
Figure 5.31. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, <i>Arbour Perspective</i> , "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Regeneration Masterplan Report." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2010: 23.	223
Figure 5.32. <i>The six conceptual strategies driving the design response for the square</i> ; in Taylor Cullity Lethlean, "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:13	229
Figure 5.33. <i>Sections 5.5</i> in Taylor Cullity Lethlean, "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:26.....	231
Figure 5.34. <i>Section illustrating the Mosaic Garden in the southern half of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga</i> ; in Taylor Cullity Lethlean, "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:30.....	231
Figure 5.35. Taylor Cullity Lethlean. <i>The Native Garden</i> , "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:32.....	232
Figure 5.36. <i>Photographs of physical models of the arbours, terraces and pavilions</i> , in TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:174.....	234
Figure 5.37. <i>Detail of the Arbours</i> ; in TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:175.	234
Figure 5.38. <i>Sections A & B (4.5 Sections) illustrating changes in levels across the site</i> ; in TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:20.....	235
Figure 5.39. TaylorCullityLethlean, <i>The Arbour Fragments</i> , "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 132.....	241
Figure 5.40. Taylor Cullity Lethlean. <i>The Arcadian Grove</i> , "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 112.....	241
Figure 5.41. Taylor Cullity Lethlean. <i>The Digital Sigh</i> , "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 116.....	242
Figure 5.42. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, <i>Digital Graffiti</i> "Victoria Square Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 124.....	243
Figure 5.43. Author's photograph, A regional response to the Charlie Hebdo Bombings expressed on the graffiti wall at Waitangi Park, 13/01/2015.....	243

Figure 5.44. Brett Williamson, <i>Stage 1 Masterplan</i> , 2013, "Council Accused of 'Mismanagement' over Projects Debt." ABC Adelaide, http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2013/04/30/3748070.htm	248
Figure 6.1. <i>Statement of Financial Position</i> , "Annual Report Year Ended March 31, 2013." Wellington: Palmerston North Māori Reserve Trust, 2013: 26	258
Figure 6.2. Photograph by Phil Reid Alexander, <i>The two waka being launched ceremonially into Wellington Harbour from Petone Beach</i> , (Te Raukura on the right, and Te Aniwanīwa on the left.), 1989. Turnbull Library Dominion Post Collection (PAColl-7327), National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa.	259
Figure 6.3. Location of Te Wharewaka, Taranaki Street Wharf, Wellington Waterfront. Source: Nearmaps, 2018.	262
Figure 6.4. <i>The proposed Capital Hotel & Casino, Wellington</i> , "Lambton Harbour Development Project." edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:20.	263
Figure 6.5. <i>The waka house and extended ramp at Te Papa</i> , as first proposed in <i>Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan</i> , "Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan Design Description." edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-21. Wellington, New Zealand, 1999: 18.....	263
Figure 6.6. Wraight + Associates, <i>Waitangi Park</i> , 2019, http://www.waal.co.nz/our-projects/urban/waitangi-park	265
Figure 6.7. Author's photo, <i>The waka ramps at Te Marae, Te Papa</i> , 2013.....	265
Figure 6.8. Photograph of Korowai, in Linda Tyler "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Pōneke." <i>Architecture New Zealand</i> , no. 4 (2012): 51.....	267
Figure 6.9. Architecture+, <i>Te Wharewaka</i> . Architecture Plus Ltd, Accessed 2019-10-12, http://architectureplus.co.nz/public/wharewaka/	267
Figure 6.10. <i>The elevations and sections illustrating the Korowai and permeability of the Wharewaka</i> . in Tyler, Linda. "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Pōneke." <i>Architecture New Zealand</i> , no. 4 (2012): 56.....	271
Figure 6.11. <i>Te Wharewaka from the lagoon</i> , in Linda Tyler, "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Pōneke." <i>Architecture New Zealand</i> , no. 4 (2012): 53.	273
Figure 6.12. <i>Te Wharewaka Site Plan</i> in Linda Tyler, "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Pōneke." <i>Architecture New Zealand</i> , no. 4 (2012): 55.....	273
Figure 6.13. Author's photograph, <i>The waka ramps continue the patterning of Te Wharewaka, and lead into the new lagoon</i> , 2014.....	275
Figure 6.14. Architecture+. <i>Te Wharewaka</i> , Architecture Plus Ltd, http://architectureplus.co.nz/public/wharewaka/	275
Figure 6.15. Taylor Cullity Lethlean. <i>Diagrams to illustrate site principles</i> , "Victoria Square I Tarantanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:13.	279
Figure 6.16. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, <i>Sustaining Culture, The New Civic</i> , "Victoria Square I Tarantanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:91.	279
Figure 6.17. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. <i>Mullabakka Cultural Centre Aerial Perspective</i> , "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 168.	282
Figure 6.18. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. <i>Mullabakka Cultural Centre</i> , "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 126.	283

Figure 6.19. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, <i>The Populated Garden, The New Civic</i> , "Victoria Square I Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:91.	285
Figure 6.20. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:165.	287
Figure 6.21. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:137.	287
Figure 6.22. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. Mullabakka shields, "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:128.	288
Figure 6.23. East & West Elevations illustrating roof and façade materials (Scale 1:100 @A1), TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:212 (DD Drawing Set:A1-2010-011, Sheet:1802).....	290
Figure 6.24. Basement, Ground Floor and Roof Plans (Scale 1:100 @A1) ,TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:211 (DD Drawing Set:A1-2010-011, Sheet:1801)	290
Figure 6.25. Left: <i>Display Mode</i> ; Right: <i>Workshop Mode</i> ; TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:130.....	297
Figure 6.26. Left: <i>Inside Performance Mode</i> ; Right: <i>Large Performance Outside Mode</i> ; TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:130 &171.	297
Figure 6.27. Adelaide City Council, <i>Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Staging</i> , 2013, "Chapter 16 Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga," in <i>The Parklands Community Land Management Plan</i> , ed. Adelaide Parklands (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2013; reprint, 2017): 6.	298
Figure 7.1. New Zealand Institute of Architects, <i>Te Kawenata O Rata</i> , 2017, https://www.nzia.co.nz/explore/te-kawenata-o-rata	311
Figure 7.2. Australian Institute of Architects Victorian Chapter, <i>Reconciliation Action Plan</i> , 2010, Melbourne: Australian Institute of Architects.	312

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The politics of settler nations are inherently spatial, as their legislative and symbolic processes of sovereignty and reconciliation are explicitly territorial. As physical ecologies and topographies both disrupt and support the legacy of colonialism, negotiating conflicting layers of history in the spatial present is very complex. Working in the built environments in settler colonial cities around the world, designers are being asked to respond to the demands of reconciliation through urban design as nations increasingly recognise their moral obligations to redress the legacy of colonialism.¹ Given this dynamic, this study interrogates the practices of landscape architects and architects working within the urban design and renewal of civic spaces of Australia and New Zealand. In both countries, the city is an intensely contested space of overlapping culture and history, located at the point of first contact between colonial settlers and indigenous communities.²

This study examines the design of civic space given this condition. Representative of both collective and individual experience, 'civic space' is broadly symbolic, and yet grounded in the particular and the everyday. Operating in the 'outside', the civic spaces of the streetscape, plaza, park, garden or waterfront are spaces for interaction between the individual and the state. Peter Rowe, in his exposition *Civic Realism*, defines "urban public spaces that are civic in character" as "belonging to everyone and yet to nobody in particular."³ This space of uncertain ownership is a constitutive space of citizenry, where, as Lewinson suggests, "in theory, all residents of a city are free to gather, relax, make or reinforce social bonds, experience diversity in non-threatening ways, and generally create the urban community in a public realm."⁴

¹ See: *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (JHU Press).; *Taking Responsibility for the Past : Reparation and Historical Injustice* (Cambridge, UK.: Polity Press).

² A note on capitalisation - within the dissertation *indigenous* refers collectively to indigenous peoples, cultures and ecologies, whereas the capitalisation *Indigenous* denotes Australian First Nations. For literature on settler colonialism and urban conditions see: Nicholas Blomley, *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property* (Routledge, 2003). ; P. Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities* (University of British Columbia Press, 2010).; Penelope Edmonds and Tracey Banivanua Mar, *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

³ Peter G. Rowe, *Civic Realism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997), 6.

⁴ Anne S. Lewinson, "Viewing Postcolonial Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania through Civic Spaces: A Question of Class," *African Identities* 5, no. 2 (2007): 201.

Civic space offers the opportunity to explore shared histories, experiences and practices, between indigenous and settler subjectivities. According to the definition outlined by Rowe, civic space:

is at once familiar, pluralistic, and critical - at least to the extent that this last quality can be sustained architecturally. It is also specific, socially relevant, transcendental, and concerned with everyday life, including matters of both individual and collective experience. Furthermore, it is inextricably bound up with the continual advancement of the expressive means by which it is made and elaborated.⁵

More simply, civic space encompasses singularity and pluralism; critique and accord; fluidity and transcendence; familiarity and development; and the collective and the individual.

However, this definition of *civic* is problematic within the settler context, where space and politics are inherently *unsettled*. Universalist definitions of the *civic citizen* sit uncomfortably in a place where the importation of Western ideologies has left a violent and traumatic legacy for indigenous people. Lewinson suggests that civic spaces in colonial cities are never neutral, as the politics of control inherent in the colonial project have usually touched these spaces.⁶ Correspondingly, Goodsell links the political authority of the state, through legislative power, to the symbolic capital imbued in civic space, reinforcing "the informal and underlying attitudes and beliefs that support and make possible the exercise of power."⁷ As such, Malone argues that civic space is an effective media through which to 'read' sovereign politics, that, "as a space of both contestation and reconciliation, can be seen to reflect not only the more recent reconciliation process but also the evolution of the recognition and social inclusion of Indigenous people in Australia."⁸

⁵ Rowe, 218.

⁶ Lewinson, 202.

⁷ Charles T. Goodsell, *The Social Meaning of Civic Space : Studying Political Authority through Architecture Studies in Government and Public Policy* (Lawrence, Kansas University Press of Kansas, 1988), 13.

⁸ Gavin Malone, "Ways of Belonging: Reconciliation and Adelaide's Public Space Indigenous Cultural Markers," *Geographical Research* 45, no. 2 (2007): 158.

This thesis explores the notion of civic as an urban spatial type for design in an age of reconciliation in Australasia. To understand the nuances of this particular settler-colonial condition, this study interrogates the process of *making* civic space through the cities of Adelaide and Wellington. It asks:

How do designers of civic space position their work in relation to the sovereign politics of Australia and New Zealand?

Two case studies of urban renewal from opposite sides of the Tasman are considered as examples of best practice - the Waterfront Redevelopment in Wellington (with focus on Waitangi Park and Te Wharewaka), and the renewal of Adelaide's central civic square, Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga (including the proposed Mullabakka Cultural Centre). The two cities, Wellington and Adelaide, offer an extraordinary opportunity for comparison, given their shared colonial histories as utopian planned settlements.

The research question is provoked by my own experience undertaking tertiary training as a landscape architect. As part of my final masters design studio thesis, I was challenged to design a public space for the University of Melbourne that responded to the notion of Indigenous placemaking, sovereignty and reconciliation, within the contemporary landscape of a tertiary institution in Australia.⁹ While uncovering a rich, undocumented history within the physical landscape of the campus through a landscape architectural methodology of site interrogation (an illustrated example of which is shown in Figure 1.1), I was struck by the absence of a postcolonial engagement, or perhaps more accurately, a decolonising position from within the broader discipline of landscape architecture in Australia. To me, as someone with an undergraduate background in cultural studies and art history, this seemed baffling given the potential for the methodologies of landscape architecture to unearth, express and articulate marginalised narratives and positions, within the public, private and institutionalised spaces of our cities. It is this peculiar gap that this thesis explores, looking across the Tasman to New Zealand in search for the potentialities of a decolonising design practice model.

⁹ For a greater discussion of this work see Fiona Johnson and Jillian Walliss, "Reconciling History: Inserting an Indigenous Space into the University of Melbourne Campus," *Landscape Review* 15, no. 1 (2014).

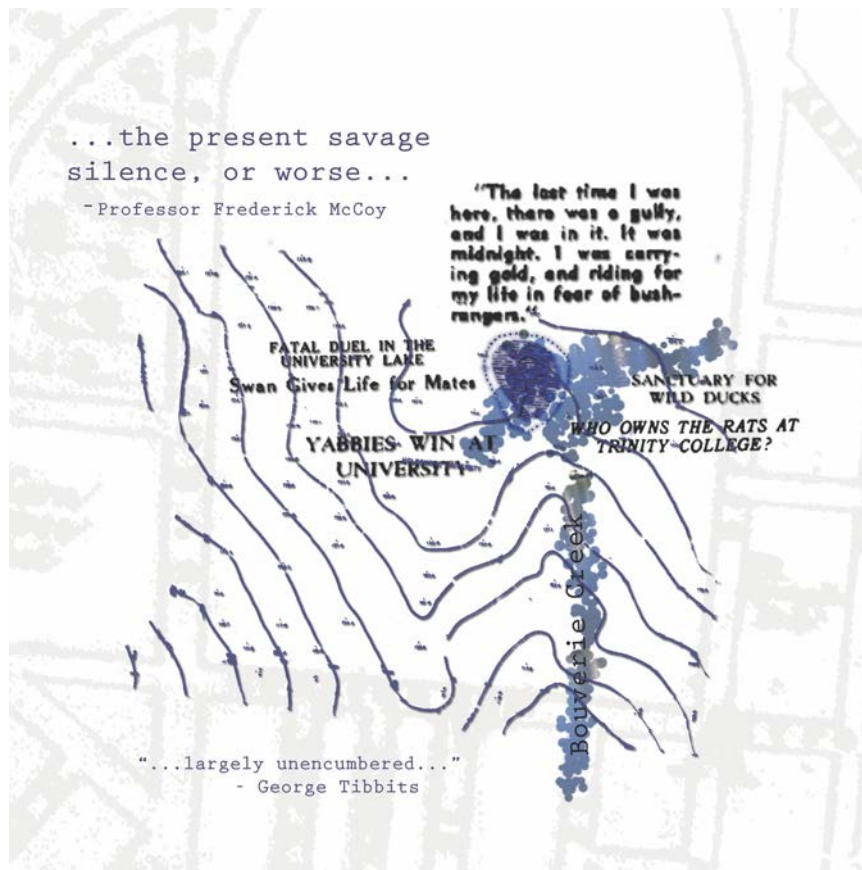


Figure 1.1. Fiona Johnson, *Insistence: Landscape Architecture Design Thesis*, 2010

Speculative mapping exploring ecological and social histories of the lost wetland system on the campus landscape of the University of Melbourne.

1.2 A Decolonising Methodology

Decolonisation, as distinct from reconciliation, is understood to be a "long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power."¹⁰ This process is characterised by practices of interrogating, deconstructing, intersecting and repositioning history.¹¹ The difficulty for designers is how to engage in this process when the internal political and ideological consensus of their practice serves to maintain colonization.¹² Landscape architecture and urban design practices trace their lineage from the tactics of colonisation, through the mapmaker and the surveyor. Contemporary design in our cities often erases site traces, directly displacing or otherwise maintaining the power structures which lead to marginalisation. This tabula rasa design method disturbingly echoes *terra nullius*.¹³

Huygens suggests that the liberal democratic institutions of the settler colonial nation perpetuate the colonising of indigenous people through endemic disenfranchisement, and continued marginalisation from political and economic processes.¹⁴ This is particularly so for landscape architects, positioned at the physical interface of the public and private spheres, mediating the community, government, the academy, architects, planners, engineers, and the expectations of their peers in the profession. Settler-colonial criticism reinforces the impossibility of disengaging from this political infrastructure, suggesting it is difficult for a critical settler subject to step outside of the frame of being a *coloniser*.¹⁵ As suggested by McGaw, Pieris and Potter, for designers working within our cities this is further exacerbated as a "lack of built fabric and general invisibility of Indigenous culture perpetuate the historical dispossession of

¹⁰ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, N.Z.: University of Otago Press, 1999).

¹¹ Jennifer Lavia and Michele Moore, "Introduction: Education, Community and Change," in *Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Policy and Practice: Decolonizing Community Contexts*, ed. Jennifer Lavia and Michele Moore (New York: Routledge, 2009), 3.

¹² Ingrid Huygens, "Developing a Decolonisation Practice for Settler Colonisers: A Case Study from Aotearoa New Zealand," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 2 (2011): 54.

¹³ Early British colonists took the attitude that Australia was *terra nullius* ('nobody's land'), and simply took possession of land with disregard to Indigenous inhabitants. As legal doctrine, *terra nullius* was established in 1992 as part of the *Mabo* judgement, in order for the doctrine to be rejected by the High Court. This legislative history of the term has been a source of legal contention. See: Sarah Maddison, *Black Politics : Inside the Complexity of Aboriginal Political Culture* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 4;244. David Ritter, "Rejection of Terra Nullius in *Mabo*: A Critical Analysis, The," *Sydney L. Rev.* 18 (1996).

¹⁴ Huygens, 54.

¹⁵ Lorenzo Veracini, "Settler Colonialism and Decolonisation," *Borderlands E-Journal: New Spaces in the Humanities* 6, no. 2 (2007).; "Isopolitics, Deep Colonizing, Settler Colonialism," *Interventions* 13, no. 2 (2011).; Sarah Maddison, "Indigenous Identity, 'Authenticity' and the Structural Violence of Settler Colonialism," *Identities* (2013).; Elizabeth Strakosch and Alissa Macoun, "The Vanishing Endpoint of Settler Colonialism: [Paper In: *Stolen Lands, Broken Cultures: The Settler-Colonial Present*. Hinkson, John; James, Paul and Veracini, Lorenzo (Eds).], " *Arena Journal*, no. 37-38 (2012).

Indigenous people in contemporary social practice and its architectural and institutional forms."¹⁶

However, other disciplines offer glimpses of a more productive methodology. From the field of education within New Zealand, a reflective, practice-driven approach enables strategies for the critical settler colonial to engage in decolonising praxis. This method was worked through in teaching institutions in response to the demands of the new policy framework introduced by the Waitangi Tribunal.¹⁷ Likewise, UK researchers Lavia and Moore suggest, in relation to policy and practice in the community sector, that decolonisation requires a mindful approach of "collaborative engagements involving conscious practice constructed around wider issues of social justice and self-determination."¹⁸ Moreover, the adoption of both borderlands theory and critical whiteness in Australian discourses of sovereignty suggest the aspiration for other modes of hegemonic unsettlement and reflective practice by non-Indigenous agents.¹⁹

More broadly this raises questions over design ethics in the built environments. Recent discussions in the field of design ethics are largely dominated by questions of technology, sustainability, ecology and 'greening' the built environment.²⁰ These debates suggest that the design professional is perfectly positioned to respond to the changing ethical and moral questions of our time, but the mode that response takes is still up for negotiation. However, as Russ suggests, there is an onus for designers to act, although the politics of execution remains problematic:

It seems the design professional has by virtue of special knowledge, which must include consilient knowledge, the threshold obligation to protect public health, safety and welfare and has an obligation to act sustainably. As an academic principle this seems clear, but as a matter of practice how does the individual or professional practice act on this knowledge?²¹

¹⁶ Janet McGaw, Anoma Pieris, and Emily Potter, "Indigenous Place-Making in the City: Dispossessions, Occupations and Implications for Cultural Architecture," *Architectural Theory Review* 16, no. 3 (2011): 300.

¹⁷ Huygens.

¹⁸ Lavia and Moore, 3.

¹⁹ Rob Garbutt, Soenke Biermann, and Baden Offord, "Into the Borderlands: Unruly Pedagogy, Tactile Theory and the Decolonising Nation," *Critical Arts*, no. 1 (2012).

²⁰ Kayla Anderson, "Ethics, Ecology, and the Future: Art and Design Face the Anthropocene," *Leonardo* (2015).; Emma Felton, Oksana Zelenko, and Suzi Vaughan, *Design and Ethics: Reflections on Practice* (Routledge, 2013).; Tom Russ, *Sustainability and Design Ethics* (CRC Press, 2010).; Tony Fry, *Design Futuring : Sustainability, Ethics and New Practice* (Oxford Berg, 2009).; Alastair Fuad-Luke, *Design Activism : Beautiful Strangeness for a Sustainable World*, (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013).

²¹ Russ, 42.

1.2.1 Decolonising Landscape Architecture

Arguably, landscape architecture, as a practice of *the landscape* – *the very matter of colonialism* – should be best positioned to respond to the demands of decolonisation and reconciliation. However, the proposition of decolonising practice is problematic due to the discipline's weak theoretical underpinning, producing a sparse body of postcolonial theory. This is reflected in landscape architectural discourse, typically driven by type, monograph, or region, and is curiously apolitical. For example, there are no postcolonial essays included in James Corner's *Recovering Landscape: Essays in Contemporary Landscape Architecture* (1999), nor in Simon Swaffield's *Theory in Landscape Architecture* (2002) or in Ian Thompson's more recently published collection *Rethinking Landscape: A Critical Reader* (2009).²² Similarly, the proliferation of published theoretical collections preoccupied with Landscape Urbanism, such as Charles Waldheim's *The landscape urbanism reader* (2006), Czerniak, Hargreaves, and Beardsley's *Large Parks* (2007), and Mostafavi and Doherty's *Ecological Urbanism* (2010) reflects a discourse dominated by European and American voices.²³

This is not to say that the field is entirely bereft, with provocative ideas emerging from the discipline in the Northern hemisphere that address notions of *the other* and race, such as Gilles Clement's theory of the *third landscape* and Walter Hood's extensive work in African American communities addressing site specificity and notions of hybridity.²⁴ However, the continued influence of apolitical North American theory in landscape architecture in the Australian and New Zealand contexts poses a particular problem due to the almost entire absence of postcolonial rhetoric in American landscape architecture.

This omission is disquieting, particularly when considered in comparison to other allied design disciplines such as architecture, urban design and planning. In contrast to landscape architecture, architecture has responded to politics of sovereignty, working through the paradigms of public architecture and social housing, but most particularly aided by the phenomena of the national museum and cultural centre.²⁵ However, there

²² *Recovering Landscape : Essays in Contemporary Landscape Architecture* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press).; *Theory in Landscape Architecture : A Reader*, Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).; *Rethinking Landscape : A Critical Reader* (London: Routledge).

²³ *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*, 1st ed. (New York, N.Y.: Princeton Architectural Press).; *Ecological Urbanism* (Baden, Switzerland: Lars Muller).

²⁴ Gilles Clément, "The Third Landscape," (Consultado em, 2003).; Walter Hood and Leah Levy, *Walter Hood: Urban Diaries*, vol. 2 (Spacemaker Pr, 1997).

²⁵ Lisa Findley, *Building Change: Architecture, Politics and Cultural Agency* (London: Routledge, 2005).; James Michael Gore, *Representations of History and Nation in Museums : The National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* (Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert Academic Pub., 2010).

are rare academic voices engaging with postcolonialism and landscape architecture within Australia.

While there is extensive scholarship responding to a remote landscape context of Australia, such as Sinatra and Murphy's, *Listen to the People, Listen to the Land* (1999), the largest body of discussion in terms of an urban dialogue surrounds national space.²⁶ However, a postcolonial framing of landscape practice in New Zealand is far more expansive. Bicultural legislative shifts in New Zealand, such as the Māori Language Act (1987), and the Foreshore and Seabed Act (2004) have led to a hybridity of interpretation.²⁷ This critical approach is also beginning to develop within the Australian academy, although its application to the urban context is very limited.²⁸ Within this body of knowledge, comparative studies of landscape across Australia and New Zealand remain limited, despite the richness offered by such a juxtaposition.²⁹

²⁶ Jillian Walliss, "'From Royal Pavilion to Reconciliation Place: Imaginings of Australian National Space'," in *The Mesh Book : Landscape/ Infrastructure* ed. Julian Raxworthy and Jessica Blood (Melbourne, Australia RMIT Publishing, 2004).; "Place for the People or Monumental Absence?," *Landscape Architecture Australia* 27 (2005).; Elizabeth Strakosch, "Counter-Monuments and Nation-Building in Australia," *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 22, no. 3 (2010).; SueAnne Ware, "Reconciling This Place," *Architecture Australia* 90, no. 5 (2001).

²⁷ "Contextual Meanings in Policy Discourse: A Case Study of Language Use Concerning Resource Policy in the New Zealand High Country," *Policy Sciences* 31 (1998).

²⁸ Jill Orr-Young, "Place and Praxis: Valuing Australian Indigenous Place in Landscape Architecture Practice." (RMIT, 2012). Michal Hromek and Stephen Harfield, "Looking from within, What Comes Out?: An Indigenous Perspective on Community and Urbanism," in *UHPH_2014 : Landscapes and Ecologies of Urban and Planning History*, ed. Morten Gjerde and Emina Petrović (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 2014).

²⁹ Jillian Walliss, "Transformative Landscapes: Postcolonial Representations of Uluru-Kata Tjuta and Tongariro National Parks," *Space and Culture* (2013).; Jacky Bowring, "Containing Marginal Memories: The Melancholy Landscapes of Hart Island (New York), Cockatoo Island (Sydney), and Ripapa Island (Christchurch)," *Memory Connection* 1, no. 1 (2011).

1.2.2 Decolonising the Museum

To date, the strongest discourse responding to issues of design and sovereignty has been through the renewal of the museum at the end of the twentieth century. Through the museum exhibition designers, curators and architects have responded to revisions in the disciplines of ethnography, anthropology, environmental history and national history given the complicity of the institution of the museum in processes of colonisation.³⁰ Exemplars of the new museum, the institutional architecture of Te Papa Tongarewa National Museum of New Zealand; and the National Museum of Australia have been exhaustively critiqued and examined. Both museums were designed as a response to the politics of indigenous self-determination and identity, collapsed through the new policy positions of national identity – biculturalism and multiculturalism. McGaw and Pieris suggest that despite the revision in the museum, tensions in design are ongoing, between symbolic strategies of indigenous representation in cultural and institutional architecture, against issues of governance, ownership and program.³¹

The architectural exemplar of this concept, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Figure 1.2), located on Wellington Harbour, utilises biculturalism as the key driver for Te Papa's structures, through its internal management and administration structure, the exhibition design and the architecture. The concept of 'biculturalism' was first introduced to New Zealand by the Canadian anthropologist Eric Schwimmer as a model for cultural policy.³² Biculturalism was largely ignored until "in light of increasingly vigorous Māori political mobilization, 'biculturalism' was resurrected as a way of making space for Māori self-determination while preserving the integrity of the nation state."³³ The bicultural principle of a Māori-Crown partnership was inaugurated in 1975 with the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, and was re-affirmed as an official policy position through the passage of the 1986 State Owned Enterprises Bill, which enshrined the state's position to act in accordance with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.³⁴

³⁰ For a detailed international examination of museology in a postcolonial world, see: Moira G Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era* (Psychology Press, 1996).

³¹ Janet McGaw and Anoma Pieris, *Assembling the Centre: Architecture for Indigenous Cultures*, Routledge Research in Architecture (Routledge, 2015).

³² Amiria Henare, "Rewriting the Script: Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand," *Social Analysis* 48, no. 1 (2004), 57.

³³ *Ibid.*, 57.

³⁴ Augie Fleras, *The Politics of Multiculturalism. [Electronic Resource] ; Multicultural Governance in Comparative Perspective* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009., 2009), Non-fiction, 139.

Designed by New Zealand architects Jasmax and opened in 1998, Te Papa's exhibitions are conceptualised in three ways: *Paptuanuku* (the earth), *tangata whenua* (people of the land – Māori) and *tangata tiriti* (the people of the Treaty of Waitangi – non-Māori/Pākehā). The three zones are conceptually reconciled through a central pivot space, *Signs of a Nation/Ngā Tohu Kotahitanga*, which celebrates the Treaty of Waitangi around a magnificent three story glass sculpture which replicates both language versions of the treaty document.³⁵ There is an argument that such a bicultural policy position emphasises the discrete notion of Māori and Pākehā identities, and in doing so fails to acknowledge the entanglement and complexity of the overlapping lived experience and history of both ethnic groups.³⁶ However, it is conversely argued that the absence of Māori artefacts from national social histories may be an act of resistance on the part of Māori, "in accordance with the assimilative effect associated with a national institution."³⁷ Other issues have arisen with the national framing of the museum in relationship to Te Marae, problematic as a space of collective identity given that the marae is normatively the means through which tribes assert local customary ownership over land.³⁸ Te Papa's position as a formative institution in New Zealand's reconciliatory process levelled difficulties in how to display and engage with New Zealand's chequered environmental history.³⁹



Figure 1.2. Michal Klajban, *Te Papa Tongarewa. Wellington, New Zealand, 24 May 2015*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wellington,_Te_Papa_Tongarewa,_May_2015.jpg, CC-BY-SA-4.0.

³⁵ The adjacent spaces include the Mana Whenua exhibit, a permanent display of Māori culture; the Iwi Gallery, which rotates temporary displays representative of the diversity of Māori culture; Te Marae, a bicultural and pan-iwi communal meeting place; Passports, a tangata tiriti migration history; and Slice of Heaven, reflecting on 20th century Aotearoa.

³⁶ Avril Bell, "Bifurcation or Entanglement? Settler Identity and Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 20, no. 2 (2006): 254.

³⁷ Paul Williams, "Reforming Nationhood: The Free Market and Biculturalism at Te Papa," in *South Pacific Museums : Experiments in Culture*, ed. Chris Healy and Andrea Witcomb (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University ePress, 2006), 02.4 – 02.11.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 02.4 – 02.10.

³⁹ Jillian Walliss, "Exhibiting Environmental History: The Challenge of Representing Nation," *Environment and history* 18, no. 3 (2012).



Figure 1.3. *National Museum of Australia Canberra, ACT*, November 24, 2012, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/eileenmak/8249818775/>, eileenmak, CC BY 2.0.

Mirroring the national reinvention which catalysed the design and construction of Te Papa, the establishment of a new National Museum of Australia in Canberra (Figure 1.3) came through a commitment in the Keating Labour Government's multicultural arts policy, *Creative Nation*. Multiculturalism in Australia emerged through the end of the White Australia immigration policy which shaped the nation's ethnic make-up, in favour of a pluralist immigration strategy particularly inclusive of Asia. Multiculturalism marks an official policy position which shifts in emphasis and interpretation with successive governments. The Keating Government's cultural policy, *Creative Nation* (1994), declared multiculturalism as part of the image of the nation, but in doing so co-opted Indigenous identity and culture within the multicultural umbrella:

The culture and identity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians has become an essential element of *Australian* identity, a vital expression of who we all are.⁴⁰

Designed by architects Ashton Raggatt McDougal in association with Robert Peck von Hartel Trethowan the museum explicitly postmodern in style, featuring an intense and hyper-real palette of colours and reflective surfaces. The semiotic design driven approach conveniently fits multiculturalism into a pastiche of signs, utilising the conceptual notion of the 'tangled knot' to represent national identity, a form literally translated through looping structural elements which follow a Boolean knot that twists

⁴⁰ Paul Keating, "Creative Nation: Commonwealth Cultural Policy," *October 1994* (1994).

and folds in a series of threads to create the surfaces of the architecture. A central axis, 'the Uluru Line', adds to the axis of Walter Burley Griffins' geometric schema for Canberra, a gesture which extends spatially towards Uluru, beginning as the entrance canopy and sweeping in a thirty-meter-high loop which is continued as an etching along the exterior surface of the building.⁴¹

The internal landscape, the Garden of Australian Dreams designed by landscape architects Room 4.1.3, is heavily encoded with signs, the surface written and overwritten as a mapping of the Australian landscape, in what Naomi Stead positions as "an allegory of the larger Australian landscape, understood as a deeply encultured artefact, indeed as a museum object itself."⁴² McGaw and Pieris suggest that this alternative mapping of country challenges Western cartography, a reading that "although fixed in concrete and transgressed with lines, does suggest a history of territorialisation and de-territorialisation, of unsettled scale, its organising striations severed, its surface folded."⁴³ When positioned within Landscape Architectural practice and design theory, the Garden of Australian Dreams reflects the critical interrogation of mapping practices internationally in postmodern Landscape Architectural discourses, typified by the work of James Corner, or the design research of Anuradha Mathur and Dilip da Cunha.⁴⁴

Through the emergent typology of the new museum in the 1990s, museology distanced itself from the past, through the application of technology and interactivity, wrapped in a new architectural envelope which leveraged postmodern design language to position the new museum at the intersection of art, new media and museology.⁴⁵ Multidisciplinary teams conceptualised these new institutions, amplifying the role of the historian and academic, producing a novel dominance of textual narrative and storytelling over material culture.⁴⁶ Positioned as improving cultural forces, particularly in response to the indigenous civil and land rights movements of Australasia in the 1960s and 70s, the new museum typology became, according to Healy and Witcomb, an architecture of national improvement, "charged with the task of representing late twentieth and early twenty-first century forms of nationhood and of

⁴¹ McGaw and Pieris, 171.; John Macarthur and Naomi Stead, "The National Museum of Australia as Danse Macabre: Baroque Allegories of the Popular," *South Pacific Museums: Experiments in Culture*, Monash University E-Press and Sydney University Press, Melbourne and Sydney (2006).

⁴² Naomi Stead, "Museological Landscapes, Mythological Lands: The Garden of Australian Dreams," in *Museum, Gallery and Cultural Architecture in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Region: Essays on Antipodean Identity*, ed. Michael J. Ostwald and Steven Fleming (Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 69.

⁴³ McGaw and Pieris, 172.

⁴⁴ James Corner, "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention," *The Map Reader: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation*; Anuradha Mathur and Dilip da Cunha, *Mississippi Floods: Designing a Shifting Landscape* (Yale University Press, 2001).

⁴⁵ Kylie Message, "The New Museum," *THEORY CULTURE & SOCIETY* 23, no. 2-3 (2006): 604-05.

⁴⁶ Walliss, "Exhibiting Environmental History: The Challenge of Representing Nation."

creating organisational and exhibitionary forms that contribute to the political process known as 'reconciliation'.⁴⁷

As distinct from discussions of the new museum as a canvas for the display of reconciliation, an original contribution this thesis explores the role that urban renewal projects have to the political process of reconciliation and settlement. Despite urban regeneration strategies for the past forty years being dominated by the application of culture through institutions and programs, such as the new museum or the sculpture park, as architectural catalysts for the shaping of civic society and economy in the city – the Bilbao effect - reconciliation and sovereignty has limited consideration in the context of urban renewal.⁴⁸ This is surprising, given that the spatialisation of violent social policies and practices which sought to erase indigenous presence from the city is implicit in urban morphology. This phenomenon and its implications upon the landscape of the Australian city are evidenced through the scholarship which has emerged in urban history, cultural studies, geography and architecture, examining the areas of land rights, the politics of representation, museums and cultural heritage.⁴⁹ These themes are similarly explored in dialogues around the New Zealand city.⁵⁰ To enter this process, this study takes Chattopadhyay and White's (2014) 'civic materialism' methodology of examining civic space as a *spatial type* as distinct from *typology*. To clarify, a typological study can be conducted without reference to its situated location or its mode of social production.⁵¹ However, a study of spatial type

⁴⁷ Chris Healy and Andrea Witcomb, "Experiments in Culture: An Introduction," in *South Pacific Museums : Experiments in Culture*, ed. Chris Healy, Andrea Witcomb, and Monash University ePress. (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University ePress, 2006)., 3

⁴⁸ Michael Keating and Monika De Frantz, "Culture-Led Strategies for Urban Regeneration: A Comparative Perspective on Bilbao," *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 16, no. 3 (2003).

⁴⁹ Hannah Lewi, "The Commemorative Anatomy of a Colonial Park," in *Landscapes of Memory and Experience* (2000), 26.; Jane M Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City* (Routledge, 2002), 113.; Tony Birch, "'Death Is Forgotten in Victory': Colonial Landscapes and Narratives of Emptiness " in *Object Lessons: Archaeology and Heritage in Australia* (Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2005.). Denis Byrne, "The Ethos of Return: Erasure and Reinstatement of Aboriginal Visibility in the Australian Historical Landscape," *Historical Archaeology* 37, no. 1 (2003).; Melinda Hinkson, "Encounters with Aboriginal Sites in Metropolitan Sydney: A Broadening Horizon for Cultural Tourism?," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 11, no. 4 (2003): 295.)

⁵⁰ Andrea Schöllmann, Harvey C Perkins, and Kevin Moore, "Intersecting Global and Local Influences in Urban Place Promotion: The Case of Christchurch, New Zealand," *Environment and Planning A* 32, no. 1 (2000).; Maria Amoamo and Anna Thompson, "(Re) Imaging Māori Tourism: Representation and Cultural Hybridity in Postcolonial New Zealand," *Tourist Studies* 10, no. 1 (2010).; Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand* (Oxford University Press, USA, 1999).; Franklin Ginn, "Extension, Subversion, Containment: Eco-Nationalism and (Post) Colonial Nature in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33, no. 3 (2008).; Lawrence D Berg and Robin A Kearns, "Naming as Norming: 'Race', Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14, no. 1 (1996).

⁵¹ Swati Chattopadhyay and Jeremy White, *City Halls and Civic Materialism: Towards a Global History of Urban Public Space* (Routledge, 2014), 6.

not only takes in the particular social and political landscape, but also the global processes, such as for example colonialism, postcolonialism and neoliberalism, which constitute the local context.⁵² The case study method is particularly useful in approaching this research project, which is situated in a theoretical and political terrain that is both complex and highly emotive. Moreover, as shall be discussed further the relative similarities and differences of the cases Wellington and Adelaide offer an extraordinary opportunity for comparison using this methodology.

⁵² Ibid.

1.3 A Comparative Method

Tracing the histories of these countries offers revealing moments of comparison. Australia has a deep history of Indigenous occupation of the land, dating back 40,000 to 80,000 years, as opposed to the comparably short 1000-year history of Māori habitation in New Zealand.⁵³ Both share near simultaneous contact between European explorers, through the arrival of Dutch explorer Abel Tasman (1642) and British explorer Captain James Cook (1769-1770). However, within five years of one another New Zealand composes the founding document of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi between Māori chiefs and the Crown, while in 1835 Australia declares *terra nullius*. Greg Denning, in his introduction to the comparative study *Quicksands: Foundational Histories in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand*, suggests that the slippery foundational histories of Australia and New Zealand are 'bound together'.⁵⁴ Similarly, Denoon and Mein Smith identify the critical strength of comparing New Zealand and Australia, rather than deconstructing one or the other in isolation, arguing that "joining national narratives together, or juxtaposing them, may disorient them just as much as the more usual approach of pulling them to pieces."⁵⁵ Denoon and Mein Smith's *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific (2000)*, constitutes one of the first wave of comparative studies which emerged from the relative scholarly silence.⁵⁶ Their argument for comparison has been echoed with increasing frequency in the past decade through an increasing body of settler-colonial literature, with researchers such as David Pearson arguing for the study of situated connections between the two nations, proposing that "by putting places in spaces, we loosen the border lines that simply comparing states and nations in isolation might, possibly inadvertently, entrench."⁵⁷

An oft-cited critical point of difference between New Zealand and Australia is the respective presence and absence of a treaty with indigenous occupants of the land at the time of foundation. While, as Howe suggests, there are myriad factors that shaped race relations between indigenous and settler people specific to national geopolitical context, this distinction is pivotal to the shaping of civic space within the city from the time of foundation.⁵⁸ The Treaty of Waitangi, drafted in English and Māori by future

⁵³ Emma Young, "New Arrival Date for Earliest Australians," *New Scientist* (2003).; Michael Marshall, "Humans Colonised Asia in Two Waves," *ibid.* (2011).; The date of Māori arrival to New Zealand is similarly contested. Michael King, *Penguin History of New Zealand*, (New Zealand: Penguin Books, 2003).

⁵⁴ Grey Denning, 'Prologue' in Nicholas Thomas, Klaus Neumann, and Hilary Ericksen, *Quicksands : Foundational Histories in Australia & Aotearoa New Zealand* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1999)., i.

⁵⁵ Donald Denoon, Philippa Mein Smith, and Marivic Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific*, *The Blackwell History of the World*. (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000)., 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁷ David Pearson, "Reconnecting the Antipodes: A Reflective Note," *Thesis Eleven* 82, no. 1 (2005)., 90.

⁵⁸ Kerry Ross Howe, *Race Relations: Australia and New Zealand: A Comparative Survey 1770's-1970's* (Methuen Publishing, 1977).

Governor of New Zealand William Hobson, was signed by approximately fifty Māori chiefs at the mouth of the Waitangi River at New Zealand's Bay of Islands on the 6th of February in 1840. (Figure 1.4) Outlined in part for humanitarian concern in the face of increasing lawlessness at the outpost, the treaty was also motivated by the British Crown's self-interest hot on the heels of New Zealand Company's private-enterprise plan to establish colonies such as Wellington. The British Government wished to unambiguously annex New Zealand as a colony recognised under international law by negotiating a voluntary transfer of sovereignty from Māori. The English language version of the treaty granted the Crown the exclusive right of pre-emption should Māori wish to sell land. In return, Māori were to be given British citizenship, and guaranteed full rights of possession over lands and fisheries. However, critical differences between the translations, particularly in terms of 'sovereignty', rendered as 'governance' in the Māori treaty, lead to varying expectations between Māori and British parties to the treaty.⁵⁹ The treaty would become the most hotly contested document underpinning debates of the country's national identity.

⁵⁹ William Keith Jackson and Alan McRobie, *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand*, Historical Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East, No. 56 (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 329-30.; King. 124-36.

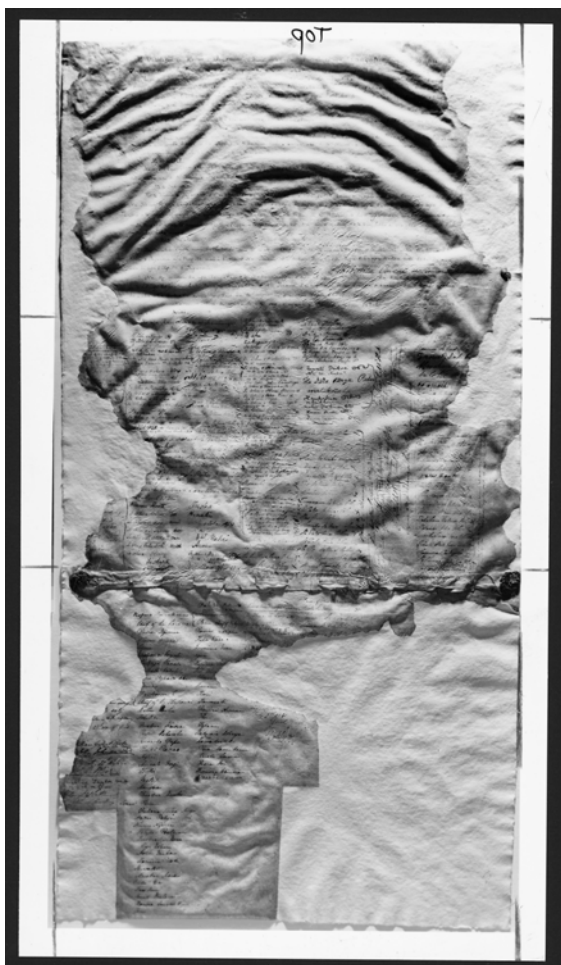


Figure 1.4. Treaty of Waitangi., Dominion post (Newspaper):
Photographic negatives and prints of the Evening Post and
Dominion newspapers. Ref: EP-Ethics-Waitangi Day and
Treaty of Waitangi-03. Alexander Turnbull Library,
Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23090536



Figure 1.5. Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the
United Kingdom erecting and establishing the Province
of South Australia and fixing the boundaries thereof, 19
February 1836, Privy Council (UK), State Records of South
Australia, SRSA: GRG 2/64

While Britain forged the Treaty at Waitangi, a very different approach had been taken for the penal settlements formed on the Australian continent. In 1835, not five years earlier, the legal doctrine of *terra nullius* ('land belonging to no one') was applied to Australia, ignoring Aboriginal people's sovereign right to ownership of land and customary laws. This 'legal fiction' was only overturned relatively recently, through the 1992 Mabo High Court decision, which instigated native title into Australian law.⁶⁰ Aboriginal land rights remain a fraught and slow process.⁶¹ However, the utopian settlement imagined for South Australia in the 1830s was one distinguished in its relatively humanitarian intent for Indigenous relations, through the drafting of the Letters Patent to protect Aboriginal occupation of the landscape (Figure 1.5). Against the harsh beginnings of the colonies at Swan River, Botany Bay, Port Philip and Van Diemen's Land, Adelaide was to be a free settlement.

It is within this legislative context that the settlements of Adelaide and Wellington materialise. As nineteenth century Anglophone settlements, the cities emerged from the shared ideology of systematic colonisation as promoted by reformist Edward Gibbon Wakefield.⁶² Responding to an increasingly industrialised and inequitable English landscape, these new imperial outposts were imagined as a utopian alternative, aspiring to contain the best aspects of British civil society in concert with private capital enterprise. In the wake of the 1832 Reform Act, new British attitudes towards democratic process, slavery and humanitarianism spurred a fresh approach than that taken at settlements elsewhere in the empire, such as those at Swan River, Botany Bay, Port Philip and Van Diemen's Land. In particular, this included aspirations for a more benevolent legislative approach to indigenous relations in the colonies, conceived against the violent beginnings of an Australian *terra nullius* and exemplified by the Treaty of Waitangi and the Letters Patent of the Province of South Australia.

⁶⁰ The action, begun in 1982, was led by Eddie Mabo, David Passi and James Rice, on behalf of the Meriam people from Murray Island in the Torres Strait. The Mabo decision was formally enacted into legislation by the Australian Parliament through the Native Title Act 1993. For details, see *Mabo v Queensland*, "Hca 23;(1992) 175 Clr 1 (3 June 1992)," (1992.)

⁶¹ For discussions of the implications of the case see: Gerry Simpson, "Mabo, International Law, Terra Nullius and the Stories of Settlement: An Unresolved Jurisprudence," *Melb. UL Rev.* 19 (1993).; Ritter.; Marcia Langton, *Honour among Nations [Electronic Resource] : Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous People / [Edited by] Marcia Langton ... [Et Al.]* (Carlton, Vic. : Melbourne University Press, 2004., 2004), Dictionaries.

⁶² The application of Anglophone draws on Belich's discussion of the Anglo-world in *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld*. Belich positions English speaking settlements such as Australia, New Zealand and America as deeply connected culturally to the nineteenth century Anglo-British settler colonial expansion, as part of a nuanced discussion of the divergence of the Anglophone world and the emergence of the Anglophone metropolis as a pre-industrial phenomenon. For further discussion of the explosion of Anglophone settlements in the nineteenth century, see James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Adelaide in South Australia, and Wellington in the North Island offer a rich comparative study, due to their shared utopian underpinnings. However, these new colonial ideals were being inserted into a pre-existing indigenous social, cultural and cosmological fabric. While the practical application of these ideas into these two very different physical spaces intersected with Māori and Aboriginal culture in divergent ways, the outcomes were largely the same in terms of marginalisation and dispossession. Despite the presence of the Treaty of Waitangi, the dispossession of Māori lands ensured that the situation of Māori in New Zealand would in part resemble the outcomes of *terra nullius* found in Australia. Attitudes of British racial superiority persisted. In 1877, Chief Justice James Prendergast declared the Treaty of Waitangi a legal nullity, having no constitutional or judicial basis as it had been signed "between a civilised nation and a group of savages."⁶³ However, the presence of the Treaty would fundamentally shape the foundations of the city of Wellington, and ultimately providing legislative redress for Māori today. Similarly, despite legislative efforts to ensure Indigenous protection within South Australia, the absence of a treaty, alongside entrenched paternalism, saw the exclusion of Aboriginal people from their traditional lands, including the city of Adelaide. In particular, the more immediate displacement of Kaurna from the land reflects the utter misreading of a culture responsive to the specificity of landscape in a way entirely foreign to European understandings of the built environment.

The cities of Wellington and Adelaide intersected with dynamic ecologies shaped by the patterns and practices of indigenous communities. To devastating effect, as Said suggests, the process of "imperialism means thinking about, settling on, and controlling land that you do not possess."⁶⁴ While utopian ideologies might underpin the theoretical spaces of Wellington and Adelaide, the physical manifestation of both cities resulted in the dispossession and marginalization of both Māori and Aboriginal people who occupied these landscapes. The remainder of this chapter will introduce the two cities as case studies through the indigenous spaces of Te Whanganui-A-Tara and Tarantanya (Figure 1.6), places which were disturbed as settlers projected notions of British civilization through policy and law onto the landscape.

⁶³ "Chief Justice Declares Treaty 'Worthless' and a 'Simple Nullity'," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/the-chief-justice-declares-that-the-treaty-of-waitangi-is-worthless-and-a-simple-nullity>.

⁶⁴ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 3.



Figure 1.6. **Left:** John Pearse, *Wellington Harbour - from road leading to the Barracks*, 1852, [Ref: E-455-f-034-1. Alexander Turnbull Library, NZ. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23158816>; **Right:** W.A. Cawthorne, *Aboriginal family walking through scrub country*, 1847, 'South Australian drawings ca.1843-1879', State Library of New South Wales.

Spaces of encounter, Te Whanganui-a-Tara and Tartanya.



Figure 1.7. Charles Heaphy, *Birdseye view of Port Nicholson*, 1842-1843, Ref: C-029-006-b. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22875686>

1.3.1 Te Whanganui-a-Tara

Te Whanganui-a-Tara lies within a large natural harbour located within Te Upoko o te Ika, the head of Te Ika a Maui/North Island ('the fish of Maui').⁶⁵ The great Pacific explorer Kupe first visited the area in 950AD, although Kupe and his people did not populate the harbour, instead returning to Polynesia.⁶⁶ The land-locked and sheltered harbour, covers an area of 76km², on an arm of the wild Raukawa Moana/Cook Strait which separates Te Ika a Maui/the North Island from Te Waka a Maui/the South Island. As illustrated in Charles Heaphy's 'Birdseye View of Port Nicholson' (Figure 1.7), the narrow entrance and surrounding hills provides a relatively sheltered anchorage point in a region buffeted by the prevailing westerly winds of the roaring forties. However, Heaphy flattens the undulant landscape, rendering it palatable to European eyes searching for a pastoral idyll.

The topography is marked by two key ridgelines in the east and west of central Wellington, Te Ranga a Hiwi, 'the ridge of Hiwi', and Ahumairangi.⁶⁷ The landscape is a seismic one, with a major fault underlying the western side of the harbour beneath an area historically occupied by both Māori and European settlements. As suggested in Gold's depiction, Te Whanganui-a-Tara's hills and foreshores was characterised by dense lowland broadleaf-podocarp forests, with an understory of tree-ferns. (Figure 1.8)⁶⁸ Unfortunately, due in large part to the wide scale land clearances enacted shortly after European arrival, very little of this endemic ecology remains legible in Wellington today.



Figure 1.8. Charles Emilius Gold, *Rata tree Wellington N. Zealand*, 1849, Ref: B-103-003. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22851765>

Gold's depiction of a large rata tree, with epiphytes and an understory of tree-ferns, along the old Karori Road with Wellington Harbour in the background.

⁶⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, "Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa: Report on the Wellington District," *Wellington: Legislation Direct* (2003): 13.

⁶⁶ Wellington City Council, Civic Square, and Wakefield Street, "Issues for Tangata Whenua," in *Wellington City District Plan* (Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington City Council, 2000), 2/9.

⁶⁷ Morrie Love, "Appendix 3 Town Belt Traditional History " in *Wellington Town Belt Management Plan* (Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington City Council, 2013), 208.

⁶⁸ Helen Isobel Gabites, *Wellington's Living Cloak: A Guide to the Natural Plant Communities* (Wellington Botanical Society, 1993).; Wellington City Council, "Biodiversity Action Plan," *Wellington City Council, Wellington, NZ* (2007): 7.

Te Whanganui-a-Tara ('the great harbour of Tara') was a territorially dynamic space prior to the arrival of the New Zealand Company.⁶⁹ While sheltered from Raukawa Moana/Cook Strait, the harbour was vulnerable to attack from inland forces. Between 1819 and 1836 it was invaded by potentially hostile forces at least six times, changing hands twice, as recently as 1835, a mere four years prior to the arrival of the New Zealand Company's ships.⁷⁰ After a complex series of migrations and conquests (*raupatu*) which stretched throughout Te Ika a Maui/the North Island, Ngāti Mutunga formally transferred their traditional tenure of the harbour to Te Atiawa and Taranaki iwis in November of 1835.⁷¹ The boundaries of these lands, while disputed, were in part set through the sale of Te-Whanganui-a-Tara to the New Zealand Company by Petone-based Te Atiāwa chiefs Te Wharepouri and Te Puni.⁷²

Regardless of which group dominated, the harbour operated as vital infrastructure for ocean going waka ('canoe')– for both trade and warfare - as well as a vital food resource. Overlapping this complex territorial history is a multi-layered and fluid concept of Māori customary rights, that includes both physical occupation and cultivation (*ahi ka*, 'the lighting of fires'), as well as the use of resources as evidence of association, and linkages of kinship.⁷³

The total Māori population over the greater Te Whanganui-a Tara area at 1840 was eight hundred.⁷⁴ While tribal ownership fluctuated, at the time of settlement the key pā located on the foreshore in the vicinity of contemporary Wellington were Pipitea (Te Atiāwa), Kumutoto (Te Atiāwa) and Te Aro (Ngāti Ruanui and Taranaki). The density of the occupation of this region is illustrated in Elsdon Best's 1916 mapped recreation of pre-colonial Port Nicholson. (Figure 1.9)⁷⁵

⁶⁹ The Ngai Tara tribe occupied the area between 1700 and 1800, constructing a series of pā along the ridgelines surrounding the harbour, cultivating terraced gardens and foraging in the forests for food. Council, Square, and Street, 2/9.; Love.

⁷⁰ The late 18th and early 19th centuries saw increased warfare and migrations among tribal populations of Te Ika a Maui/the North Island, caused in part by access to muskets, prompting shifts within the Māori socio-political code and increasing competition for resources. However, the rise of Christianity among Māori and the untenable cost of prolonged conflict saw an increasing move towards stability and peace. Angela Ballara, "Te Whanganui-a-Tara: Phases of Maori Occupation of Wellington Harbour C. 1800–1840," *The Making of Wellington* 1914 (1990): 9; 10-12;33.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 33.

⁷³ These associations, particularly of *ahi ka* were still being developed by at the time of the arrival of the New Zealand Company. Tribunal, 15-16.

⁷⁴ John H. (John Haig) Roberts, *Te Aro Pa : Its Significance*. (Wellington, New Zealand: J. Roberts?, 1989), 16.

⁷⁵ In addition to the three established pās, Pukuao (Ngāti Tama) and Tiakiwai (Te Atiāwa with Ngāti Tama) Pās, small visitor pās, were located within close proximity to the harbour. Within Te Whanganui-a Tara other major and notable settlements at the time of the arrival of the New Zealand Company included the Ngāti Tama pā Kaiwharawhara, alongside Te Atiāwa settlements Hikoikoi, Waiwhetu, Ngāūranga and Pito-one. This is not intended as an inventory of all sites within the region, but of those relevant to the study



Figure 1.10. Samuel Charles Brees, *Pipitea Point, Wellington*, [Between 1842 and 1845] Engraved by Henry Melville. Drawn by S C Brees. [London, 1847], Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, /records/23168219

The Māori built environment was a type comprehended by Europeans at foundation. Pā were fortified kainga ('settlements'), a Māori architectural form which emerged between AD 1500 and 1800, predominantly in the North Island where there was increased competition for land.⁷⁶ Often requiring considerable labour and modification of the landscape through terracing and surrounded by palisades, the pā were symbols of group *mana* ('prestige') as both strategic defence sites and repositories of food stores, as well as demonstrations of wealth and command of the natural landscape.⁷⁷ Pipitea Pā, depicted in Figure 1.10, occupied two and a half hectares of land, and with freshwater access to Pipitea stream, was surrounded by extensive cultivations.⁷⁸ A dynamic hub of life, the pā was defined by palisades of varying height, and contained whareniui (house) and whata (food storage) built on poles, as illustrated by Mein Smith in Figure 1.11. It housed a large community, as many as one hundred and thirty-four people, made up of Te Atiawa hapu (subtribes).⁷⁹ Nearby Kumutoto pā, located at the confluence of the Kumutoto Stream and the sea - today the intersection of Woodward Street and Lambton Quay - was a flax cultivation area, serving as a central collection point to a network of flax stations along the east coast in the 1830s.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Deidre Sharon Brown, *Maori Architecture: From Fale to Whareniui and Beyond* (Raupo Penguin, 2009), 35.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ "Te Ara O Nga Tupuna Heritage Trail/the Path of Our Ancestors," Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust, <https://www.pnbst.maori.nz/what-we-do/cultural-well-being/history/te-ara-o-nga-tupuna-heritage-trail/>. See also: Wellington City Council, "Nga Waahi Taonga O Te Whanganui a Tara Maori Sites Inventory," (1994).

⁷⁹ "Te Ara O Nga Tupuna Heritage Trail/the Path of Our Ancestors".

⁸⁰ Prior to the arrival of the New Zealand Company, some three and a half acres Kumutoto land had been sold to the flax trader David Scott, who built European style warehouses and dwellings. Kumutoto Kainga' ibid.; "Nga Waahi Taonga O Te Whanganui a Tara Maori Sites Inventory," M66.



Figure 1.11. William Mein Smith, *Courtyard in Pipitea Pā at Wellington, 1842*, (lithograph) R. A. Day & Haghe., London : Smith, Elder & Co., [1845] Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, /records/23151660



Figure 1.12. George Richard Hilliard, *Te Aro Pā, 1841*, Ref: A-113-023. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22713215>



Figure 1.13. Samuel Charles Brees, *The beach at Te Aro*, 1842-1847, [Ref: A-109-037. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22527537>

Te Aro pā - northeast from Te Aro Park today, almost to Wakefield Street (the old shoreline), and east to just beyond Taranaki Street - was a two-part pā occupied by the minority iwis of Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui which covered five acres.⁸¹ It was located east of the Waimapihi Stream (also known as the Te Aro Stream) that ran through the Aro valley through to the sea, as illustrated by Hillard in Figure 1.12.⁸² Like Kumutoto and Pipitea, Te Aro Pā was a hub of maritime activity, with at times upwards of a hundred waka going in and out of the pā.⁸³ Figure 1.13 suggests the bustling ngā ūnga waka (waka landing beach) at Te Aro pā in 1843. Similarly, the near constant presence of the prow of waka in many of these early colonial sketches such as Figure 1.14 appears indicative to the importance of the relationship between land and sea to Māori life in Te Whanganui-a-Tara.



Figure 1.14. Edmund Norman, *Pā, Te Aro, Wellington looking towards the Hutt River* [1842 or 1843?]

Te Aro pā in 1842/43, showing Taranaki Māori sitting wearing cloaks, kainga dwellings surrounded by pallisades, pigs and the prow of waka.

⁸¹ "Nga Waahi Taonga O Te Whanganui a Tara Maori Sites Inventory," M67.

⁸² The stream was named "the bathing place of Mapihi", after a Ngai Tara/Ngati Mamoe chieftaness. Ibid.

⁸³ *Taone Tupu Ora : Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design* ed. Keriata Stuart and Michelle Thompson-Fawcett (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010), 91.

The Waitangi Stream was a pivotal resource for Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui hapu living at Te Aro pā.⁸⁴ 'The crying waters' flowed from a natural spring (near Wellington hospital), flowing through the Hauwai swamp (Basin Reserve), meandering down present-day Cambridge and Kent Terraces into a tidal lagoon or swamp.⁸⁵ Figure 1.15, a vignette taken from a larger landscape painting by Barraud, provides some sense of the swampy terrain of the Waitangi Lagoon, in close proximity to Te Aro pā. Tuna, eel and various kokopu (endemic New Zealand galaxiids) and inanga (common galaxias/whitebait) lived within the stream, and the lagoon was filled with floating peat islets of flax.⁸⁶ Felton's mapping gives a sense of the extents of the lagoon system as a major freshwater ecosystem present at Te Whanganui-a-Tara at the time of European settlement (Figure 1.16). It is recorded that a taniwha (water monster) occupied the lagoon, but left after having a premonition of the arrival of Europeans.⁸⁷

Te Atiawa's large cultivations supplied the new colony with primary produce for the first twenty years of the settlement, before giving way to pastoral farming, then industry, commerce and the expansion of the city grid.⁸⁸ Cultivations into the terraced hillsides above the pās included potato, taro and kumara, as well as Aruhe (fern roots).⁸⁹ Karaka trees were also planted along the coast. Berries, roots, ferns and mushrooms were also gathered from nearby forests.⁹⁰ While the European settlers would recognise and rely on Te Atiawa's extensive agrarian landscape for survival during the colony's earliest days, this would become a hot point in tensions over land tenure in the years to come. Similarly disrupted, the following will introduce Tarantania and its traditional owners, the Kaurna people, whose presence in the landscape has a much longer history than that of Māori at Te Whanganui-a-Tara.

⁸⁴ "Nga Waahi Taonga O Te Whanganui a Tara Maori Sites Inventory," M68.

⁸⁵ Ruakura Consultants, "Basin Bridge Project Hauwai," in *Technical Report 15 Assessment of Effects - Cultural* (Wellington, New Zealand: WELLINGTON TENTHS TRUST & PORT NICHOLSON BLOCK SETTLEMENT TRUST, 2013), 4.

⁸⁶ Elsdon Best, "The Land of Tara and They Who Settled It," *Part III. Transaction and Proceedings of the Polynesian Society* 27 (1918).

⁸⁷ Council, "Nga Waahi Taonga O Te Whanganui a Tara Maori Sites Inventory," M68.

⁸⁸ Council, Square, and Street, 2/10.

⁸⁹ Meriluoto-Jaakkola, 113.

⁹⁰ Ibid.



Waitangi Lagoon

Te Aro Pa

Figure 1.15. Charles Decimus Barraud, *Wellington*, 1851 Reference Number G-596,
<http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/detail/?id=31044>

Cropped section of Barraud illustrating the Waitangi Lagoon and Te Aro pā. (Author's illustration adapted)

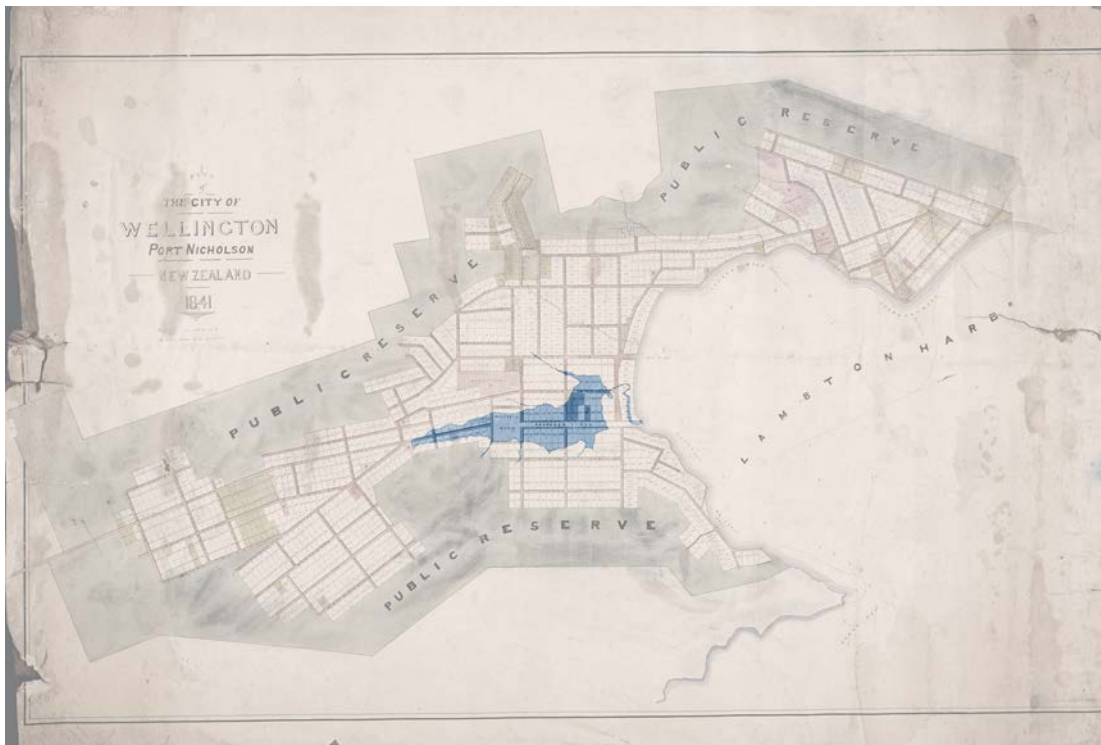


Figure 1.16. *Plan of the City of Wellington, Port Nicholson, New Zealand 1841* Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZ Map 3761, <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/HeritageImages/images/maps/maps103f/3761.jpg>

The extents of the Waitangi Lagoon as documented in Author's mapping, from Felton Mathew.

1.3.2 Tarntanya

Tarntanya lies within Kurna Country, an area north of the Fleurieu Peninsula in South Australia, resting on fluvial plains between the coast and the foothills of Urebilla/the Mount Lofty Ranges.(Figure 1.18)⁹¹ The Tarntanya plains were typically characterised by grasslands and open grassy woodlands of Red Gums, Blue Gums to the east, Native Cypress Pines and Sheoaks in the western coastal hinterland, and Grey Box forests to the south of Karrawirra Parri/the Torrens river.⁹² As illustrated in Figure 1.17 Kurna territory extends from Crystal Brook in the north of Cape Jervis in the south, with a western border demarcated by the scarp of the Mount Lofty Ranges.⁹³ This territory takes in 7,200 square kilometres.⁹⁴ Kurna Country, located as it was between the mountains and the sea, was host to seasonal meetings, 'conferences' between neighbouring tribes.⁹⁵ There was considerable dialogue and overlap with neighbouring tribal communities and language groups, with far reaching spiritual links. For example, the mythological tracks of the Mura-Muras, beings who shaped the landscape in the Dreaming, and formed social law and initiation, can be traced from south-west Queensland, through the Northern Territory, into the mid-north of South Australia and as far south as Kurna territory.⁹⁶ This cosmology records the creation of the Mount Lofty Ranges through an ancient battle. The two ears, *Urebilla*, of a giant ancestral being *Nga:no*, slain in the battle form the peaks of Mount Lofty and Mount Bonython.⁹⁷ His fallen body forms the hills that run north to Nuriootpa in the Barossa Valley, and his outstretched arms reach towards the sea at Marino.⁹⁸



Figure 1.17. Kurna Native Title Claim map, Land Services Group, Government of South Australia.

⁹¹ Kurna identity has a complex history. For a discussion of the origins of the term, and the location of Kurna territory see Steve Hemming, "'Kurna' Identity: A Brief History," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28, no. 2 (1990).

⁹² Phil Bagust and Lynda Tout-Smith, "Native Plants of Adelaide," (2010): v.

⁹³ Betty Ross, ed. *Aboriginal and Historic Places around Metropolitan Adelaide and the South Coast* (Adelaide: Anthropological Society of South Australia, 1984), 3.

⁹⁴ Norman Tindale, "Aboriginal Tribes of Australia. 2 Vols," *Canberra: Australian National University Press. Kulin greenstone quarries* 285 (1974).

⁹⁵ Lewis O'Brien and Mary-Anne Gale, "And the Clock Struck Thirteen: The Life and Thoughts of Kurna Elder Uncle Lewis Yerloburka Obrien/as Told by Mary-Anne Gale," (2007): 6-7.

⁹⁶ Ross, 7.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.



Figure 1.18. W.A. Cawthorne, *Mt Lofty (from the hills) after sunset*, 1847, 'South Australian drawings, ca.1843-1879', State Library of New South Wales.



Figure 1.19. Author unknown, *Golden Grove*, 1920, State Library of South Australia, <http://www.catalog.slsa.sa.gov.au:80/record=b2024720~S1>

Kaurna culture remains an enduring presence within the Adelaide area, with ancestors occupying the southern Australian landscape for at least forty thousand years.⁹⁹ This contrasts to the relatively recent arrival of the Te Atiawa and Taranaki peoples to the Te Whanganui-a-Tara region. However, akin to Māori peoples, Kaurna society, customs, cosmology and material practices prior to European contact were complex and responsive to the local landscape. Shaped by the watershed of the Mount Lofty Ranges, Kaurna Country is sculpted by streams and swamps which flow across the alluvial Adelaide plains through to the coast at the Gulf of St Vincent.¹⁰⁰ Rivers such as the Onkaparinga and the Karrawirra Parri/the Torrens not only shaped the landscape, they also provided an important source of food.¹⁰¹ The plains vegetation provided key resources, such as habitat for brushtail possums ('pilta',) and grubs ('kupe'), while the rivers were a source of bulrushes and yabbies.¹⁰²

In particular, Karrawirra Parri is considered to be the heartland of Kaurna country. Translating to 'red gum forest river', the river is named for the forest ('wirra') of red gums ('karra') which lined the banks of the river.¹⁰³ According to Kaurna cosmology, the river reflects the stars of Wodliparri ('house river') – the Milky Way - with the bright stars defining the edge of the constellation reflecting campfires along the river's edge.¹⁰⁴ These hearths emanated from shelters hollowed out in river red gums (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*), much like the remnant shelter still apparent (Figure 1.19) along the Little Para River at Golden Grove on the outskirts of Adelaide in 1920.¹⁰⁵ This relationship of adjacency to freshwater hydrological systems is elsewhere reflected in the historic record, such as the Rodolph landscape (Figure 1.20) which depicts the habitation of a Kaurna family group along the banks of Onkaparinga River in 1870, with shelter tree in the background, and grassy woodland typical of the river landscapes of the Adelaide plains. The plateau south of Pilta Wodli was carved with small seasonal creeks which overflowed each winter to inundate the plains, with the large streams discharging into a system of wetlands in the coastal hinterlands.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ The knowledge available is pieced together from Kaurna oral history, early colonial sources, archaeology, as well as that documented by anthropologists from settlement. Contemporary anthropologists have revised this often paternalistic documenting of Kaurna cultural practice, however it is worth noting the flaws and contingency inherent from this lens of history. The largest body of contemporary scholarship related to the Kaurna is through the dynamic revival of language emergent from the Kaurna Language Reclamation project, Kaurna Warra Pintyanthi, hosted by the Linguistics department at University of Adelaide.

¹⁰⁰ Ross, 12-13.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² "Torrens River/Karrawirra Parri ", Adelaide City Council, <<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/community/reconciliation/kaurna/place-naming/sign-site-karrawirra-parri/>>.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Bagust and Tout-Smith, v.

The area south of the Torrens, the location of the central business district of Adelaide as imagined in Colonel Light's survey of the city, is identified in Kurna language as Tarntanya, meaning 'male red kangaroo rock'.¹⁰⁷ The rock formation, located in the site of today's Adelaide festival centre, is linked to a sacred being, *Tarnda*, who transformed into a red kangaroo.¹⁰⁸ After settlement in 1836, a number of quarries were located on this southern bank, destroying the Tarntanya rock formation.¹⁰⁹ The area where Colonel Light surveyed Victoria Square is identified as the main camp ground or 'headquarters' for the Kurna in the region.¹¹⁰ The area which encompasses Victoria Square / Tarntanyangga and the Adelaide General Post Office on the edge of the square is also reported to be known by the Kurna name Ngamatyi.¹¹¹ The South Australian Registry indicates that in 1842 there were as many as 650 Kurna living within the region at the time.¹¹² Other estimates place Kurna number between 300 and 700 prior to settlement.¹¹³ The population was affected by the spread of smallpox along the Murray River basin from Europeans in New South Wales.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ Rob Amery and Georgina Yambo Williams, "18 Reclaiming through Renaming: The Reinstatement of Kurna Toponyms in Adelaide and the Adelaide Plains," in *The Land Is a Map : Placenames of Indigenous Origin in Australia* ed. Luise Hercus, Flavia Hodges, and Jane Simpson (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2002).

¹⁰⁸ Susan Marsden and Kathy Gargett, "Adelaide: A Brief History," (Adelaide, SA.: History Trust of South Australia, 1996). See also: O'Brien and Gale.

¹⁰⁹ Steve Hemming and Rhondda Harris, "Tarndanyangga Kurna Yerta," ed. Hassell Pty Ltd and City of Adelaide (Adelaide: City of Adelaide, 1998), 19.

¹¹⁰ "The Adelaide Tribe.," *The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA : 1889 - 1931)*, 8 December 1927 1927.; Tom Gara, "The Life of Ivaritji ('Princess Amelia') of the Adelaide Tribe," *Aboriginal Adelaide Special Issue, Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28, no. 1&2 (1990).; C G Teichelmann and C W Schürmann, *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Phraseology of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia* (authors, 1840).

¹¹¹ Curiously, according to Hodges, Tarndanyangga was chosen over Ngamatyi for the square's dual-nomenclature due to a perceived difficulty of pronunciation for English speakers. However, I have been unable to verify this with other sources. See: Flavia Hodges, "Language Planning and Placenames in Australia," *Current Issues in Language Planning* 8, no. 3 (2007): 393.

¹¹² N. B. Tindale, "Kurna (Sa) - Nb Tindale's Aboriginal Tribes of Australia (1974)," Adelaide, <http://archives.samuseum.sa.gov.au/tindaletribes/kurna.htm>.

¹¹³ Ross, 3.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.



Figure 1.20. William Rodolph Thomas, *Aboriginal family group on the Onkaparinga River near Hahndorf, South Australia*, 1870, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-vn4935828>



Figure 1.21. Eugène von Guérard, *Winter encampments in wurlies of divisions of the tribes from Lake Bonney and Lake Victoria in the parkland near Adelaide*, 1858, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

In contrast to the more fixed construction of the Māori pā, Kurna moved seasonally from winter camps in the wooded plains and foothills, to the coast in summer.¹¹⁵ Shelter types reflected the seasonal shift from coast to inland in structure and material, as shown by the winter wodli ('home- wurley or hut') shelters illustrated in Figure 1.21.¹¹⁶ Evidence of the uniqueness of Kurna material culture in terms of architecture – as well as through scarification practices, performative practices, circumcision rites, weaponry and burial practices - further suggests the intertwining of coast and hinterland ecology with cultural knowledge.¹¹⁷

Kurna cosmology contains the concept of *Yerta*, a Kurna-specific understanding of the more broadly understood concept of *Country*, which interlinks communal and subjective knowledge and spirituality with kinship to landscape.¹¹⁸ Early comprehension of this by missionaries, the Resident Commissioners and other colonists reflects an understanding at the time of foundation of an existing system of native land tenure.¹¹⁹ However, in spite of this comprehension, competition for land would see Kurna sovereignty denied without compensation. Kurna people would be marginalised from the new urban space of the town through the civilising lens of the surveyor's theodolite.



Figure 1.22. Alexander Schramm, *Native encampment in South Australia*, 1859, chalk-lithograph printed in colour on paper from two stones by Penman and Galbraith, from the original by Alexander Schramm. B 70985, State Library of South Australia.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 5.

¹¹⁶ Robin Radford and Valerie Campbell, "Archaeology of the Southern Adelaide Region Part 4- Material Culture," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 20, no. 2 (1982): 2. For detailed discussion of Aboriginal architectural typologies see Paul Memmott, *Gunyah, Goondie + Wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia*, 1st ed. (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 2007).

¹¹⁷ Ross.

¹¹⁸ Marsden and Gargett, 3. ; Philip A Clarke, "Adelaide Aboriginal Cosmology," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28, no. 1 (1990).

¹¹⁹ Shaun Berg, "A Fractured Landscape: The Effect on Aboriginal Title to Land by the Establishment of the Province of South Australia," in *Coming to Terms: Aboriginal Title in South Australia*, ed. Shaun Berg (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2010), 9.



Figure 1.23. **Left:** Charles Emilius Gold, *Pipitea Pa, Thorndon, from the rear with Kaiwharawhara hotel and the Hutt Valley in the background*, 1847, 'Sketches by General Gold, 1846 to 1860', Ref: A-288-009. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22833115>; **Right:** W.A. Cawthorne, *Aboriginal ceremonial ground*, 1847, 'South Australian drawings, ca.1843-1879', State Library of New South Wales.

Given the different mode of occupation Kaurua practices would have been perceived as foreign to a European way of knowing, regardless of the presence of a formalised treaty. The ephemeral and adaptable nature of the Kaurua built environment, in partnership with landscape management practices which shaped the hunting and cultivation of food, bore very little resemblance to the industrialised agrarian landscapes of Europe. By contrast, the built environment of Māori in Te Whanganui-a-Tara was a semi-permanent village settlement accompanied by cultivation practices more familiar and comprehensible to European eyes. Arguably, this critical point of difference contributed to the comparably swift marginalisation of Kaurua and Aboriginal peoples within the burgeoning Adelaide settlement.

It is into these indigenous places that the reformist ideas championed by Edward Gibbon Wakefield were introduced through the settlements of Adelaide and Wellington. In these two cases, the shared confluence of European utopian ideals of civil society, alongside systematic city planning offers an extraordinary opportunity for an international comparison.

1.4 Research Design

The case study method allows for a productive comparison to examine decolonisation through this dissertation research, situated in a theoretical and political terrain that is both complex and highly emotive. Groat and Wang suggest that “the essence of the case study is its focus on studying a setting or phenomena embedded in its real-life context.”¹²⁰ In the case of this project, each case study provides a lens through which to examine the relative state of decolonising practice as reflected in the public spaces of New Zealand and Australia, arising “out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena.”¹²¹ The comparison between the two cities allows for both reflection and critique, offering an appropriate socio-political counterpoint. As this enquiry is particularly focused on exploring the position of a design as an outcome produced in a complex political situation, whereby “the potential to uncover the multiple, complex and sometimes overlapping factors that eventually lead to particular outcomes.”¹²²

As such, there were three main criteria for the selection of case studies, limited to:

- civic projects in scale, prominence and value;
- a demonstrated engagement with sovereign politics in design/process; and
- projects responsive to the reconciliatory politics of the settler context, either the Resource Management Act (New Zealand) or the Apology to the Stolen Generations (Australia).

The use of ‘civic’ as a methodology limited the scope of projects to be considered, where typologies of ‘open’, ‘public’ and ‘urban’ are too broad to be useful. Civic space is representative of prominence and value, limiting the study to spaces of symbolic capital, rather than framed in terms of typology. ‘Civic’ becomes a specific frame through which to position this research in terms of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design. Furthermore, in resisting typology, the study also aims to avoid the pitfalls of case study research typically found in Landscape Architecture, as identified by Swaffield, to choose projects opportunistically for their value in promoting a particular designer, practice or the profession at large.¹²³ Locating these projects in direct relationship to their respective sovereign contexts, the selection of projects in the Australian limited to a time frame Post-Apology to the Stolen Generations. Similarly, the study considered New Zealand projects are found in the period after the implementation of the Resources Management Act.

¹²⁰ Linda N. Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods* (New York: J. Wiley, 2002), 346.

¹²¹ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*, 4th ed., Applied Social Research Methods Series (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2009), 345-46.

¹²² Groat and Wang, 346.

¹²³ Adri Van den Brink et al., *Research in Landscape Architecture: Methods and Methodology* (Routledge, 2016), 106.

In order to find case studies, I began looking for civic projects which reflected to my criteria for selection, within the major metropolitan cities of Australia. What I quickly realised through this process was that while these projects did exist to a limited degree, for the most part they were *unbuilt* projects, reflecting the temporal response to policy implementation. When I did the same scoping exercise within New Zealand, I discovered that without exception every project of a civic scale built in the last 20 years included engagement with Maori cultural and landscape values, evidence of the legislative imperatives of the RMA. With a 20 year headstart, New Zealand has already worked through the gestures of nation building which has preoccupied Australian design practice. Unlike the Australian projects, the potential case studies from New Zealand were all – excepting for the Christchurch Central Business District Redevelopment – built examples. It is quite evident from this exercise that the differences in political and historical trajectory has had a very real impact on design practice in the respective countries.

The research question - *How do designers of civic space position their work in relation to the sovereign politics of Australia and New Zealand?* - has been addressed cumulatively through a combination of mixed research methods. The primary method is the application of textual and visual analysis of documentation, in addition to discourse analysis. Secondly the enquiry is grounded in focused interviews conducted with a select handful of stakeholders at the early stages of research as an orientation to the two case study designs. This relationship of mixed methods, illustrated in Figure 1.24, reflects the interrogation of the production of civic space through design, both temporally, as well as across scales and disciplines.

This methodology reflects the complex framework of decolonisation as a process, located in the intersection of history, politics and design. Initially through this process four case studies were selected, inclusive of Wellington's Waterfront Redevelopment; Christchurch's Central Business District Reconstruction; Adelaide's Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga Renewal; and Perth's Elizabeth Quay Waterfront Redevelopment. However, as the research began to unfold, looking to these overlapping factors, the comparison of two particular Antipodean cities – Adelaide and Wellington - offered an extraordinary correspondence given their shared settlement history, which will be discussed in Chapter 2, and the two juxtaposing models of legislative decolonisation, introduced in Chapter 3. While in fabric Adelaide has much shared with Christchurch, the political machinations and geological instability of the built fabric of Christchurch made it problematic for doctoral research, and Perth was similarly fraught. The decision to focus the study on two cases has allowed a much more considered and detailed analysis of research material.

As suggested in the introduction of the two indigenous landscapes within this chapter, the dissertation critically interrogates historical representations of landscape in mappings, paintings and photographs, as well as public histories produced in both the academy, popular history and most critically through legislative processes of decolonisation, such as those produced by the Waitangi Tribunal and the Australian Royal Commission.¹²⁴ This method was applied to produce speculative mappings, as well as to highlight a field of examples within an archive of visual material illustrating social and ecological narratives of site. Visual analysis within this methodology applied a combination of sites, modalities and methods, as outlined by Rose.¹²⁵ This includes the consideration of the site of production, the site of audiencing and the site of the image itself.¹²⁶ Rose argues that rigour comes through applying a combination of these methods.¹²⁷

Synthesising this method, the coding of images to locate image sources in space, both temporally and in the landscape, was applied as a means of categorization to determine patterns of correlation which drove the structure of the dissertation. This method was invaluable to managing data digitally, particularly for historical photographs and documents of the two cities. This investigation involved the consultation of several archives, including: the Adelaide City Archive; the Library of South Australia; the State Library of Victoria; the State Library of New South Wales; the National Library of Australia; the Wellington City Archive; the Wellington City Library; and the Alexander Turnbull National Library of New Zealand Wellington, including the Katherine Mansfield Reading Room.¹²⁸

Drawing on the speculative methods of landscape architecture, this investigation of the visual record enables the discovery of "new worlds within past and present ones; they inaugurate new grounds upon the hidden traces of a living context."¹²⁹ As an example of this, Mathur and da Cunha in *Mississippi Floods* draw together an array of perspectives on the Mississippi river and show how these different images have played a role in the process of designing and containing a hydrological system.¹³⁰ Analyzing maps, hydrographs, working models, drawings, photographs, government and media reports, paintings, and even folklore, Mathur and da Cunha consider what these

¹²⁴ Corner, "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention."; Mathur and da Cunha.

¹²⁵ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies : An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, 2nd ed. (London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2007), 113.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹²⁸ Of particular value to this research was the extensive archive material within the Turnbull Library Special Collections collated by the Architecture Centre in Wellington.

¹²⁹ James Corner, "Chapter 10: The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique, and Invention," in *Mappings*, ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 214.

¹³⁰ Mathur and da Cunha.

representations of the river portray, what they leave out, and why that might be.¹³¹ This method is useful for revealing spatial histories and perspectives which might be otherwise marginalised within discourse.

As already introduced, each case study city contains exemplars of contemporary civic space design, produced through an open process (competition or public submission), at the scale of the renewal Wellington Waterfront, and the renewal of Victoria Square within the celebrated heritage precinct of the city of Adelaide. The civic nature of public design evaluations, as Noble articulates, “provides a useful way to study architectural and ideological debates, to ascertain why certain imaginations are selected and others rejected and may be used to inform interpretation of the buildings that evolve from this process.”¹³²

As such, this research investigates the extensive archive surrounding the public design process, including the evaluation of documents relating to heritage assessment, community consultation, landscape assessment, competition and briefing documents, and design documentation. Further drawing on the methods outlined by Rose, the design documentation was examined using ‘content analysis’, which is a methodical, objective approach to interpreting visual material, as well as ‘compositional interpretation’¹³³

Similarly, the relative process of each case allowed for discourse analysis of design journals and media to be read against the design documentation. Specifically, critical reception of the projects in the literature of practice was sourced through journals such as *Architecture Australia*, *Landscape Architecture Australia*, *Architecture New Zealand* and *Landscape Architecture New Zealand*.

This analysis aimed to interpret the design process, following the project through conception, establishing the brief and design. Questions of enquiry that drove this analysis were:

How is ‘civic’ defined in the brief?

What demands does the brief make upon the designer to respond to sovereign politics?

What evidence can be read from the design documentation?

How has policy shaped the design process?

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Jonathan Alfred Noble, *African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture : White Skin, Black Masks*, Ashgate Studies in Architecture Series (Burlington: Ashgate Pub, 2011), 2.

¹³³ Rose, 54.

Secondary to the primary methods of design analysis through documentation and discourse, initial interviews in the early stage of the research, conducted as part of fieldwork in 2013, with designers and stakeholders took the form of 'focused interviews', as described by John Zeisel in *Inquiry by Design*. The aim of the interviews was to allow the designer or stakeholder to reveal their own position in relation to the production of the design given the context.

Zeisel suggests the focused interview is a powerful methodology for design research as it allows the researcher to "find out in depth how people define a concrete situation, what they consider important about it, what effects they intended actions to have in the situation, and how they feel about it."¹³⁴ The types of questions asked, following Zeisel's method, related to:

- *Competition and selection process;*
- *Responses to policy in design;*
- *Community consultation in design process;*
- *Collaborative processes across practices during design;*
- *History of practice and experience working on similar projects;*
- *Limitations of design;*
- *Points of compromise within the process; and*
- *Contributions of design to policy and education through process.*

David Nichols, Kate Darian-Smith and Hannah Lewi's in 'Contentment, Civic Pride and Progress': the built legacy of community and everyday modernism in Australia' argue for the agency of role of the architect, as the design of civic space is "quietly instrumental in shaping everyday community life and a progressive notion of social connection and democracy."¹³⁵ Hracs and Massam appeal to a sense of social responsibility amongst designers, arguing that "planners have an obligation to share responsibility with other professions and organisations, as well as with citizens, to contribute to this debate through their efforts to design places/spaces that serve the noble end of developing meaningful civil societies."¹³⁶

¹³⁴ John Zeisel, *Inquiry by Design: Tools for Environment-Behaviour Research* (CUP archive, 1984), 137.

¹³⁵ The authors further suggest that civic architecture realised in Australia in the 20th century is reflective of social motivations of the architects. David Nichols, Kate Darian-Smith, and Hannah Lewi, "'Contentment, Civic Pride and Progress': The Built Legacy of Community and Everyday Modernism in Australia," *Journal of Architecture* 15, no. 5 (2010): 595.

¹³⁶ Brian J. Hracs and Bryan H. Massam, "Places/Spaces of Celebration and Protest: Citizenship, Civic Conversations and the Promotion of Rights and Obligations," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 17, no. 1 (2008): 78.

These interviews offered a valuable window into the design process and outcome in relationship to the theoretical methodology of the research. However, as a method the interview has inherent limitations. For example, the respondent may or may not reveal their intent or agency in relation to the design. They may be either unaware or dismissive of the sovereign politics of the site, or could choose not to engage in a dialogue about their political position in the forum of a focused interview, particularly given the market and branding conditions of the industry. It was vital then to use a mix of methods. Therefore, the interviews functioned as an entry point, invaluable in grounding the designs in the context. Interview content is situated amongst the broader analysis of written documentation and conventional graphics packages, alongside critical reception from design discourse.

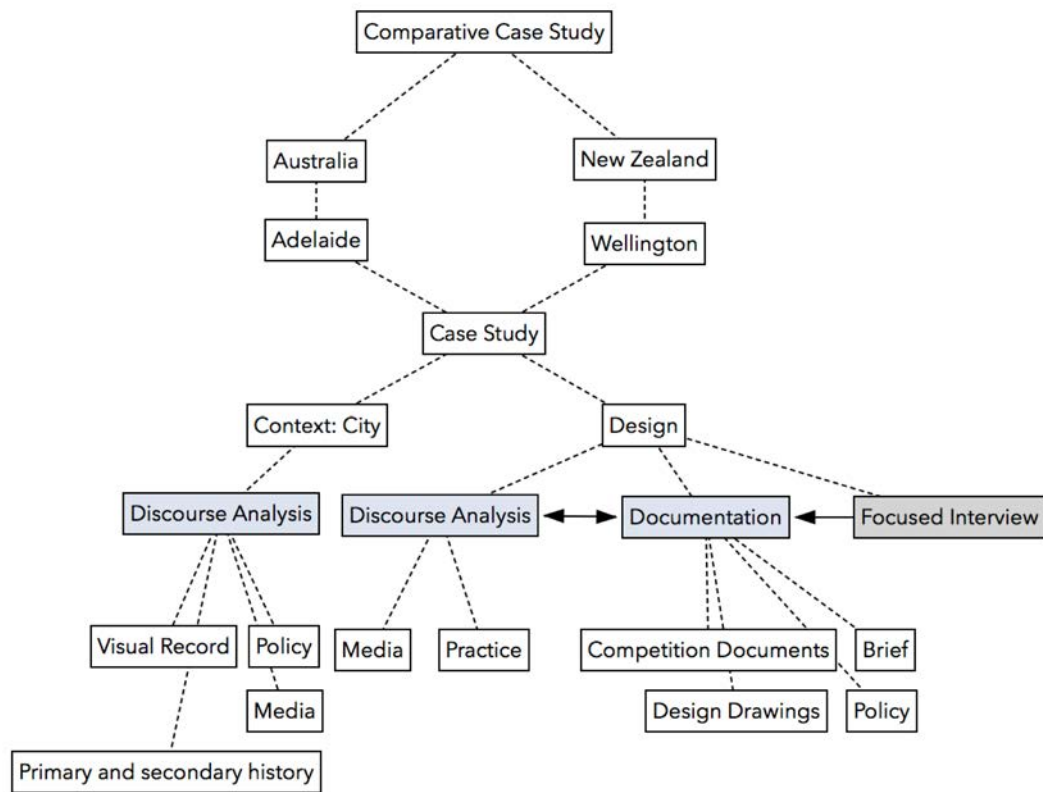


Figure 1.24. Research Design and Methodology

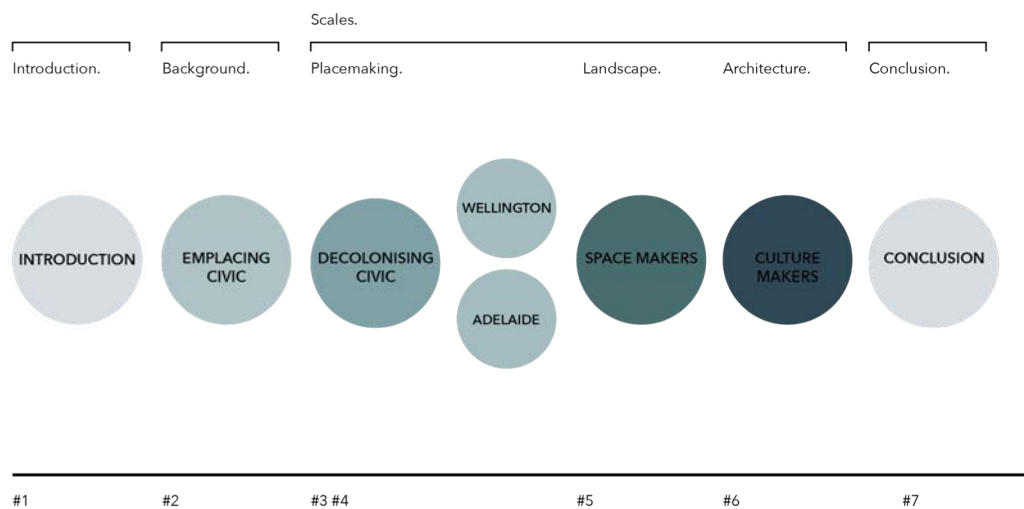


Figure 1.25. Thesis Structure Diagram

1.4.1 Thesis Structure

The overlapping factors established through the initial case study selection, fieldwork and data analysis revealed several scales of comparison. Traversing at times muddy territory, the structure of this thesis has emerged from this critical investigation of the layers of production of civic space, through a process of situating these projects – Waitangi Park, Te Wharewaka, Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga and the Mullabakka Centre for Culture – in the cities of Wellington and Adelaide. The overall structure of the dissertation, mapped in Figure 1.25, builds this comparison on a scaffold of analogous junctures of placemaking, landscape and architecture.

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framing and focus of the dissertation, considering notions of decolonising practice and the design of civic space in the settler colonial contexts of New Zealand and Australia, while introducing the case studies through the indigenous spaces of Te Whanganui-a-Tara and Tarntanya. Chapter Two, *Emplacing Civic*, explores how legislative and ideological notions of civic governance imagined in Europe were spatially placed into these two places at the time of colonial settlement, shaping the city. Further establishing the exceptional relationship of the two cities as stages for the performance of British civic urbanity, this chapter examines the emplacement of civic through the design gestures of the plan, the park, the harbour and the square.

Chapters Three and Four, *Decolonising Civic: Wellington and Adelaide*, consider the case studies discretely, exploring the long legislative and planning processes of placemaking in these cities, reflecting differing models of decolonisation. Both chapters consider the city in the age of reconciliation, from the 1980s, exploring the relationship between legislation, planning and placemaking. Chapter Five *Space Makers* and Six *Culture Makers* scrutinises the comparative condition of decolonisation on either side of the Tasman at the scale of contemporary designed space within the city. They examine the most recent productions of designed civic spaces at the scale of landscape architecture: the park and the square; and at the scale architecture, through the indigenous cultural centre.

The following chapter explore the notion of systematic colonisation as a defining factor on the ways in which citizenry and the civic within these settlements unfolded spatially. It will consider the ways in which imported notions of civilisation and the city shaped the settlements, as background to further case study discussion.

Chapter 2 Emplacing Civic: Measures of Control

2.1. Introduction: Emplacing Civic

Settler colonial cities are not only sites of indigenous dispossession, they are also the media through which history has sought to “naturalise and legitimise settler sovereignty.”¹³⁷ Responding to the history of the city as “the principle site for the erasure of Indigenous peoples” poses a particular challenge to designers today operating in the urban spaces of Australia and New Zealand, where the modern imperial project was dependent on the control and occupation of these spaces through the practice of planning and development.¹³⁸ As argued in the Introductory chapter, the study of the cities of Adelaide and Wellington offers a unique comparison as indigenous landscapes encountered by Europeans almost simultaneously across either side of the Tasman. Both cities share common philosophical origins as Wakefieldian settlements, imagined as utopian European outposts. This chapter will explore the ways in which the indigenous places of Te Whanganui-a-Tara and Tarntanya were reconfigured in parallel from first contact into the colonial cities of Wellington and Adelaide. I will scrutinize the physical enactments of legislative framework, examining the cities as spaces of reclamation (Wellington) and exclusion (Adelaide).

This chapter will examine how urban apparatus such as the grid and the park land operate as tools through which the vision of a civilising city was superimposed onto an indigenous landscape, disrupting existing territorial practices and patterns of landscape use. In the case of Adelaide rapid urban expansion from 1836 saw the erasure of Indigenous presence through a disregard for traditional land use practices and occupations. This, coupled with exclusionary legislation and paternalistic social policies physically marginalised Kaurna people within the city. This discussion will reveal a parallel narrative of occupation within the foundational landscape of Wellington, settled only three years after Adelaide. However, in the case of Wellington, this was complicated by the seismic shifts in landform in 1855, which impacted upon Māori resources and fractured communities already isolated within the city grid. The earthquake raised the foreshore in what would begin a pattern of land reclamations, expanding the limited flat land for development and capital speculation. It is argued that these gestures, shaping notions of civic space at the time of foundation, continue to complicate and inform the urban design context of Wellington and Adelaide today.

¹³⁷ Tracey Banivanua Mar, "Settler-Colonial Landscapes and Narratives of Possession: [Paper In: Stolen Lands, Broken Cultures: The Settler-Colonial Present. Hinkson, John; James, Paul and Veracini, Lorenzo (Eds).], " *Arena Journal*, no. 37-38 (2012)., 176.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 176.; Lee-Anne Hall, "Sitting Down in the Square: Indigenous Presence in an Australian City," *Humanities Research* XI, no. 1 (2004)., 54.

2.2. Making Plans: Surveying and Selling the Colonial Settlement in an Indigenous Place

In the 1830s, surveyors, planners and colonial power brokers were rapidly engaged in the speculative imaging of new free settlements onto Antipodean landscapes entirely foreign to European eyes. Allotments within the colonies at Adelaide and Wellington were advertised - marketed to an idealised settler class - and sold at a distance from London with scant knowledge of the landscape, prior to the embarkation of a surveying party. (Figure 2.1) In order to rapidly facilitate this process, spatial speculators applied planning models in the lineage of European settlement typologies to the landscape of the South, utilising the design language of the grid drawn from the classical methods of Vitruvius, developed and refined through militaristic practices of European army encampment.¹³⁹ The grid as a typology is celebrated for its efficiency, adaptability, and clarity, making it the ideal form to support rapid colonial growth and imposing claims to sovereignty.¹⁴⁰ As such, the act of surveying the city was a deeply



Figure 2.1. **Left:** Source of advertisement unknown, likely Birmingham newspaper in Ward, John. "Information Relative to New Zealand: Compiled for the Use of Colonists". John W. Parker, 1840. **Right:** Advertising South Australia in Britain, 1835, Marsden, Susan, and Kathy Gargett. "Adelaide: A Brief History." Adelaide, SA. History Trust of South Australia, 1996.:9.

¹³⁹ Diane Brand, "Surveys and Sketches: 19th-Century Approaches to Colonial Urban Design," *Journal of Urban Design* 9, no. 2 (2004): 157.

¹⁴⁰ For example, Maudsley in examining historical grid planning argues that the grid is a framework for

colonizing practice, putting in place the lofty aspirations of Wakefield for an ordered civil society in the Antipodes, as surveyors "domesticated the new environment, translating the foreign into the familiar."¹⁴¹ As will be explored below, within the morphology of the abstract grid, civic function was clearly delineated for these new Australasian societies.

Both city plans for Adelaide and Wellington share the philosophical underpinnings of reformist Edward Gibbon Wakefield. An ethically questionable but charismatic character, Wakefield devised a philosophy of systematic colonisation. With Robert Gouger as his editor, Wakefield in 1829 composed his infamous "Letter from Sydney, the principal town in Australasia" where he critiqued the structure and economic sustainability of the Australian colonies for a chaotic granting of free hold land, which created a labour shortage, and a reliance on the morally defunct convict class.¹⁴² As a signifier of this shared origin, Gouger and Wakefield's names, among other key actors of early colonial governance and power, denote street names in both city grids of Adelaide and Wellington.

In the Wakefield schema, town and country allotments would be sold for a moderate price and used to fund selective emigration of labour to ensure both an economically prosperous and morally sound society, with all the trappings of an idealised vision of British gentry.¹⁴³ Wakefield's scheme suggested that land sales be used to subsidise emigration of free settlers as labour.¹⁴⁴ The plan entirely excluded any type of convict emigration, as it was believed that the exclusion of the criminal classes would establish a respectable society.¹⁴⁵ Wakefield's plan sought to provide incentive for capital investment, while maintaining a hierarchy of class, by selling land at a "price sufficiently high to prevent a labourer from becoming a landowner too quickly".¹⁴⁶ This scheme hinged on maintaining a class divide leveraging the speculative value of land for investors, which maintained a labour class in the short term, which in turn would support the long term sustainability of the colony. The influence of Wakefield's

sustainable settlement due to its future-proofing capacity. See: Ann Maudsley, "Grid Planning and Sustainability," in *The Sustainability of Australia's Country Towns: Third National Country Towns Conference 2010* (Centre for Sustainable Regional Communities, The Faculty of Law and Management, La Trobe University, Bendigo Campus, 2010).

¹⁴¹ Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand* (Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 55.; Roy Montgomery, "Absolutely Positively Not the First Plan for Wellington: Unravelling Popular Misconceptions About the Process of Planning New Zealand's Capital City," in *UHPH_14: Landscapes and ecologies of urban and planning history*, p. ed. Morten Gjerde and Emina Petrović (Wellington: Australasian Urban History / Planning History Group and Victoria University of Wellington, 2014).

¹⁴² Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A Letter from Sydney: The Principal Town of Australasia* (J. Cross, 1829).

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Marsden and Gargett, 9.

¹⁴⁵ Derek A Whitelock, *Adelaide, from Colony to Jubilee: A Sense of Difference* (Savvas Pub., 1985), vii.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

strategy came in parallel to an emergent sentiment within both the British Colonial Office and Parliament towards a more humane treatment of indigenous peoples, in the wake of the abolition of slavery within the empire, and the awareness of frontier violence towards Aborigines at settlements such as Tasmania. This occurred alongside an appreciation in the United Kingdom of egalitarian principles and democratic process in the wake of the 1832 Reform Act.¹⁴⁷

Applied to Wellington, this systematic approach set up a direct conflict with the obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Company's settlement stipulated that, in addition to existing village occupations, a tenth of the total settlement plan be reserved for Māori.¹⁴⁸ These allotments, known as the 'tenths', were to be selected by lottery back in London, akin to all lots sold by the New Zealand Company.¹⁴⁹ However, as argued by scholars such as Turnbull (1959), Miller (1958) and Burns (1989), this strategy resulted in a market bubble akin to the South Sea Company, seeing the corruption of Wakefield's theory through speculative mania, which negatively affected race relations.¹⁵⁰ This would see the obligations to Māori enshrined in the Treaty of Waitangi in direct conflict with the dealings of the New Zealand Company, as speculation fuelled demand for the limited flat territory available for settlement in Wellington.

In the case of Adelaide, the Wakefield foundation established a unique egalitarian differentiation when viewed against other Australian metropolitan cities.¹⁵¹ The city of Adelaide is notable in Australia, unique amongst the penal colonies as the only planned free settlement. Furthermore, it is exceptional in terms of race relations in Australian history. The 1834 South Australian Colonisation Act brought the province of South Australia in effect, and in its pre-amble identified the area of Southern Australia as consisting of "waste and unoccupied lands which are supposed to be fit for the purposes of colonisation."¹⁵² The Colonial Office in London were aware that Aborigines inhabited the general area, and had developed policies over time to provide some form of protection to the Aborigines, and to ensure colonists displayed just conduct

¹⁴⁷ Donald Leslie Johnson, *Anticipating Municipal Parks: London to Adelaide to Garden City* (Wakefield Press, 2013).

¹⁴⁸ Tribunal, 46.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 47.

¹⁵⁰ As referenced in: Roberta McIntyre and David Allan Hamer, *The Making of Wellington, 1800-1914* (Victoria University Press, 1990), 3.

¹⁵¹ Robert Foster, "'His Majesty's Most Gracious and Benevolent Intentions': South Australia's Foundation, the Idea of 'Difference', and Aboriginal Rights," *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 15 (2013). Also: Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829-1857* (Melbourne University Press, 1967).; Whitelock.

¹⁵² *An Act to Empower His Majesty to Erect South Australia into a British Province or Provinces and to Provide for the Colonisation and Government Thereof.*, (15 August 1834).

when establishing a new colony.¹⁵³ As such, the Letters Patent issued in 1836, not only demarcated the boundaries of the territory but instructed, "Provided always that nothing in those our Letters Patent contained shall affect or be construed to affect the rights of any Aboriginal Natives of the said Province to the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own Persons or in the Persons of their Descendants of any Lands therein now actually occupied or enjoyed by such Natives..."¹⁵⁴ However, like Wellington the settlement of Adelaide was plagued by a conflict between legislative protection for the interests of indigenous communities and demand for land by settlers, fuelled by the speculative mania of private capital.

The South Australia Company (1836) and the New Zealand Land Company (1839) were both established as land companies from a distance, in offices in London.¹⁵⁵ As Hobson hastily proclaimed New Zealand a sovereign British colony through the Treaty of Waitangi, the New Zealand Company's boats had already arrived to survey Te Whanganui-a-Tara as Port Nicholson.¹⁵⁶ The Wakefield plans for New Zealand framed the colony as a 'Britain of the South', mirroring South Australia through the maintenance of English class distinctions alongside an incentivised opportunity for an aspirational labour class. New Zealand Company advertising represented Wellington as a landscape very different to that encountered by the first settlers, described in bucolic terms as having undulating plains suitable for the cultivation of grapevines, olives and wheat.¹⁵⁷ However, the naivety of the New Zealand Company to the landscape of Te Whanganui-a-Tara would prove to be a great challenge for Wakefield's surveyors.

In contrast, the expectations held by the colonists and powerbrokers behind the South Australia Company were better supported by the open landscape of the Tarntanya plains, more malleable as it was to the rapid installation of fence lines and roads. Johnson suggests that the motivation to find utopian pastoral landscapes in the Antipodes were bound up with British upper class idealisations of the picturesque landscape in the wake of the industrial revolution which scarred the English landscape

¹⁵³ Berg, 1.

¹⁵⁴ *Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom Erecting and Establishing the Province of South Australia and Fixing the Boundaries Thereof.*

¹⁵⁵ Derek Whitelock and Anthony Edward Baker, *Adelaide: A Sense of Difference* (Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2000), 4.; Tribunal, 45.

¹⁵⁶ Captain William Mein Smith's survey company arrived in the harbour on the *Cuba* on 3rd January 1840. Hobson didn't arrive at the Bay of Islands until the 29th January, with forty Māori chiefs signing the Treaty of Waitangi a week later on the 6th February.

¹⁵⁷ King. 140.

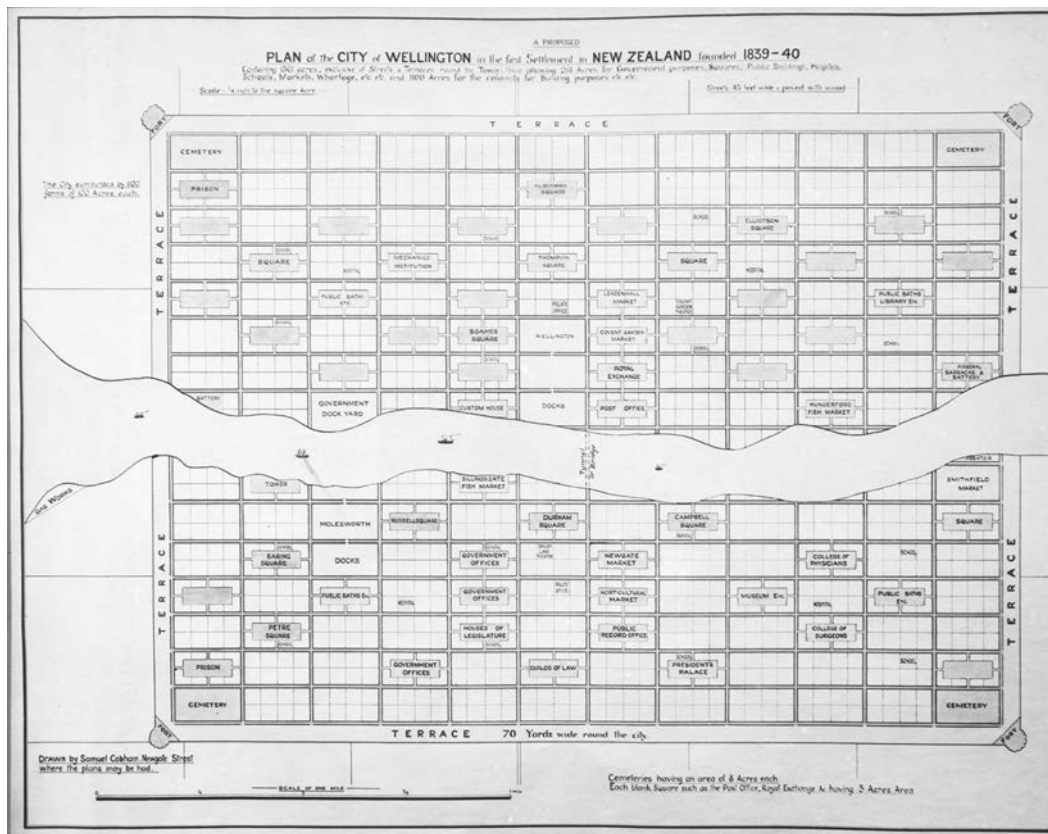


Figure 2.2. New Zealand Company, *A proposed plan of the city of Wellington in the first settlement in New Zealand, founded 1839-40* [copy of ms map]. Drawn by Samuel Cobham, Newgate Street, [London]. [n.d.]. Ref: MapColl-832.4796a/1839/Acc.15648. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22796123>;

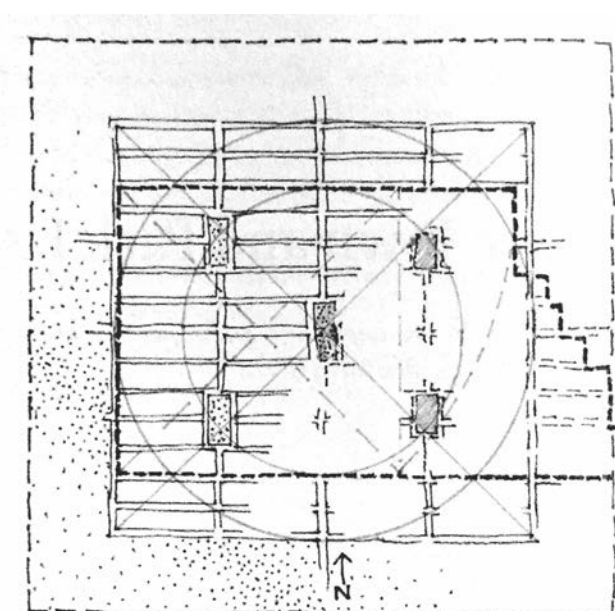


Figure 2.3. Donald Leslie Johnson, *Town of Adelaide*, in 'Anticipating Municipal Parks: London to Adelaide to Garden City', Wakefield Press, 2013:96.t

Donald Leslie Johnson's recreation of G.S. Kingston's initial plan for the Town of Adelaide as designed in London prior to departure, 1835. The original plan is no longer in existence. Superimposed dashed lines correspond to the plan executed on site in 1837.

and polluted its cities.¹⁵⁸ However, the hot, dry landscape they faced upon disembarkation in South Australia still prompted a culture shock for some, the “dried and scorched appearance of the plains, which, to their English ideas, betokened little short of barrenness.”¹⁵⁹ Nonetheless, this landscape would support an organised expansion of urban settlement unrivalled at the time for its speed and efficiency.

The initial plans for these cities reflected the utopian and capital aspirations for the colonies. The first plan for Wellington, a settlement initially named ‘Britannia’ and drawn up by Samuel Cobham of Newgate Street, London, appears diagrammatic at best to contemporary eyes, although contained the eleven hundred acre lots proposed for sale by the New Zealand Company. It features a strong grid layout of acre allotments divided along the east-west axis by a deep Thames-like river, circled with terraces and divided by wide forty-five feet boulevards paved in timber. As illustrated in the plan overpage (Figure 2.2), the Wellington proposal is also peppered with a series of civic squares, alongside a wish list of British institutions of culture and commerce. This included the direct transplantation of London place names to denote markets such as Billingsgate, Smithfield, Newgate and Covent Garden.¹⁶⁰ As highlighted by both Brand and Johnson, Cobham’s plan closely resembles Newcourt’s 1666 London plan, excepting for the haphazard placement of town squares.¹⁶¹

The Cobham plan floats in space, with no reference to the landscape into which it would be inserted, bar the flatness of terrain implied by the orthogonal grid. There is a reassuring order to the proposal to seduce the colonial mind looking for the ideal configuration of civic life, offering an escape from the industrialised European city. As noted by Brand, the presence of four cemeteries and four public baths within the plan reflects the aspiration for a civilised city hygienically lived.¹⁶² This reading is supported by Park, who suggests the civilising power of Cobham grid, where “imagined against it, then located against it, unexplored Antipodean space became a primeval blankness awaiting civilisation’s sails coming up the harbour.”¹⁶³ Recent research by Roy Montgomery supports this proposition, who argues that the Cobham plan was likely more a piece of civic propaganda produced from London in 1840, reflecting the ambitions held for the colony rather than ever operating as an applied plan for the

¹⁵⁸ Johnson, 6.

¹⁵⁹ John Morphett, colonial businessman and land agent, reflecting on the initial reactions at the arrival of the first surveying party. As quoted in Whitelock and Baker, 4.

¹⁶⁰ Brand, 163.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.; Donald Johnson, *Anticipating Municipal Parks : London to Adelaide to Garden City* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2013), 171.

¹⁶² Brand, 164.

¹⁶³ Geoff Park, *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape & Whenua* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), 37.

New Zealand Company's surveyors.¹⁶⁴ Notable to this study, the plan included a liberal provision of public space as part of the ideal of civic life, with two-hundred and sixty-one acres designated for public amenities, alongside the inclusion of fifty-eight squares (three acres in size).¹⁶⁵

Like the Cobham's Wellington plan, the speculative plan for Adelaide was drawn up in London to facilitate the sale of allotments (Figure 2.3). Designed by Kingston eight months prior to the granting of the Letters Patent, the plan allowed for one thousand town acres and consisted of an equilateral square grid layout with five town squares, modelled on the Cataneo block plan.¹⁶⁶ The Crown sanctioned the plans for the experimental colony of South Australia based on self-sufficiency, through the condition that land was pre-sold to raise a thirty-five-thousand-pound settlement surety. Sales for Adelaide were hastened through the granting of one town acre for every eighty rural acres.¹⁶⁷ The speculative drive to the survey sat uncomfortably against the new state capital's founding egalitarian and libertarian principles. As will be explored in this chapter, this disjuncture is most acutely apparent in the way in which the built fabric of the city enacts a *tabula rasa* upon the indigenous landscape of Tarntanya.

¹⁶⁴ Montgomery suggests that Cobham produced the map at his own expense, and was not a New Zealand Company document, contrary to the generally accepted narrative presented by planning historians. Rather, the first plan of Wellington is less well known due to its fragile condition within the collection of Te Papa Tongarewa, drafted by Charles Heaphy, "Plan of the City of Britannia in Lambton Harbour, Port Nicholson, New Zealand, the Principal Settlement of the New Zealand Company". The more widely recognised 'official' Wellington Map lithograph, "Plan of the Town of Wellington, Port Nicholson, the First and Principal Settlement of the New Zealand Company" is, according to Montgomery, a counterfeit replica of the Heaphy plan produced in late 1840 or early 1841, after the name of the settlement changed to Wellington. Montgomery.

¹⁶⁵ Brand, 164.

¹⁶⁶ Controversially, Johnson argues that Kingston, rather than Light, was the designer of the plan for Adelaide. Light was commissioned to choose the site and conduct the survey, and according to Johnson makes no claims within the public record of the design being 'his'. Johnson, 96-98.

¹⁶⁷ Marsden and Gargett, 9.

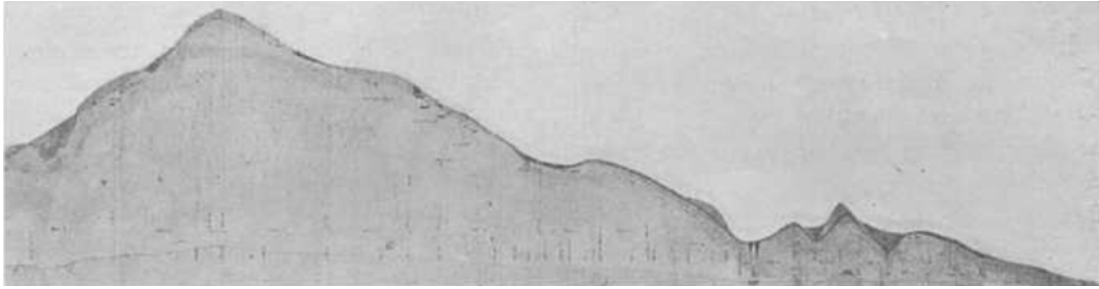


Figure 2.4. Louis Ernest Ward, Sectional Plan of Wellington Terrace, surveyed by Robert Park in 1861, showing the cuttings and fillings (exaggerated 6.8 horizontal), 'Early Wellington', Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928:315.

2.2.1.A Plan Disrupted

The landscapes that the South Australia Company and the New Zealand Company arrived into upset the expectations of the entrepreneurial founders. The scene that greeted the New Zealand Company survey party was entirely different to that implied by Cobham's vision of Wellington. The New Zealand Company's surveyor-general, Lieutenant William Mein Smith, had been instructed to survey the eleven-hundred town sections in the south-west of the harbour. However, as Robert Park's 1861 survey of Wellington Terrace gives indication, the dramatic topography of the watershed of Te Ahumairangi/Tinakori Hill and Tangi Te Keo/Mount Victoria (Figure 2.4) lacked sufficient flat land to accommodate the New Zealand Company's gridiron allotments, and was already densely occupied by Māori pā and cultivations.



Figure 2.5. Walter Baldock Durrant Mantell, *Day. Night. Pleasant. Very*, 1840, 'Scrapbook. 1840-1872'. Ref: C-103-012-1. Alexander Turnbull Library, <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23144393>

Mein Smith shifted his survey to the flat sandy landscape of the nearby Hutt Valley, establishing a small township at Pito-one (Petone) on the isthmus of the Heretaunga/the Hutt River in January of 1840.¹⁶⁸ This decision revealed a misreading of the landscape, with the Pito-one village untenable on the swampy banks of Heretaunga/the Hutt River, its first settler's huts inundated in flood in March of 1840. Māori had attempted to warn settlers of the foolishness of surveying the Hutt region for a settlement because of the risk of inundation.¹⁶⁹ The facing cartoon illustration, Figure 2.5, exemplifies this absurd misreading of the landscape through this satirical sketch of an English gentleman leisurely reading a book by lamplight, floating on a raft within his flooded hut.¹⁷⁰

As a result, the settlement was shifted back to the harbour site first favoured by the Company. As indicated in Mein Smith's 1842 rendering of Thorndon Flat, settlers found the folded seismic landscape along the western foreshore offered very little in the way of flat land suitable for development, and a good proportion of this space was already occupied. Mein Smith's surveyors massaged the gridiron allotments for the London lottery into the limited flat terrain available, in places extending up the steep hillside. The New Zealand Company had offered land allotments at a purchase ratio of one town acre for every hundred country acres.¹⁷¹ Nine-hundred and ninety town and country allotments sold out prior to the company's arrival at Port Nicholson, and significantly preceding any land purchase agreements with Māori.¹⁷² The awkward intersection of pleated landscape against the regimentation of the grid can be read in Mein Smith's 1840 survey plan, where the smoky rendering of the steep topography of Te Ahumairangi/Tinakori Hill and Tangi Te Keo/Mount Victoria bleeds ominously over the surveyor's fragmented gridiron (Figure 2.7). Unsurprisingly, the ad hoc plan lacks the generous allocation of formal civic spaces found in both Cobham's Wellington plan and the Kingston/Light plan for Adelaide.

¹⁶⁸ Tribunal, 84.

¹⁶⁹ Bourke makes this assertion in her dissertation supported through the reminiscences of settler Thomas Wilmor McKenzie in McKenzie, Thomas Wilmor. "Further Notes and Reminiscences; Letter to the Editor." Wellington: ATL, MS-Papers-1357-1B, 1836-1901. Found in: Rebecca Burke, " " Friendly Relations between the Two Races Were Soon Established"?: PāKehā Interactions with Māori in the Planned Settlements of Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth, 1840-1860," (2014): 94.

¹⁷⁰ This is one of six irreverent pencil sketches illustrating a number of scenes of the 1840 settlement flooding by Walter Baldock Durrant Mantell, one of which is captioned, "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

¹⁷¹ Tribunal, 46.

While Edward Gibbon Wakefield would be sidelined from the South Australian venture, he was directly involved in the New Zealand Company. In fact, his brother William Wakefield would command the New Company expedition to Port Nicholson.

¹⁷² Ibid.



Figure 2.6. William Mein Smith, *The harbour of Port Nicholson and the town of Wellington* (sketched in the middle of the year 1842), 1842; in Wakefield, Edward Jerminham, "Adventure in New Zealand". Ref: PUBL-0011-16-1. Alexander Turnbull Library. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23221896>

Panel section of Mein Smith's panorama of Wellington illustrating the limited flat topography appropriate to both Māori and European occupations of the land.



Figure 2.7. William Mein Smith, *Plan of the Town of Wellington, Port Nicholson : The First and Principal Settlement of the New Zealand Company*, 1840, London: Smith, Elder & Co. for the New Zealand Company.

Juxtaposed against the Mein Smith survey of Wellington (over page Figure 2.7), the Kingston/Light survey plan for Adelaide reflects a more successful translation of the orthogonal grid into the landscape. Unlike Te Whanganui-a-Tara, the relatively flat plains Tarntanya were more easily swallowed by the logic of Kingston's grid. The original site of Adelaide had been planned closer to the gulf of St Vincent, near arable land that had been found by earlier European explorers of the region such as Charles Sturt.¹⁷³ However, the entrance to the port river, while ideal as a harbour, was surrounded by swamplands and sand hills, and lacked a source of fresh water.¹⁷⁴

Crown surveyor Colonel William Light, alongside Kingston had only two months to find and survey an alternative the site of the town prior to the arrival of the first settlers.¹⁷⁵ The area of Karrawirra Parri/River Torrens was chosen with the township located on an elevated site beside the river valley as illustrated in Figure 2.9.¹⁷⁶ The valley was proposed as generous parklands in the Kingston/Light survey.¹⁷⁷ However, Kingston's original blueprint had to be adapted to a landscape of seasonal watering holes, swamps and wetlands, dividing the allotments north and south of the Torrens.¹⁷⁸ While the central business district south of the river closely mirrors the Kingston proposal, two smaller northern grids were tilted off axis to accommodate all one-thousand lots allocated to selectors either side of the Torrens escarpment.

¹⁷³ Marsden and Gargett, 11. See Also: Whitelock.

¹⁷⁴ Marsden and Gargett, 11.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 12.

¹⁷⁸ Johnson.

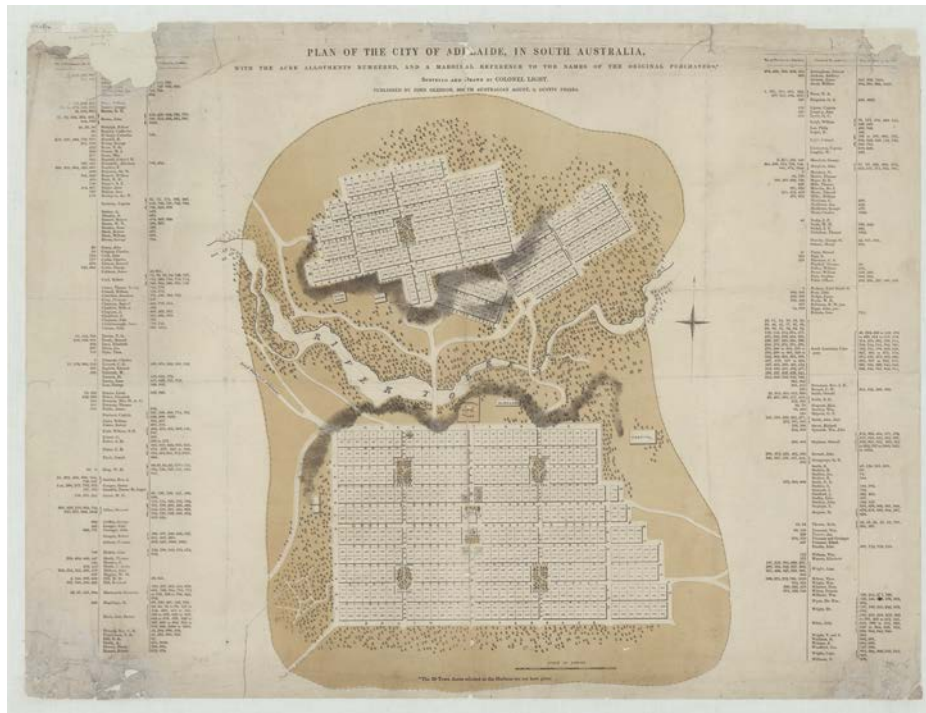


Figure 2.8. William Light, Plan of the City of Adelaide, in South Australia: with the acre allotments numbered, and a marginal reference to the names of the original purchasers, 1840, State Library of South Australia, SLSA: C194A

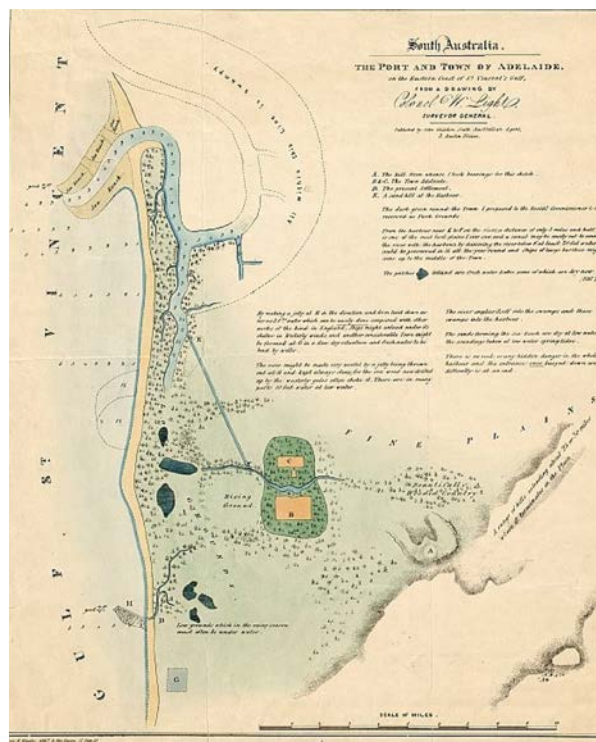


Figure 2.9. William Light, John Gliddon, and Day & Haghe, South Australia the Port and Town of Adelaide, on the Eastern Coast of St. Vincent's Gulf, 1839, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231420901>

Light's plan for the town location in relation to the Gulf of St. Vincent. The township is sited on the 'rising ground' in the eastern hinterlands between mountains and sea.

The ecology of the Tarntanya plains would also satisfy the aspirations of the South Australia Company. For early settlers and explorers, the scene that greeted them apparently resonated with a landscape of the English Picturesque.¹⁷⁹ Cerwonka suggests that the recollections of early settlers were "an application of British aesthetic fashion to the colonial context."¹⁸⁰ Similarly, the picturesque as an aesthetic in English landscape painting depoliticised the displacement of the peasant class by industrial farming and landholding practices, by re-casting the landscape as an empty one seen through a melancholy lens, framing old barns, cottages and mills empty of the rural poor.¹⁸¹

Arguably the aesthetic projection of the picturesque onto the South Australian landscape similarly ameliorated the displacement of the Indigenous population. The open understory that characterised this type of landscape enabled the rapid settlement of Tarntanya by Europeans, alienating Kurna from the land through the hierarchical divisions formed in the landscape. However, this landscape was already shaped by a system of Indigenous land management utilising indigenous fire practices in Kurna country.¹⁸² Plant species gathered and game species hunted by Kurna were adapted to the open understory generated through regular burning over generations.¹⁸³ Longway's 1838 painting, 'Adelaide in embryo' (Figure 2.11), one of the earliest images of Adelaide, reveals something of the rapidity of European settlement at Tarntanya, although the ominous and twisted forms of the river red gums are suggestive of the otherness of the Tarntanya plains ecology to European eyes.

¹⁷⁹ Bill Gammage, "The Adelaide District in 1836," in *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*, ed. Robert Foster and Paul Sendziuk (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2012), 48-49.

¹⁸⁰ Allaine Cerwonka, *Native to the Nation : Disciplining Landscapes and Bodies in Australia* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), Dictionaries, 65.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁸² Gammage.

¹⁸³ P. A. Clarke, "- the Aboriginal Ethnobotany of the Adelaide Region, South Australia," - 137 (2013): 99.



Figure 2.10. William Light, *A View of the Country and of the Temporary Erections near the Site for the Proposed Town of Adelaide in South Australia*, 1838, State Library of Victoria.

Light's depiction of the earliest European encampment at the relatively flat and open site proposed for Adelaide.



Figure 2.11. W H Longway, *Adelaide in embryo*, 1838, Ref: A-133-003. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22805968>

One of the earliest depictions of the Adelaide settlement, 1838.

Unlike the plan for Wellington, the allocation of civic space within the Light/Kingston plan maintained fidelity to the aspirations imagined through the original Kingston proposal. Building upon Wakefield's principles, and the idea of the generation of civilisation through cultured society, the settlement was planned to include provision for the establishment of public institutions, which were subsequently inserted into the North Terrace civic precinct.¹⁸⁴

Central to the Kingston/Light plan were five village squares, with Victoria Square as the six-hectare central civic space at the 'heart' of colonial Adelaide. The lost original plan reputedly contained an illustration of a cathedral within the Victoria Square, and there is debate over whether the original intention was that the civic secular space contain the church, or if this was merely manoeuvring of the Anglican Church in Adelaide.¹⁸⁵ (Figure 2.12)

Critically to this study, the location of this square overlaps with a major site of significance to the Kaurna people, as Tarntanyangga, the central encampment in Kaurna country. Furthermore, the square sits on a geological formation of significance in the Kaurna dreaming. This convergence of colonial and Indigenous significance has meant the square has long been a site of territorial anxieties and tensions over land ownership. The following section will continue to explore these tensions, examining the way in which the Wakefieldian aspirations for the colonies continued to break down through the spatial enactment of the survey.

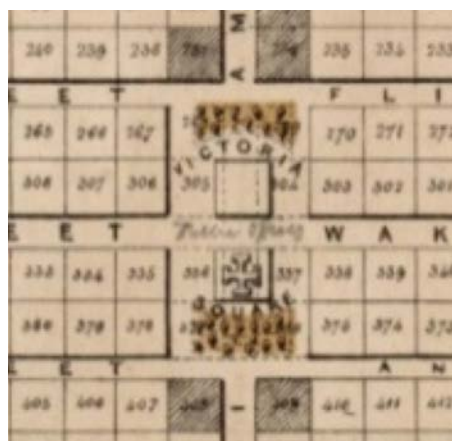


Figure 2.12. William Light, Plan of the City of Adelaide, in South Australia: with the acre allotments numbered, and a marginal reference to the names of the original purchasers, 1840, State Library of South Australia, SLSA: C194A

¹⁸⁴ Marsden and Gargett, 17.

¹⁸⁵ This argument hinges on a version of Light's plan illustrating the church which was used in evidence in 1855. For more detail see Johnson, 197.

2.3. Letters and Treaties: Legislating Colony through the City Form.



Figure 2.13. **Left:** Charles Heaphy, *Warepouri* or "Dark house", 1845, London: Smith, & Elder. Ref: PUBL-0011-02-1. Alexander Turnbull Library, <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22308729>; **Right:** Charles Heaphy, *Epuni* or "Greedy", 1845, London: Smith, & Elder. Ref: PUBL-0011-02-2. Alexander Turnbull Library, <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22314439>

Te Atiawa chiefs Wharepouri and Te Puni at Peto-one pa, with the Company's ship, the *Tory*, visible in the background.

The settlements shared utopian and benevolent attitudes in founding legislation to indigenous peoples, although the reality on the ground would alienate both Māori and Indigenous people from their land. The New Zealand Company's settlement plans included provisions for 11,110 acres – a tenth of the total survey allocations – as reserves for Māori.¹⁸⁶ These allotments, known as the 'Tenths' and highlighted in Figure 2.14, were to be selected by lottery back in London, alongside all lots sold by the New Zealand Company.¹⁸⁷ Ward's map details land owners against the parcel numbers drawn in the London lottery, alongside native reserves. The capital gains to the value of this land from colonisation - along with six lots of goods that included muskets, blankets, tobacco, pocket handkerchiefs and sealing wax - constituted payment for ownership of Te Whanganui-a-Tara through the Port Nicholson Deed of Purchase, signed by some but not all chiefs on Friday 27 September 1839.¹⁸⁸ Negotiating chiefs Te Puni and Wharepouri (Figure 2.13) were engaged in the sale of land including territory over which they did not claim ownership.¹⁸⁹ The people at Te Aro pā were excluded altogether from negotiations, interpreted by William Wakefield as being 'slaves' to the Te Atiawa hapu (subtribes) living at Kumutoto, Pipitea, Pito-one and Ngauranga.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Tribunal, 46.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 47.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 54.

¹⁸⁹ Roberts, 5.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 6.

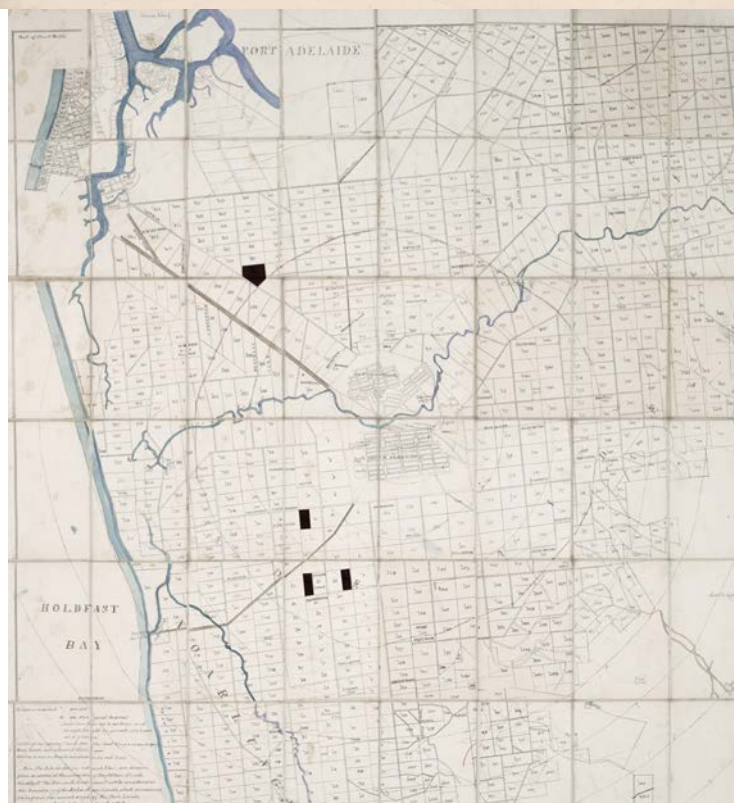
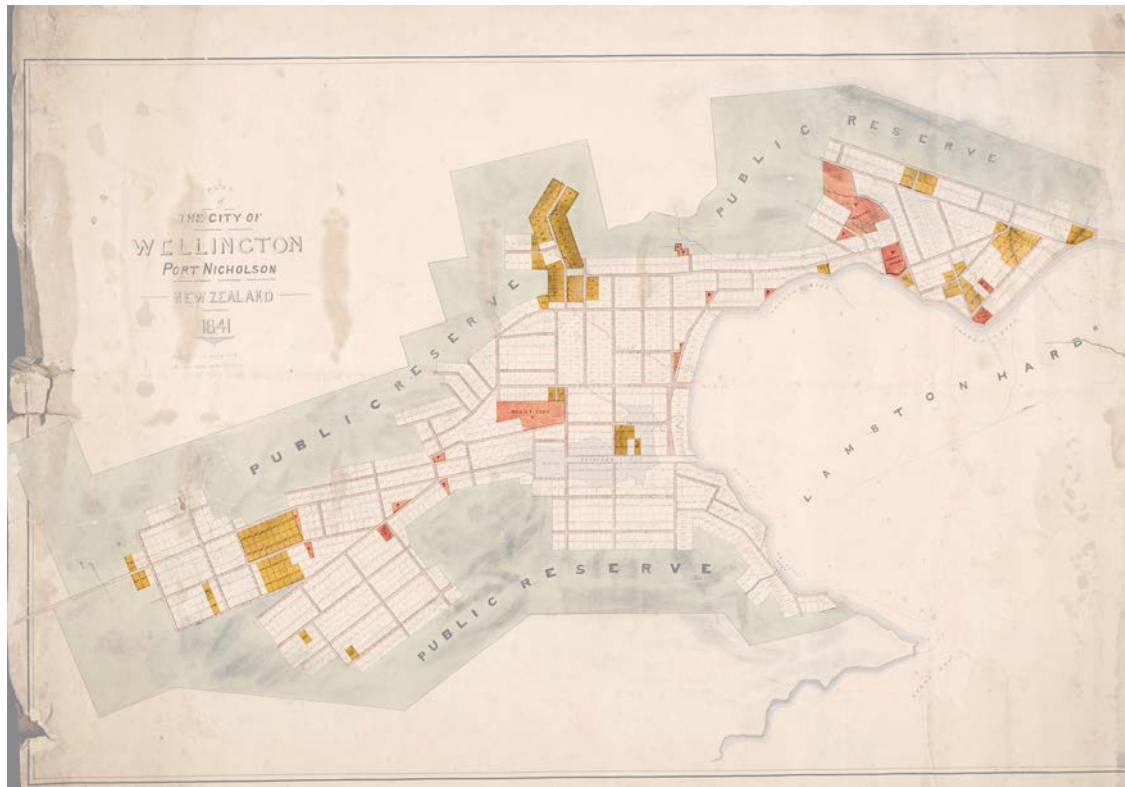


Figure 2.14. **Top:** Mathew Felton, Plan of the City of Wellington, Port Nicholson, New Zealand, 1841 Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZ Map 3761, <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/HeritageImages/images/maps/maps103f/3761.jpg>; **Bottom:** Sheet no.101 Adelaide, 1845-1850 Adelaide. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk697>

Felton survey highlighting proposed Tenths Allocations and Public lands within township viewed alongside Adelaide Plan sheet 101 which illustrates section sales of Adelaide country allotments, highlighting the only four Aboriginal reserves denoted by the map maker. (author's edit.).

A singular voice of dissent to the transaction, Hikoikoi pā chief Te Puwhakaawe, expressed misgivings which foreshadow the treatment of Māori in the years to come:

What will you say when many, many white men come here and drive you all away into the mountains? How will you feel when you go to the white man's house or ship to be for shelter and hospitality, and he tells you with his eyes turned up to heave and the name of his God in his mouth, to gone, for that your land is paid for?"

– Te Puwhakaawe, 26th September, 1839¹⁹¹

The Tenth's were vested in trust for Māori, to be managed by the Crown. The degree to which Māori understood the implications of this sale forms a key argument in the Tenth's Trust claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.¹⁹² It is contended that the explanation of the Tenth's scheme and the delineations of the boundaries of sale to Māori was inadequate, and most importantly Māori were unaware that the deed of purchase made no provision for the complete retention by Māori of all pā, cultivations or burial grounds.¹⁹³ As the lottery was drawn in London without knowledge of the landscape, not all allotments aligned with existing pā and cultivations, which led to the fracturing of existing Māori communities. This was confounded by the fact that pā occupied prime waterfront real estate, as discussed in the introduction, with Pipitea, Kumutoto and Te Aro pas all located on the precious flat land of Te Whanganui-a-Tara.¹⁹⁴ The reserves are illustrated throughout the Felton survey (Figure 2.14). At the time of foundation, the pās covered fifteen acres, and included extensive cultivations.¹⁹⁵ While six hundred acres were occupied by Māori in Wellington town site, only one hundred acres were allocated to them in the town lottery.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Tribunal, 63.

¹⁹³ Ibid., xvii.

¹⁹⁴ Roberts, 16.

¹⁹⁵ Tribunal, 84.

¹⁹⁶ Council, Square, and Street, 2/13.



Fig. 8—Native Potato Ground, Port Nicholson, 1840.

From a Sketch by Captain Stanley, H.M.S. Britomart, in the writer's possession.
The ground was cleared by setting fire to the underwood. The Crop, when gathered in, was placed on the raised platform (whata), shown in the foreground, thus securing it from the ravages of the rats, which were numerous.

Figure 2.15. Louis Ernest Ward, *Potato cultivations at Port Nicholson*, 'Early Wellington', Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928:13.

Significantly, the initial Tenth selections gave little regard to the cultivation practices of Māori, or to their complex social and economic systems tied to the land. Lands Commissioner Spain later found that these reserves were inadequate to Māori needs.¹⁹⁷ In fact the Company privileged the scattered pattern of allocation of the Tenth for disrupting traditional land use as a 'civilising' strategy, rather than Māori being "encouraged to continue savage, living apart from the civilized community."¹⁹⁸ As divided by the grid, Māori understandings of collective sovereignty and ownership were at odds with a Westernised notion of private enterprise for, as New Zealand Company naturalist Ernst Dieffenbach would assert, "the moving spirit of English colonization is that of absolute individuality."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ The company claim was investigated by Land claims commissioner William Spain, who's incomplete 1842 investigation found that that the Company had not validly purchased the land from Māori. This was replaced with an arbitration process, out of which Colonel Wakfield paid a 1500 pound compensation to Māori for 67,000 acres within the Port Nicholson block. This figure was based on an assessed land value, rather than allowing Māori the right to negotiate the sale of land freely. bid., xix.

¹⁹⁸ Council, Square, and Street, 2/13.

¹⁹⁹ Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand, with Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of That Country*, by Ernest Dieffenbach (J. Murray, 1843), 172. Quoted in Tribunal, 85.

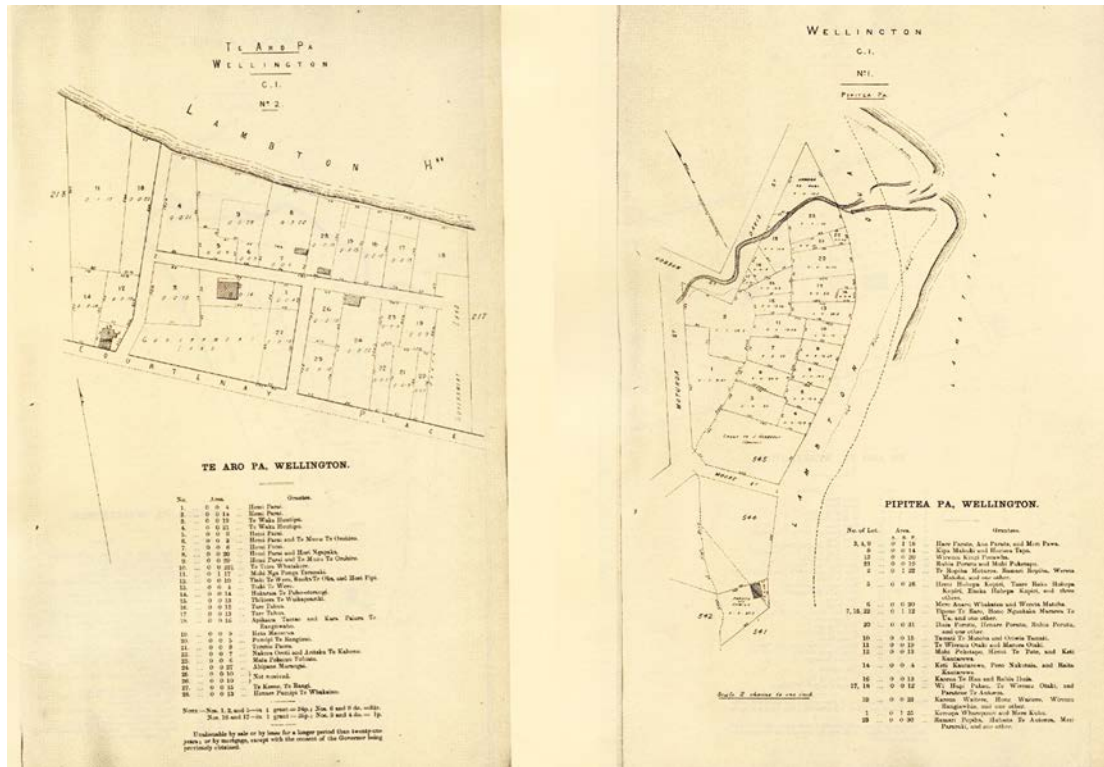


Figure 2.16. **Left:** *Te Aro Pā, Wellington - Map C.1. No 2*, This map appeared in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives in 1871 (p. 55). <http://www.wcl.govt.nz/Māori/wellington/tearopa.html>; **Right:** *Pipitea Pā, Wellington - Map C.1. No 1*, Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives in 1871 (p. 56) <http://www.wcl.govt.nz/Māori/wellington/pipiteapa.html>

The land purchased from Māori by the New Zealand Company was formally recognized by the Crown in March 1845, when Lands Commissioner Spain awarded the Company a grant of 71,900 acres.²⁰⁰ Māori were to retain their pā, burial sites and gardens, in addition to increased Tenths allocations (one-hundred and ten town acres and thirty-nine hundred country acres), alongside £1500.²⁰¹ Lieutenant Colonel McCleverty, appointed to implement the Spain grants, found that while Māori cultivations accounted for some six-hundred and thirty-nine acres, five-hundred and twenty-eight acres of this land had already been sold by the New Zealand Company to selectors.²⁰²

In 1847 McCleverty granted Te Aro Māori a total of five-hundred and seventy-nine acres, including forty town acres to the pās.²⁰³ Kumutoto Māori received fifty-four acres including an urban tenth reserve which contained their pā, alongside an area of land they were cultivating in the town belt (Wellington Botanic Gardens).²⁰⁴ Pipitea were allocated seven thousand, four-hundred and thirty-six acres including a number of

²⁰⁰ Roberts, 10.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.; Tribunal, 261.

²⁰⁴ Tribunal, 261

town sections (which covered their pā), as well as an area of the town belt they were cultivating.²⁰⁵ However, the quality of this land for cultivation varied greatly, with the future needs of Māori poorly provided for.

The Treaty of Waitangi and the Tenths allocations were designed to protect and pacify Māori claims to land. A similar approach had been proposed in South Australia under the Letters Patent. Plans made by the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia reinforced the sentiment of the Letters Patent in terms of Aboriginal rights to land, in keeping with the usual process of a treaty. This approach particularly distinguished South Australia against the other Australian colonies. Broadly, South Australia is recognised as having a socially and politically progressive attitude to Indigenous affairs, being the first state to give all men including Indigenous men the vote in the 1856 and all women including Indigenous women the vote in the 1895; one of the first to diminish segregation practices under the Aboriginal Affairs Act (1962); and the first to appoint an Aboriginal person to a vice-regal position in Australia in 1976, Sir Douglas Nicholls.

However, despite utopian measures of colonisation proposed under the Letters Patent at foundation, dispossession and alienation of indigenous people was the same as that experienced elsewhere in Australia.²⁰⁶ In practice the Letters Patent was not reflected in the physical settlement on the banks of Kirrawarri Parri. Mirroring issues experienced in New Zealand, the interests of private investors were at odds with a state legislature attempting to engage into a treaty process. There are numerous reasons as to why the Colonial Government failed to enter into a treaty with indigenous owners, such as an inability to deal with a complex native land tenure process, as well as a lack of understanding of the multi-layered nature of land tenure systems at work in the Indigenous nations of South Australia. Hassell has suggested that absence of provisions for Aboriginal land tenure within the original act put the Colonisation Commissioners and Aboriginal Protector at odds with their private investors, hamstrung with any policy amendment which might be considered a contractual breach of faith with the settlers.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Tribunal, 261. In addition, the McCleverty reserves were made to Māori pa peripheral to the spaces considered in this study but within the Port Nicholson Deed of Sale, at Waiwhetu, Ngauranga, Petone, Ohariu, Kaiwharawhara, Waiariki, Oterongo and Ohaua/Te Ika a Maru.

²⁰⁶ Ann McGrath, *Contested Ground : Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995). 208.

²⁰⁷ Kathleen Hassell, *The Relation between the Settlers and Aborigines in South Australia, 1836-1860* (Libraries Board of South Australia, 1966).



Figure 2.17. Samuel Thomas Gill, *Matthw [i.e. Matthew] Moorhouse's, Aboriginal Protector's residence, North Adelaide, 184-*, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an2376951>

The appointment of a Protector of Aboriginal Rights by the Colonial office was supposed to ensure that land already occupied by Aborigines was only acquired through voluntary sale.²⁰⁸ However, there was a great deal of discord in the early governance of the settlement, with the competing appointment of both a Governor and a Resident Commissioner vying for power.²⁰⁹ The rapid urban development, unrivalled in other colonies, saw the mismanagement of successive Governors and the collapse of the South Australia Company, leading to economic depression early in the colony.²¹⁰ Governor Grey, perceived to be sympathetic to indigenous people, was appointed (1841–1848), after British government became increasingly concerned about the treatment of Aboriginal people by settlers.²¹¹ Significantly, the legal implication of the failure of the Resident Commissioner of South Australia to ensure that land was acquired through voluntary sale is that the initial land grants made to colonists in South Australia are invalid in the absence of a bargain or treaty, as native inhabitants never ceded land title.²¹²

²⁰⁸ McGrath, 221.

²⁰⁹ Whitelock, vii.

²¹⁰ Grey was perceived to be sympathetic to indigenous people given his earlier experiences in Western Australia, where he was saved by a Wadjuk Noongar man from certain death. Ibid.

²¹¹ Grey's fiscal responsibility helped restore economy in wake of Gawler's deficit. Ibid.

²¹² Berg, 8.

The First Annual Report of the Colonisation Commissioners for South Australia of 1836 included the proposal to grant property rights in a Tenths style scheme which would see economic benefit through land equity used to generate a 'civilising' education fund for the Indigenous population.²¹³ However, in practice this system was paternal, mirroring the social welfare of Aboriginal reserve models applied in other states. Under the proposal was a surety that sixteen acres of every eighty acres ceded by traditional owners to the Colonisation Committee would remain as an Aboriginal reserve.²¹⁴ The Wastelands Act was passed in 1842, allowing the Protector of Aborigines power to establish reserves for Aborigines, with the intent to civilise Aborigines through the Westernised cultivation of reserve lands.²¹⁵ There is little record of these reserves to be found in the colonial surveys of early Adelaide, although a handful are depicted in an 1845 Adelaide town and country plan (Figure 2.14). By contrast, in Light's survey these allotments are illustrated as empty unnumbered sections. Within the Adelaide county there are reports of at least seven Aboriginal reserve sections (864, 2031, 2039, 2038, 2082, 2037, 401) varying in size between fifty and one hundred acres.²¹⁶ Of the apparently eight-thousand acres allotted as Aboriginal reserves in the Wastelands Act, all were leased to non-Aboriginal farmers by 1860.²¹⁷ There is no evidence that any Aboriginal reserve sections lay within the town allocations. Within the township, Aboriginal people were quickly excluded from the town sections to the margins of the parklands (Figure 2.18). This established a pattern of exclusion of indigenous people from the central civic spaces of Adelaide which has deep implications for the contemporary city.

²¹³ Ibid., 18-19. Referencing: Commission South Australian Colonization, *First & Second Annual Reports of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies 1836 and to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies 1837*, ed. Lords Great Britain. Parliament. House of (Adelaide: Surveyor-General's Office), 10.

²¹⁴ Berg, 19. Referencing South Australian Colonization, 9.

²¹⁵ McGrath. 222.

²¹⁶ "Government Gazette.," *South Australian (Adelaide, SA : 1844 - 1851)*, 7 August 1849 1849.; "The Advertiser. Adelaide: Tuesday, November 15, 1864.," *The South Australian Advertiser (Adelaide, SA : 1858 - 1889)*, 15 November 1864 1864.

²¹⁷ McGrath. 222.

The following will explore the tensions that oscillated between centre and periphery of the new civic landscapes of Wellington and Adelaide. It is argued that within both places the space of the parkland adjacent to the city centre was a microcosm of sovereign tensions, while at the centre spatial strategies of reclamation (Wellington) and exclusion (Adelaide) through city, harbour and square further marginalised indigenous people from the newly constructed civic landscape.



Figure 2.18. James Shaw, *View of Adelaide, South Australia*, 1851, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an8605443>

2.3.1. Centre and Periphery: Tensions in the Civic Landscape



Figure 2.19. **Left:** Samuel Charles Brees, *Barrett's Hotel, Wellington*, 1842-1845, Ref: A-109-027. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22625814>, **Right:** E.A. Opie, *Adelaide, South Australia, North Terrace*, 1841, drawn on stone by J. Hitchen, S. Straker lithographer, State Library of NSW, V3 / St / N Ter / 3

Within both colonies, claims to landscape at the urban centre would become a flashpoint of sovereign politics despite the early humanitarian aspirations of the cities founders. Adelaide developed rapidly, with the establishment of formal civic spaces through state institutional architecture and city squares. Urban development effectively contained and marginalised Aboriginal presence into the reserved spaces of parklands and institutions. In Wellington, the natural catchment of the harbour forced settler and indigenous subjects to co-habit the same landscape, at the expense of formally designed civic spaces. This overlap lead to conflicts over land ownership, including the ownership of the only public space allocation within plan, the town belt. This contrast is illustrated in the comparison of the main civic streets of both early settlements, Lambton Quay in Wellington and North Terrace in Adelaide (Figure 2.19). The illustration of North Terrace sees the clear delineation of the Kingston/Light grid and the civic boulevard of North Terrace, outside of which the Aboriginal figures camped on the banks of the Torrens are positioned within the 'wastelands' of the publically reserved parklands. In comparison, Māori and European settlers are positioned at a far closer proximity to the waterfront hub of Lambton Quay. However, this image belies the complexity of land ownership at play in the early Wellington settlement, the result of which would ultimately see most tangata whenua Māori alienated from their lands at Te Whanganui-a-Tara.



Figure 2.20. Richard Baker, *Major Baker's cottage, Wellington, May 1st 1841.* Ref: A-357-001. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22693126>

1841 European settlement cheek-by-jowl with Māori occupation of land.

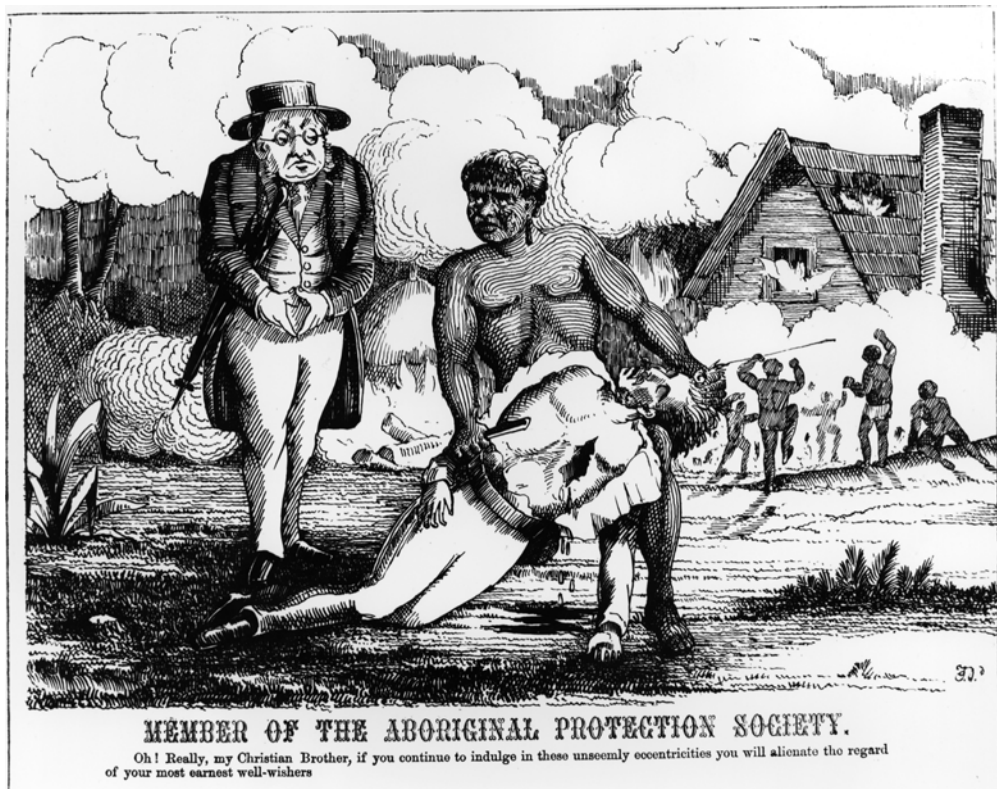


Figure 2.21. Cartoonist unknown, *Member of the Aboriginal Protection Society.* *Punch, or the Wellington Charivari*, 1868 (p.19). Ref: J-065-009. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22606459>

Despite the protections offered by the Treaty of Waitangi, surveyors viewed land at Te Whanganui-a-Tara as vacant, ignoring the occupied pā and running straight lines over the landscape. Māori, appalled by the surveyors disregard actively removed survey pegs.²¹⁸ Tensions between Māori and settlers escalated, as settlements were built near or on Māori land (Figure 2.20). However, loyalty towards the Crown demonstrated by Te Atiawa during war in the Hutt Valley (1846-1848) between settlers and Ngati Tama and Ngati Toa ensured the success of the young colony, although their willingness to work with European settlers was not rewarded with the retention of their lands.²¹⁹

This competition was exacerbated by the expansion of Te Aro as the logical centre of commercial activity, due largely to its sheltered position in the harbour.²²⁰ Tensions were particularly exaggerated around Te Aro pā, the iwi refusing to sell their land which occupied flat allotments with prime harbour frontage, a provocation when such real estate was in limited supply. In 1839, Wesleyan Missionaries (Bumby, Hobbs and Minarapa Rangihatuaka) had been welcomed into the Te Aro pā, where they purchased land to build a chapel.²²¹ The presence of the missionaries for a time increased the tapu ('spiritual prohibition') and protected the pā and its associated lands against sale.²²² However tensions in the North Island were escalating. An 1868 Punch Cartoon (Figure 2.21) reflects the tensions between Māori and settlers in the early days of settlement, critiquing the piety of missionaries and protection societies in the face of competing interests of landholders. While a mockingly depicted Christian missionary pleads, a Māori man is depicted cutting a Pākehā man's throat, while other Māori men burn down the settler's house.

Wakefield armed his surveyors, and they (alongside settlers) responded with force against Māori so they could mark out roads and sections of the grid through Te Aro pa, its cultivations and burial grounds.²²³ Negotiations between Wakefield and Te Aro Māori were fraught, the former employing delaying tactics to put off compensation negotiations. Protector of Aborigines George Clarke struggled to maintain the peace. European settlers actively ignored Te Aro Māori, driving cattle through potato cultivations, and tearing down Māori fencing.²²⁴ Most of the remaining acres of Te Aro pā were purchased by the Provincial Government in the 1870s to extend Taranaki Street, a move supported by central Government troubled by the moral condition of Te Aro Māori, an attitude reflected in the Parliament through a private members bill to

²¹⁸ Tribunal, 85.

²¹⁹ Meriluoto-Jaakkola, 353.

²²⁰ David Johnson, *Wellington Harbour* (Wellington Maritime Museum Trust, 1996), 62.

²²¹ "Te Aro Pa and Matairangi," <http://www.wcl.govt.nz/maori/wellington/ngawaahiaro.html>.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Roberts, 6.

²²⁴ Ibid., 8.

clear the “Slums at Te Aro”.²²⁵ Interestingly, this perception of Te Aro as morally suspect persisted throughout the 20th century.²²⁶ Elsewhere in the city, competition for land had seen Crown appropriation of Urban Tenth reserves for civic and public institutions, including schools, hospitals and churches.²²⁷ The city was becoming an increasingly punitive landscape for Māori, with both the Courts of Justice (Figure 2.22) and the Wellington Stocks (Figure 2.23) located in close proximity to Pipitea pā.²²⁸



Figure 2.22. Louis Ernest Ward, *Courts of Justice*, 'Early Wellington', Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928: 273, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WarEarl-t1-body-d16-d5-d5.htm>



Figure 2.23. Louis Ernest Ward, *The Stocks*, Mulgrave St., 1841, 'Early Wellington', Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928.:273.

This figure is, according to Ward, an illustration of the trial of a Māori man for public drunkenness at the stocks located at the intersection of Murphy, Mulgrave and Pipitea

²²⁵ "Te Aro Pa and Matairangi".

²²⁶ "Slums - Accusing Finger Pointed at City," *The Evening Post*, 16/07/1963 1963.

²²⁷ An example of this is acre 542 (along with 514), which were granted for occupation by the Anglican Church in 1848, and confirmed by Crown endowment grants in 1853.. Tribunal, 316, 19-20.; *ibid.*, 319-20.

²²⁸ The incident is recorded as a long poem, "The Trial of Sir Jasper," by S. C. Hall. The following extract is indicative of the tensions of responsibility between settlers and Māori at the time: "This happened in New Zealand: they had placed a drunken Māori in the public stocks.... He called the Magistrate, and thus addressed the organ of the law: 'You find it best to punish me for that I'm drunk; and think it wise and just. Oh! weak and foolish man! Ah! I can show you a far better plan: Punish the man who made and sold the drink.'" Louis Ernest Ward, *Early Wellington* (Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928). ;Fanny Louise Irvine-Smith, *The Streets of My City: Wellington, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1948).<http://www.wcl.govt.nz/wellington/streetspart2chap4.html>

These tensions between indigenous and settler populations were mirrored within the Adelaide settlement. Despite the Letters Patent, the impacts of colonisation in South Australia were much the same as the other Australian states. Indeed, accounts of frontier conflict and vigilante justice by both pastoralists and native police in South Australia, such as the *Maria* massacre, which saw the hanging of two Ngarrindjeri men without due process, reflect the ineffectiveness of the application of the Letters Patent on the ground.²²⁹

Rather than being determined through state policies, as McGrath argues, the colonisation process and impact was driven “by the type of settler capitalist development (for example, mining, agriculture) and Aboriginal responses to it”.²³⁰ Adelaide was unique in that the type of urbanisation deployed through Light’s grid was rapid, facilitating movement from the centre in an orderly and systematic way. This drive for expansion saw Aboriginal people pushed from their traditional spaces of occupation within Tartaanya to the Adelaide parkland fringe, the lament of which is reflected in an early Kurna protest song:

Wanti nindo ai kabba kabba? Ningkoandi kuma yerta.

'Where have you pushed me to? You belong to another country.'

Kurna protest song - Ngurpo Williamsie, 1844²³¹

The following will explore the intersection of legislative landscape practices with indigenous occupation. Aboriginal people were excluded from the civic centre of Adelaide’s new township and pushed to the spaces of less speculative value on the margins of the city – the parklands. In the case of Wellington, the town belt is similarly located at the less valuable edge, but nonetheless operates as a continuation of the pattern of competition between European planning and Māori landscape practices located in the civic centre.

²²⁹ Robert Foster, *Out of the Silence : The History and Memory of South Australia's Frontier Wars* (Adelaide : Wakefield Press, 2012., 2012), Dictionaries, 57.

²³⁰ McGrath. 208-09.

²³¹ Amery and Williams, 273.

2.4. The Parklands

Both cities share the common feature of a parkland belt surrounding the city, an articulation of an imagined ideal of civil township and beautification. In the Wakefield city model, the parklands and town belt operate as functional divide of town from country allotments. These open spaces acted as town wall, dividing classes of society, while containing the spread of the central business district, therefore inflating the price of land at the centre. This in turn forced lesser paid workers to the urban fringe.²³² Critically for this study, the parklands offer a microcosm of the broader legislative implications of colonisation on indigenous communities through the shaping of the urban fabric.

In the circumstance of Wellington, the land for the town belt parklands encompassed some of the steepest areas unsuited to urban development, and the steep hills acted as natural boundary to development. Historically these east and west ridgelines, Te Ranga a Hiwi and Ahumairangi featured narratively in Māori creation belief, and were used by early Māori groups such as the Ngai Tara as advantageous elevations for pa, gardens and hunter-gathering practices.²³³ At the time of European settlement, this entire area overlapped with Māori cultivations of terraced sweet potato (kumara) and gardens of potato, melons and corn, with open forests shaped by fire practices to cultivate bracken fern (aruhe) and maintain bird habitat as a food source.²³⁴

²³² Marsden and Gargett.

²³³ Love, 208.

²³⁴ Ibid., 208-09.



Figure 2.24. **Top:** Mathew Felton. *Plan of the City of Wellington, Port Nicholson, New Zealand, 1841*, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZ Map 3761, <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/HeritageImages/images/maps/maps103f/3761.jpg>; **Bottom:** William Light, *Plan of the City of Adelaide, in South Australia: with the acre allotments numbered, and a marginal reference to the names of the original purchasers*, 1840, State Library of South Australia, SLSA: C194A

Both cities ringed with parkland belts which intersect with indigenous occupation of the landscape [Author's edit for comparison].

In 1839 the Company surveyor was instructed that the Town sections should be bounded from the Country sections by a broad belt of land, intended as public property 'for recreation and common to the public' and to beautify the settlement, and was therefore included in the Port Nicholson deed of purchase.²³⁵ As a consequence of the very limited flat land suitable for urban settlement in the Wellington site, this allocation of the steep ridges for the Town Belt would become significant to the urban fabric of the city as the only public open spaces. The many civic squares in Hobson's Britannia plan were quickly lost in the contracted urban situation dictated by the intense topography of the site.

Of the original fifteen hundred and sixty-two acres of the Town Belt, Māori only retained two hundred and nineteen acres in the 1847 McCleverty awards, however there was no compensation, consultation or consent to the acquisition of their cultivation lands.²³⁶ In 1841 Hobson proclaimed the Town Belt a Crown Reserve, prohibiting the clearance and cultivation of the land.²³⁷ However, Māori continued to cultivate land largely uninhibited, in areas such as Polhill Gully and Omaroro (Te Aro), Orangikaupapa/Tinakori (Pipitea) and in the area of the Wellington Botanic Garden (Kumutoto).²³⁸

These cultivations were in time abandoned as the pā in Wellington declined, under increasing competition within the civic centre of the city. This pressure was compounded by the Land Wars in Taranaki, with many of the Te Atiawa community leaving the city to help defend their lands. Others moved to the Hutt Valley where the pressure of colonization was less keenly felt, and land was retained.²³⁹ As an example of the exodus from the city, at Te Aro pā the population declined from 186 inhabitants in 1850, to a handful of occupants by 1855.²⁴⁰

²³⁵ Ibid., 209. ; Shona McCahon, "Appendix 4 Town Belt Historical Outline," in *Wellington Town Belt Management Plan - June 2013* (Wellington New Zealand: Wellington City Council, 2013), 223.

²³⁶ Love, 210.

²³⁷ Ibid., 209 - 10.

²³⁸ Ibid., 210.

²³⁹ Ibid., 212.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

With the Māori migration out of the city, large cultivations were no longer needed, and the land was leased out to European stock grazers.²⁴¹ While the timber trade thrived in the early European settlements, the immediate demand for grazing pasture took priority in Wellington.²⁴² The town belt was largely viewed by European settlers as a resource for timber, firewood and grazing land, which persisted until the 1920s.²⁴³ This phenomena of land clearances in the bushland boundary of the city is reflected in Brees' 1847 pastoral idyll (Figure 2.25). The broad scale decline of ecological systems in the Port Nicholson area continues to have implications for the city today, particularly in terms of plant and bird communities, and the hydrology underlying this seismic city. The town belt was gradually developed for public amenity and recreation, particularly through ornamental parks such as the Botanic Gardens and sports reserves, the management of the town belt was for the most part ad hoc until 1975.²⁴⁴ However, the progressive alienation of Māori from the town boundary are reflective of the more intensive competition for landscape playing out in the civic heart of the city - the foreshore.

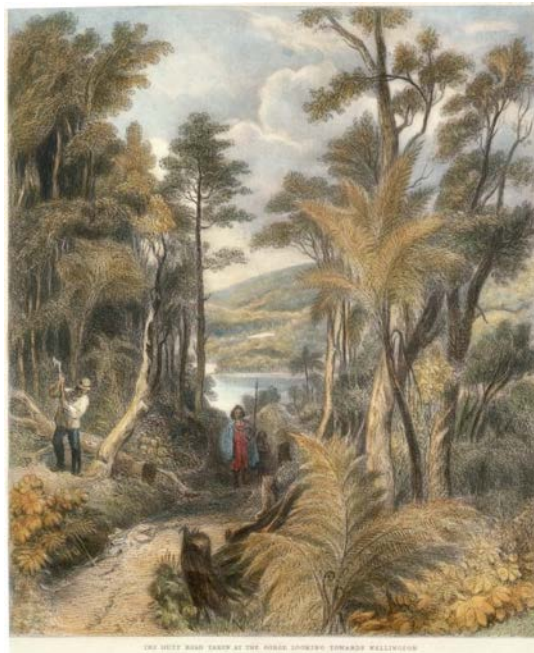


Figure 2.25. Samuel Charles Brees, *The Hutt Road taken at the gorge looking towards Wellington*, 1847, Alexander Turnbull Library, <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22510170>

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Māori had themselves rapidly denuded the landscape through the lighting of hunting fires between AD 1300-1450. Between 1830 and 1900 forest clearance by European settlers through fire reduced New Zealand's native forest cover from 55% of the total land area to 25%. Dennys Guild and Murray Dudfield, "A History of Fire in the Forest and Rural Landscape in New Zealand- Part 2, Post 1830 Influences, and Implications for Future Fire Management," *New Zealand Journal of Forestry* 54, no. 4 (2010): 31. Catherine Knight, "The Paradox of Discourse Concerning Deforestation in New Zealand: A Historical Survey," *Environment & History* (09673407) 15, no. 3 (2009): 325.

²⁴³ McCahon, 236.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 225.

In contrast, the intensive rate of colonization and state sanctioned exclusion produced a much more ephemeral indigenous presence within the civic centre of Adelaide. Paternalistic policy and legislation saw institutional spaces of containment for Indigenous people instead located within the Adelaide parkland belt. Broadly, the Adelaide parklands throughout the 19th and 20th centuries have operated as spaces of the display of both moral transgression and civic hegemony.²⁴⁵ More particularly, the Adelaide Park Lands represent a microcosm of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations in South Australia where, as argued by Hemming, "Indigenous people were at first marginalized....and then driven from much of the Park Lands to make way for the European enjoyment of this new landscape."²⁴⁶ These spaces remain constants as Indigenous living spaces both before and after European colonisation. The Park Lands have been associated with ceremonies, meetings, trade, hunting, burials and camping.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Patricia Sumerling, *The Adelaide Park Lands: A Social History* (Wakefield Press, 2011), 112.

²⁴⁶ Hemming and Harris, 11.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 20, 24.



Figure 2.26. Alexander Schramm, *Adelaide, a tribe of natives on the banks of the river Torrens*, 1850, The National Gallery of Australia: Canberra

Kaurna lived in the Adelaide parklands according to traditional land use practices as recently as the 1840s, with reports at the time of women collecting cockles and crays in the Torrens, while children played along its banks (Figure 2.26).²⁴⁸ The north side of the Torrens (Adelaide Oval) was a major living area according to records of earlier settlers, with activities such as camps, ceremonies, cooking and meetings.²⁴⁹ However, as the city expanded, Kaurna landscape practices quickly collided with European settlers. For example Elder Park, the location of the dreaming site of Tarntanya, the red kangaroo rock, continued as a Kaurna encampment until 1849 when it was 'cleaned up' and quarried by early settlers, rapidly denuding the significant landscape.²⁵⁰ Early harassment by police included the burning of wurleys on the southern banks of the Torrens.²⁵¹ In this stripped landscape, the designated park land belt quickly became the space in which Aboriginal people were institutionalised within the city of Adelaide.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 43.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 32.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 44.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 42.



Figure 2.27. The native location highlighted from the Kingston map of Adelaide; excerpt from map by George Strickland Kingston, *Map of Adelaide, South Australia, shewing the nature and extent of every building of the city, as surveyed and laid down by G.S. Kingston, Esqre., George S. Kingston & Edward Stephens, the proprietors, through their agents, Edward J. Wheeler & Co., London, 1842 – 1843*, National Library of Australia, MAP RM 1132.

The most notable example of the ways in which Aboriginal people were both marginalised within and controlled through these edge spaces within the parklands was through the Aboriginal Location. In May 1837, Kurna people led the Aboriginal Protector Walter Bromley to a site on the northern banks of the Torrens to begin the first 'Aboriginal Location' in South Australia, illustrated in Kingston's map (Figure 2.27).

²⁵² Located in a five hectare site, the location contained the Kurna place Pitlawodli, ('tailed possum home') an area of complex cultural significance to the Kurna people.²⁵³ Bromley supervised the construction half a dozen shelters, what he termed "commodious wigwams."²⁵⁴ The Location contained by 1838 a number of cottages for Kurna families and missionaries, as well as a garden and most notably the first Aboriginal Location School in 1839, eventually encompassing an area of 14 acres.²⁵⁵ The 1840 Arrowsmith map documents that this particular location was notable for being the source of 'plenty of cray', and it can be speculated that this may have been a factor in Kurna people directing the Aboriginal Protector to establish an encampment at this particular bend on the Torrens (Figure 2.29).

²⁵² The second interim Protector of Aborigines, Walter Bromley was allocated the future site of the Botanic Gardens to carry out his duties, the first location being proposed along the inland island of the Torrens (Bonython Park), and then the second southern side of the river (Goal). Ibid., 35.

²⁵³ Adelaide City Council, "Adelaide Park Lands Community Land Management Plans - Pitlawodli (Park 1)," ed. Park Lands and Sustainability Business Unity (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2006), 13.

²⁵⁴ Robert Foster, "The Aborigines Location in Adelaide: South Australia's First 'Mission' to the Aborigines," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28, no. 1 (1990): 12.

²⁵⁵ Amery and Williams, 273.

Beginning in 1838 with Governor Gawler's first feast (Figure 2.28), the gatherings were a means for the distribution of goods and rations, an arena for measuring the progress of the 'civilising' efforts of the missionary schools and a space for concerns to be aired, all of which operated as a means of gaining control over the Aboriginal population.²⁵⁶ Annually on the Queen's Birthday, rations and blankets were distributed from the Native Location, the first act marking the beginning of the paternalistic social welfare system which persists today.²⁵⁷ Most disturbingly, it is here that the first executions of Indigenous people in South Australia also took place.²⁵⁸



Figure 2.29. John Arrowsmith, William Chesser, Boyle Travers Finniss & William Light, *The maritime portion of South Australia from Capt'n. Flinders & from more recent surveys made by the Survr. Genl. of the Colonies*, 1840, NLA, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230641284> [Author's vignette - 'plenty of crayfish']



Figure 2.28. Martha Berkeley, *The first dinner given to the Aborigines 1838, 1838, Adelaide*, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide

Beginning with Gawler's first feast for Aboriginals in 1838, gatherings in the parklands were a means of measure and control by the state.

²⁵⁶ Robert Foster, "Feasts of the Full-Moon: The Distribution of Rations to Aboriginals in South Australia: 1836-1861," *Aboriginal History* 13, no. 1/2 (1989): 63-67.

²⁵⁷ Hemming and Harris, 36.

²⁵⁸ Executions were conducted in front of the Colonial store near the Piltawodli/Native location, from which rations were distributed. *Ibid.*, 32.

While the colonial grid erased the physical traces of occupation upon the space, social policy further marginalised the Kurna people of the Adelaide Plains through displacements on reserves far removed from their traditional lands, and later through policies of assimilation within the city. Despite the early declaration of protection and British subjecthood for Indigenous people in South Australia in 1836, the appointment of an Aboriginal Protector saw the beginnings of the state sanctioned removal of Aboriginal children from their parents in South Australia under the 1844 Aboriginal Orphans Ordinance.²⁵⁹

It was at the Native Location school that the forced removal of Indigenous children from their parents was first practiced by the state in South Australia.²⁶⁰ Attendance was coerced through a number of means, such as the promise of a regular food supply, the supply of blankets, or forcibly as a means of incarceration.²⁶¹ The Native School was closed as Kurna people were displaced from Adelaide, sent to farming community missions at Poonindie (Eyre Peninsula), Point Pearce, Koonibba or Raukkan (Point McLeay).²⁶² The schooling within these missions was aimed specifically at further distancing Aboriginal children from their family, community and from Country, away from "the contaminating and demoralizing influence of the vile practices carried on at the wurleys."²⁶³ After this time many of the buildings in the Location were demolished, with the Sappers taking over the remaining structures.²⁶⁴ The practice of the forced removal aboriginal children, as well as the policing of the movement and occupation of Country by Aboriginal people would be continued well into the 'protectionist' (1908-1939) and 'assimilationist' (1936-1962) eras of Aboriginal social policy in South

²⁵⁹ This practice included not only the removal of children of mixed descent, orphaned and 'unprotected' children, it also administered the apprenticing of Aboriginal children attending the Adelaide Aboriginal School into the Harbours Department, the Colonial Engineers Department, as well as will as within the tannery, trades, as domestic servants and for the Governor himself as messengers. Meredith Wilkie, *Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997), 103.

²⁶⁰ German missionaries Teichmann and Schurmann established the Native Location School on the northern banks of the Torrens in 1839, where they along with the missionary Klose taught a vernacular language program until 1845. Teichmann and Schurmann studied the Kurna language and culture, publishing a description of the Kurna language in 1840. This information was provided by Kurna elders to the missionaries, particularly Mullawirraburka ('King John'), Kadlitpinna ('Captain Jack') and Ityamaitpinna ('King Rodney'). From 1845 until 1852, the New Native School was established in Kintore Avenue on North Terrace. Both schools operated as boarding schools, and became a means through which children were controlled and contained within the city.

Rob Amery, "It's Ours to Keep and Call Our Own: Reclamation of the Nunga Languages in the Adelaide Region, South Australia," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 113, no. 1 (1995): 65.; Amery and Williams, 273.; Hemming and Harris, 20.

²⁶¹ Wilkie, 103.

²⁶² Veronica Brodie and Mary-Anne Gale, *My Side of the Bridge: The Life Story of Veronica Brodie as Told to Mary-Anne Gale* (Wakefield Press, 2002), 11.

²⁶³ Wilkie, 104.

²⁶⁴ Hemming and Harris, 36.

Australia.²⁶⁵ While the parklands were imagined as utopian spaces in the Wakefieldian plan of Adelaide as a space for public amenity and civilising recreation for the European settlers, for Aboriginal people in Adelaide the expansion of the city transformed their traditional lands into spaces of containment and control, expressions of paternalist social policy in Australia and the lack of impetus to implement the Letters Patent.

This condition is differentiated against the situation in Wellington as an extreme example of alienation of Kauri and Aboriginal people within Adelaide through physical dislocation through policy, estranged from traditional lands into reserves remote from the city. For Māori, traditional practices within the town belt eroded as an outcome of colonial swamping at the centre of the city. Shifting attention from the peripheral space of the parklands to the centre, a different pattern of civic relationship is revealed most acutely when contrasted in the respective spaces of reclamation and exclusion – the foreshore and the square.

²⁶⁵ Wilkie, 106-08.

2.4.1. Reclamation/Exclusion: The Shaping of Harbour and Square

Within Adelaide, the formalized civic spaces of the state capital such as Victoria Square become a stage for the performance of citizenry within empire, while Aboriginal people were marginalised from their Country in a continued pattern of exclusion from the city practiced from foundation. In contrast, Māori persisted in the centre of Wellington, competing with settlers for the limited flat spaces of the civic heart – while the city's only open spaces were situated at the less valuable and contested fringe. However, as shall be discussed below, Māori were progressively alienated from the city through competition for land. The contestation over the civic heart was further complicated by an earthquake which would set in motion a new pattern of urban reclamation along the foreshore.

Within Wellington, despite ongoing legislative engagement in the allocation of reserves on the part of Māori, the community was increasingly marginalized as time passed. With remote and unproductive cultivations, the pā in Port Nicholson became increasingly under pressure, and populations declined.²⁶⁶ As illustrated in Figure 2.30, Māori Tenth's and cultivations declined significantly from the 1848 McCleverty deed through to the remaining Māori holdings in the city in 1873 as Māori were progressively alienated from their land through a lack of arable lands. Some 600 Te Atiawa returned to Taranaki in 1848 to fight in the land wars, although a resilient and ongoing presence of Te Atiawa community within Wellington was maintained, and is today strongly represented in the dynamic pan-iwi landscape of the city. The further extension of European occupation saw Māori land rights further undermined through what Belich describes as 'swamping', the geographical dispersion of and demographic outnumbering of Māori.²⁶⁷ Parallels can be drawn to the experience of state policies of paternalism and assimilation applied in Australia.

²⁶⁶ Morris Love, "Te Āti Awa of Wellington - after 1840," <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-ati-awa-of-wellington/page-5>.

²⁶⁷ James Belich, *Making Peoples : A History of the New Zealanders : From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* ([London] : Allen Lane ; Auckland, N.Z. : Penguin Press, 1996., 1996), Bibliographies
Non-fiction.

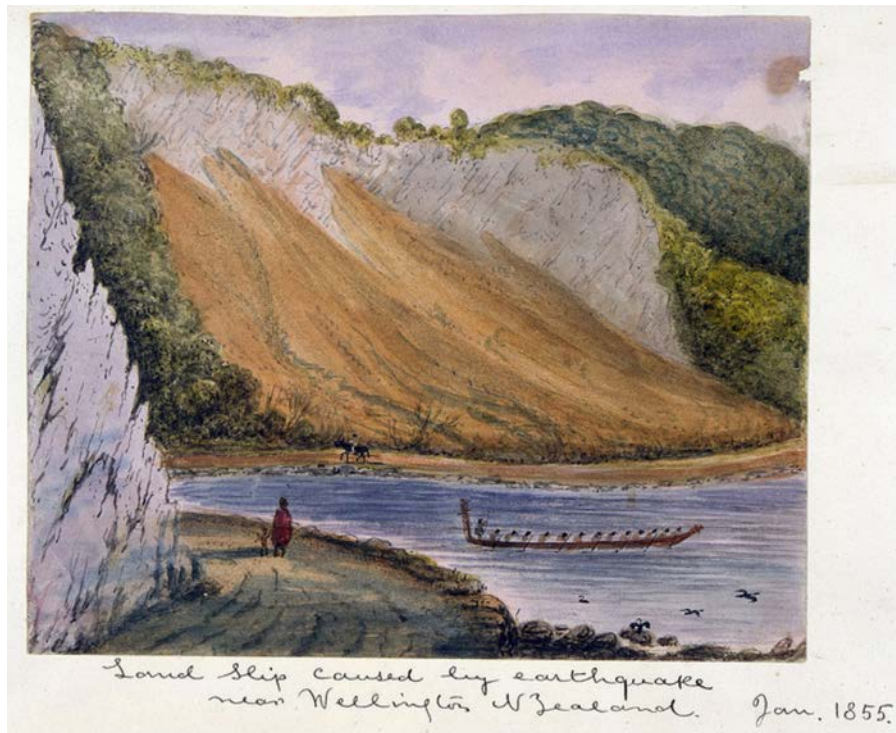


Figure 2.31. Charles Emilius Gold, *Landslip caused by earthquake near Wellington N Zealand*, Jan 1855. Ref: B-103-016. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22330780>

Wellington harbour rapidly transformed as a cultural landscape, a bustling industrial harbour overlapping with the Māori maritime landscape. Tensions between settlers and Māori were heightened, as demand for flat land put pressure on the pas within the harbour. This was exacerbated by an 8.2 magnitude earthquake in 1855, which lifted the harbour by up to 1.5 meters, dramatically shifting the landscape.²⁶⁸ Gold's painting of 1855, illustrating waka navigating the modified coastal edge of the Miramar peninsula, indicates this dramatic transformation to the coastal edge of Port Nicholson (Figure 2.31). Te Aro pā was materially altered in site condition by the earthquake. The change in elevation raised the Waitangi wetlands and stream, which in turn impacted upon the social and cultivation practices which had supported Te Aro pā. Figure 2.32 diagrams the extents of the Waitangi swampland raised by the earthquake in relationship to Te Aro pā, as photographed around 1857. This seismic catastrophe had implications upon both Māori landscape practices and the shape of urban development in the city from 1855 onwards.

²⁶⁸ Brian Hudson, "In Retrospect: Wellington Harbour Reclamation," *Enz Magazine: The Magazine of Technical Enterprise* 10, no. 6 (2009): 32.

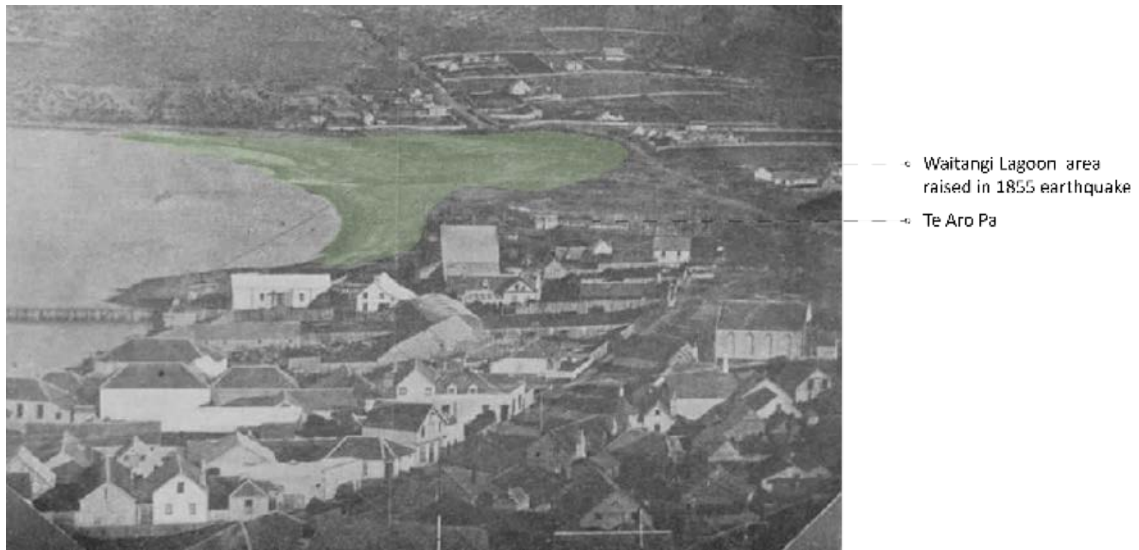


Figure 2.32. Photographer unknown, *Te Aro Flat, Wellington, 1857*, Government House Collection: Prints of Te Aro flat, Lambton Quay, Parliament Building, Government Buildings, Post Office and Governor's residence. Ref: PAColl-D-0008. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22755927>

The Te Aro area of the Waitangi lagoon flood plain, post-1855 earthquake. [highlights by author]



Figure 2.33. *Typhoid Area in Te Aro, 1892*. Wellington City Archives Reference: 00233:34:1892/740 typhoid map, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/zoomify/24425/typhoid-map-wellington>; Also found in: Yska, Redmer. Wellington: Biography of a City. Raupo, 2006.

Drainage in the vicinity remained an issue, with an outbreak of typhoid in Te Aro in 1880s and 90s linked to the condition of the stormwater and sewage drains.²⁶⁹ As illustrated in Figure 2.33, incidence of typhoid fever outbreak correspond to the wetland floodplain between the Waitangi Stream (Cambridge/Kent Terraces) and Te Aro pā. The construction of a sewerage network in the areas around the harbour commenced in 1893.²⁷⁰ While the sewerage system remained largely unchanged for forty years, major stormwater drainage works occurred in 1936 to address flooding of the Basin Reserve, as well as the Tory and Taranaki Street areas, along the drainage line of the Waitangi Stream.²⁷¹

The raising of the foreshore at Te Aro set in motion a pattern of urban expansion through reclamation which would decisively shape the urban fabric of the city going forward. For the settlers, the drainage of the Waitangi Lagoon and stream put paid to earlier plans to engineer the stream into a canal and dock system along the Waitangi Stream channel up to at the present-day Basin Reserve (Figure 2.34). The progressive reclamation of the harbour, illustrated in Figure 2.35, symptomatic of the demand for flat land to occupy, added more than one hundred and fifty-five hectares of flat terrain to the urban fabric in only one-hundred and twenty years.²⁷²

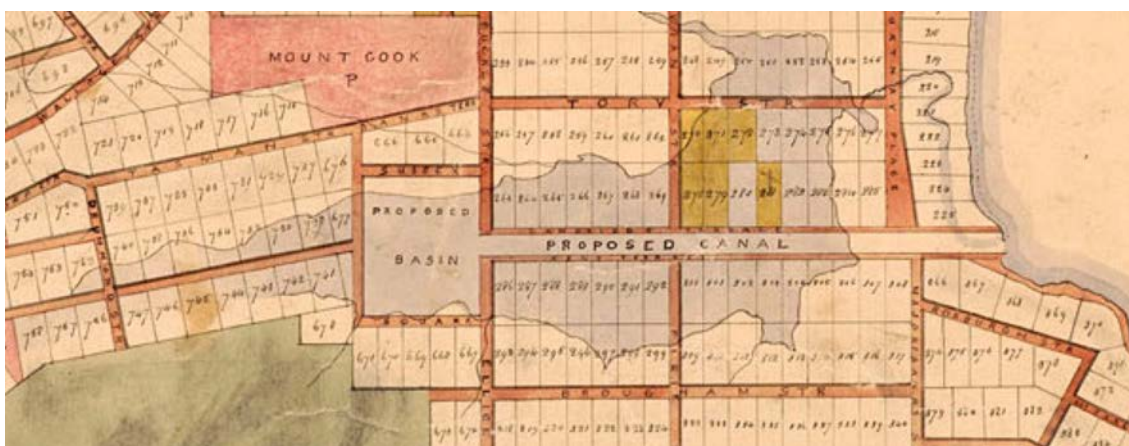


Figure 2.34. Felton Mathew. *Plan of the City of Wellington, Port Nicholson, New Zealand, 1841*, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, NZ Map 3761, <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/HeritageImages/images/maps/maps103f/3761.jpg>

Proposed channelisation of the Waitangi stream into a basin and canal, constrained by the cartesian grid.

²⁶⁹ Redmer Yska, *Wellington: Biography of a City* (Raupo, 2006).

²⁷⁰ "History of the Sewerage Network," Wellington City Council, <http://wellington.govt.nz/services/environment-and-waste/sewerage-and-wastewater/history-of-the-sewerage-network>.

²⁷¹ "Big Job under Way - Stormwater Drainage to End Basin Flooding: Pipes and Box Culvert," *Evening Post*, 13 March 1936.

²⁷² Hudson, 32.

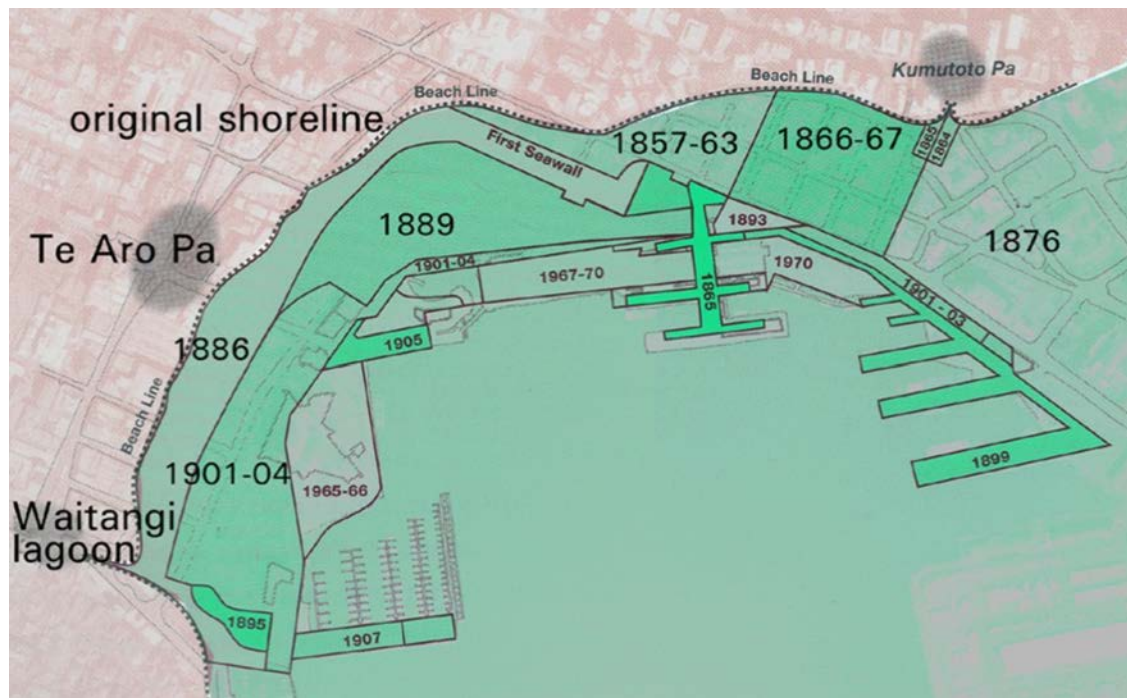


Figure 2.35. Wellington City Council, *Waterfront Reclamation*, 2014, <http://wellington.govt.nz/about-wellington/history/history-of-wellington-waterfront/waterfront-reclamation>.

Wellington harbour reclamation from 1840 until present day.



Figure 2.36. Author Unknown, *Te Aro*, 1903, STQRY 'Waitangi Park' 2015, http://www.stqry.com/v/Waitangi-Park/i_7b5ef3480f5ad8595d8d6b16886cc00c

The lifting on the landscape prompted the beginning of extensive reclamations, with the earthquake rendering many of the existing jetties along the foreshore unusable. The first reclamations began two years following the earthquake, including wharf construction at today's Jervois Quay and Queens Wharf area, Waterloo Quay, and in the area adjacent to Kumutoto Pā.²⁷³ From 1880 the Wellington Harbour board supervised extensive reclamation work including the extension of the Te Aro area, so much so that by the end of the century the 1840s shoreline was unrecognisable.²⁷⁴ As illustrated in Figure 2.35, each successive reclamation built upon the 1855 event, creeping the urban edge into the sea until the last reclamation in 1970, to accommodate large scale container shipping at Aotea Quay, Queens Wharf and at the Thorndon Wellington Harbour Board Container Terminal.

This pattern of urban development through reclamation pushed the city edge inward, effectively dislocating the civic centre of the city from the sea edge. The arrangement of streets and allotments within the original Mein Smith plan for Wellington delineated a strict boundary limiting public access to the sea from the city, a pattern of development which continued through coastal reclamation of the harbour. The circulation pattern reinforced this boundary, with public ways such as Lambton, Thorndon, Clyde and Oriental Quays running parallel to the coast, consolidating the separation of the settlement from the sea edge.²⁷⁵ Within the proximity of the former Waitangi wetlands, so important to Te Aro pā, were located a flotsam of industrial structures, such as the city tramways, the iconic smokestack of the 'Wellington destructor' city incinerator, and a graving dock (Figure 2.36).

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Johnson, ix.; Hudson, 32.

²⁷⁵ Grahame Anderson, *Fresh About Cook Strait: An Appreciation of Wellington Harbour* (Methuen, 1984).



Figure 2.37. Author Unknown, *Kent Terrace and Oriental Parade, Wellington, 1920s*, Ref: 1/2-116556-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22838426>



Figure 2.38. Sydney Charles Smith, *Graving dock under construction, Wellington harbour, 1909*, '1888-1972: Photographs of New Zealand', Ref: 1/1-019641-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22416460>

This massive process of reclamation had major implications for Pas and Tenth land holdings. Pā were progressively isolated and acquired to expand the city. For example, as illustrated in Figure 2.39, 1870 plans to extend Taranaki Street further fractured the collective space of the pā with the intersection of the city streetscape. In response to this type of incursion onto land, Māori shifted to rural tenths allocations or returned to Taranaki into spaces over which they had some autonomy, connection or ability to cultivate the land.

The first fifty years after the 1855 earthquake saw an explosive pattern of foreshore reclamation which fundamentally produced the characteristic urban morphology of Wellington. The alteration of the hydrological system triggered by such an event, alongside the emergence of industrial infrastructure enabled by successive reclamations shifted Māori landscape practices away from the civic centre of Wellington.

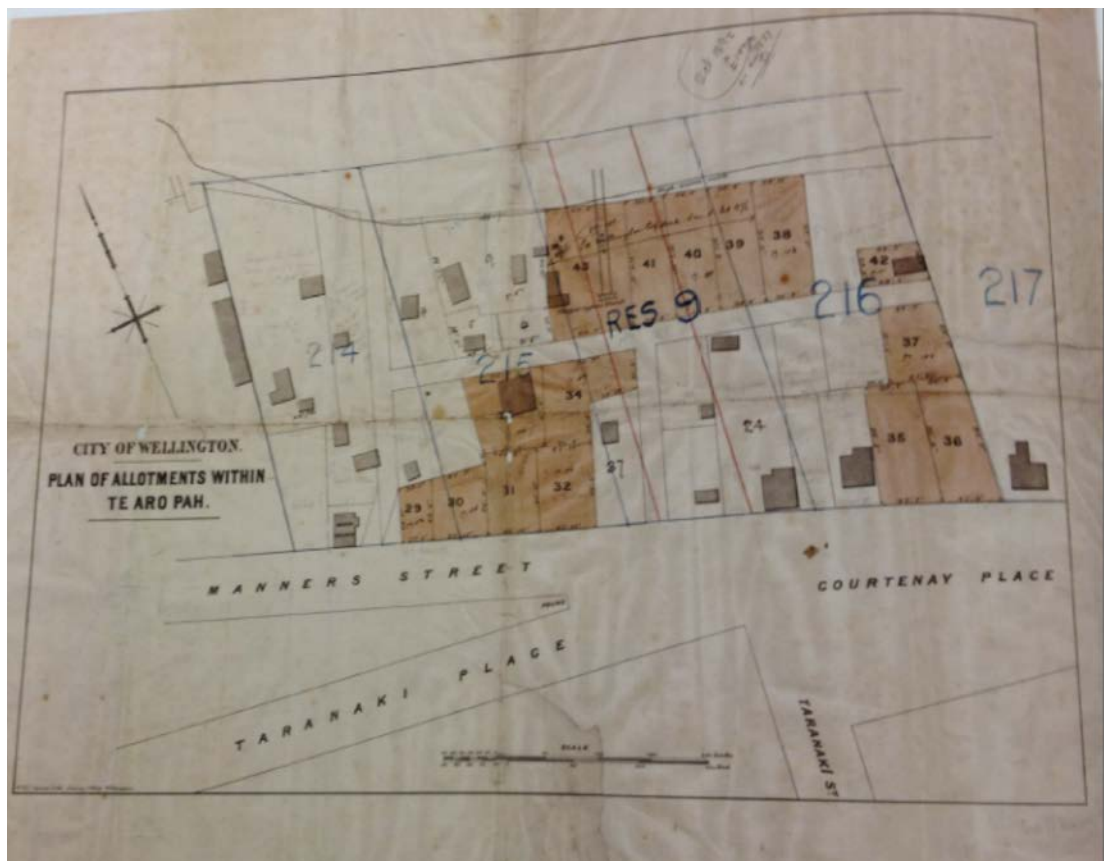


Figure 2.39. W. W. J. Spreat, *Plan of allotments within Te Aro Pah*, 1872, City of Wellington [copy of ms map]. W. W. J. Spreat. Lith., Survey Office, Wellington, [ca.1880], MapColl-832.4799gbbd/A/[ca.1880]/Acc.23571 Also published in: Yska, Redmer. Wellington: Biography of a City. Raupo, 2006.

The progressive removal of Aboriginal people from the city of Adelaide is extreme, even when viewed against Wellington. Despite early attempts at protectionism through the Native Location within the city, the pattern of violence and dispossession of Indigenous people experienced elsewhere in Australia was repeated in South Australia.²⁷⁶ It is suggested that the closure of the Native Location was a strategic decision on the part of the Government to discourage an Aboriginal presence in the city, and to encourage Aboriginal workers to shift to the rural industry.²⁷⁷

In the early economy of the settlement Aboriginal people operated in the parklands and squares as independent dealers in firewood, since they alone held the right to forage for wood in Crown land.²⁷⁸ As Aboriginal people were forced onto regional missions and their movements into Adelaide were restricted, their presence within the city and the parklands became more fleeting. One exception were theatrical corroborees in Adelaide's parks, an exploitative yet highly successful commercial spectacle.²⁷⁹ In May 1885, one hundred Aboriginal people from Point McLeay Mission and the Yorke Peninsula were brought by Government to Adelaide Oval for the Queen's Birthday to hold a 'tribal meeting' and perform a commercial Corroboree, 'for their own benefit'.²⁸⁰ Figure 2.40, an engraving of the event, depicts the festivities on the night overlooked by law enforcement, and includes a vignette of a missionary instructing Aboriginal people from the mission in European dress. This image compares to the more solemn group portrait taken at the Exhibition ground for likely the same event, where a group of Aboriginal people stand uncomfortably next to a uniformed policeman standing slightly apart from the group. (Figure 2.41).

Despite this condition, Victoria Square remains a continuous site of significance to the Kaurna people, the traditional owners of the Adelaide region. Anthropologist Daisy Bates recorded the site, known as Tarntanyangga, as the central camp of the Dundagunya tribe.²⁸¹ The square sits on a geological formation of significance in the Kaurna dreaming. This convergence of colonial and Indigenous significance has meant the square has long been a site of territorial anxieties. Notwithstanding the imposition of a European urban grid, this space remained a space occupied by Kaurna in the burgeoning colony. According to the late elder Veronica Brodie, Tarntanyangga was still a popular place to meet and camp in the 1890s, when her grandmother's family

²⁷⁶ For example, Aboriginal Protector Matthew Moorehouse (1839-1856) presided over a massacre of thirty Indigenous people in 1841. Wilkie, 104.

²⁷⁷ Michael Parsons, "The Tourist Corroboree in South Australia to 1911," *Aboriginal History* 21 (1997): 52.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

²⁸⁰ Quote taken from the Register, 28 May 1885. Held at the Adelaide Oval, the corroboree drew a crowd of 20,000 people, approximately one-sixth of the city's population, according to Parsons. See: *ibid.*

²⁸¹ David Jones, "Adelaide Park Lands and Squares Cultural Landscape Assessment Study," ed. Adelaide City Council (Adelaide2007), 5635.

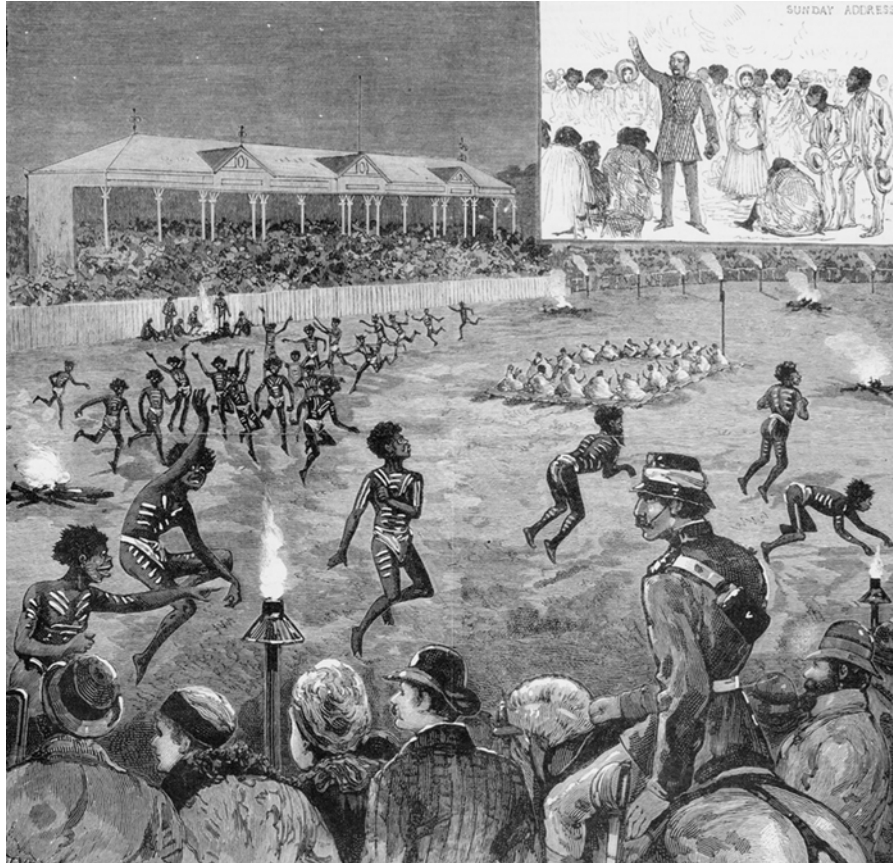


Figure 2.40. Author Unknown, *Aboriginal Corroboree At Adelaide*, 1885, June 29, 'The Australasian Sketcher', Melbourne : Alfred Martin Ebsworth, Library of Victoria, <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/116232>



Figure 2.41. Author Unknown, 'Group of natives' in grounds of Jubilee Exhibition building, North Terrace, Adelaide, 1887, State Library of South Australia, <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+10212/27>

Aboriginal group from missions (Point Pearce or Point McLeay) in Exhibition grounds with policeman on left, in Adelaide for Corroboree.

attempted to find a spot to camp after having been kicked off their land at Glanville.²⁸² Despite increasing displacement of Kurna people from their own lands, this account speaks to the enduring presence of Kurna people within Adelaide's civic squares and parklands. Mirroring other Australian cities, Aboriginal fringe dwellers from diverse Countries remained in parklands into the end of the 19th century, although many Aboriginal people had shifted to missions.

In the absence of the visible presence of Kurna people, the urban development of Victoria Square effected a tabula rasa upon Tarntanyangga. Moreover, Victoria Square as a European civic space has suffered under the weight of expectations established by the primacy of its central position within the Light/Kingston plan of Adelaide. This spatial importance the plan set up was reinforced by the positioning and construction of civic architecture along the boundaries of the square in the first 40 years of settlement. These include the Magistrates Building (1847-50), the Adelaide Town Hall (1863-66), the Post Office (1865), the Treasury Building (1858-1907), the Police Court (1866) and the Supreme Court (1865-69).²⁸³



Figure 2.42. The Farnese 'Hercules' Statue in Victoria Square, Adelaide." [In en]. (1893).

The Farnese Hercules was one of three statues give to Adelaide by pastrolaist and mining magnate WA Horn in 1892.



Figure 2.43. H. Davis, Samuel White Sweet, and Sims Australian Photo Company, *King William Street Looking North from Victoria Square*, 1870, Art Gallery of South Australia, 805HP74

View of Victoria Square illustrating the early installation of a fenced boundary around 1870.

²⁸² Brodie and Gale, 11.

²⁸³ Jones, 3-4.

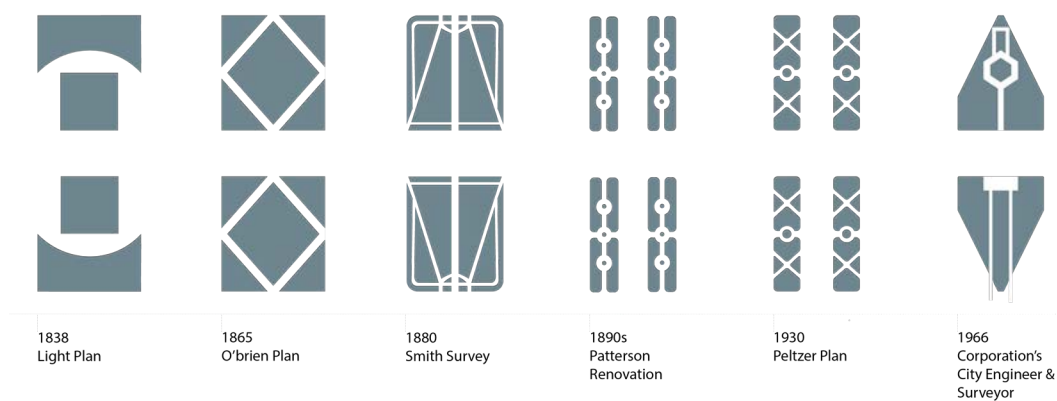


Figure 2.44. Victoria square planting and circulation patterns from colonial foundation through to modernism.
(Author's diagram)

The interior parkland for the square has been far more fluid in terms of arrangement. There have been a remarkable number of variations in the landscape arrangement of Victoria Square since settlement, with numerous planting plans littering the site with an assortment of exotic and indigenous vegetation, alongside a collection of statutory and public art. Continuing the provincially Wakefieldian aspirations for European verisimilitude in the city, these statues included colonial figures (such as William Light and Charles Sturt), as well as the centrally located namesake statue of Queen Victoria, alongside other more eccentric signifiers of Europe, such as a replica of the classical sculpture of the Farnese Hercules (Figure 2.42).

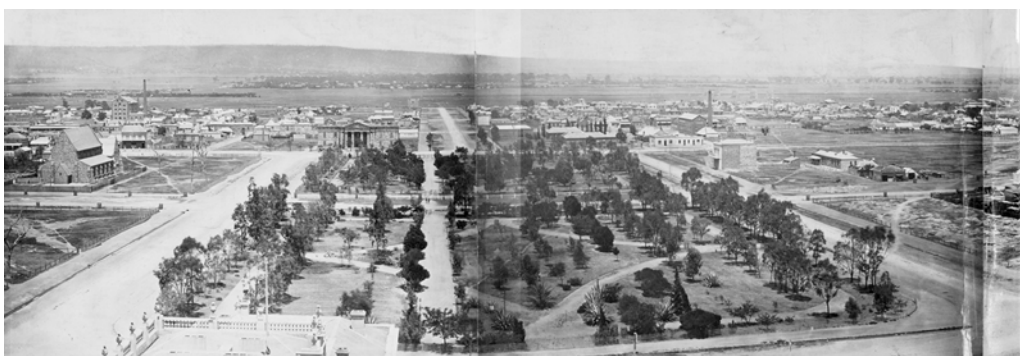


Figure 2.45. Townsend Duryea, *Panorama of Adelaide* :Photographed from the Town Hall tower, 1865, B 5099, State Library of South Australia, <http://adelaide.sa.gov.au/panoramas/duryea-panorama>

Victoria Square as a designed space, thirty years after settlement.

The space has been dissected by various experiments in planting, fencing and circulation, directing pedestrian flows and vehicular circulation. An early example of the formalisation of the edge condition is visible in Figure 2.43. As illustrated in Figure 2.44, there were six spatial iterations of the square in its first 130 years, an extraordinary number given the centrality of the space to the major civic institutions of the state capital. Established only thirty years after settlement, the first iteration as photographed in 1865 (Figure 2.45), gives a sense of the ambition to create a large formalised civic square for recreation, as imagined as a civilising force, despite the relatively sparse built fabric surrounding the square. Considering each successive formation of the Square up to the 1930s, each iteration divides the space of the square into smaller fragments through pedestrian and vehicular circulation patterns. Development in transportation technology significantly shaped the edge conditions and internal road paths. This included a train service which ran from the square from the 1870s through to 1914, to be replaced by a tram service that ran along both axis of the square until the 1960s. (Figure 2.48)²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 6;8.



Figure 2.46. Edmund Gouldsmith, *King William Street, Adelaide*, 1885, State Library of South Australia [B 73636]

Victoria Square was an active space early in settlement, accomodating various circulation modes from the 1880s.



Figure 2.47. T. McGann, *Victoria Square - King William Street - looking north from Supreme Court Building*, 1890, Adelaide City Council Archives HP1/HP1807,

Horsedrawn cabs queue in the square.



Figure 2.48. Artist unknown, *Coupled tram in Victoria Square*, 1950, State Library of South Australia, Victoria Square Collection B 69723

The Tram alienated the park quadrants until the 1960s.

In terms of use, Victoria Square has been the stage for celebrations of identity and empire. These events appear in the visual record to be highly curated, such as displays of military, such as for Victory Day in 1946 (Figure 2.49); or through celebration, such as the unveiling of statutory such as the Queen Victoria Statue in 1894 (Figure 2.50) and the Captain Sturt Statue in 1916 (Figure 2.51); and the display of political propaganda such as the installation of advertising for war bonds (Figure 2.52). Throughout the numerous events held throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the visual presence of Aboriginality conspicuously absent in these spaces.

However, despite the ongoing marginalization of Kurna people within the city, and the apparent absence of Aboriginal people from the visual record of Victoria Square throughout the late-nineteenth and into the twentieth century, Kurna and indigenous occupation of Victoria Square and the parklands has been resilient. When the Kurna population returned to the city after the second world war, they shared a space with both the settler culture which usurped their position, and with non-Kurna Aboriginal people who flocked to the city for the opportunities offered there. Lee-Ann Hall argues that despite these marginalising factors, the city squares of Adelaide became important public stages for Indigenous sociality and solidarity.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ Hall, 56.



Figure 2.49. Author Unknown, *Victory Day, June 10th, 1946 - Lieutenant General Rowell and Aides'*, 1946, SLSA: Robjohns Collection PRG 287/1/13/32



Figure 2.50 - Author Unknown, *Unveiling of Queen Victoria's [Victoria] Statue*, 11/08/1894, Adelaide City Council Archives, HP1/HP1341



Figure 2.51. Author Unknown, *Unveiling ceremony for Captain Sturt's statue*, Victoria Square, Adelaide, 1916, SLSA, PRG 280/1/15/518



Figure 2.52. Author Unknown, *William Light's Statue in Adelaide, South Australia*. 'The Advertiser' on Tuesday 12 March 1918, page 5.

The statue of Colonel William Light when it was located in Victoria Square, Adelaide; an advertisement for War Loan Bonds is propped up at its base.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter explored the ways in which the shared origins of these cities were imagined as speculative spaces for an ideal modern civic life. From the outset, these principles were compromised by both naiveté and greed. Despite the in-part utopian world view behind the collectives of both the New Zealand Company and the South Australian Company, on the ground this state aspiration was progressively subject to the desires of the singular land owner. In the case of Wellington, the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi was respected within the allocation of the Tenth Trusts. However, the execution of the survey on the ground displaced and erased Māori communities, disregarding Māori land use. Similarly, despite early aspirations for a 'treaty-like' compensation and protection, the Adelaide city morphology quickly excluded Kaurna from settlement, where they were contained in parklands and later removed altogether onto rural missions remote from Country. The Parklands became the places in which these tensions were acutely present in both cities. In Wellington, an industrial waterfront landscape was reclaimed in the capital city, progressively alienating Māori from their land. By contrast, the civic space of Victoria Square, despite – or perhaps because of – its indigenous significance, emerged as a space in which empire was performed, and in which aboriginality was conspicuously absent. The following two chapters will consider each city discretely to examine the policy frameworks and planning approaches to urban renewal which shaped the contemporary cities at a local level, as Australasian national identity was reimagined at the end of the twentieth century.

Chapter 3 Decolonising Place Wellington

3.1 Introduction: Decolonising Place: Wellington

This thesis has considered the ways in which the formation of the colonial city, and the importation of ideologies of European civilisation were spatially articulated in the cities of Wellington and Adelaide from the time of European settlement through to the early twentieth century. Moving forward, this chapter focuses on Wellington in the late-twentieth century, examining how the urban design of the precious flat waterfront landscape area was dramatically reshaped by formalised processes of decolonisation produced through the Treaty settlement process, initiated by the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal. As discussed in the introductory chapter, the impact of the Treaty settlement process on design practice in discourse is best understood through the bicultural space of the new National Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa. However, the implications of this shift in relationship to urban design is less clearly documented. Therefore, this chapter will reveal planning and design intersections with the processes of the decolonising of nation through the investigation of the successive Wellington Waterfront designs from the late 1980s through to the late 1990s.

Firstly I shall consider how the politics and economics of New Zealand prior to the implementation of the Resource Management Act framed proposed urban development on the waterfront. Considering the RMA in detail, this discussion will examine the ways in which Māori landscape values alter the obligations for national institutions to respond to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in urban development. These two legislative moments in the decolonising process will be examined through their impact in placemaking strategies for the Waterfront. This constitutes a significant paradigm shift for approaches to urban design in Wellington, disrupting the typical colonial patterns of landscape erasure and reclamation in favour of a collaborative model reflective of the inquisitive processes of decolonisation enabled by the Waitangi Tribunal. It is argued that a succession of urban design frameworks for the waterfront precinct in Wellington were moulded by reconciliatory legislative and policy processes, specifically the impact of the Resource Management Act (1991), the Port Nicholson Block Treaty settlement, and the revision of history produced through this claim by the Waitangi Tribunal.

3.2 On the Waterfront: the Unsettling of the Economies and Politics of Place

The infrastructural landscape of the waterfront in the twentieth century had exacerbated the divide between the city and the waterfront that had emerged from the colonial morphology established at the start of European settlement. The limited flat land available had resulted in the absence of any town squares or open spaces within the city, with green space constrained to the steeper terrain of the town belt. Further incursions, such as the establishment of the motorway, reinforced the divide between city to sea established along the reclaimed industrial edge of the harbour. However, an opportunity to re-develop the waterfront in Wellington emerged after the technological shift in container shipping practices in the 1970s made much of the Wellington waterfront redundant as a port infrastructure, with activity shifting northward and away from Lambton Harbour.²⁸⁶

This potential redevelopment site encompassed 20 hectares of central waterfront land, from the Overseas Passenger Terminal near Oriental Bay through to Shed 21, opposite Wellington's Railway station.²⁸⁷ This first iteration of the re-imagining of the waterfront in response to the shifting land use needs came in the form of a public design ideas competition, sponsored by the Wellington Harbour Board, the Wellington City Council, the Wellington Regional Council and the Wellington Civic Trust.²⁸⁸ The 1982 Harbour City Competition drew around 100 public ideas entries and 54 professional proposals.²⁸⁹ The conceptual agenda for the competition was to transform the area into a 'place for the people'.²⁹⁰ However, this positioning raises questions over who exactly is addressed as 'the people' within such strategies of urban renewal. The sense of citizenry and the right to the city was up for debate at both a national and local level, as Māori civil and land rights actions played out on the streets of Wellington in the 1970s. While the Waitangi Tribunal was already established in 1982 when the competition had begun, there was no evidence so of how this might affect the built fabric of the city, with the Tribunal unable to address retrospective claims until 1985.

²⁸⁶ Peter Brooks, "Public Consultation and the Waterfront," in *A account, based on the records of the Wellington Civic Trust, of the public consultations undertaken by the Wellington City Council in 1996-97 on the development of the waterfront*. (Wellington, NZ.: Wellington Civic Trust, 1999), 1.

²⁸⁷ Wellington City Council, "The Wellington Waterfront Framework," in *Report of the Waterfront Leadership Group* (Wellington: New Zealand, 2001), 5.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁸⁹ Brooks, 1.

²⁹⁰ Stephen Doorne, "Power, Participation and Perception: An Insider's Perspective on the Politics of the Wellington Waterfront Redevelopment," *Current issues in tourism* 1, no. 2 (1998): 138.

This re-design of the waterfront occurred alongside a broader national repositioning of identity in New Zealand that typified the 1970s. Activist groups such as Nga Tamatoa (*The Young Warriors*) advocated for Māori rights, fought racial discrimination and confronted violations of the Treaty of Waitangi. Nga Tamatoa helped initiate petitions to protect Te Reo Māori (Māori language), held annual protests on Waitangi Day, and most critically instigated the 1975 Hikoī, (Māori Land March), of 5000 people lead by 79-year-old Whina Cooper. The hikoī walked from the top of the North Island to Parliament house in Wellington to raise concerns over Māori land alienation. This event was followed by more critical and performative land rights protests, including the establishment of the Māori Tent Embassy on the steps of Parliament, the 1977 Bastion Point occupation and the Raglan golf course occupation. These actions galvanised legislative change, through the 1975 establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, and its 1985 empowered to investigate Treaty claims and breaches back to 1840, and the subsequent State-Owned Enterprises Act, the first key legislation to incorporate reference to the Treaty.

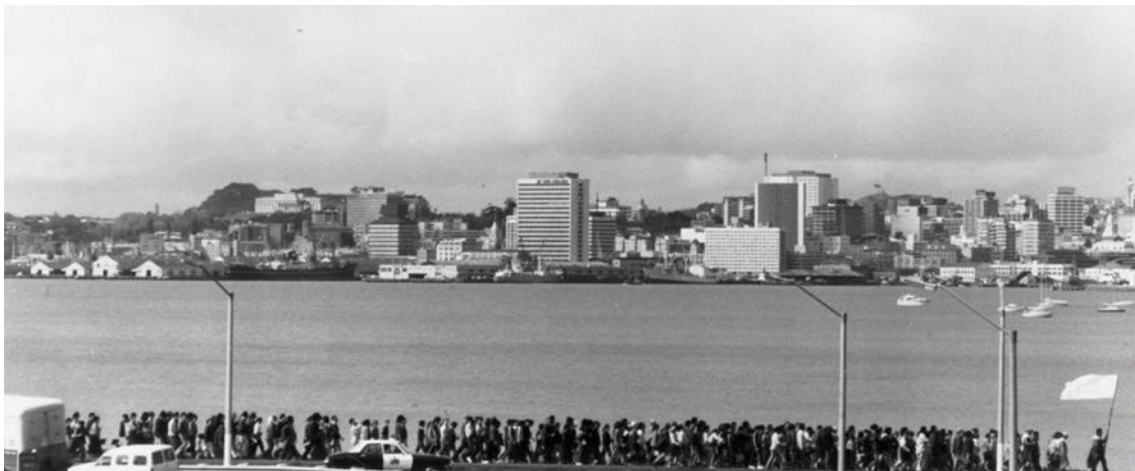


Figure 3.1. Christian F. Heinegg, *Maori Land March approaching Wellington along the motorway*, October 1975, 'Photographs of the Māori Land March', Ref: 1/2-110288-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23136024>

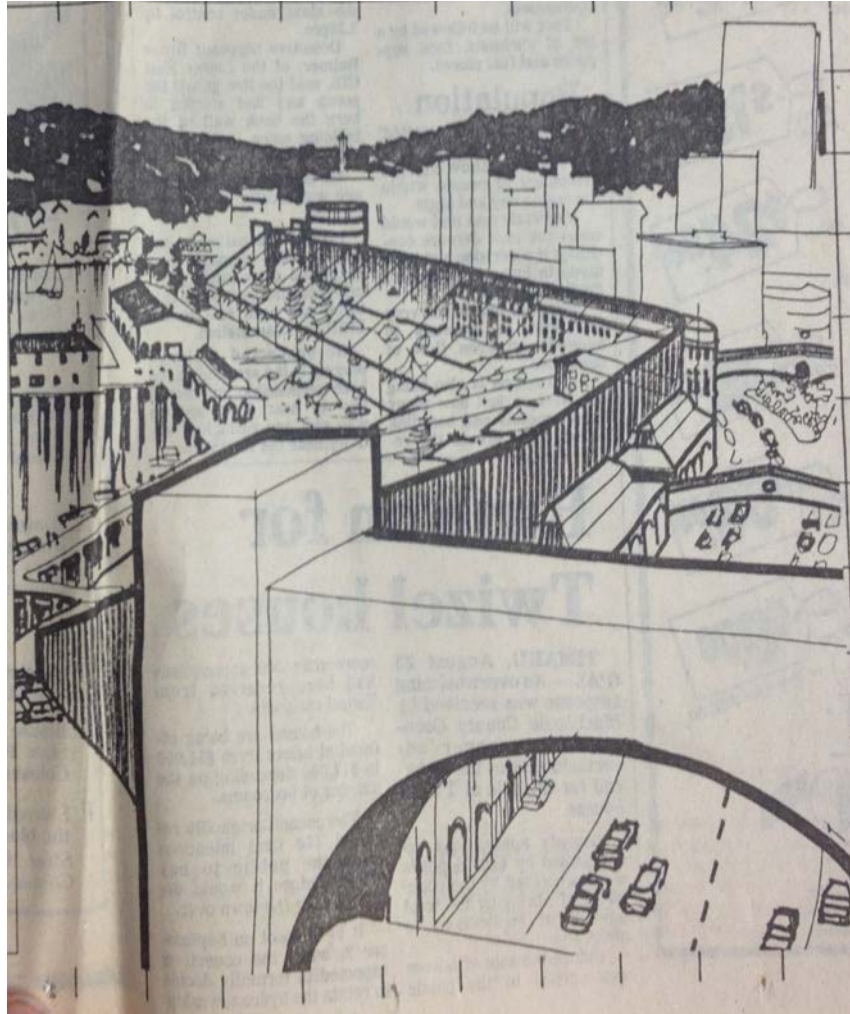


Figure 3.2. Richard Norman, *Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition*. 'The Evening Post', August 23 1983, 11-12.

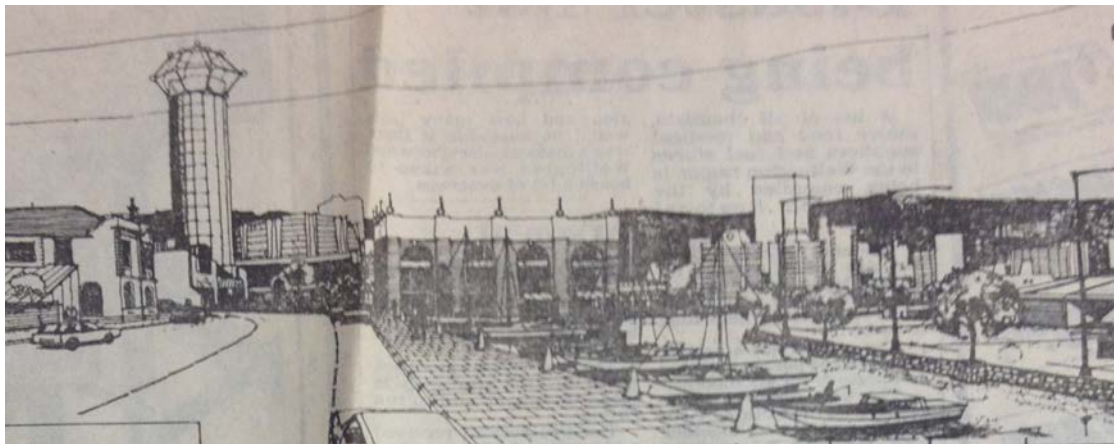


Figure 3.3. Richard Norman, *Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition*. 'The Evening Post', August 23 1983, 11-12.

The Roger Walker proposal would see the waterfront begin to carve up the reclaimed urban foreshore.

There is little evidence within the design competition entries of the tumultuous political climate of race relations reshaping civic identity in New Zealand. However, demand to reconcile the city with the water's edge provoked a range of treatments and responses. Architects proposed conceptual extensions of the urban surface of the city, such as pedestrian linkages over the motorway (Figure 3.2).²⁹¹ As illustrated Figure 3.3, some proposals would seek to declaim the waterfront edge, through marinas, lagoons and canals.²⁹² While the notion of 'declamation' would later take on a distinctly postcolonial tone, at this time these gestures were largely connected with the colonial history of Wellington, such as Kingston Reynolds Thom's suggestion of a controlled system of canals alongside medium density housing, a formal echo of the proposed Basin Reserve Canal from Wellington's colonial plan (Figure 3.4).

The winning entry by architecture collective Paperchase was a mixed-use development featuring a distinctive wide promenade along the extents of the foreshore (Figure 3.5).²⁹³ It included a combination of commercial and residential development alongside a chain of sheltered public spaces, deliberately pushing for a balance between public amenities alongside a sustainable economic model of private investment.²⁹⁴ While the features of the scheme persisted through subsequent proposals, the economic particulars of how this type of mixed-use proposal would be articulated would become the key subject of debate over the waterfront in the ensuing years.

²⁹¹ Sinclair-Johns Ltd, an Auckland-based architecture firm, proposed a series of pedi-way bridges spanning Customhouse and Jervois Quays as a means of reconnecting the CBD to the waterfront. The architects also proposed the demarcation of the waterfront from the street through a large linking wall along the historic sheds, a visual barrier which if realised would have further alienated the waterfront from the city.

²⁹² Wellington architect Roger Walker proposed a sheltered marina at Cable street, and the construction of an artificial lagoon lapping at the foundations of the Michael Fowler Centre.

²⁹³ The winning proposal was by a multidisciplinary collective, Paperchase, comprised of urban design lecturer David Reed and architecture lecturer John Gray (Victoria University of Wellington); architects Graham Anderson, Derek Wilson and Keith Huntingdon (Toomath Wilson Ivrine Anderson); engineer Donald Irvine, also of TWIA; landscape architect Frank Boffa (Boffa Miskell); architect Collin Bennett (JASMaD) and Wellington city planner Alistair Auburn. Richard Norman, "Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition," *The Evening Post*, August 23 1983, 12.; See also: Julia Gatley et al., *Vertical Living: The Architectural Centre and the Remaking of Wellington*, Kobo ed. (Auckland University Press, 2014), 138 [kobo edition], Note 20.

²⁹⁴ Brooks, 1.; Gatley et al., 84 [kobo edition].

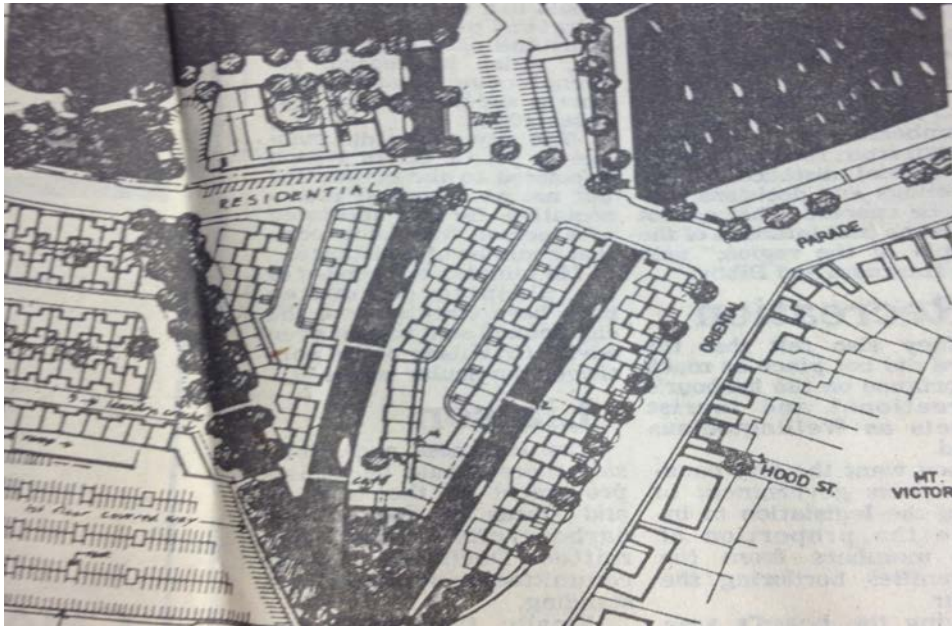


Figure 3.4. Richard Norman, *Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition*. 'The Evening Post', August 23 1983, 11-12.

Kingston Reynolds Thom suggested a system of canals alongside medium density housing.

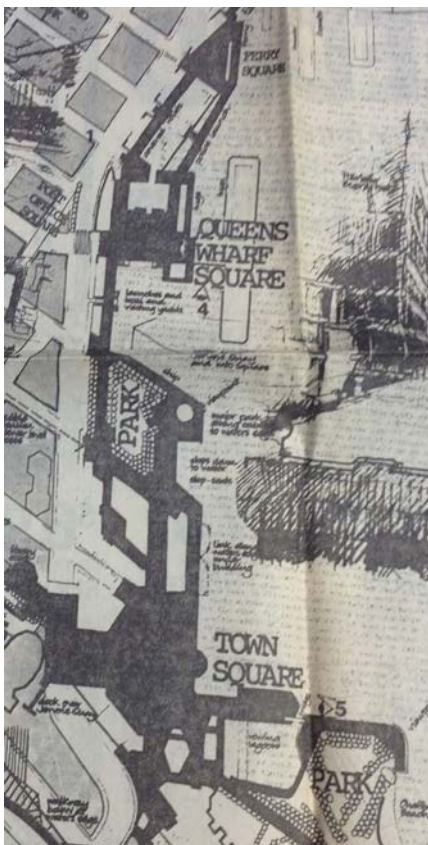


Figure 3.5. Richard Norman, *Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition*. 'The Evening Post', August 23 1983, 11-12.

Paperchase consortium competition winning entry.

3.2.1 A New Plan for the Harbour

The 1986 Lambton Harbour Development Project (LHDP) adopted many of the ideas championed by the winning entry from the 1982 Harbour City Competition.²⁹⁵ The extents of the LHDP, as illustrated in Figure 3.6, were comprised of a mix of residential, commercial, institutional and public realm in five development areas:

- A. Chaffers Marina and Residential
- B. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
- C. Lambton Plaza and Lagoon
- D. Frank Kitts Park
- E. Queens Wharf

The LHDP constituted a nine-hundred-million-dollar redevelopment of the waterfront site reliant on public-private partnerships, and administered by Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, on behalf of the Wellington City Council.²⁹⁶ The scheme attempted to balance commercial development with the provision of public amenities, including funding public space such as Frank Kitts Park and the retention of maritime heritage architecture through commercial re-development.²⁹⁷ The City Council and the Harbour Board established a joint committee to oversee the project, a deliberate act to separate the project management of the precinct away from political forces.²⁹⁸ Instead, this structure rendered the governance of the project more vulnerable to a tempestuous market. The LHDP was to be self-funding, with the concept plan stipulating a mix of 60% public space and 40% private space.²⁹⁹ While this ratio has largely remained in place, the typology of that private space has been hotly contested. Doorne suggests that while self-funding had always been a principle of the development, the shift in economic climate and governance structures changed the implications of the concept from pragmatism, social modesty and public ownership towards a more speculative understanding of 'self-funding' driven by private equity.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ Further ideas developed at two consultation forums informed the project - the Wellington Civic Trust organized Harbour City Conference in July 1984, and Harbour City Symposium 18 months later. See: Brooks, 2.

²⁹⁶ The Lambton Harbour Development Project began as a 8-/20 venture between WHB and WCC. Council obtained full ownership of site, and the area became a precinct within the WCC District plan, cutting out the regional council. See: Doorne, 138.

²⁹⁷ Brooks, 2.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Doorne, 138.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 150.



Figure 3.6. *The Lambton Harbour Redevelopment Areas, "Lambton Harbour Development Project."* edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:5.



Figure 3.7. *The proposed low-density development behind Chaffers marina, (today the Waitangi Park area). "Lambton Harbour Development Project."* edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:19.

Arguably the first evidence of a decolonising shift in the conceptualisation of the foreshore, the LHDP incorporated plans to establish a new national museum, Te Papa Tongarewa. The museum's conceptual development began in the mid-1980s, amidst the growing government support for Māori aspirations, reflected by the celebration of the Tūhura Waitangi as the founding document of the nation, and the official policy adoption of biculturalism. The national collections had formerly been housed at the old Dominion Museum, a 1930s neoclassical building close to parliament in Wellington.³⁰¹ In 1984 Parliamentary caucus committee reviewed the development plans for the Dominion Museum and National Art Gallery, and recommended that a new cultural complex emphasising New Zealand's Pacific heritage and identity should be constructed as part of the Waterfront redevelopment.³⁰² The report, *Nga Taonga o Te Motu – Treasure of the Nation*, recommended that any new institution should be bicultural in nature, acknowledged that reassessing history could be an uncomfortable process, but recognised the commercial potential for tourism of incorporating and nationalising Māori culture in the frame of the museum.³⁰³ An international design competition was held in 1989, and won by local architecture firm Jasmax.³⁰⁴ The national Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa opened on the waterfront in 1998, emerging from the bicultural and decolonising policy shift in New Zealand enabled through processes such as the Waitangi Tribunal.

The LHDP is typical of the American Festival Market Approach that dominated global waterfront redevelopment throughout the 1980s and 1990s, characterised by a wide development mix of residential, recreational and tourist uses, often enhanced through specialised programming of periodic festivals and events.³⁰⁵ A notable feature of the plan was Lambton Tower, a 31-storey development at Queens Wharf North (adjacent to Johnson Street), and while there was some discontent at the concept of a high-rise tower on the water's edge, it was perceived to be a necessary evil in achieving a rates-neutral development.³⁰⁶ The lease from this building was to fund the provision of public amenities in the project.³⁰⁷ The plan was initially well received by both the authorities and the community, through its guarantee of public access to the waterfront and the fiscally sensible cost-neutral provision of recreational facilities.³⁰⁸ In this plan the open

³⁰¹ Henare, 55.

³⁰² James Michael Gore, *Representations of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand: the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* (2002), 217-18.

³⁰³ Ibid., 220.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 223.

³⁰⁵ Andrew L Jones, "13 on the Water's Edge: Developing Cultural Regeneration Paradigms for Urban Waterfronts," *Tourism, culture and regeneration* (2007): 144.

³⁰⁶ Brooks, 2.

³⁰⁷ Doorne, 138.

³⁰⁸ Brooks, 2.

space behind Chaffers Marina was earmarked as a residential development, including 22 townhouses (Figure 3.7). However, the suggestion of luxury residential development along the harbour sits uncomfortably against egalitarian principles implied in a 'place for the people'.³⁰⁹ These conspicuously affluent elements within the proposal were compromised by the 1987 financial crash, which undermined pivotal commercial developments such as the proposed Sheraton Hotel and Conference Centre, and the Lambton Tower which were key revenue sources for Lambton Harbour Management Ltd.³¹⁰ Developers were unwilling to commit to the project after the crash, and as a result the chief executive of the Lambton Harbour, Donald Best, resorted to raising a loan to develop Frank Kitts park as a seed project for the entire precinct.³¹¹

The tension over public and private development in the LHDP is reflective of shift in New Zealand's political ideology during the 1980s, which saw free market reforms lead to the "displacement of the producer by the consumer as the object of policy concern."³¹² The Fourth Labour government set about a radical economic deregulation ('Rogernomics') of New Zealand in 1984, which extraordinarily occurred in parallel to the empowerment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 to investigate Treaty claims retrospectively to 1840. Among the government's economic legislative changes was a move towards privatisation through the sale of state assets, introducing the State Owned Enterprises Act of 1986. Significantly, this was the first act to enshrine Treaty of Waitangi principles into legislation.

The Waitangi Tribunal was established to negotiate settlement of the Treaty of Waitangi between Māori and the Crown. Inquisitorial in process, the Tribunal is made up of a chairperson and up to 20 members appointed by the Governor General.³¹³ The Tribunal is typically composed of lawyers, historians and academics, and has included members such as Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Dr Angela Ballara and Dr Aroha Harris, while being chaired by the Chief Judge of the Māori Land Court, who is currently Wilson Issac.³¹⁴ Members hold senior public service roles, and some former members have gone on to hold significant national and international roles in the public and private sector, such as Tim Castle who became the first Australasian member to the International Court of Arbitration in Switzerland.³¹⁵ As a facilitator, procedurally the

³⁰⁹ "Lambton Harbour: Wellington's Waterfront," ed. Lambton Harbour Management Limited (Wellington 1987), 1.

³¹⁰ 3.

³¹¹ Tommy Honey, "Wellington Embraces Its Harbourside Assets," *Architecture/New Zealand*, no. Mar/Apr (1993): 40.

³¹² Denoon, Mein Smith, and Wyndham, 417.

³¹³ "About the Waitangi Tribunal - Members of the Waitangi Tribunal," Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpu Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, <https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/about-waitangi-tribunal/members-of-the-waitangi-tribunal/>.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

Tribunal is analogous with the International Court of Justice in the Hague, whereby participation is tantamount to consent to follow the Court's decisions.³¹⁶

An essential component of the negotiation process is historical research, producing a specialised branch of public historiography which forms the basis of an agreed historical text between Māori and the Crown through published Waitangi Tribunal reports.³¹⁷ This process has been methodical, and as a perpetual judicial enquiry of history is unique in the world.³¹⁸ The reports are elaborate in detail, covering all matters of landscape relating to colonialism including land confiscation, war, politics, twentieth century public development and ecology including wildlife, waterways and geothermal systems.³¹⁹ As an independent arbiter, the Tribunal's role is to make findings on claims against the Crown, which positions the Tribunal as a forum for both sides to meet and foster partnership through negotiation.³²⁰ However, according to Byrnes, "the Tribunal is not engaged in writing objective history, but one that is deeply political and overwhelmingly focused on the present."³²¹ While independent, the onus of proof lies with the Crown, which lends a criticality to the history produced through these reports.

The restructuring of local government occurred in parallel to the decolonising process framed by the Tribunal, the in keeping with the privatisation imperatives of the Fourth Labour Government, 'Rogernomics'. Legislated through the Local Government Act in 1989, this produced an ideological and practical shift away from 'roads, rats and rubbish', towards an advocacy position for public-private partnerships (including the outsourcing of services), economic development, and a more limited continuation of a socialist imperative of community improvement.³²² Despite legislative change, Māori were particularly hard hit by Rogernomics, with twenty-five percent unemployment levels by 1992 due in part to disproportionate representation of Māori in government-managed industries where job losses were high due to privatisation.³²³

³¹⁶ J. Hayward and N. Wheen, *The Waitangi Tribunal: Te Roopu Whakamana I Te Tiriti O Waitangi* (Bridget Williams Books, 2016), 182.

³¹⁷ Therese Crocker, "History and the Treaty of Waitangi Settlement Process," *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, no. 18 (2014): 106.

³¹⁸ Richard P. Boast, "The Waitangi Tribunal in the Context of New Zealand's Political Culture and Historiography," *Journal of the History of International Law / Revue d'histoire du droit international* 18, no. 2-3 (2016): 351.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 352.

³²⁰ Hayward and Wheen, 182.

³²¹ Giselle Byrnes, *The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand History* (Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1.

³²² Doorne, 135.

³²³ "The 1980s - Overview," Research and Publishing Group of the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/the-1980s/overview>.

The widespread restructuring alongside the buoyancy that categorised the global economy of the epoch gave rise to a speculative boom and crash (1987), resulting in a recession with a third of New Zealanders living in poverty between 1989 and 1991.³²⁴ In light of the change in the market condition, Council held a review of the concept plan in 1992. The concept broadly stayed the same, with the substitution of a casino in place of the convention centre.³²⁵ The casino design featured an 'iconic' winged roof form; the restoration and incorporation of the Wellington Free Ambulance Building and the façade of Shed 22; a terraced linkage to the lagoon; and incorporated public access through an internalized street located between the casino and hotel structures, acting as a linkage from the City-to-Sea Bridge and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Figure 3.8)³²⁶ However, in May 1996, the statutory resource consent process required under the newly introduced Resource Management Act (1991) saw approval denied for the casino, after 140 objections on the grounds of site character.³²⁷

³²⁴ Denoon, Mein Smith, and Wyndham, 417.

³²⁵ Brooks, 3.

³²⁶ An architectural competition for the casino and hotel design awarded in 1995 to the Wellington based architecture firm Studio Pacific Architecture with Peddle Thorp & Aitken Casinos Austria International Limited and Lambton Harbour Management Limited, "Winning Design for Wellington's Waterfront Hotel and Casino Concept," news release, 21 June 1995, 1995.

³²⁷ Brooks, 3-4.



Figure 3.8. *Capital Hotel & Casino, Wellington*, "Lambton Harbour Development Project." edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:20.

The emergent tension between commercial and public interests over waterfront real estate is consistent with the contested history of Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington. Both Māori and non-Māori public interest had largely been left out of the dialogue. However, the shifting economic conditions and the restructuring of local government through the LGA facilitated the perfect storm of conditions to see the emergence of civic engagement as an agent of change in projects such as the Lambton Harbour Development. As Doorne argues,

The transformation of the economic environment has been accompanied by a transformed political environment in which pressure groups and single interest groups feature strongly in policy-making processes both at central and local government levels.³²⁸

The privatisation of the waterfront through the casino and the Chaffers marina residential development, alongside the quality of the project management and community consultation, prompted a vocal community response, with public interest groups emerging as local change agents. Māori stakeholders acted as a shaping force at both the local and national level, reflective of changes in legislative framework for development and land use through the Waitangi Settlement Process and introduction of the 1991 Resource Management Act. The RMA dramatically altered the lens through which Council addressed development on the waterfront, now with respect to honouring their obligations to the Treaty of Waitangi. Given this, the following will examine the RMA and the implications for planning and design in Wellington.

³²⁸ Doorne, 137.

3.3 Decolonising Design in Wellington: Revising Legislation and History

For New Zealand, the decolonising process enabled by the Waitangi Tribunal has threefold implications for designers shaping public projects such as landscape architecture and urban design. Firstly, the process of inquiry produces a negotiated narrative of public history which is reconciliatory in outcome. Secondly, the Resource Management Act regulates new proposals in accordance with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Thirdly, the negotiation of Settlement enabled by the Tribunal produces explicit obligations for council to adhere to, particularly for the built environment.

The Resource Management Act (RMA), brought into effect in 1991, directs matters considered to be of national importance in relation to the use, development and protection of natural and physical resources, taking into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. In doing so, the act makes explicit that land use management respond to the relationship Māori hold in their culture and traditions to their "ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu, and other taonga."³²⁹ In creating this act, New Zealand streamlined 25 natural resource and planning statutes, and 150 other laws and regulations into a single piece of law.³³⁰ The RMA requires planning authorities to prepare district plans to manage environmentally adverse land uses, and obligate a process of public consultation.³³¹ The legislation is framed under the 'Principles of the Treaty' articulated with the Treaty of Waitangi Act.³³² These values of which are particularly accounted for through sections 6, 7 and 8 of the act, which respectively relate to:

- matters of national importance for preservation and protection, including the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu and other taonga, as well as the protection of customary rights;
- stewardship, including kaitiakitanga;
- and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.³³³

³²⁹ *The Resource Management Act.*

³³⁰ David Young and Victoria University of Wellington. Institute of Policy Studies, *Values as Law : The History and Efficacy of the Resource Management Act* (Wellington, N.Z.: Institute of Policy Studies, 2001)., 1.

³³¹ Swaffield, 216.

³³² Edmonds and Banivanua Mar, 282.

³³³ *The Resource Management Act.*

The RMA created a new forum for the reassertion of Māori interests in resource management, and crucially does not hinge on decisions with the Māori Land Court as to whether Māori interests in land have been extinguished.³³⁴ The demands of the RMA as planning regulation is arguably the key critical difference between the sovereign context for landscape architects and urban designers working in New Zealand and Australia. Issues arising under the RMA are handled by the Environment Court of New Zealand, which replaced the Planning Tribunal in 1996 and covers a wide array of planning applications relating to the built environment.³³⁵

As already suggested, the remarkable agenda of Waitangi Tribunal in assessing breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the Crown has been a wide-ranging revision and production of history, which has implications for design in terms of place and site. As a part of the claims process, the claimants petition the Tribunal with a comprehensive evidentiary claim for the Treaty breach in question, and the onus of evidentiary proof lies with the Crown.³³⁶ Procedurally, the Waitangi Tribunal requires reports from professional historians as evidence.³³⁷ This work built upon the revision within the academy of national and local histories undertaken during the period of engagement with national identity and biculturalism in New Zealand.³³⁸ This extraordinary historical discourse becomes a national resource available to all designers operating in New Zealand, moving the often obscured history of ecology and of place into the public, political domain.

One such example of how professional historians were engaged as part of the Tribunal process is Geoff Park's weighty historical report *Effective Exclusion? An Exploratory Overview of Crown Actions and Māori Responses Concerning the Indigenous Flora and Fauna, 1912–1983*. Produced to assist in the Waitangi Tribunal hearing of the indigenous flora and fauna claim (Wai 262), providing an 'analytic narrative' relating to Crown policies, practices, actions and inactions with respect to indigenous flora and fauna throughout the period 1912 through to 1983, as well as Māori responses, actions and grievances.³³⁹ Park's report is exhaustive, examining: indigenous ecosystems in

³³⁴ Michael Belgrave, *Historical Frictions. : Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories* (New York: Auckland University Press, 2013), 47.

³³⁵ "Environment Court | Environment Court of New Zealand," <https://www.environmentcourt.govt.nz/>.

³³⁶ Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiriti O Waitangi, "The Claims Introduction," New Zealand Ministry of Justice, Tāhū o te Ture, <http://www.justice.govt.nz/tribunals/waitangi-tribunal/the-claims-process>. For a more detailed explanation of the claims procedure see: "Waitangi Tribunal Practice Note: Guide to the Practice and Procedure of Waitangi Tribunal," (Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Ministry of Justice, Tāhū o te Ture, 2012).

³³⁷ "The Claims Introduction".

³³⁸ This includes local histories such as Johnson.; and McIntyre and Hamer.

³³⁹ Geoff Park and Waitangi Tribunal, *Effective Exclusion?: An Exploratory Overview of Crown Actions and Maori Responses Concerning the Indigenous Flora and Fauna, 1912-1983* (Waitangi Tribunal Publication, 2001), 1.

swamp, coastal, lake and riverine conditions; the preservation of indigenous flora and fauna from scenery preservation and national parks through to animal and plant protection; and Crown support services such as acclimatisation societies and the conservation estate. The scale, coverage and accessible tone of this report offer immense potential as a tool applicable to praxis far beyond the tribunal context for which it was produced.

Geoff Park's work has been particularly informative for landscape architects and urban designers working in practice. For example, Park's work in relation to swamp and coastal ecologies produced as part of the Waitangi Tribunal is built upon through the performative ecology designed within Waitangi Park as part of the renewal of the Wellington Waterfront, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.³⁴⁰ Park positions himself between the rationalism of science and the subjectivism of history, discovering through his research and as a practitioner that the ecology and history of place are entwined. While still generating an intriguing and romantic narrative style, Park is easily differentiated from the work of Australian cultural historian Paul Carter, who's poetic and staccato approach can be at times disorienting. Where Carter examines the explorer and traveller as narrator, Park is the explorer beginning his journey in a canoe from Hikutaia Creek, on the Hauraki Plains, following the inland journey up the Waihou River from the coast taken by James Cook in 1769.³⁴¹ Like Carter, Park embroiders accounts and layers of the landscape drawn from various sources, including the journals Cook and Banks – as much about what they failed to see, as what they observed - alongside his own interpretations of a largely vanished ecology. Park argues for an entangled, ecological interpretation of history:

As I found what still lay hidden in the ground, tracked my way into archives and had Māori memories revealed to me, I came to know the lost forests of the plains. I found that the ecology of a stretch of country and its history are far from unrelated. They work on one another. They shape one another. If you go in search of one, you are led to the other.³⁴²

Arguably the 2003 Waitangi Tribunal *Te Whanganui-a-Tara Me Ona Takiwa Report on the Wellington District* comprehensively revises urban history in Wellington.³⁴³ Its subsequent framing of Wellington City Council policy frameworks, alongside the Tribunal's associated enquiries, particularly in terms of its flora and fauna reports,

³⁴⁰ The 1995 publication, *Nga Ururora – The Groves of Life Ecology and History in a New Zealand Landscape*, is considered to be a classic of New Zealand environmental writing. Geoff Park, *Nga Ururora = the Groves of Life : Ecology and History in a New Zealand Landscape* (Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 1995).

³⁴¹ Ibid., 20.

³⁴² Ibid., 16.

³⁴³ Tribunal.

fundamentally support a decolonizing mode of practice for designers operating in the civic spaces of Wellington.³⁴⁴ This is not to say that the history produced through the adversarial legal context of the Tribunal isn't unproblematic, but as argued by Byrnes, the Tribunal histories produced deeply political and contemporary postcolonial narratives that challenged the legitimacy and legacy of colonization.³⁴⁵ For example, as summarised by Belgrave, there is criticism of the tribunal's reports for failing to abide by the methodology of academic history in suggesting in hindsight that the Crown could have acted differently, judging the past by the moral and ethical standards of the present, with disregard to the administrative, political and fiscal constraints of the 19th and 20th centuries.³⁴⁶ However, there is no question that this revision of history constitutes the most comprehensive and extensive review of a country's colonial legacy ever produced in the world.³⁴⁷ Belgrave argues that rather than being viewed as a fixed endpoint of revision, the histories produced by the Waitangi Tribunal is situated within a deep lineage of legislative revision of colonial history dating back to the Treaty of Waitangi itself, and constitute part of an ongoing process of decolonization for New Zealand.³⁴⁸

The Waitangi Tribunal Claim Wai 145 report *Te Whanganui-a-Tara me ona Takiwa: Report on the Wellington District* was released in 2003, documenting the 13 claims made between 1991 and 1999 relating to the area blanketed by the New Zealand Company's 1839 Port Nicholson Deed of Purchase. The tribunal found numerous Crown Treaty breaches, with the claimants entitled to substantial compensation including the return of appropriate Crown lands in Wellington city and its surrounding environs, recommending that the Māori groups affected enter into negotiation with the Crown.³⁴⁹ The first claim relating to the Port Nicholson block was lodged in 1987, and the report produced in 2003. The 2009 settlement made with the Crown included 25 million dollar financial settlement, along with cultural redress mechanisms recognising properties of significance in the city, provisions for commercial rights and opportunities, and a whole of government agreement relating to strategic relationships and memorandums of understanding.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁴ Some of the historical reports of particular pertinence to considerations of ecology, landscape and resource management include produced for the tribunal include: Robert Andrew McClean, Trecia Smith, and Waitangi Tribunal, *The Crown and Flora and Fauna: Legislation, Policies, and Practices, 1983-98* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2001). Cathy Marr et al., *Crown Laws, Policies, and Practices in Relation to Flora and Fauna, 1840-1912* (Waitangi Tribunal Wellington, 2001). Park and Tribunal.

³⁴⁵ For a comprehensive bibliography of all historical reports see: Tim Shoebridge and Waitangi Tribunal, *Waitangi Tribunal Bibliography 1975-2011* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012); Paul Carter, *The Lie of the Land* (Faber & Faber London, 1996), 229.

³⁴⁶ Belgrave, 10.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 9.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 13-14.

³⁴⁹ Tribunal, xxvi.

³⁵⁰ "Settlement Package," Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust, <https://www.pnbst.maori.nz/the->

As discussed in Chapter Two, the settlement claim area encompasses contemporary Wellington city, the harbour and extends to the Hutt Valley. The Wai 145 report distils an extensive bibliography of reports relating to Wellington, as commissioned from New Zealand's leading professional historians by the Waitangi Tribunal, the Māori Claimants and the Crown.³⁵¹ It details the complex place history by which land was acquired from Māori by settlers and the Crown, and the subsequent issues relating to the administration and alienation of Māori within Te Whanganui-a-Tara. This constitutes a comprehensive overview of the history of Wellington read through the lens of breaches of sovereignty, from pre-European occupation and customary rights, through governance of subsequent land purchases and acquisitions, as well as all relevant legislative acts until the time of reporting. For example, Chapter 13 of the report details progressive Māori alienation from the Port Nicholson tenths reserves from 1840 through to 1882, with a particular focus on the appropriation by the Crown of some 23 acres for institutional use, and the sale of McCleverty-assigned reserves in urban Wellington, particularly the waterfront pā sites of Pipitea and Te Aro.³⁵² This procedure of history writing revised the inter-related layers of ecology, governance and land use practices of site. This is particularly significant for designers, who are not required to research and recreated their own version of spatial history when approaching design briefs, as the comprehensive, agreed version of landscape history has already been produced by the Tribunal process as a rich source of material.

settlement/settlement-package/.

³⁵¹ Shoebridge and Tribunal, 119-22.

³⁵² Tribunal, 315-16.



Figure 3.9. Wei-Hang Chua, *Te Aro Park*, 2010, <https://flic.kr/p/8C79bA> , (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

3.3.1 Revising the City: Te Aro Park and the City to Sea Bridge

Produced contemporary to this decolonising process, Te Aro Park (1988) and The City to Sea Bridge (1994) are early built examples of how this political shift both in terms of legislation and the associated revision of histories are articulated in the public domain of the city. The catalyst for Te Aro Park emerged from within Wellington City Council in 1988 when Arts Bonus scheme funds were transferred to 'Pigeon Park' for a bicultural collaborative project between a landscape architect and artists for the design of a 'sculptural park'.³⁵³ The site was a one-acre triangular public park in the city, bounded by Manners, Taranaki, Dixon and Cuba Streets. Te Aro Park is located at the site of the Te Aro Pā and stream, several churches and later housed police, fire brigade and electrical stations, as well as Turkish baths and the first Royal Oaks Hotel.³⁵⁴ The site became a public park, Market Reserve, although more commonly referred to as 'Pigeon Park', in 1925 and later included a memorial plinth and fountain dedicated to Methodist missionaries who worked within the Māori community in 1930s.³⁵⁵ The park was a meeting point for public events, a space for the gathering of peace rallies during World War II, as well as the rallying point for marches on Parliament.³⁵⁶

³⁵³ Rob Pryor, "Te Aro Park," *Landscape*, no. Win 1990; n.46:p.24-25.

³⁵⁴ "1990 Coalition Meeting Minutes - October 1988," (Wellington: 1990 Coalition Group, 1988).

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Andrea O'Neil, "Protests, Pigeons, Pa and Public Art," *The Dominion Post*, March 23, 2015 2015.

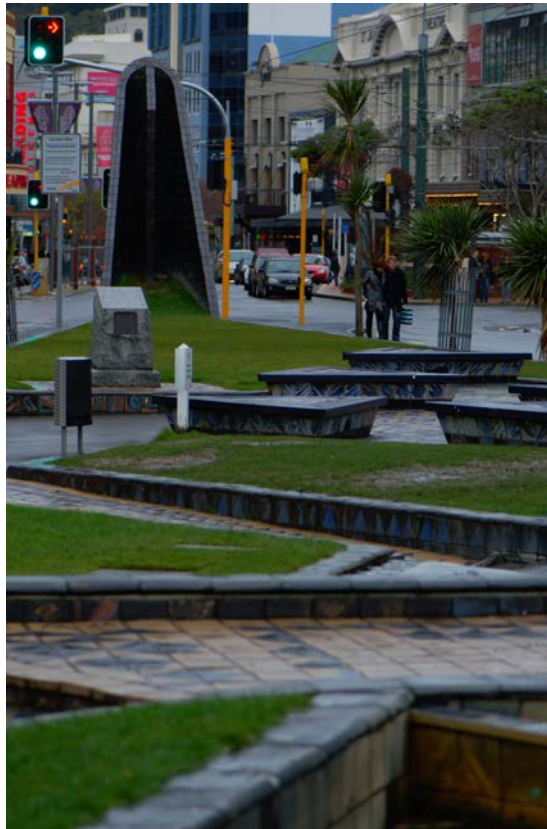


Figure 3.10. Gregory Bodnar, *Urban twist*, 2010, <https://flic.kr/p/8ygma7>, (CC BY-SA 2.0)

Te Aro Park, looking towards the canoe prow.

The design was the result of the collaboration between Māori ceramicist and painter Shona Rapira Davies and landscape architect Rob Pryor. The design approach is explicitly symbolic and geometrically driven in form. The deliberately horizontal plan driven design was designed to place emphasis on the land and to draw the eye downwards and across the site.³⁵⁷ An incredibly labour intensive landscape, the hardscape was constructed from 30,000 hand crafted and painted clay tiles.³⁵⁸ The horizontal elements are designated to symbolise female principles in Māori culture, with strong patterns derived from weaving. This pattern was designed to remind the visitor of the Kai Karanga, the woman caller on the marae responsible for weaving protective mats to ward off the God of War.³⁵⁹ Conversely, vertical forms within the design denote male principles, such as the abstract canoe prow at the acute end of the triangle plan, emerging from the ground plane resonating with maritime histories of arrival and war.³⁶⁰ Water, symbolising both life and the history of the site, flows diagonally across the site through a series of pools. According to Park, Te Aro Park is

³⁵⁷ Pryor.

³⁵⁸ Pamela Meekings-Stewart, "A Cat among the Pigeons," (NZ Film Commission, QEII Arts Council of New Zealand and TVNZ., 1992).

³⁵⁹ Pryor.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

an manifestation of the decolonising process, "an exquisite ecological expression of place, a wild almanac of locality in which we can see what is lost when a place is defined with the words of invasion."³⁶¹ While the Te Aro Park is viewed as a mixed-success, fraught by project management issues, it is significant as an urban precedent in New Zealand as a bicultural collaboration which actively attempts to decolonise the city.

Closer to the sea edge, the City to Sea Bridge opened in 1994 (Figure 3.11) As deliberately bicultural as Te Aro Park, the bridge was designed in collaboration by Māori and Pākehā architects Rewi Thompson and John Gray, in consultation with city architect Roger Shand, and includes large wooden sculptures of celebrated Māori artist Paratene Matchitt.³⁶² The architects used a traditional Māori narrative to resolve architectural problem of reconnecting the Civic Square and Capital Discovery Place with the harbour edge, and address the broader disconnect of the central business district to the sea. The space is organised around the creation narrative of demigod Maui and his brothers hauling a giant fish out of the sea to create the North Island of Aotearoa, New Zealand. The bridge presents the tail of the fish, and Civic Square the body.³⁶³ As illustrated in Figure 3.12, the pavement of the square bulges, straining against the pull of the metaphorical fishing line out to sea, which cleaves an abstracted mountain pyramid in two on the threshold to the bridge. Thompson insisted that the bridge be a continuation of the pedestrian precinct, rather than a curtailment of it.³⁶⁴ As a result, the bridge is a generous expanse of timber which acts as a continuation of the urban surface bridging the Jervois Quay motorway, a space to be occupied, rather than typical circulation infrastructure.

³⁶¹ Geoff Park, "Looking for Signs of Life - *Nature and the Genius Loci in the Austral City*," in *Theatre Country : Essays on Landscape & Whenua* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), 45.

³⁶² Michael Linzey, "Metaphor and Narrative," *Architecture/New Zealand*, no. May/Jun 1998; p.98-103: 99.

³⁶³ Jenny Harper, Aaron Lister, and Bruce Connew, *Wellington: A City for Sculpture* (Victoria University Press, 2007), 48.

³⁶⁴ Linzey, 99.



Figure 3.11. Author's photo, *The City to Sea Bridge on approach from the waterfront, 2013,*



Figure 3.12. Author's photo, *Maui's fishing line cleaves through the space to Civic Square, 2013.*

The interweaving of bicultural narratives is similarly mirrored in the formal elements of the bridge is described by Gray as a *whakapapa* (genealogy) of Wellington city.³⁶⁵ Stylised birds and whales form balustrades, with rough-hewn timber fragments, part-ship part-animal, providing tactile places to occupy along the bridge (Figure 3.13) As captured in Figure 3.14, Matchitt utilises stars, a bleeding heart, stars, and crescent moons atop poles which span the width of the bridge. The artistic intention is that they represent those who have come to New Zealand, a multicultural gesture generated from the forms of the Māori Te Wepu battle flag, used by Te Kooti Arikirangi in his 1860s resistance campaigns.³⁶⁶ There are other bicultural resonances, such as the stars with maritime navigation, while the whole structure evokes the reclamation history of the waterfront. While Civic Square remains a quiet oasis between the city and the sea, the bridge by contrast is a surprisingly active space, occupied at all hours, and offers an unexpectedly tactile extension of the urban surface of the city. Collectively, Te Aro Park and the City to Sea Bridge represent some of the first design articulations of urban design responsive to the RMA. Looking to the precinct scale, this discussion will next explore how the implementation of the RMA significantly shifted the conceptual frame of the waterfront at the masterplan and placemaking level.

³⁶⁵ John Gray, "City-to-Sea-Bridge : More Than Meets the Eye," *Prodesign*, no. Apr/May 1994; p.28-30: 29.

³⁶⁶ Harper, Lister, and Connew, 49.



Figure 3.13. Author's photo, *Matchitt's timber structures form a number of seating spaces to occupy*, 2013.



Figure 3.14. Author's photo, *Sculptural elements abstract a whakapapa of Wellington*, 2013.

3.4 Watching the Waterfront: Placemaking as Civic Catalyst

As already suggested, the introduction of the 1991 RMA held implications for development on the waterfront in Wellington. Not only were placemakers challenged under an uncertain economic climate, the nation was repositioning in terms of identity with widespread legislative implications. As suggested in the previous discussion, the RMA required local authorities to introduce district plans for the land use and environmental management of jurisdictions, taking into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The RMA requires under the district plan a process of public consultation.³⁶⁷ The Proposed Wellington District Plan was introduced in 1994, and included the Lambton Harbour Area as part of the Central Area to the plan.³⁶⁸ Design guidelines were to be introduced as variations or changes to the Plan.³⁶⁹ The relationship between the city and the sea is seen as a critical steering principle for development in the central city as part of the District Plan.

Wellington City District Plan directs the management of the use, development and protection of the natural and physical resources of the Wellington District with the positioning of Wellington as a sustainable city.³⁷⁰ A District Plan is required by Council to address its responsibilities under the Resource Management Act 1991, which is framed by the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, the values of which are particularly accounted for through sections 6, 7 and 8 of the act.³⁷¹ After introducing and outlining the broad scale objectives of the District Plan, the document begins by presenting the resource management issues for Tangata Whenua (chapter 2 of the District Plan). To Australian eyes this approach is refreshing in its directness and clarity, positioned as the first set of contemporary principles and actions addressed in the document, as opposed to an acknowledgement within a chronological history. Crucially, this document is declared as the first step in redressing the absence of recognition of Māori resource management practices within European approaches of management and planning since 1840.³⁷²

³⁶⁷ Swaffield, 216.

³⁶⁸ "Proposed District Plan for Wellington City.," in *Wellington City district plan : Te kaupapa whenua o Pōneke* ed. Wellington City Council (Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington City Council, 1994).

³⁶⁹ "Assessment of Effects on the Environment, Proposed Development - North Kumutoto Precinct, Wellington Waterfront:," (Wellington: Urban Perspectives Ltd, 2014), 8.

³⁷⁰ Wellington City Council, *Wellington City District Plan = Te Kaupapa Whenua O Pōneke*, Kaupapa Whenua O Pōneke (Wellington, N.Z.: Wellington City Council, 2000), 1/1.

³⁷¹ *The Resource Management Act*.

³⁷² "Issues for Tangata Whenua," in *Wellington City District Plan = Te Kaupapa Whenua O Pōneke* (Wellington, N.Z.: Wellington City Council, 2000).

The Plan incorporates issues of importance for Māori into resource management processes, particularly through the inclusion of Māori in the resource consent process, principally in sites where there is potential for significant cultural values to be affected by development.³⁷³ Māori participation is positioned as an opportunity to add an extra layer to the systems of governance of Wellington's physical resource management, with Māori cultural and spiritual values of the landscape sharing the same goals as that of sustainable development. As such, the Plan sets out Māori Values relating to Environmental Management, by narrating Māori beliefs of creation and the natural world, including *atua* (deities) and *mauri* (life force principle).

The major objective of the Māori resource management system is the ongoing sustainability of the *mauri* of environmental and physical resources.³⁷⁴ For example, the document explains the practices of *kaitiakitanga*, or guardianship, which is explicitly linked to *tino rangatiratanga*, the concept of absolute sovereignty present in the Māori translation of the Treaty of Waitangi.³⁷⁵ Kaitiakitanga is practiced through the maintenance of importance sites such as *wahi tapu* (sacred sites), *wahi tapuna* (ancestral sites), as well as the management of fishing grounds, resource management and other processes of environmental protection such as the Waitangi Tribunal.³⁷⁶

In terms of resource management, iwi are positioned in partnership with council in honouring the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.³⁷⁷ This is reflected in the District Plan through the layering of both Māori and non-Māori values and histories. For example, the Heritage principles of the District Plan are aimed at protecting "places associated with Wellington's past including places of significance to tangata whenua, and Māori archaeological sites, the city's built heritage, and significant heritage and notable trees".³⁷⁸ The Māori History of Wellington is first summarized in Chapter 2 of the District Plan, giving an overview of migration patterns prior to the arrival of the New Zealand Company, and the colonial and postcolonial history of Wellington. This includes the listing of intangible and erased sites of significance that are particularly important to tangata whenua, such as the pā sites. In addition to this discrete history which is the first to appear in the Plan, each additional summary of the city's history begins from Māori occupation of the landscape. This history largely reflects the more expanded narrative presented in Wai 145 report to the Waitangi Tribunal.

³⁷³ Council, Square, and Street, 2/1.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 2/4.

³⁷⁵ In addition, Tino Rangatiratanga is also the name of the Māori flag.

³⁷⁶ Council, Square, and Street, 2/3.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 2/6-2/8.

³⁷⁸ "Wellington City District Plan," *Wellington, Wellington City Council* (2000): 20/1.

The new expectations for bicultural resource management and community engagement under the District Plan had implications for the direction of development on the waterfront. Given this changed legislative and ideological context for the Lambton Harbour Development Project, once construction began on the Events and Retail Centre buildings at Queens Wharf, public interest was awakened, angered by the scale of the structures and limited community consultation.³⁷⁹ The Events and Retail Centre is fairly typical of the 'festival market' retail typology identified by Jones, and generic to waterfront redevelopments of this era.³⁸⁰ In Australia, this typology would be identified with the Darling Harbour redevelopment of the early 1990s in Sydney. Viewed against Te Aro Park and the City to Sea Bridge, the approach of the LHDP appears out of step with the shift in approaches to urban design encouraged and enabled by the Waitangi Tribunal process and the shift to Biculturalism more broadly.

Given this discrepancy with the zeitgeist, it is unsurprising that the project was received poorly by the community. Public opposition became cohesive through the organization of the advocacy group Waterfront Watch, which was begun in 1995 by a core group of ten opposed to the new buildings on Queens Wharf, which they suggested were akin to 'a Soviet ablution block'.³⁸¹ Brooks provides a summary of the key aspirations held by Waterfront Watch in relation to the waterfront redevelopment as the following:

- A minimum 20 meter broad vehicle-free walkway along the entire waterfront;
- Pedestrian connections from the city to the sea;
- 60% of the waterfront as public open space;
- Native flora to support and encourage birdlife;
- Restoration and reuse of heritage architecture;
- Low rise development to a maximum of four storeys;
- All remaining land to stay in public ownership;
- And the ongoing provision of community consultation for all future developments.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ Brooks, 3.

³⁸⁰ Jones, 144.

³⁸¹ Brooks, 4.

³⁸² Ibid.



Figure 3.15. *The Queens Wharf retail centre as proposed in the Lambton Harbour Development Plan, "Lambton Harbour Development Project."* edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:13.



Figure 3.16. *Conceptual Overview of the Queens Wharf Precinct, "Lambton Harbour Development Project."* edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:12.

In 1996, the Lambton Harbour Forum was held in order to provide an opportunity for criticisms of the project to be heard and for Lambton Harbour Management Limited to establish a better process for community consultation.³⁸³ The forum was criticized for its lack of independence, as it was conducted by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, and there was potential that community attitudes were skewed.³⁸⁴

International experts from the Washington Waterfront Centre questioned some of the key propositions for the waterfront such as the necessity for the project to be self-funded, and proposed a six-month pause to re-evaluate the project and to establish a citizen's waterfront advisory committee in order to promote civic participation.³⁸⁵ LHML responded by establishing a community consultative group under an independent chairman, but announced it was still going ahead with the heavily critiqued residential development at Chaffers Bay.³⁸⁶ However, the development never proceeded due to the declaration by Council in 1996 of a moratorium on all development at the waterfront.³⁸⁷

Dr Ngatata Love voiced a Māori perspective, reinforcing four main points reflecting the values of Māori resource management as outlined in the Wellington District Plan and RMA. These were to value the harbour as *taonga* by nurturing and respecting it; to observe the rules of *tapu*; to reinforce Māori concepts of territorial rights through good management planning of the natural environment and food resources within the harbour; and finally to reinforce that LHML shared the Māori position of responsibility or obligation as custodians of the harbour for future generations.³⁸⁸ The inclusion and consideration of these values in all subsequent proposals in terms of design and frameworks represents a significant conceptual shift in the way in which the waterfront at Wellington was being imagined as a designed space. Given the historical revision of the Waitangi Tribunal, the enactment of the RMA and the ongoing settlement process for the Port Nicholson block claim, development on the waterfront was now obliged to give greater consideration to council's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi, and to the broader community.

³⁸³ Ibid., 5.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 4-5.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 5.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ The moratorium was called after a change to the District Plan that applied to the Lambton Harbour development, Variation 2, was publicly notified in June, 1995. "Assessment of Effects on the Environment, Proposed Development - North Kumutoto Precinct, Wellington Waterfront: ", 8.

³⁸⁸ "On the Waterfront : A Report and Commentary on the Lambton Harbour Forum Held at the Events Centre, Lambton Harbour, Sunday 19 May 1996," in *Lambton Harbour Forum* (Wellington, N.Z.: Wellington Civic Trust, 1996), 6-7.

As such, in 1996 the Community Consultative Committee (CCC) was established, an independent community and stakeholders consultative body, that included Māori stakeholders Wellington Tenth Trust; activist group Waterfront Watch; Wellington Civic Trust; the New Zealand Institute of Architects; and the Architecture Centre.³⁸⁹ The CCC conducted community consultation, holding a household survey, focus groups and a community participatory planning workshop.³⁹⁰ In response, the CCC produced a report to council making 102 recommendations relating to the overriding principles for use of Lambton Harbour; to management and control of the project; to financial management; to heritage management; and to design.³⁹¹ Public consultation continued under Council, exploring a number of options in terms of mixed public-private domain development.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter considered how in the space of a fifteen years from 1982 to 1996, urban design of the Wellington Waterfront has been shaped by legislative change in the form of the Resource Management Act. The introduction of the RMA was a key determining factor in the design of new public spaces in the city, such as Te Aro Park and the City to Sea bridge. This discussion explored how the economic and political shifts in New Zealand rapidly upset earlier plans for urban renewal explored in the harbour competition and the Lambton Harbour Development Project. The decolonising process enabled by the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal and the implementation of the Resource Management Act had significant impact on the governance context for the development of the Waterfront. The many stalled attempts at a detailed design approach of the waterfront masterplan suggest a dramatic rethinking of the approach to urban renewal through a conceptual framework approach to the waterfront. The implications of this shift will be examined at the level of the park and the indigenous cultural centre through the space of Waitangi Park and Te Wharewaka in chapters 5 & 6. As will be considered in the following chapter, this differs greatly to the Australian context, where the absence of legislative and constitutional reconciliation has produced a very different set of operating conditions for designers working within the realm of civic space and urban renewal.

³⁸⁹ Brooks, 6.

³⁹⁰ 6-8.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 8.

Chapter 4 Decolonising Place: Adelaide

4.1 Introduction: Decolonising Place: Adelaide

Urban renewal in an age of reconciliation is a difficult proposition for Australian cities, and Adelaide is no exception. This chapter aims to understand the placemaking context within which the most recent urban renewal project, the design of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga, is positioned.

As previously discussed, the course of urban regeneration of the waterfront precinct Wellington from the 1980s onwards was rapidly amended due to formalised processes and policy frameworks of decolonisation, enabled through the Resource Management Act and the settlement process of the Waitangi Tribunal. When viewed against New Zealand, Australia's parallel attempts to address land rights and native title through legislation such as the Commonwealth Land Rights Act (1976), Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1983) and Native Title Act (1993) is incredibly slow, and has almost no application to metropolitan contexts.

Given this situation, the following will explore this fulcrum of heritage, reconciliation and placemaking within the City of Adelaide. Firstly, I shall introduce the heritage-driven planning approach which typified policy in the City of Adelaide in the 1980s and 1990s, prior to the adoption of a vision for reconciliation. Secondly, I will explore the policy construct of the Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP) an organisational level response to the demands of reconciliation, as the only alternative framework for designers to engage with, substitute to legislative or constitutional change. Thirdly the chapter will consider urban renewal in an apparent age of reconciliation by cultural heritage as placemaking, through the Adelaide Park Lands & Squares Cultural Landscape Assessment Study and the renewal of North Terrace.

4.2 Decolonising Adelaide: The City in the Postcolonial Age

Australia in the 1960s and 70s experienced a comparable indigenous civil and land rights movement to New Zealand. This was a period of significant change, with much of the civil rights activism being performed in urban communities in capital cities throughout the nation. As with Wellington, cities such as Adelaide experienced a growth in the urban Aboriginal population, with the shift from the paternalism of the remote reserve model to an assimilationist social policy, further alienating Aboriginal Australians from regional and remote lands and communities. Muddled notions of Indigenous citizenship in the wake of two world wars, alongside a shifting urbanised aboriginal labour force catalysed the emergence of Indigenous land and civil rights movements.³⁹² A generation of Aboriginal returned servicemen returned from the war to an ambivalent experience in Australian cities, finding their civil rights still restricted.³⁹³

In the context of Australian cities, colonial patterns of control were continued with Aboriginal people's movements prescribed and restricted. However, the Aboriginal community congregated in public spaces with relative freedom. In the case of Adelaide's parks and squares, this was where "Indigenous people were able to enjoy the intimacy of family and friends and assert for themselves a place and identity within the City."³⁹⁴ The five picturesque squares of Light's Adelaide including Victoria Square all operated as Indigenous congregation places as Nunga people from rural missions returned to the city, these spaces very much akin to other public squares and parks in Australian cities such as Musgrave Park in Brisbane, and Redfern Park in Sydney. Most significantly to the nation, the newly designed Aboriginal flag was first unveiled at Victoria Square on National Aborigines Day, 12 July 1971. This event is symbolic of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination, given the history of civil and land rights movements.

In Australia, agitation for Indigenous civil rights were articulated through protest and collective organisation linking urban and remote communities. Examples of these actions include the Day of Mourning conference and march through Sydney on the sesquicentenary of colonisation on 26 January 1938; the 1963 Yirrkala bark petitions, the first traditional documents prepared by Indigenous Australians to be recognised by

³⁹² In Australian cities this experience is well documented. For example, Aird and Conlon narrate the experience of Murri ex-servicemen and women in domestic services in Brisbane from the 1920s and 30s. See: Michael Aird and Dennis Conlon, *Brisbane Blacks* (Keeaira Press, 2001). T

³⁹³ The ambivalent experience of Indigenous returned servicemen is widely understood, and is a story that continues to be re-told, such as through the critically acclaimed 2theatre production, *Black Diggers* (2014), by playwright Tom Wright, as well as in the celebrated short film *Harry's War* (2000).

³⁹⁴ Hall, 56.

the Australian Parliament; and the 1965 'Freedom Bus Ride' by University of Sydney activists through rural New South Wales.³⁹⁵ The Aboriginal land rights movement developed on the back of public support of events such as the Wave Hill Walk-off (1966-1972), the Gove Land Right case (1971); the 1972 National Aborigines Day *Ningla-A-Na* ('hungry for land') land rights marches throughout the metropolitan cities of Australia, and most significantly, the occupation of the forecourt of Parliament House in Canberra by the Aboriginal Tent Embassy.³⁹⁶

This same period saw the emergence of new Indigenous civic organisations such as the Australian Aborigines League, Aboriginal Advancement League and Aborigines Progressive Association.³⁹⁷ From a policy perspective, Adelaide is recognized as the birthplace of this national movement for Aboriginal Rights, with state leaders from the Aboriginal Advancement leagues meeting at Willard Hall, a short walk from Victoria Square, in 1958 for the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement, campaigning for legislative and constitutional change. More broadly, the state is recognised as having a socially and politically progressive attitude to Indigenous affairs. For example, South Australia was the first state to give all men including Indigenous men the vote in the 1856 and all women including Indigenous women the vote in the 1895; one of the first to diminish segregation practices under the Aboriginal Affairs Act (1962); and the first to appoint an Aboriginal person to a vice-regal position in Australia in 1976, Sir Douglas Nicholls.

³⁹⁵ The Yirrkala bark petition protested the Nabalco mining grant of land from the Arnhem Land research, asserting Yolngu ownership of the land. The petition resulted in a parliamentary inquiry which recommended compensation be granted to Yolngu, and therefore represents the first recognition of Native Title, and Indigenous People, in Australian law.

³⁹⁶ Anoma Pieris, "Occupying the Centre: Indigenous Presence in the Australian Capital City," *Postcolonial Studies* 15, no. 2 (2012).

³⁹⁷ These organisations held offices in the the urban centres of Redfern, Fitzroy and South Brisbane, places which became the nurturing grounds for the 'Black Power' movement, influenced by shifting race relations in the United States. See: Gary Foley, "Black Power in Redfern 1968-1972. 2001," *The Koori History Website* < http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_1.html (2013).



Figure 4.1. John Teerds, *SA tribe wins full land rights*, July 24, 1978. 'The Age', July 25, 1978.

Don Dunstan announced the Pitjantjatjara Land Rights bill during the A.A. Calwell Memorial Lecture to the Monash University ALP club

Critically this extended to land rights, with the Dunstan Labor state government introducing the internationally ground-breaking Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Bill (Figure 4.1). The bill set in motion the introduction and adoption of the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Land Rights Act 1981, the first land rights legislation in Australia which was the product of negotiations between government and Indigenous stakeholders, and recognised traditional land rights far in advance of anywhere else in the country, and was less limited than that granted under the 1976 NT Commonwealth Aboriginal Land Rights Act.

This situation is very different to New Zealand where, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Waitangi Tribunal process and the requirements of the RMA have facilitated a process of recompense which has shaped urban renewal and placemaking. Legislative change in Australia has continued to be slow, with the Racial Discrimination Act passed in 1975, the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act in 1976, the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (New South Wales) in 1983, the landmark Mabo High Court decision to dissolve *terra nullius* in 1992, and the 1993 Native Title Act nearly twenty years after the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal.³⁹⁸ Despite most Aboriginal people residing in Australia's cities, all legislative advances to land rights have been

³⁹⁸ The Mabo High Court decision instigated the legal doctrine of native title into Australian law. In doing so, it overturned *terra nullius*. The action was led by Eddie Mabo, David Passi and James Rice, on behalf of the Meriam people from Murray Island in the Torres Strait. The Mabo decision was formally enacted into legislation by the Australian Parliament through the Native Title Act 1993. For details, see *v Queensland*.

restricted to regional and remote land, with little redress within highly contested urban and metropolitan contexts.

The multi-scalar nature of governance in Australia between Federal, State and Local governments similarly shapes a very different position for designers in Australia in terms of policy frameworks. This poses challenges for Native Title settlements by urban Indigenous communities who were aggressively alienated from their traditional lands by settlement in urban centres. Under the Native Title Act, two legal questions must be answered to grant recognition. Firstly, claims must be based on a traditional connection to the area³⁹⁹. Secondly, if the connection is found, has it been partially or entirely 'extinguished' by the actions of government, such as the sale of land for development for housing, public infrastructure and for private ownership.⁴⁰⁰ This process is incredibly protracted, and as such voluntary Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUA) are adopted to allow for flexible arrangements between native title groups and vested parties in relation to the interceding use of land and water.⁴⁰¹

The pace of the process has been so slow that the first metropolitan settlements were made twenty-five years after the Native Title Act passed into legislation. Prior to this, the failed 2002 Yorta Yorta claim in Melbourne was precedent to reject Native Title claims on areas of settlement.⁴⁰² The first Native Title Claim covering a metropolitan area held up by the Federal Court was the Single Noongar Claim handed down in 2006, inclusive of Perth.⁴⁰³ However, the claim went through a protracted appeals process, reaching registration in October 2018, with a \$1.3million dollar settlement which formalised six existing Indigenous land use agreements.⁴⁰⁴ Just beating the Noongar claim as the first metropolitan agreement registered, in March 2018 the Kaurna people were successfully granted Native Title for the area from Myponga to Lower Light, encompassing Adelaide, inclusive of native title right to 17 parcels of undeveloped land not held under freehold lease.⁴⁰⁵ This took 18 years to achieve, having first been tabled in 2000.

³⁹⁹ "What Is Native Title? | the Aurora Project," <https://auroraproject.com.au/what-native-title>.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ "About Indigenous Land Use Agreement (Iluas)," ed. National Native Title Tribunal (Canberra: Australian Federal Government, 2019).

⁴⁰² "Case Summary: Yorta Yorta V Victoria," ed. Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Native Title Jurisprudence (Canberra: AIATSIS, 2015).

⁴⁰³ "Single Noongar Claim Frequently Asked Questions," South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council, <http://www.noongar.org.au/faq>.

⁴⁰⁴ Australian Broadcasting Corporation, "Record \$1.3b Wa Native Title Settlement Registered after Three-Year Wait," (2018).

⁴⁰⁵ "Kaurna People Granted Native Title Rights in Adelaide, 18 Years On," (2018).

Occurring in parallel to Federal changes to Aboriginal land rights and racial discrimination was the first formation of a national approach to urban policy, through the engagement of government at the Federal level, through the Whitlam Labour government's Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD).⁴⁰⁶ However, the tensions between centralisation of spatial policy and localism made working across the convoluted governance structure of federal, state and council governments difficult and as such the DURD was a short lived initiative.⁴⁰⁷ As will be discussed in the following, the 1986 Plan of Adelaide Review is an example of the tensions formative to planning approaches in Australian cities in the neoliberal climate of the 1980s.

⁴⁰⁶ Robert Freestone, "An Historical Perspective," in *Planning Australia : An Overview of Urban and Regional Planning*, ed. Susan Thompson and Paul J. Maginn (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 89.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 90.

4.3 Celebrating the Grid: Heritage against Modernism

The re-imagining of the city of Adelaide at a planning level emerged alongside economic downturn in the state, prompted by the Hawke-Keating government's free market deregulation.⁴⁰⁸ Compared to the rest of the nation, South Australia's manufacturing and agrarian industries suffered disproportionately in response to market and fiscal modifications, such as changes to Commonwealth Tariff policies.⁴⁰⁹ This resulted in higher rates of unemployment, lower business development, and a relatively small growth in population when compared to the national average.⁴¹⁰

In terms of policy, the 1986-1991 City of Adelaide Plan Review was a significant departure from previous schemes. It reflected a political shift in Adelaide, moving the city plan from the largely autonomous control of local government, to a collaborative governance arrangement between local and state government.⁴¹¹ According to Llewellyn-Smith's account, contemporary political agendas for government linked tourism and economic success to the retention of the city's distinctive urban character through the promotion of heritage in urban design principles.⁴¹² As will be discussed further, this condition mirrors placemaking practice emerging at this time.

Given this situation, Adelaide City Council formally reviewed of the built form of the city. Consultants Kinhill Stearns found that while the Light plan was sophisticated in terms of urban design, the potential established by this heritage had not been realized due to inadequate development controls and an absence of finer-grain design.⁴¹³ The consultants concluded that the speculative market alone as the primary driver of development had produced buildings which were out of scale with the street, and detracted from the city's amenity.

⁴⁰⁸ Denoon, Mein Smith, and Wyndham, 414.

⁴⁰⁹ Clive Forster, "Economic Restructuring, Urban Policy and Patterns of Deprivation in Adelaide," *Australian Planner* 24, no. 1 (1986): 6.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Michael Llewellyn-Smith, *Behind the Scenes: The Politics of Planning Adelaide* (University of Adelaide Press, 2012), 270-72.

⁴¹² Ibid., 273.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 271-72.

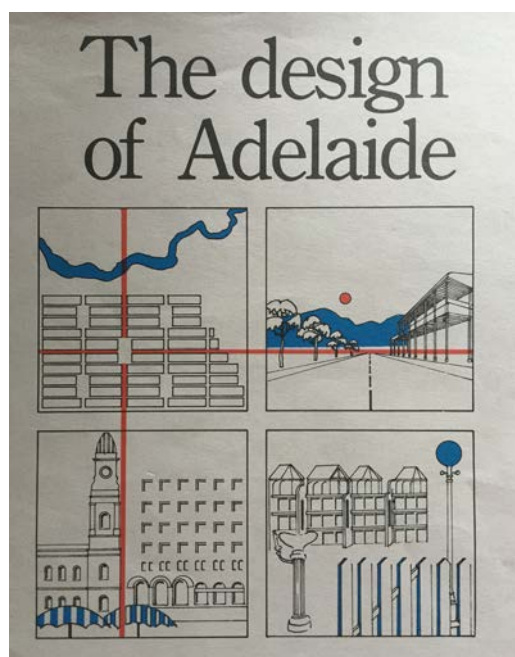


Figure 4.2. H. Bechervaise, G. Legoe and R. Olsson, *The Design of Adelaide*, 1986, The Department of Planning and Development. Adelaide, Centaur Press.

Notably, the 1986-91 Plan was the first to include a listed register of City of Adelaide Heritage Items, allowing council for the first time to legally prevent demolition of built heritage by developers.⁴¹⁴ The plan focused on the most novel aspects of the city fabric, the South Adelaide 'square mile' and the interface between urban form and parkland edge. In doing so, planners (Figure 4.2) diagrammatically aligned Light's plan to the approach advocated by council's traditionalist position, alluding to classical notions of the European city and Vitruvian proportion, as further illustrated in Figure 4.3. As a departure from modernism, the 1986 review celebrated a particular interpretation of the Light 'tradition' by reinforcing the stark contrast between the rectilinear urban form of the city and the free flowing quality of the parklands, celebrating the terraced edges, streets and squares as the distinctive structural elements that define Light's design of Adelaide.⁴¹⁵ Aligned with the South Australian Jubilee celebrating foundation, the Light Plan reinforced a European notion of utopian civil society projected into Australia.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 264.

⁴¹⁵ Barrie Shelton, "The City of Adelaide Plan 1986–1991: Built (and Spatial) Form," *Australian Planner* 24, no. 4 (1986): 23.

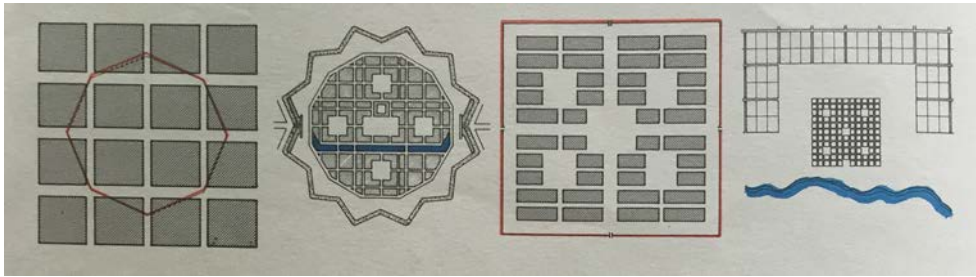


Figure 4.3. H. Bechervaise, G. Legoe and R. Olsson, *The Design of Adelaide*, 1986, The Department of Planning and Development. Adelaide, Centaur Press.

Positioning the Light plan in geometric planning narrative.

The launch of the plan strategically coincided with both the celebration of South Australia's sesquicentenary, and Adelaide's hosting of the World Planning and Housing Congress in September of 1986.⁴¹⁶ Adelaide experienced a revival of local place history produced to celebrate the city's 1986 Jubilee of foundation. This paralleled the Australian obsession with national identity more broadly at end of the twentieth century. A reflective period, a review of this literature reveals a fascination with Edwardian and Victorian Adelaide, with the publishing of Pitcher's 1977 *Victorian and Edwardian Adelaide from Old Photographs*, Dickey's account of local government history through *William Shakespeare's Adelaide, 1860-1930* (1992), and Whitelock's 1985 reprinting of Thistle Anderson's 1905 satirical commentary on the morally upright *Arcadian Adelaide*.⁴¹⁷ This obsession with foundational histories builds upon the seminal 1967 economic history of South Australia by Pike, *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829-1857*.⁴¹⁸

Unfortunately, with the exception of Whitelock's collection *Adelaide, from Colony to Jubilee: A Sense of Difference* (1985), the histories produced in this period demonstrate little acknowledgement or engagement with Indigenous Adelaide.⁴¹⁹ As Tom Gara highlights Indigenous absence from the Jubilee histories of Adelaide and South Australia, where "most studies would have us believe that the Kaurna were extinct by the middle of last century, and that Adelaide has no Aboriginal history."⁴²⁰ Given this pattern, the celebration of the colonial built fabric which typifies the policy approach to planning evident in the 1986 plan is problematic in the face of the parallel

⁴¹⁶ As part of the celebrations of Light's plan, the 1986-91 Plan review was exhibited to the public. Llewellyn-Smith, 270-72.

⁴¹⁷ Thistle Anderson, *Arcadian Adelaide*, ed. Derek Whitelock, Thistle Anderson in Edwardian Adelaide (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1985); Brian Dickey, ed. *William Shakespeare's Adelaide, 1860-1930* (Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians, 1992); William Bonython Pitcher, *Victorian and Edwardian Adelaide from Old Photographs* (St. Ives, NSW: John Ferguson, 1977).

⁴¹⁸ Pike.

⁴¹⁹ Whitelock.

⁴²⁰ Gara's essay tells the story of Indigenous marginalization within and without the city. However, this story is separated from Whitelock's overall chronology of the city, in which Kaurna stories remain absent. Whitelock and Baker.

elision of Indigenous urban histories.

However, the reframed 'Built Form Objective' of the plan focused on utilizing the Cartesian grid to determine the ensuing character of subsequent development and built form. The Objective states:

To create a built environment which realises the urban design potential of the Colonel Light Plan for the City of Adelaide while having regard to subsequent development and the need to reinforce exiting areas of character significance.⁴²¹

To maintain the street morphology of Light's grid, the plan designated urban design guidelines to:

- maintain a continuous built edge street interface;
- limit plaza forecourts which break the built edge of the block in the CBD;
- zone the institutional district north of North Terrace as a transition between core district and open space of the park lands;
- and lower plot ratios to reduce density and heights of development in city.

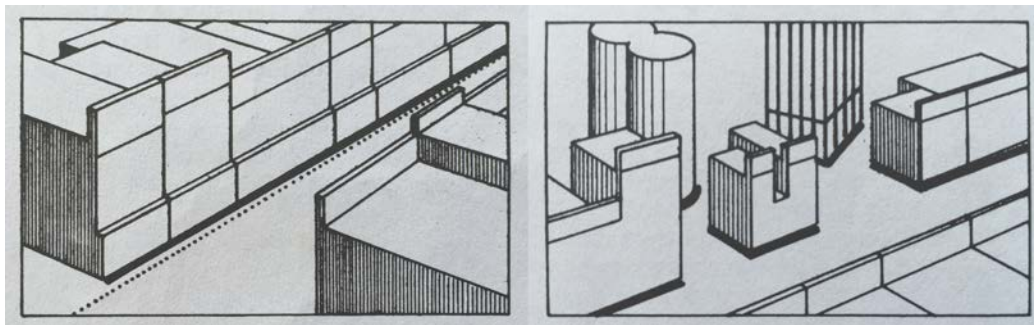


Figure 4.4. H. Bechervaise, G. Legoe and R. Olsson, *The Design of Adelaide*, 1986, The Department of Planning and Development. Adelaide, Centaur Press.

The plan argued for continuous street edge interfaces over open plazas.

⁴²¹ Harry Bechervaise et al., *Urban Design Guidelines: City of Adelaide 1986-91*. (Adelaide: Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1988), Non-fiction, 42.

Arguably during this period in Adelaide, we can observe the emergence of a distinct Australasian placemaking practice, mediating between the protection of European architectural heritage at the jubilee anniversary of the settlement of South Australia, alongside the emergence of new world Architectural styles influenced by Australia's growing relationship with North America. Council's consultant team positioned placemaking as a methodology to address the collision of planning agenda, framed as a choice to "Maintain the tradition" of urban design established by the Light plan or to dismissively "Let it go, follow Perth and Brisbane", by continuing model of International Style modernism driven by the developer, at the expense of heritage.⁴²² Council planners identified the Grenfell Centre, an International style curtain-wall tower illustrated in Figure 4.5 towering over the colonial architecture of the city, as an example of the incongruity of scale and form of the curtain wall edifice.



Figure 4.5. D. J. McKenzie, Grenfell Centre, Adelaide, 1978, 1978, National Library of Australia, <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-143403473>>

⁴²² Adelaide (S.A.). Corporation. Department of Planning and Development et al., *The Design of Adelaide* (Adelaide Adelaide City Council, 1987), 8.

4.3.1 Shifting Plans for Victoria Square

Planning policy of the 1960s and 70s framed the city holistically as a continuous, functional surface, fragmenting the formal qualities distinctive to the colonial architecture of Adelaide, such as the defined city block edge of the original town acres. The interface of these types of buildings tended to alienate at the pedestrian scale of the street and rapidly erased built environment heritage in service of rational development imperatives. Spatially this was keenly felt in Adelaide, where the defined city block edge of the original town acres produced a street morphology of extreme contrasts, characterised by the formality of built up street frontage defined against the picturesque relief of the parklands.

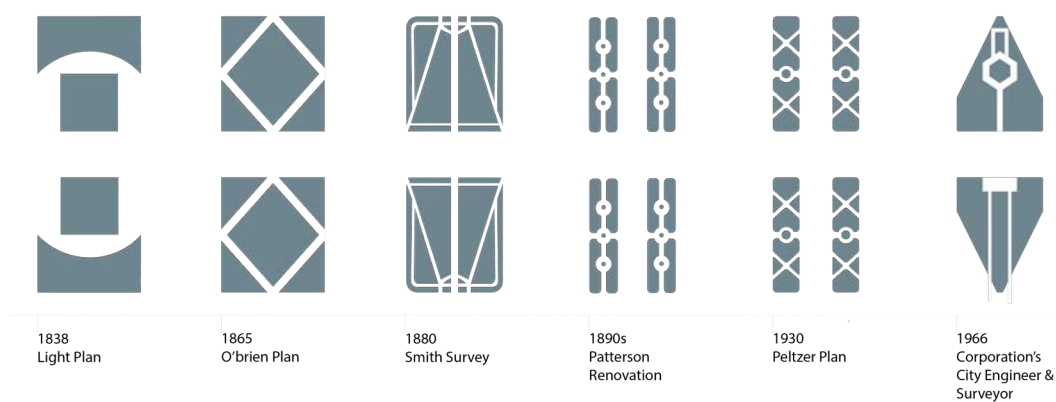


Figure 4.6. The masterplan of Victoria Square has been redesigned on average every 25 years in the 128 years from 1838 through to 1966. (Author's diagram)



Figure 4.7. Author Unknown, *Victoria Square Fountain Opened in 1968 by Hrh the Duke of Edinburgh, 1968*, Adelaide: Adelaide City Council Archives.

The dissolve of the Light grid is evident in the 1966 design produced for Victoria Square by the Corporations City Engineer and Surveyor, which reshaped the previously formal parterre square into a modernist plaza. In this scheme, the square was defined axially by wide pedestrian boulevards. Bold zig zag paving patterns indicated a departure from more baroque and gardenesque treatments of previous iterations of the square (Figure 4.6). The new shape serving the efficiency of car circulation patterns around the perimeter through inset diamond street pattern which broke rectilinear pattern of the Light grid. This centralised the open space, but in doing so further isolated the square from the active street edge in service of the functionality of traffic engineering. However, as illustrated in the 1966 city engineer's plan for redevelopment (Figure 4.8), this removed the north-south vehicular circulation from the square, bringing the overall formal layout back to the organisation of the 1838 Light plan.

The openness of the plaza design was reflected in other aspects of inclusion reflective of modernism's utopian design concerns. Notably the scheme included the installation of the first prominent civic art work to represent Aboriginal people in the City of Adelaide, the 1968 Victoria Square Fountain, or 'The Three Rivers', by sculptor John Dowie. Commemorating the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Adelaide in 1963, the fountain incorporates three figures, including an Aboriginal man, representative of the three main rivers that supply water to Adelaide, the Murray, the Onkaparinga and the Torrens. Dowie used the commemoration of a Royal visit to reflect on the respectful recognition of Aboriginal people and culture, and their inclusion in the broader citizenship of the nation.

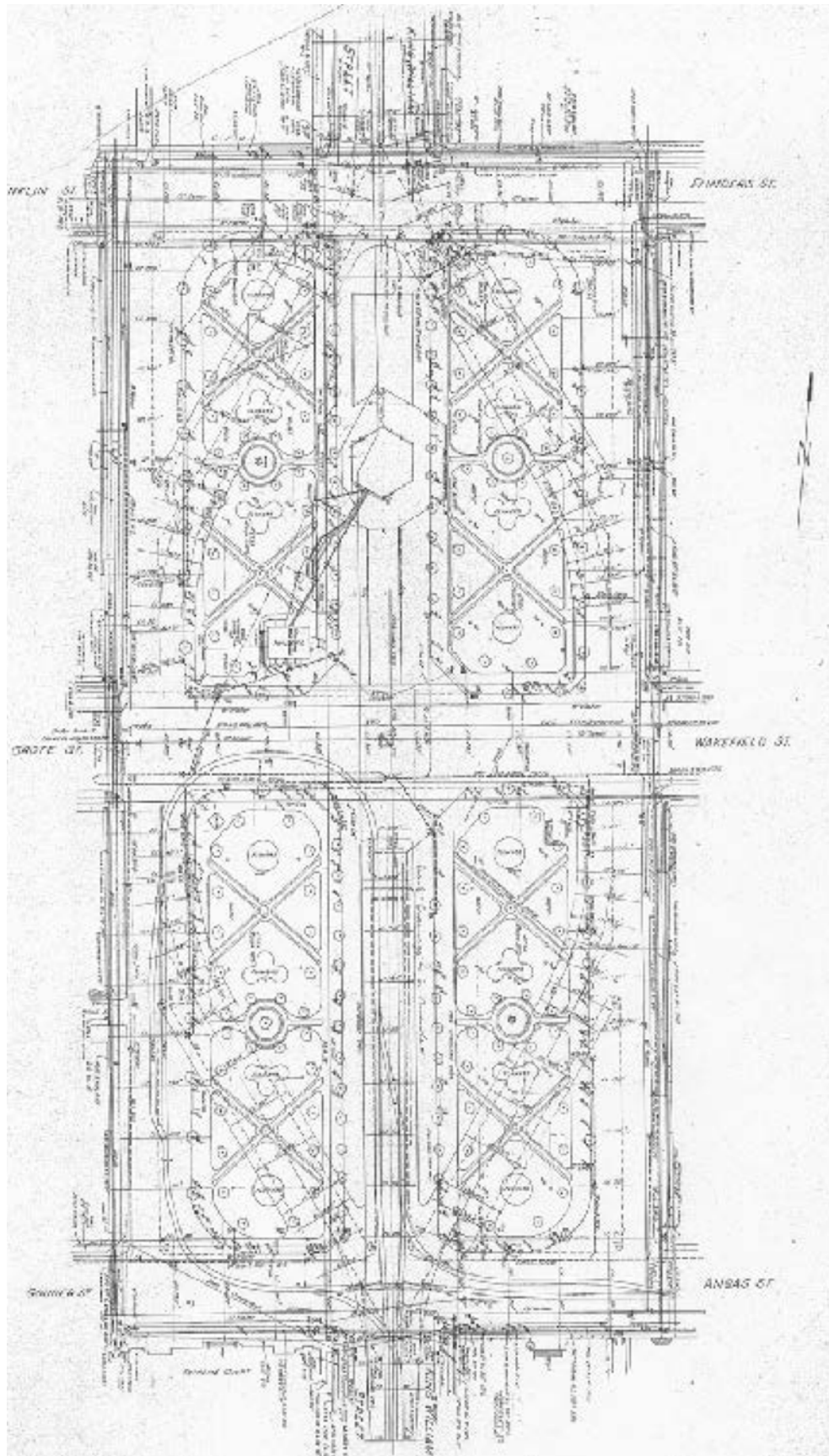


Figure 4.8. The 1966 design for Victoria Square overlaid with 1930 Pelzer Plan; in "Remodelling of Victoria Square as Prepared by the City Engineer & Surveyor ", 1966, Adelaide: Adelaide City Council Archives.

However, twenty years on the 1986 plan stipulated far stronger controls to open space to prevent the dissolution of the urban design principles set up by settlement. Critically, this move towards stronger heritage control saw the first agreement to adopt a joint approach to the management of the Park Lands, inclusive of Victoria Square as a critical spatial element of the heritage of Light's plan. The plan clearly stipulated the protection and enhancement of the civic nature of the parklands as indicated by the new Park Lands Environment Objective:

To conserve and enhance the Park Lands as a publicly accessible landscaped space with generally open character available for a diversity of leisure and recreation activities to serve the City's residents, workers and visitors.⁴²³

In addition, the ACC introduced statutory controls to each of the parks, with each becoming a distinct 'precinct' within the overall parklands scheme. The aim of more precincts was to create a fine grain approach with detailed controls, an approach which offered discrete statutory zones.⁴²⁴ Rather than encouraging differentiating spatial characteristics, the distinctiveness of the squares as open space was flattened into a figure-ground binary. Instead, as the following quote demonstrates,

Squares are *special spaces* in a city grid. They provide a focal point at the "end" of streets. Being within walking distance of each other, they provide a pedestrian gathering place, a meeting place, a focus for the activities of the "quarters" of the City in which they occur. They relieve the grid; provide for gatherings, lunching and personal reflection, as well as helping visitors to the city orient themselves.⁴²⁵

As suggested above, this interpretation of the Light grid celebrates the square as constructed typologies of sociality in the city, as spatial punctuation and relief from the built edge. According to this heritage framing, Victoria Square has no special significance, positioned as one of many in the figure-ground analysis of the Cartesian street pattern (Figure 4.9). According to the architects of the plan, the success of any of the squares as open space is determined by their material relationship to the colonial architecture on the peripheral edge:

To succeed as squares, i.e. spatial enclosures, they ought to be reinforced with appropriate built form. A continuous edge of peripheral buildings encloses and define the squares.⁴²⁶

⁴²³ Bechervaise et al., 47.

⁴²⁴ Llewellyn-Smith, 274.

⁴²⁵ Development et al., 8.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

The square is special in its function as a void, in its ability to suggest protections for that which surrounds it – not what lies within.

This approach is indicative of the re-examination of city design in the Western world throughout the 1980s. Reacting to the Fordist paradigm of the development boom of the 1960s, urban design thinking shifted to designing around people, rather than prioritizing cars and consumption.⁴²⁷ This formalised 'people scale' urban design approach differs to the dominance of vehicular circulation and engineering which had determined the design of the squares to this point, as reflected in the 1966 design for Victoria Square, which rendered the squares as glorified roundabouts.

The reinforcement of the heritage square and surrounds in the city reflects the development of heritage protection as a methodology in Australia, through the drafting of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Burra Charter in South Australia in 1979.⁴²⁸ Significant as the first ICOMOS charter written outside of Europe, the Burra Charter adopted the broader frame of 'place' in its protection model, inclusive of broader notions of landscape, genius loci, the vernacular and in consideration of intangible values of the physical fabric.⁴²⁹ However, the Burra Charter as a guideline document maintained a Western focus on the maintenance of an 'authentic' built environment.

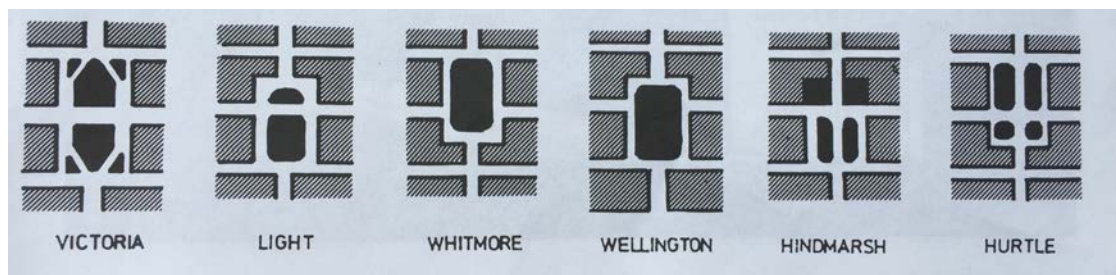


Figure 4.9. H. Bechervaise, G. Legoe and R. Olsson, *The Design of Adelaide*, 1986, The Department of Planning and Development. Adelaide

⁴²⁷ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York Random House, 1961); William H Whyte, *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* (Washington, DC: The Conservation Foundation, 1980).

⁴²⁸ Ken Taylor, "A Charter for All Seasons: The Burra Charter in an Asia-Pacific Context," *Historic Environment*, no. 1 (2004): 46.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

Heritage as an urban design tactic is highly problematic because of the inevitable privileging of certain narratives, and the silencing marginal interpretations of place. As Waitt posits:

A common criticism of such developments, however, is that what is marketed as "history" is just one version of the truth, often bearing only a faint and extremely partial resemblance to past events as documented in various alternative sources.⁴³⁰

As previously discussed, the notion of an original built fabric remains intrinsically problematic in a colonial context such as Australia where there is no treaty as the basis for land tenure, and sovereignty remains unresolved. According to the Burra Charter a largely Eurocentric, object driven approach to determining heritage value is presumptively maintained, as for example through the judgement criteria of aesthetic value - defined in Western terms of form, scale, colour, texture and material. These criteria, as Taylor argues, is difficult to separate from an "eighteenth century notion of aesthetic being equated with beauty and good taste thereby maintaining a high art/high aesthetic architectural imperative", shaped by Western notions of culture, society and typifying romantic landscape value.⁴³¹

The use of culture and heritage has been prolific in recovering Western cities from the Modernist project in the late twentieth century. The extensive urban renewal of the 1960s and 1970s had led to extensive demolition across the scale of the city. This strategy was successfully deployed in other Australian cities such as the heritage renewal of the Rocks district in Sydney.⁴³² However, Waitt argues that this tactic is typically selective, offering a limited interpretation of the heritage of place, where the "commodification of the past has provided a mechanism whereby city authorities can refashion sites and direct the tourist gaze towards a limited range of interpretations."⁴³³

⁴³⁰ Gordon Waitt, "Consuming Heritage: Perceived Historical Authenticity," *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 4 (2000): 836.

⁴³¹ Taylor, 47.

⁴³² Keating and De Frantz.; Waitt.

⁴³³ Waitt 836.

Brine echoes this reading of the 1986 review as a problematic return to an historical and largely European approach, privileging the colonial heritage architecture of the city through the application of traditional building materials and architectural elements.⁴³⁴ She argues that a heritage driven approach comes at the expense of social practice, fetishising the material and aesthetic qualities of architecture. Brine states that:

Much current fashionable architecture seems to be designed to engender visiting and for display in photographic form, rather than for the personal use of its owners. It would be a matter of regret if this aspect of architecture was transferred into the new plan for Adelaide.⁴³⁵

That said, the Plan does reflect a significant shift in the governance and legislation of the built environment of Adelaide, with federal and state involvement in local planning, as well as enshrining new planning protections for the parklands and formalising architectural heritage protections. However, this heritage approach, through the reification of the colonial plan of Adelaide, privileges settler built fabric, without recognition of Indigenous and other narratives and practices of place. In comparison to the New Zealand context, there is no accountability to decolonise the heritage and planning approaches to the city. This is not surprising given that this planning review is occurring parallel to the establishment of Aboriginal Native Title and Land Rights in Australia.

Moreover, formalised processes of decolonisation in Australia have stalled. The notion of a treaty has largely evaporated, although this was on the national agenda in the 1980s, following the presentation of the Barunga Statement in the bicentenary year of 1988.⁴³⁶ Then Prime Minister Bob Hawke promised to develop a treaty by 1990 but this never eventuated. Moreover, while New Zealand established the Waitangi Tribunal, thirty years passed before the Rudd Government enacts the 2008 Parliamentary Apology to the Stolen Generations. Constitutional recognition for Australia's first peoples remains unresolved, with a timeline for a national referendum or the shape of that referendum still undecided.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ Judith Brine, "City Planning in Adelaide and Brisbane the New Right Plan?," *Australian Planner* 24, no. 4 (1986): 20.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴³⁶ The Barunga Statement, comprising two bark paintings and text calling for Indigenous rights, was presented to the then Prime Minister Bob Hawke at the 1988 Barunga Festival in the Northern Territory. This statement of national Aboriginal political objectives, called for self-determination, a national system of land rights, compensation, respect for Aboriginal identity, the end to racial discrimination and the granting of full civil, economic, social and cultural rights. Galarrwuy Yunupingu, "Barunga Statement," *Barunga: Northern Land Council and Central Land Council* (1988).

⁴³⁷ "Constitutional Recognition Referendum Will Be an Uphill Battle, Says Warren Mundine," *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 27 2015. '

However, in the absence of a treaty, government has been intent on entering a process of reconciliation, through a private business mode - the Reconciliation Action Plan. In the wake of the Apology to the Stolen Generations, this imperative to decolonise has become more pressing. The following will discuss the implications this has for the urban design of parks, squares and plazas in Australian cities.

4.4 Making Plans: Reconciliation and Renewal

The emergent Australian model for reconciliation is particularly challenging for designers operating in the built environments due to the continued absence of clear policy obligations and settlement frameworks, particularly when read against the New Zealand model, through the efficacy of both the Waitangi Tribunal and the RMA. While fragmentary, Australia has three strands of reconciliation process – Native Title Legislation, Royal Commission and Reconciliation Action Plans. While there is no treaty structure, Native Title legislation addresses issues of sovereignty and land settlement, but as already discussed has limited application to urban contexts, being concerned with Crown land. The other two arms of this process, a Royal Commission and Reconciliation Action Plans are the most equivalent for comparison to the Waitangi Tribunal and the RMA, representing the current framework in place for urban renewal and development in Australian cities.

In terms of decolonising method, the Waitangi Tribunal most closely resembles the form of an Australian Royal Commission. The commission procedure is a public inquiry which investigates issues within a frame of reference, with broadly coercive powers, producing extensive reports through a quasi-judicial format, and generally hold great governmental influence. Nationally, Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC) (1987–1991) investigated the underlying social, cultural and legal issues behind the disproportionately high number of deaths of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in custody from 1980 to 1989. The outcomes of the Royal Commission provided the catalyst for reconciliation, and identified the need for a national inquiry into the Stolen Generations.⁴³⁸ This process has sparked further inquiries through the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, formalising the production and revision of state histories, particularly through the 1997 *Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*.⁴³⁹ The history of the state sanctioned removal of Aboriginal children and Indigenous marginalization has been further addressed through Hall's 2014 publication for the Department of Education and Child Development, *A Brief History of the Laws, Policies and Practices in South Australia That Led to the Removal of Many Aboriginal Children : We Took the Children : A Contribution to Reconciliation*.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ William Jonas, "Social Justice Report 2001: Chapter 1: Ten Years on from the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody," ed. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner (Canberra Australian Human Rights Commission, 2002), 7.

⁴³⁹ Wilkie. See also: Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (MUP, 2004).

⁴⁴⁰ Andrew Hall, *A Brief History of the Laws, Policies and Practices in South Australia That Led to the Removal of Many Aboriginal Children : We Took the Children : A Contribution to Reconciliation* / Andrew Hall, ed. Education South Australia. Department for and Development Child (Adelaide, SA: Department for Education and Child Development, 2014).

These histories, read through the lens of the implication of state policies towards Indigenous people in South Australia more, offer potential for future directions in historical writing, particularly for landscape and place. In particular, Foster and Sendziuk's *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History* (2012) revises the colonial narrative of foundation to engage Indigenous presence, marginalization and sovereignty throughout the extents of their narration of history.⁴⁴¹ This history sits in parallel to Foster's history of the Frontier wars in *South Australia, Out of the Silence: The History and Memory of South Australia's Frontier Wars*.⁴⁴² Similarly, Henry Reynold's recent offering, *Forgotten War*, also examines the colonial frontier wars in South Australia.⁴⁴³ The collection *Coming to Terms: Aboriginal Title in South Australia*, reclaims and critiques the legislative context for land rights in South Australia given the implication of the Letters Patent.⁴⁴⁴ In particular, Shaun Berg's chapter 'A Fractured Landscape' examines the failure of the Colonial office to honour the legal protections of the Letters Patent and its effect upon land grants on the ground.⁴⁴⁵

Significantly, these histories have emerged from a formal inquiry structure that most resembles the Waitangi Tribunal history writing process. In general, these revisionist histories demonstrate a level of depth and sophistication in argument that has yet to translate into more populist city histories. While new ecological and social histories of the city have also recently emerged, there is enormous opportunity within the historiography of landscape architecture as a discipline to synthesis the story of Adelaide through the legislative, cultural, social and ecological histories of the city.⁴⁴⁶

Despite questions remaining over the efficacy of reconciliation in Australia without legislative change, it has become an expectation for public institutions across Australia to develop a RAP. While the RAP presents the closest comparative policy to the RMA, it is a voluntary, private sector model put in place by the neo-liberal Howard government in 2000. It differs in structure the public accountability of the RMA and the environment court process.

⁴⁴¹ Robert Foster and Paul Sendziuk, *Turning Points : Chapters in South Australian History* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2012).

⁴⁴² Foster, *Out of the Silence : The History and Memory of South Australia's Frontier Wars*.

⁴⁴³ Henry Reynolds, *Forgotten War* (Dural Delivery Centre, AUS: NewSouth, 2013).

⁴⁴⁴ Shaun Berg, *Coming to Terms: Aboriginal Title in South Australia* (Wakefield Press, 2010).

⁴⁴⁵ "A Fractured Landscape: The Effect on Aboriginal Title to Land by the Establishment of the Province of South Australia."

⁴⁴⁶ Christopher B Daniels and John Hodgson, *Adelaide: Water of a City* (Wakefield Press, 2010).

Christopher Brian Daniels and Catherine Tait, "Adelaide Nature of a City: The Ecology of a Dynamic City 1836-2036," (2005). Sumerling.

According to Reconciliation Australia, the body that administers the policy development of RAPs, the motivations of reconciliation surround the creation of a dialogue of mutual benefit, between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians:

Reconciliation involves building mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous and other Australians that allow us to work together to solve problems and generate success that's in everyone's best interests.⁴⁴⁷

The RAP is framed as an action to address this definition– a measurable outcome-based strategy that emerges from critiques of reconciliation, based around the tensions between theory and practice, the past and the present, the symbolic and the pragmatic. Daly, Gebremedhin and Sayem suggest that a RAP is more closely aligned with a model of affirmative action typical of corporate structures to address economic and labour market disadvantage.⁴⁴⁸ The RAP provides an organisation has the structure to develop a series of discretionary actions which demonstrate a commitment to reconciliation, and against which the concern can self-review progress. However, unlike the RMA and the Waitangi Tribunal, there is no accountability in this process or legislative compensation.

The Adelaide City Council (ACC) was the first local council in Australia to adopt a Reconciliation Vision Statement, which included a commitment to recognise Kaurna heritage through the physical features of the city.⁴⁴⁹ The ACC also became one of the first councils to sign the National Sorry Day Acknowledgement in 1998, which formed the basis for the ACC Reconciliation Action Plan. This commitment to recognise Kaurna Heritage in the city has been expressed through civic placemaking in two ways – firstly through the installation and commission of public arts, and secondly through a widespread strategy of place naming.

Contemporary to the production of the first RAPs, Australia experienced an explosion of Indigenous arts and cultural production. Adelaide's rich Indigenous cultural and art presence emerged in the built fabric of the city close to Victoria Square. For example, it the home to the National Aboriginal Cultural Institute, Tandanya, established in 1989 as Australia's first Indigenous-owned and managed arts centre. Through a mix of creative arts, education, exhibitions, events and retail, Tandanya aims to promote an understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island cultures through reconciliatory

⁴⁴⁷ Reconciliation Australia, "About Us," Reconciliation Australia, <http://www.reconciliation.org.au/home/about-us>.

⁴⁴⁸ Anne Daly, Tesfaye Gebremedhin, and Muhammad Sayem, "A Case Study of Affirmative Action Australian-Style for Indigenous People," *Australian Journal of Labour Economics* 16, no. 2 (2013): 278.

⁴⁴⁹ "Reconciliation Vision Statement," ed. Adelaide City Council (Adelaide1997). See also the most recent RAP: "Adelaide City Council 2018-2021 Stretch Reconciliation Action Plan ", ed. Reconciliation Committee (Adelaide2018), 12.

participation and interaction.⁴⁵⁰ Similarly, reflecting the hopeful aspirations of reconciliation in Australia, the Adelaide Festival Centre Mural (1992), designed by Indigenous artist Trevor Nickolls, and completed in collaboration with six local artists, blends Indigenous and Western modes of visual representation through symbols of harmony and reconciliation.

Indigenous cultural expression found expression in Adelaide through the spatial typology of the forecourt – the space maligned by the 1986 Adelaide plan as so detrimental to the fidelity of the Light grid. For example, in the forecourt of Tandanya is the *Rainbow Serpent* (1989) mural, a large pavement work by Indigenous artist Bluey Roberts.⁴⁵¹ Prominent arts installations can be found elsewhere in the city, such as the Adelaide Festival Centre forecourt sculpture 'Kurna meyunna, Kurna yerta tampendi', a mixed media installation by artists Eileen Karpany, Darren Siwes and Tony Rosella. (2002). This work touches on the destruction inflicted on Kurna culture and land through the quarrying of sandstone from the Tarndanya rock dreaming site. Elsewhere, located at the Hyatt Regency Hotel on North Terrace, is *Yerrakartarta*, ('at random' or 'without design'), the forecourt design incorporates sculptural elements set within the pavement a large ceramic mural about the Tjilbruke Dreaming story.⁴⁵²

However, with a ten-year delay in process, a RAP was not instituted by the ACC until 2008, the year of Kevin Rudd's Apology to the Stolen Generations. In the meantime, Kurna initiated a Native Title claim in 2000 which included the city of Adelaide. Reflecting the slow process of settlement currently in place in Australia, this is still unresolved. Similarly, a review of the ACC's Reconciliation Action Plans from 2008 until the most recent long term plan for 2015-2018 reveals a story of the slow process of decolonisation in Australia. The ACC as the first Australian council to adopt a long term RAP, and based on the outcomes in the RAP progress reports, has developed a particularly strong relationship with Kurna organisations, notably the Kurna Nation Cultural Heritage Committee and the Kurna Yerta Aboriginal Corporation.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵⁰ For example, Tandanya hosted the very first exhibition of Aboriginal Women's Art in Australia, in 1992. Similarly, the Spirit Festival, South Australia's premier Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Arts and Cultural Festival, hosts performances in Palti Yerta (dance ground) at Tandanya. See: Tandanya National Aboriginal Cultural Institute Inc, 'About us', Accessed 23 July 2012 at: <http://www.tandanya.com.au/about-us.asp>; Anonymous, 'Tandanya Cultural Institute Presents Aboriginal Women's Art', Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal, Vol. 16, No. 4, July/Aug 1992, p. 5.; The Spirit Festival, 'The Spirit Festival', Tandanya National Aboriginal Cultural Institute Inc. Accessed 23 July 2012 at: <http://thespiritfestival.com/spirit/>

⁴⁵¹ Adelaide City Council, , 'Rainbow Serpent', *Adelaide Official City Guide*, Accessed 30 August 2012 at: <http://stage.coa-dev.net/sights/rainbow-serpent1/>

⁴⁵² Yerrakartarta was designed and directed by the Aboriginal artist Darryl Pfitzner Milika. See: City of Adelaide, 'Yerrakartarta', *Adelaide Official City Guide*, Accessed 8 August 2012 at: <http://www.cityofadelaide.com.au/sights/yerrakartarta1>, City of Adelaide, 2012, 'Yerrakartarta'.

⁴⁵³ City of Adelaide, "Adelaide City Council 2015- 2018 Stretch Reconciliation Action Plan," (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2015), 12.

However, this voluntary commitment differs to the relationship the Wellington City Council has to the Tenth Trust, to whom the council is mandated to be accountable to as key stakeholders, and as part of council's obligation to the Treaty of Waitangi.

However, the enduring commitments which have emerged from this process are to develop and implement an Indigenous Land Use Agreement (IULA) for the city; to develop a schedule of regular consultation with Kurna Peoples; and an ongoing engagement with the promotion of Reconciliation initiatives and significant dates across the Council to activate the community.⁴⁵⁴ It remains to be seen whether an IULA or a native title settlement will be reached in Adelaide, although the history of urban claims in other metropolitan cities such as Melbourne and Perth suggest this process will be protracted and limited.

In the absence of the return of land or financial reparations, placemaking responses remain largely modest and symbolic. The strongest response in the renewal of the city has been through a bicultural place naming strategy. The Kurna Naming Project for the Adelaide parklands and places emerged from the commitment to recognise Kurna heritage in the physical features of the city first articulated in the 1997 Reconciliation Vision Statement.⁴⁵⁵ This is a significant step towards reconciliation as the parklands of Adelaide are considered some of the first spaces through which Indigenous people were marginalised in the city, as discussed in chapter two.

Of particular note, Rob Amery's work with Georgina Yambo Williams (2002), 'Reclaiming through renaming: the reinstatement of Kurna toponyms in Adelaide and the Adelaide Plains', provides a rich discussion of the renaming of Adelaide's parklands as a political act of reclamation, paying particular heed to the need to situating naming in cultural knowledge, or else risk falling into the territory of lip-service.⁴⁵⁶ Reflecting the importance of the revision of history for processes of decolonisation contemporary to the adoption of the vision statement, Kurna Community Heritage Committee commissioned Hemming and Harris' 'Tarndanyunga Kurna Yerta, A Report on the Indigenous Cultural Significance of the Adelaide Park Lands, Adelaide Parklands Management Strategy'.⁴⁵⁷ Hemming and Harris provides a detailed examination of the Indigenous cultural significance of the park lands and public spaces of Adelaide, and this research heavily informs the Community Land Management Plans of 2007 and 2012. To date all 29 Adelaide City Park Lands have been renamed and signage installed, including the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri and the central space of Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga, with new signage is progressively being installed in the

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁵⁵ Adelaide City Council, "'Place Naming'," <http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/your-community/culture-history/place-naming/>.

⁴⁵⁶ Amery and Williams.

⁴⁵⁷ Hemming and Harris.

remaining squares.⁴⁵⁸

However, the re-naming of Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga as a political action pre-dates the 2008 RAP, prompted instead by Indigenous civic activism. During the 2002 Adelaide Festival, the Square was renamed Tandanyungga for the duration of the event. On the last night of the festival, a community collective formed by Elders, activists and artists, the Public Art Action Coalition (PAAC) installed signs as a form of protest, replacing 10 of the 20 signs surrounding Victorian Square.⁴⁵⁹ The 2002 Festival, while understood in hindsight as an organisational and economic fiasco under festival director Peter Sellers, significantly raised the profile of Indigenous artists, including through the widely celebrated opening ceremony, *Kurna Palti Meyunna*, which brought together indigenous peoples of the world through a procession from the four squares converging on Victoria Square / Tarndanyangga.⁴⁶⁰ While re-naming place names has power as a political and symbolic marker of ownership, it speaks to the limits of responding to reconciliation without legislation through the spaces of parks and squares when the most potent response in the palette of designers and planners is to change signage,

Broadly speaking in the context of Adelaide, civic participation in placemaking is in activist actions such as those described above, or through interest groups such as the Sensational Adelaide internet forums and the Adelaide Parklands Society. The forums provide a debate space in which the general public, Adelaide's design community and local councillors actively engage in a continuous dialogue over developments such as Victoria Square.⁴⁶¹ By contrast, the Adelaide Parklands Society is a critical and knowledgeable voice on developments impacting upon the parklands from a largely European heritage and horticulturally driven perspective, privileging the preservation of colonial layers of the city, alongside aspirations for the retention and expansion of vegetated open space in the city.⁴⁶² Rofo and Stein found in their discussion of the Rundle Lantern, that the views expressed on the Sensational Adelaide forums "emphasise the role of the flagship design projects to not only be symbols of urban change but to become urban change generators."⁴⁶³ While we find a similar kind of civic engagement to that found in Wellington, these Adelaide groups remain largely a-

⁴⁵⁸ Council, "'Place Naming'".

⁴⁵⁹ Amanda McDonald Crowley, "Tarndanyungga," <http://publicartaction.net/tarndanyungga/>.

⁴⁶⁰ Jo Caust, "A Festival in Disarray: The 2002 Adelaide Festival: A Debacle or Another Model of Arts Organization and Leadership?," *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 34, no. 2 (2004): 111-15.

⁴⁶¹ The earliest posts on this forum date back to July 2005. "#Official: Low to Mid Rise Stuff," <http://www.sensational-adelaide.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=7&t=82#p72>.

⁴⁶² "Our Archives," Adelaide Park Lands Preservation Association Inc (APPA), <http://www.adelaide-parklands.asn.au/archives/>.

⁴⁶³ Matthew W. Rofo and Luke Stein, "Shedding New Light on Adelaide? Intersections between Urban Design Projects and City Marketing," 16 (2011): 348.

political and tangential to the process. In the case of the Wellington Waterfront, the RMA mandates an extensive community consultation process as part of all major developments.

The question remains as to how the square is redefined as a designed civic space locally, given the urban renewal of the city is occurring parallel to national conversations around reconciliation. The re-imagining of the square emerges as the planning context for the city shifts away from the modernist imperatives of the 1960s and 70s. As the following will consider the square is directly repositioned through three frameworks of place - postmodern urban renewal; heritage and placemaking.

4.5 A New Civic Square as Imagined Place

The need to address reconciliation in the planning and design of the city of Adelaide emerged alongside a need for urban renewal in the city. For example, a bold postmodern scheme for Victoria Square was floated on at least four occasions to local council from 1992.⁴⁶⁴ This proposal was contrary to the swing towards a traditionalist, heritage driven approach to planning and urban design policy in the city represented by the 1986 City Plan. Differing from the heritage approach advocated by the city's placemakers, this intensive design scheme held aspirations towards a very different engagement with Indigenous economic self-determination. Designed by North Adelaide architect Michael Thiele and community development consultancy Encompass Technology, the plan featured a ninety-seven-meter tower, and a two thousand space underground carpark, the revenue from which was to partially self-fund the construction of the five-hundred-million-dollar development.

As illustrated in Figure 4.10, the plan featured a Parc de la Villette-inspired park and plaza, complete with the procedural layering of grids and lines reminiscent of Bernard Tschumi's scheme, a large central viewing spire, an underpass at Grote-Wakefield Streets, and a series of small garden rooms. This proposal, in sinking the roadway, brazenly addressed the traffic engineering issues which have carved up the square throughout history, and which continue to plague new proposals for the square as political trigger points. This proposal garnered support from the Ramindjeri, a traditional owner group with a Native Title claim over the Adelaide area in conflict with the Kaurna claim.⁴⁶⁵ It was proposed that the surplus profit from the car park be utilised to set up a Ramindjeri investment fund. There is a clear logic of self-determination behind the support of such a proposal by a minority such as the Ramindjeri within the marginalised spectrum of traditional owner groups in South Australia. While the Encompass-Thiele plan highlights the territorial conflicts at play within VS/T, it also raises questions of ownership, governance and economics which similarly plagued the redevelopment of the waterfront in Wellington. Moreover, in this suggestion of economic acknowledgement the scheme foregrounds the process begun by council in 1997 with the adoption of Adelaide City Council's Vision for Reconciliation.

⁴⁶⁴ The plan has been presented to council four times, in 1992, 1996, 2003, and 2010. See: Iannella Antimo, "Push for Re-Think on Square Proposal," *Advertiser, The (Adelaide, Australia)* (2007).

⁴⁶⁵ See: Emily Charrison, "Ramindjeri; V Kaurna; on Vic Sq," *Messenger - The City (Adelaide, Australia)* (2010).

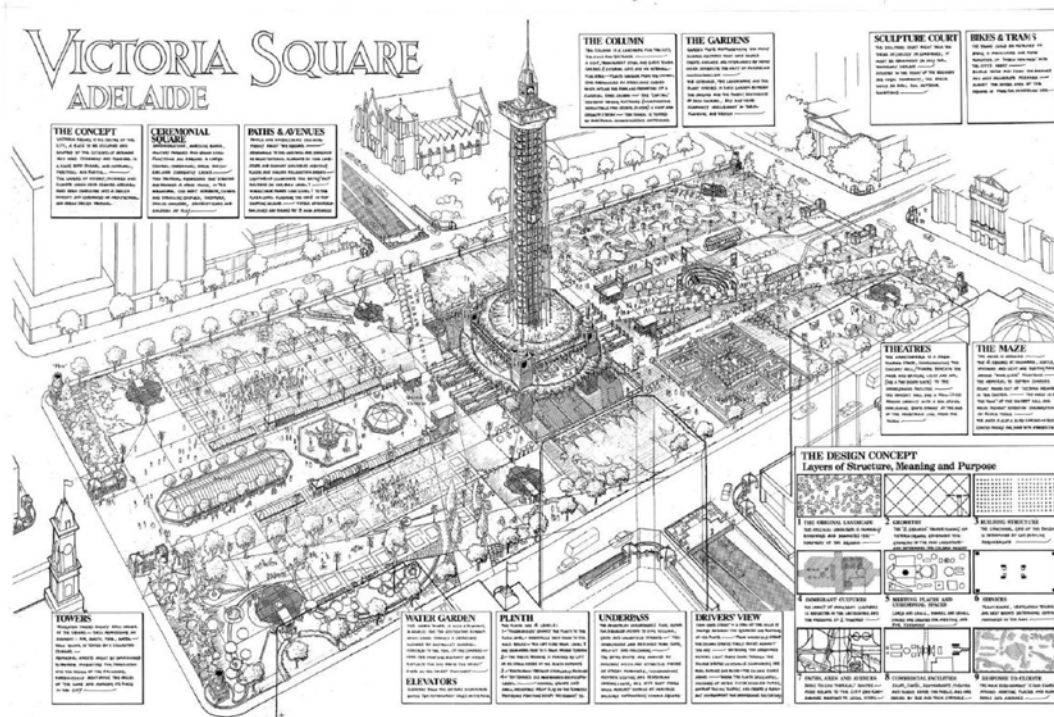


Figure 4.10. *The Victoria Square tower redevelopment proposal, 1992.* "Victoria Square Development- Associated Architects." Architecture Media, <http://www.archmedia.com.au/unbuilt/results/>.

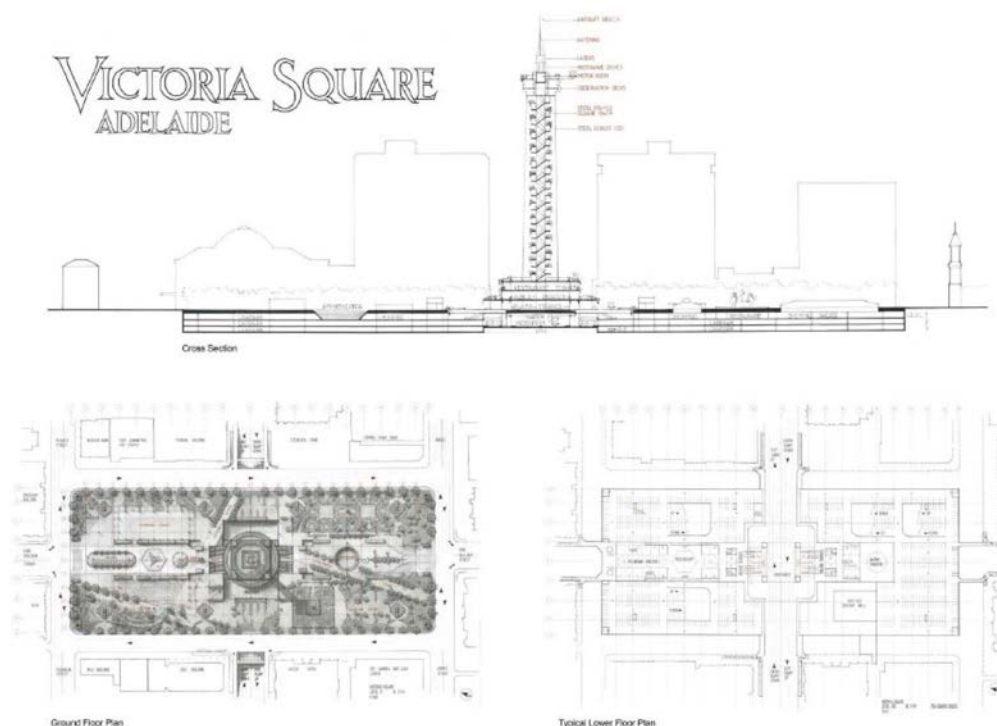


Figure 4.11. *Thiele Proposal Section and Plans, 1992.* "Victoria Square Development- Associated Architects." Architecture Media, <http://www.archmedia.com.au/unbuilt/results/>.

SUMMARY - RECOMMENDATIONS

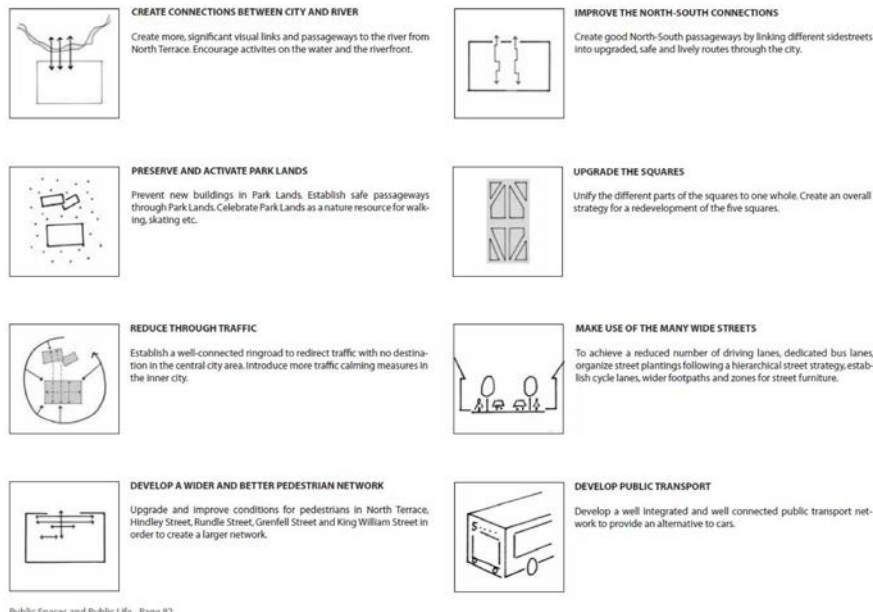


Figure 4.12. Jan Gehl and Helle S holt, SA Planning, South Australia, Capital City Committee, and Gehl Architects Aps. *Public Spaces and Public Life: City of Adelaide*, 2002. Planning SA, 2002: 82.

Contemporary to the development of council's first RAP was a broader move towards the regeneration of the central business districts of Adelaide. Architect Donald Bates suggested that Adelaide, like Perth, risked "falling behind in terms of civic profile if some thoughts aren't put into rejuvenating and revitalizing the [city]"⁴⁶⁶. Council's focus on the redevelopment of the city has seen the production of reports such as Jan Gehl's *Public Spaces and Public Life: City of Adelaide 2002* (updated in 2011) and the Adelaide City Council 2007 Community Land Management Plan (updated in 2012), both of which highlight the importance of Victoria Square within a wider move to reinvigorate the city.⁴⁶⁷ These aspirations are echoed through ACC's 2008-2012 'Creating Our Future' Strategic Plan to regenerate Victoria Square as "a space to celebrate culture and identity".⁴⁶⁸

Mirroring a swathe of other Australasian cities, the South Australia Government (Planning SA), the City of Adelaide and the Capital City Committee commissioned Gehl Architects to produce *The Public Spaces and Public Life City of Adelaide: 2002 report*. Jan Gehl's strategy addresses in general terms principles for improving the city's squares, as they relate to traffic engineering, pedestrian access, cues to care, multi-use programming, street edge activation, lighting and general amenity (Figure

⁴⁶⁶ "City Needs Federation Square", *Sunday Mail (SA)*, August 26, 2007. 2007

⁴⁶⁷ Jan Gehl et al., *Public Spaces and Public Life: City of Adelaide, 2002* (Planning SA, 2002). Adelaide City Council, "Community Land Management Plan," ed. Adelaide City Council (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2007).

⁴⁶⁸ "Creating Our Future 2008-2012 Strategic Plan," ed. Adelaide City Council (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2012).

4.12).⁴⁶⁹ Largely a replication of Gehl's principles of placemaking, derived from the long term study of Copenhagen into urban change over time, the comparisons of best practice made throughout the report are to other western cities (most commonly Copenhagen) and the other Australian cities that Gehl Architects have produced reports for, such as Melbourne and Perth.

The report acknowledges Adelaide as "a city of the new world with the qualities and problems that implies", which in language reinforces the binary of centre and periphery, and yet the report addresses very little of the regional specificity of the South Australian context.⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, Gehl's report makes no reference to the contested nature of the Australia, and Adelaide's colonial history, merely generally suggesting that "future planning proposals for the squares need to incorporate historic, urban and pre-urban conditions."⁴⁷¹ Arguably this type of report is an example of Danish urbanism as a continuation of colonialism through placemaking, applying European matrices to a new world city with little regard to local context. While the same model is applied in Wellington through a near identical Public Spaces and Public Life study, the recommendations of the report are moderated through the existing local obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi, RMA and Environment court process.

⁴⁶⁹ Gehl et al., 74.

⁴⁷⁰ For example, the quantitative analysis of users "spending time in the city" on a typical day possibly reflects a skewed experience of the city naïve to the cultural and pragmatic realities of the Australian summer. The chosen day of analysis given as an example, the 22nd of January 2002 appears to be a strange choice, given that this is a Wednesday prior to a long weekend in Australia, a school holiday period in the height of summer, the conditions of which hypothetically distort the average patterns of occupation within the city. Ibid., 7; 63.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 75.

4.5.1 The Heritage Square: Adelaide Park Lands & Squares Cultural Landscape Assessment Study

The wider movement for urban renewal in South Australia is linked the regulation of community land such as parklands and square revised through the introduction of the Local Government Act 1991 (LGA), the first such revision of legislation pertaining to local governance since 1932. The LGA gave council more autonomy to make changes without state and federal legislation, but in doing so enshrined community accountability. As part of the LGA, South Australian councils are required to keep a register of all community land, and to prepare and adopt a Community Land Management Plan (CLMP).⁴⁷² Furthermore, directions for the management of open space and land were further framed by the Adelaide Park Lands Act 2005. CMLPs must be consistent with the statutory principles of the Park Lands Act, which are largely in keeping with the heritage aspirations of the 1986 City Plan. For example, the first principle of the Park Lands Act is to ensure:

(a)The land comprising the Adelaide Park Lands should, as far as is reasonably appropriate, correspond to the general intentions of Colonel William Light in establishing the first Plan of Adelaide in 1837.⁴⁷³

The Adelaide CLMP stipulates directions for the management of the parklands generically, and includes specific guidelines for each of the parklands. In drafting the CLMP, Adelaide City Council commissioned the 'Adelaide Park Lands & Squares Cultural Landscape Assessment Study' (2006), produced by landscape architectural and planning historian David Jones. According to Jones, the ACC approached him in 2004 to address deficiencies in previous assessments of the parklands in terms of specific detail of physical attributes and of the intangible heritage of the parklands.⁴⁷⁴ The methodology utilised drew on approaches to intangible heritage established by ICOMOS and the Burra Charter, as well as American and Canadian landscape heritage practices.⁴⁷⁵ Jones has clear aspirations in this work to preserve cultural heritage, and acknowledges the well-trodden bug bear of landscape heritage in terms of the ephemerality of living systems and the intangibility of social attachments to place.

⁴⁷² "Community Land Register and Management Plans," Adelaide Plains Council, <http://apc.sa.gov.au/clrmp>.

⁴⁷³ Council, "Community Land Management Plan," 1.

⁴⁷⁴ David Jones, "Uncovering Heritage Merit and Significance: Assessing the Cultural Landscape of the Adelaide Parklands," in *The Adelaide Parklands Symposium , A Balancing Act: Past-Present-Future*, ed. Christine Garnaut and Kerrie Round (The University of South Australia, Adelaide: Centre for Settlement Studies and the Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre, University of South Australia, 2006), 131.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 132.

The individual reports for each park are extraordinarily detailed documents, reading as a catalogue of landscape elements. Jones' privileging of North American landscape planning methodologies is reflected in the assessment criteria utilised to address the cultural landscape of the parklands, which is suggestive of a top-down, GIS thinking approach. For example, the framework is structured as an inventory, according to the following categories: spatial patterns; land use; responsiveness to natural features; circulation; boundaries; vegetation; physical structures; small scale elements; historic views; and aesthetic qualities. Overall this inventory of sorts is an unwieldy read, lacking an overall synthesis of the descriptive information it catalogues. This exhaustive detail is listed and tabulated by heritage merit, but remarkably there is very little determined to be worthy of significance for heritage registration.

The report is a purely descriptive document narrating the history of the various designs and design interventions within the site, and reads like a history of local council. Arguably the report fails in intent as a cultural heritage account, as it omits ecological, social and political understandings of place. There is very little documentation of intangible or cultural heritage outside of encounters around the installation of statutory, except for the Indigenous significance of the square. Curiously, despite this exhaustive account, Jones suggests that the accumulation of design interventions in the square are of little merit and have successively diluted the original intent of the Light design – again reifying an original condition of the square, which presumes a moment in time in which the square was functionally successful as a space. This is reflected in the concluding statement of cultural significance included in the assessment:

Tarndanyangga/Victoria Square represents an integral segment of the overall Adelaide Park Lands and Squares, if not the central pivot point, illustrative of the Light plan for the 'City of Adelaide' that has been subject to successive major road construction and associated major landscape renovations that have in each instance resulted in marked changes to the physical and aesthetic character of the Square.... As a consequence, the Square has been severely compromised in its spatial form and layout...⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁶ *Adelaide Park Lands & Squares Cultural Heritage Landscape Assessment for the Corporation of the City of Adelaide Council* (Adelaide Research & Innovation Ltd., 2007), 1047.

The problematic review of history from the limited lens of the *design* of the site against seemingly quantifiable criteria, rather than with consideration to broader theoretical, ecological, political, social and cultural frames of site history limits the potential of a critical synthesis of this material. Despite attempts at objectivity, a return to an 'authentic' version of square reminiscent of Light clearly reveals an implicit bias towards the colonial moment. This preconception is clearly problematic, given the history of erasure and marginalization of Indigenous peoples within the Australian urban landscape to advocate a continuation of design strategies which replicate this process by erasing all traces of previous iterations. In doing so this method advocates a tabula rasa approach to design.

As a key framing document shaping subsequent plans, the report sets up an object driven approach which reifies the Light plan. In the absence of a thorough investigative process, such as that at work through the Waitangi Tribunal, reports such as this become pivotal to the way in which public squares and parks, such as Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga are designed. However, this landscape heritage document limits the frame of method through the apparatus of the existing land management legislation, and peripheral to a non-binding reconciliation action plan. Lastly, the report in outcome solidifies the material of heritage conservation and museology – objects – as the method of how cultural landscape is treated and produced through placemaking. The following will examine the role of the cultural placemaker in the framing of civic space at North Terrace in Adelaide.

4.5.2 Civic Placemaking at North Terrace

In Adelaide, even with the introduction of reconciliatory principles, through both the vision statement and the RAPs, designers remain situated in a limited position to respond to issues of sovereignty in urban renewal projects. A key example of this can be found within the redevelopment of North Terrace, arguably Adelaide's central civic boulevard. This major urban renewal project is precariously caught between old and new world politics, reflecting the problematics of conservative. planning agendas and reconciliation in a situation of poor legislative framework.

The redevelopment of the historic civic boulevard was led by landscape architects and urban designers Taylor Cullity Lethlean, with Peter Elliot Architecture + Urban Design in collaboration with historian and artist Paul Carter, for the Adelaide City Council. Carter's collaborations with TCL at the Golden Grove and North Terrace draw upon his work in 'spatialised history' in both *The Road to Botany Bay* (1987), and *The Lie of the Land* (1996), the latter of which is particularly concerned with the figure of Colonel William Light in the context of Adelaide.⁴⁷⁷



Figure 4.13. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, *North Terrace Redevelopment*, http://tcl.effront-flare.com.au/cms_images/275_13-09-2012_3953.jpg

⁴⁷⁷ Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: A Spatial History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987).; and *The Lie of the Land*.

Coming from a background in the new museum, and building upon his work at the Museum of Sydney, Carter's developed methodology and theory focuses on text based creative practice and research, situated in a spatial and museological context.⁴⁷⁸ This speculative methodology of historic poetics lends itself to art practice in the built environments. I argue that this has emerged as the dominant regional strategy in Australia for engaging with notions of sovereignty and indigeneity in landscape architecture and urban design through the deferral of cultural responses to the role of the placemaker, such as Carter.

The project masterplan commenced in 2000, with staged implementation completed in 2011 at a cost of thirty million dollars (AUD).⁴⁷⁹ The redevelopment precinct takes in a 2.5km stretch of the northern side of the asymmetrical boulevard, the terrace encompassing the forecourts of South Australia's state institutions such as the State Library of South Australia, the South Australian Museum, the Art Gallery of South Australia, alongside campus buildings of both the University of Adelaide and the University of South Australia, as well as Parliament House, Government House and the War Memorial. This area has clear historic links to Kauri experience in Adelaide, particularly through the site of Government House and the Kintore Avenue Native School, and its proximity to the Tandanya escarpment (the Festival Centre site). In more recent history, the area outside of Government House, 'Genocide Corner' was occupied by Indigenous activists protesting mining operations in Lake Eyre in 1999.⁴⁸⁰



Figure 4.14. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, *North Terrace Redevelopment*, http://tcl.effront-flare.com.au/cms_images/275_20-09-2012_8985.jpg

⁴⁷⁸ *Dark Writing: Geography, Performance, Design* (University of Hawaii Press, 2009). *Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research* (Melbourne University Press, 2004).

⁴⁷⁹ TaylorCullityLethlean, "North Terrace Redevelopment," <http://www.tcl.net.au/projects/masterplans/north-terrace-adelaide>.

⁴⁸⁰ Interview with Kevin Buzzacott in: Iain McIntyre, *How to Make Trouble and Influence People: Pranks, Protests, Graffiti & Political Mischief-Making from across Australia* (PM Press, 2013), 272.

The foundational principle, according to the designers TCL, was to establish a generous pedestrian zone along the north side of the street which would both read as a single space, yet responding to the finer grain variability along the terrace.⁴⁸¹ Inner and outer paths run parallel to the street, punctuated by a series of perpendicular linear gardens which emphasise the forecourt spaces of the colonial and contemporary architecture. According to Lee, the designers drew on Paul Carter's research into Colonel Light's vision of North Terrace which suggests Light's intent for North Terrace "as a mediation between the escarpment and the Torrens River below", the planting beds, water features and street furniture stepping down from the scarp towards the river.⁴⁸²

Overall, the design reinforces the language of Kingston/Light grid, although mediates this rigidity through plant selection and carefully applied water sensitive urban design elements. The project prompted a debate over plant selection, with then-South Australian Museum Director Dr Tim Flannery openly critiquing the proposed planting of European plane and elm trees in place of Australian Native Trees.⁴⁸³ Hay, Hughes and Tutton are critical of the redevelopment of North Terrace, arguing that it continues a history of the exclusion of symbols of Indigenous lives within the colonial boulevard, with particular reference to the Prince Henry Gardens.⁴⁸⁴ Within the scope of northern side of North Terrace, there are thirteen monuments to non-Indigenous Australians, two war memorials, and one hundred and fifty-six bronze plaques honouring South Australians.⁴⁸⁵ Of these, only four recognise Indigenous people, arguably a telling absence of acknowledgement in what is widely regarded as Adelaide's most significant symbolic and cultural landscape.

Some conceptual work was done as part of the Masterplan by Paul Carter and Peter Elliot, suggestive of "graphic inscription of a broader historical experience of the place's making" involving aspirations to elaborate this research into the ground pattern and artwork for the project, including a Kaurna language track, although these plans did not eventuate due to funding constraints.⁴⁸⁶ However, an examination of Carter's aspiration through his writing on this process reveals a textual obsession with uncovering the semantics of "Terrace" in the context of Colonel William Light's original resolve. Carter's interrogation of the terrace mediates on returning to an interpretation of intent – that the North Terrace act as a mediating point from which to traverse the city grid and enter the Torrens Gully. He argues that this is contrary to the

⁴⁸¹ TaylorCullityLethlean.

⁴⁸² Gini Lee, "North Terrace," *Architecture Australia* (2006).

⁴⁸³ Iain Hay, Andrew Hughes, and Mark Tutton, "Monuments, Memory and Marginalisation in Adelaide's Prince Henry Gardens," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 86, no. 3 (2004): 203.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 209.

morphology of the contemporary city which emphasises the east-west circulation, which flattens out topographical change.⁴⁸⁷

The original ground pattern was generated from the haphazard pattern of ashlar style rockworks which characterise the limestone colonial built environment of Adelaide. Carter positions this gesture as a means of producing new circulation opportunities derived from the irregular nature of rock and grout forms in this technique. It is argued that rather than a simply an extrapolation of this pattern into the ground plan, "the variable grid envisaged here did not so much deform the rectilinear pattern as interfere with it, acting as a shadow or counter grid, alive to different, more fluid, and locally responsive ways of arranging people and things."⁴⁸⁸ While the intent to dissolve or possibly decolonise the grid offers potential as a design idea, given the site and budgetary constraints, alongside the nature of the client and stakeholders, the fragmentation of circulation on a large scale is lost. Instead the applied pattern further abstracted and simplified in the design process serves to reinforce the geometric forms of the existing condition as determined by the Kingston/Light grid and the existing architecture and streetscape, ultimately tying the spaces together through a common formal language.

Carter and TCL's proposed collaborative installation work for the site, 'Tracks', was imagined as four LED arrayed displays on perforated steel panels, displaying a kind of *kunstkammer* of footprints and movement patterns as graphic devices, which Carter terms as 'iconographs'.⁴⁸⁹ Carter's tracks, according to his conceptual sketches, included 'movement forms' derived from illustrations of South Australian Aboriginal rock paintings and progressively abstracted.⁴⁹⁰ This strategy is problematic on a number of levels. Firstly, as an act of cultural appropriation of Aboriginal paintings by non-Indigenous agents, the abstractions of these forms are utterly decontextualised culturally and politically. Furthermore, the generation of this 'iconography' problematically reduces complex spatial processes of movement into a graphic pattern or typography. The semi-transparent perforated steel faces would duplicate the variable grid patterning proposed for the ground plane, and would be etched with words 'at the core of the poetic vision for the work'.⁴⁹¹ This strategy appears to duplicate the poetic text driven approach typified by the new museum, echoing Carter's work in 'the Calling to Come' at the Museum of Sydney.

⁴⁸⁷ Carter, *Dark Writing: Geography, Performance, Design*, 145.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 156-58.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 159.

4.6 Conclusion

As will be discussed further in following chapters, the dominance of placemaking strategies derived from the new museum continues to drive the approach of Australian landscape architects and urban designers in engaged in Indigenous placemaking projects.

In the absence of the legislative framework for the revision of histories of place provided by the Waitangi Tribunal, understandings of cultural heritage in Adelaide remain fragmented. As discovered through the methodology of this research, the mainstream history of Adelaide still lacks the depth of understanding of the impacts of colonialism that is apparent in narratives of Wellington produced through the Tribunal process. As discussed in this chapter, Indigenous histories of place in Adelaide are little acknowledged and remain contained largely in academic sources. It is given these national and localised place histories that this research asks:

How do designers of civic space position their work in relation to the sovereign politics of Australia and New Zealand?

For Australian designers, these issues remain unresolved. Legislative change through constitutional recognition remains uncertain, particularly given the recent political instability in Australian politics. For New Zealand, with larger questions of decolonization established through the framework of the Waitangi Tribunal, biculturalism and the RMA, designers can explore the finer grade design solutions. The following chapter shall more closely examine this position by looking closely at the design of civic open spaces – the square at Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga and the park at Waitangi Park – in comparison.

Chapter 5 Space Makers

Landscape

5.1 Introduction: Making Civic Space

The preceding discussion focused on how the differing reconciliatory policy contexts of late twentieth and early twenty-first New Zealand and Australia has shaped the ways in which we conceive of the regeneration of the city through urban planning. This chapter magnifies this analysis to the level of the urban park, to consider in comparison how policy addressing reconciliation manifests in a broad range of design outcomes.

Specifically, this discussion will focus on the design of two urban parks -- through a new space at Waitangi Park and a re-designed 'New Civic' space at Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga.⁴⁹² These two urban parks are recognized exemplars of design within their respective settler contexts, both receiving accolades from the broader civic community and celebrated through a plethora of professional awards. As each project was selected through an open process (competition or public submission), there is an extensive archive surrounding the design process in the public domain. Given this intersection of public and professional interest, this enquiry frames the design process of each project through the textual and visual analysis of the design documentation, in combination with discourse analysis and select focused interviews with designers and stakeholders.⁴⁹³

When viewed together these two spaces offer a revealing collision of design, policy and indigenous reconciliation. The ability of Australian designers to engage in a process of decolonisation through design remains challenging in the absence of legislative and policy frameworks for national reconciliation, let alone the built environments. Conversely, the constructs established by the Waitangi Tribunal, biculturalism and the RMA have provided designers with a stronger footing from which to explore finer grade design responses to the postcolonial context of New Zealand.

This discussion will first consider the Wellington Waterfront as a civic space in flux, examining the iterative production of Waitangi Park through policy and planning schemes; international design competition; and finally design development. The dialogue will then shift to a consideration of the contemporary design vision for Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga in Adelaide, similarly observing the policy scaffolds, speculative designs and refined design development forming the production of this

⁴⁹² A note on spelling: at the time of writing this was the spelling was commonly used and identified by Adelaide City Council as the correct spelling. It is also commonly spelt *Tarndanyangga*. Throughout this dissertation, the most recent spelling of the *Tarntanyangga* will continue to be used unless spelt otherwise in cited sources.

⁴⁹³ This includes documents relating to heritage assessment, community consultation, landscape assessment, competition and briefing documents, and design documentation. This information is accessible through web archives, through government archives, and sourced through the designers.

civic space in the heart of the city.

5.2 Making Chaffers Park on the Waterfront in Wellington

Wellington experienced an extraordinary period of change at the end of the twentieth century. Nationally, economic restructuring coincided with the cultural and political articulation of biculturalism. As discussed in chapter 3, local conditions continued to focus community and governance interest on the land use of the precious seaward edge of the central business district of the city, with changes to port infrastructure producing new development opportunities along the waterfront. Alongside land speculation there remained an urgent need for public open space in the heart of the city. This produced a unique set of conditions whereby the local opportunity to expand open space in the city coalesced with an unprecedented national political transformation and a local community charged with a heightened civic awareness.

In 1997 Wellington City Council re-framed Lambton Harbour with a new inclusive vision for the precinct:

Lambton Harbour is a special place that welcomes all people to walk our waterfront history through an exciting playground of beautiful and inspiring spaces that connect our city to the sea and protect our heritage for future generations.⁴⁹⁴

The focus of the design brief was on the production of the harbour as a public space, conceiving new architecture sensitive to civic impact as the physical interface to the public domain.⁴⁹⁵ This is a watershed difference to previous approaches to waterfront development in Wellington, described in Chapter Three, which had focused on the speculative economic value of the private architectural envelope, with little regard to the civic value of waterfront access to the wider community.

I contend that this notion of collective equity in terms of landscape accessibility reflects the significant shift in the policy landscape of New Zealand, as urban design was reframed by the obligations to the Waitangi Tribunal effected in the Resource Management Act. In response to the treaty conditions, a diverse, multi-disciplinary design team inclusive of Māori representation was appointed by Council to produce the new Concept Design Master Plan for the harbour. The design team included landscape architects Penny Allan (Oculus Sydney) and Megan Wraight (Boffa Miskell Christchurch); urban designers Stuart Niven (WCC), Graham McIndoe and Chris

⁴⁹⁴ Lambton Harbour Community Consultative Committee, "Ccc Report on Design Team Proposals for the Waterfront," (Wellington 1997), 31.

⁴⁹⁵ Brooks, 12.

McDonald (Victoria University); and renowned Wellington architect Ian Athfield (Athfield Architects), along with Richard Te One who acted as Tenth Trust Cultural Advisor on Tangata Whenua matters.⁴⁹⁶

Their design, the 1998 Wellington Waterfront Public Places Concept Plan, echoed previous schemes through the linear preoccupation with the sea-edge through a continuous waterside promenade, which acted as the organizing principle of the masterplan.⁴⁹⁷ Two thirds of the waterfront was proposed to be dedicated open space, through a sequence of smaller spaces to the north of Queens Wharf. Critically this plan also suggested a new large urban public space, Chaffers Park. This would formalise an existing ad hoc open space installed by council on a vacant post-industrial waterfront site, adjacent to the Herd Street Post and Telegraph Building at Chaffers Marina.

The design team took a site specific narrative approach, in contrast to the homogenous international waterfront style of previous schemes. The sea edge was defined by a broad promenade, split into two conceptual pathways - lines of Archaeology and Ecology - offering different sensory experiences of water at key moments along the waterfront. The Archaeology line revealed a hidden industrial history of the waterfront, exposing the graving dock site at Chaffers Park, and the excavated inland sea edge of the Taranaki Street wharf. The Ecology line would showcase Wellington's coastal plant communities through a series of the linear open spaces and water gardens running the length of the waterfront.⁴⁹⁸

The overarching concept was to reinforce physical and perceptual connections to water through increased physical access and viewshed manipulation. As illustrated in the masterplan (Figure 5.1), this was to be chiefly achieved through a series of aggressive declamations of the waterfront edge, a succession of steps, cuts and canals to allow water to permeate and fracture the constructed edge of the harbour. This strategy included:

- a series of pontoons, jetties and steps to the water along the rip rap edge of Frank Kitts Park promenade;
- water gardens north of Queens Wharf;
- a canal and a graving dock at Chaffers park;
- a new inlet canal and marina near Taranaki street;
- and an extension of the spine of Te Papa into the harbour with a waka landing ramp and waka house.

⁴⁹⁶ Committee, 31. *A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront*, (Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997).

⁴⁹⁷ The initial draft design released in 1997 was first published as the Lambton Harbour Public Spaces Concept Plan

⁴⁹⁸ *A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront*.



Figure 5.1. Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan Design Description, 1991, Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-21. Wellington, New Zealand, 1999: 4.



Figure 5.2. *Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan Design Description*, 1991, Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-21. Wellington, New Zealand, 1999: 15.

The visual and functional link between Civic Square and Te Papa.

As legible in the Master Plan (Figure 5.1), water is conceived as the framing device linking together the waterfront as a holistic precinct. One example of this is the proposed integration of the monumental Te Papa into context by the extending of the existing waka ramp into the sea, completing the connection from the harbour to Te Marae, the national marae (Figure 5.11).⁴⁹⁹ Linkages along the waterfront between Civic Square and Te Papa would be reinforced through the continuation of the City-to-Sea bridge, extending the urban surface through a broad stairway from the bridge and alterations to the lagoon (Figure 5.2).⁵⁰⁰

Despite the generous provision of public open space in the scheme, any new architectural footprints proposed for the waterfront continued to divide community and council opinion. Illustrative of this fraught situation, the design team produced four options for the Chaffers site:

- Option 1 -100% park (Figure 5.3);
- Option 2 - Park with buildings along the seaward side including the Herd Street Post Office Building (Figure 5.4);
- Option 3 - Park with buildings along the landward side (Cable Street) with the Post Office Building moved or demolished (Figure 5.5);
- Option 4 - a smaller park with buildings on the seaward and landward sides of the site (Figure 5.6).⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁹ The interface between the boat ramp and the sea was perplexingly unresolved, as there was nowhere to store the waka at Te Papa and no launch access to the sea.

⁵⁰⁰ The visual connection would be formalised axially, through the installation of an avenue of constructed nikau palms, continuing the sculptural language of Civic Square.

⁵⁰¹ Brooks; *ibid.*, 13.



Figure 5.3. Option 1: 100% park; *A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront*. Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997:4



Figure 5.4. Option 2: Buildings on the seaward side; *A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront*. Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997:4



Figure 5.5. Option 3: Buildings on the landward side; *A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront*. Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997:4



Figure 5.6. Option 4: Buildings on both sides; *A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront*. Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997:4

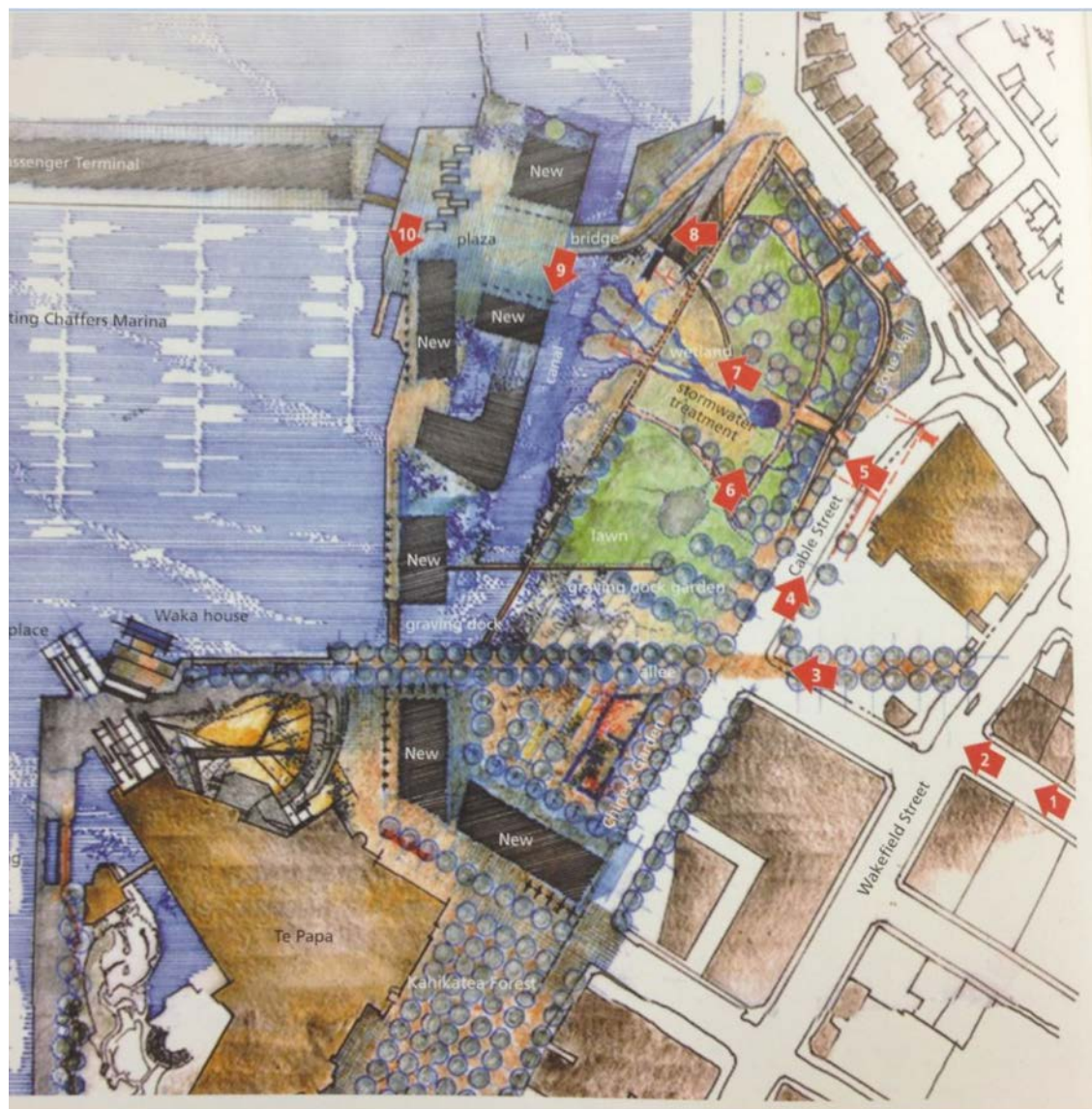


Figure 5.7. Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan Design Description, Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-21. Wellington, New Zealand, 1999: 18

The developed plan for Option 2, featuring storm water treatment throughout the site, and declaimed foreshore canal between the parklands and new buildings. Also note the waka house and extended ramp at Te Papa.

All options featured programmatic opportunities for a wide range of public and recreational uses. In each scheme, there were several common expressions of physical and narrative connection, such as:

- the historic graving dock echoed in a terraced wetland;
- an avenue of Chinese Elms extending to Courtney Place;
- the daylighting of the city's storm water to create a freshwater stream;
- the creation of an ecological link between the Town Belt, the city and the waterfront;
- and a new separation from the land through a canal and bridge to the Overseas Passenger Terminal.⁵⁰²

This array of formal gestures reflects the challenge at the macro scale of reconnecting the fabric of the city to the waterfront edge, without merely shifting the line of demarcation between city and sea further inland or seaward. For example, the two park options that declaimed the sea edge most aggressively on the landward side, daylighting the Waitangi stream and dissolving the edge of the city grid through a hydrological blurring of surfaces, also included new architectural footprints on the seaward edge (Options 2 & 4).

The economic reality of open space development for the park was that it needed commercial support from private development, in part through the provision of new architecture.⁵⁰³ Council chose and further developed the design of Option 2, as illustrated in Figure 5.7, however this scheme was widely unpopular.⁵⁰⁴ It was viewed as an annexation of open space and direct waterfront access for the exclusive use of private users. As Treadwell argues:

Physically (and phenomenologically), the buildings still stand between the public space and the harbour. And the creation of the island on which they stand could be interpreted as an act of segregation, with the subsequent elite occupation by a privileged few of a small, but significantly separate piece of land that has uninterrupted views of the city's harbour.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰² *A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront.*

⁵⁰³ Nicky Treadwell, "What Is Open Space?," *Landscape New Zealand*, no. May/Jun (1999): 19.

⁵⁰⁴ Brooks, 20.

⁵⁰⁵ Treadwell, 19.



Figure 5.8. Author Unknown, *Photograph of Variation 17 meeting, Wellington, 2000*; in *Dominion post* (Newspaper): Photographic negatives and prints of the *Evening Post* and *Dominion* newspapers. Ref: Dom/2000/0201/1/19-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22654952>

The response to Variation 17 provoked strong attendance to the community meeting on February 1, 2000.



Figure 5.9 – Photograph by Jonathan Hill, *Photo Essay - the Wellington Waterfront Plans, 1999*, 'Scoop Independent News', 22/12/1999.

Variation 17 included provision for 23 new building along the waterfront precinct, described by lobbyists as 'the wall'. This view illustrates the infill development proposed for the seaward side of Chaffers Park, which would have a significant impact on viewsheds.

Unsurprisingly, widespread support for an 100% open space option remained in the community and critically with the Māori iwi corporation, the Wellington Tenth Trust.⁵⁰⁶ Community concern remained with the spatial division produced by the edge condition, with building heights and the density of development the key points of anxiety. The tensions over the park produced an adversarial relationship between an engaged community inclusive of Māori stakeholders, and governance in the form of Wellington Waterfront Limited.

5.2.1 The Wellington Waterfront Framework

Viewed in retrospect, the Concept Design Plan is a critical catalyst for a new way of conceptualising the entire precinct. Debates over public and private ownership of waterfront land around the project were eerily similar to efforts at seeking colonial redress for land playing out in parallel through the Port Nicholson Block claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. While the waterfront masterplan aspired to be community driven, the economics of the project compromised the allocation of public space.

Despite community consultation, recommendations in terms of limiting building heights were disregarded in the statutory planning and design guideline 17th variation amending the Wellington District Plan for the project.⁵⁰⁷ While Variation 17 ratified the chain of public spaces proposed in the concept plan, including the restoration of several heritage structures, it instead increased building heights on the waterfront and proposed 23 new buildings along the harbour edge.⁵⁰⁸ Figure 5.9 illustrates the infill development proposed for the seaward side of Chaffers Park, referred to as 'the wall', which would have a significant impact on views to the sea edge. Unsurprisingly, Variation 17 was met with community resistance, with Waterfront Watch strongly opposing the loss of views to the harbour, and the loss of public space.⁵⁰⁹ Under immense political pressure, motivated by the sheer number of opposing submissions, Council withdrew Variation 17 in 2000. This was a watershed moment for planning on the waterfront.

⁵⁰⁶ For example, surveys conducted by the pro-open space lobby group Chaffers Park – Make it Happen! found that 95% of respondents preferred option 1. Chaffers Park - Make it Happen!, "Report to the Lambton Harbour Community Consultative Committee," in *CCC Report on the Design Team Proposals for the Waterfront* (Wellington: Lambton Harbour Community Consultative Committee, 1997), 3.;Committee.

⁵⁰⁷ This was in part due to the disbanding of the Lambton Harbour Community Consultative Committee in 1997, as well as a breakdown in the design management and communication process within the project. Council, "The Wellington Waterfront Framework," 8.

⁵⁰⁸ Thi Hong Hanh Nguyen, "The Wellington Waterfront and Tourism Development: Planning Process and Legislative Framework," (2010): 112-14.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 114.

In its place Council produced the Wellington Waterfront Framework (WWF), written by the Waterfront Leadership Group.⁵¹⁰ The framework was produced as a guide to future development on the waterfront, developing an overarching vision for the precinct, supported through a series of themed Values, Principles and Objectives based on performance criteria, as opposed to a more prescriptive planning standard.⁵¹¹ This vision states:

Wellington's Waterfront is a special place that welcomes all people to live, work and play in the beautiful and inspiring spaces and architecture that connect our city to the sea and protect our heritage for future generations."⁵¹²

It also makes provision for the implementation process on the waterfront, including finance, governance and planning.⁵¹³ While not prescriptive in a formal sense, the framework is similar conceptually to the previous Wellington Waterfront Public Places Concept Plan, denoting the same five development areas articulated in the previous scheme. Key inter-linking themes underpin the framework: historical and contemporary culture; city to water connections; promenade; open space; and diversity.⁵¹⁴ Another point of continuity to the previous plan is the Central vision of a large urban parkland in the reclaimed brownfield between Chaffers Marina and Cable Street - Chaffers Park. The performative criteria applied in the framework has stood the test of time, with the framework reviewed and endorsed as still relevant as an appropriate blueprint for waterfront development by Wellington City Council in 2011, and is still a frame of reference for the latest Wellington Waterfront Development Plan (2015-2018), and within the Wellington District Plan.⁵¹⁵

Most critically, the framework is the first waterfront scheme to be explicitly bicultural in how it positions culture, reflected through the values and principles of the waterfront development as an expression of heritage and history, linked through the shared value of the harbour to both tangata whenua and tangata tiriti. For example, the framework reflects that,

the waterfront is rich in both Māori and European history which are important parts of the identity of the waterfront. Both contribute to the spiritual, social, maritime, and economic evolution of Wellington.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁰ Council, "The Wellington Waterfront Framework."

⁵¹¹ Ibid., 5.

⁵¹² Ibid., 11.

⁵¹³ Ibid., 6.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 11.

⁵¹⁵ "Draft Wellington Waterfront Development Plan - 3 Years (2015/2016-2017-2018)," (Wellington: Wellington City Council, 2015).

⁵¹⁶ "The Wellington Waterfront Framework," 17.

Māori cultural presence was conceived as an active, living culture, achieved by multiple methods, including the provision of a proposed waka house and landing beach located at the Taranaki Street Wharf; wayfinding strategies and signage; and programmed and participatory spaces/events for the expression of contemporary material culture, such as weaving, decorative arts, waka construction, building construction, carving and performing arts.⁵¹⁷ The framework also supports the construction of the full waka ramp at the Te Papa marae edge (Te Marae) suggested within the Wellington Waterfront Public Places Concept Plan. In addition to Te Papa and the Taranaki Wharf area, the framework also identifies the significance of the Chaffers area as the location of the Waitangi lagoon, as an important heritage site as a Māori food gathering area.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 36.

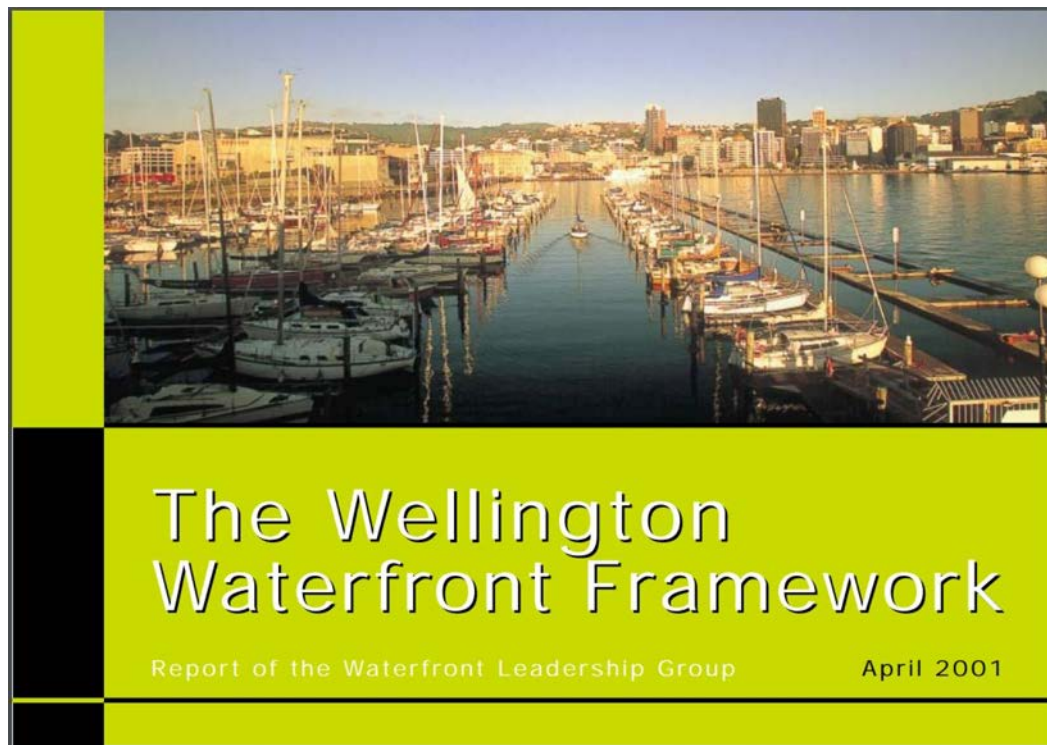


Figure 5.10. Wellington City Council, *The Wellington Waterfront Framework*, 2001, "Report of the Waterfront Leadership Group", Wellington: New Zealand.



Figure 5.11. Author's photograph, *The isolated waka landing ramps at Te Marae, Te Papa*, 2013.

The extension of the waka ramp was proposed to address the lack of porosity between the facade of Te Papa and the waterfront.

5.2.2 Chaffers Park in Competition

The Wellington Waterfront Framework provided guidelines for the redevelopment of the Chaffers area for parkland, as a cornerstone feature of the waterfront. While the aspirations for the site largely mirrored those made in earlier proposals, Wellington Waterfront Limited was now operating in a more consultative environment, affecting a significant cultural shift within the development company. As Wellington Waterfront Limited CEO Ian Pike reflects,

I think we've sold ourselves as a development company and that's our main objective, to deliver developments, that's why we are here, and we believed that for at least ten years. And it's actually not right. The reality is the building of buildings isn't the important thing – it's the spaces in between, and the programming, and the public space. So what we are about, as much as we are about development now, we are starting to adopt the term 'placemakers'.⁵¹⁸

This articulates a significant semantic shift away from private development towards a more collective placemaking approach through urban design and landscape architecture. As part of this, council and WWL were now looking for a more detailed design of a discrete park integrated within the overall framework, as opposed to the previous park design developed as part of an overall masterplan.

In 2002, Wellington Waterfront Limited and the Wellington City Council held an international open design competition for the area. The competition brief was to meet the aspirations of the Waterfront Framework, for both the Chaffers area and the broader context, "a high quality and imaginative design that is locally and internationally recognized."⁵¹⁹ Entrants were given an extensive history of the site beginning with Māori occupation and land use, through to its more contemporary urban history.⁵²⁰

The Chaffers Park competition area is a five-hectare site located at the corner of Cable Street and Oriental Parade. In the modern history of the city it hosted a flotsam of industrial uses, as the site of a morgue, a tram repair yard, a bus depot, the 'Wellington Destructor' incinerator, and the Te Aro graving dock.⁵²¹ As discussed in Chapter 1, the precolonial site was the location of the mouth of the Waitangi Stream and wetland, significant to tangata whenua Māori as cultural grounds for both food gathering and as

⁵¹⁸ CEO Wellington Waterfront Limited Ian Pike, interview by Fiona Johnson, 4/4/2013, 2013.

⁵¹⁹ "Chaffers Design Competition Assessment Criteria," ed. Wellington City Council (Wellington: Wellington City Council, 2002).

⁵²⁰ "Wellington's Waterfront: A History of Chaffers Park and Immediate Environs," ed. Wellington City Council (Wellington: Wellington City Council, 2002).

⁵²¹ A graving dock is a dry dock utilised for the maintenance and construction of vessels.

a waka landing beach. The lagoon largely disappeared as a result of the 1855 earthquake, and the stream was later piped during the construction of the city's earliest stormwater system in 1859.⁵²² This space is significant as a contact site, as the shared space of landfall for both Māori and European colonists.

The redevelopment of the Chaffers area was proposed in two stages, the first of which was addressed in the competition for a large green urban park, catering for range of users, active and passive recreation, as well as informal and formal events.⁵²³ The aspirations of the Wellington Waterfront framework were to be addressed in the design, such as the desire to retain and develop existing buildings, with an objective to develop a transition zone to Te Papa on the eastern edge side (stage two) either through buildings or landscape. Other elements proposed within the area included the provision for a Chinese Garden – a gift from the Wellington Chinese community - as well as the continuation of the overarching theme of the WWF to connect the city to the sea by improving connections to the water, through improved marina infrastructure and a specified water feature within the park.⁵²⁴ Further to this, the framework suggested the park offered an opportunity to acknowledge the Waitangi lagoon as an important food gathering area for Māori.⁵²⁵

The competition had 129 stage one concept design entrants, shortlisted to five finalists, including one international student team, engaged to develop their schemes further. While each of the four local schemes took novel interpretations of the brief, they shared some similarities typical to a New Zealand framing of urban open space, namely an emphasis on active and passive recreation. The winning scheme by Wraight+Athfield proposed a sophisticated hydrological and ecological performative stream system alongside programmed and passive recreational spaces. While demonstrating a more strictly Cartesian plan, Chris Yandle and Peter Rough's design shares a similar agenda to the Wraight+Athfield's scheme in terms of water cleansing infrastructure and a central open space complimented by a series of smaller active recreational spaces. The spatial strategy was framed as a series of interpretive reclamations, and involved terracing tidal platforms set at intervals representing each reclamation of the sea edge.⁵²⁶

The two remaining local entries took a more formal approach but largely emulated the spatial arrangement of recreation spaces. The Gray scheme (John Gray, Michael Sorkin, Tim Nees and Catherine Alington) utilized zoning, dividing the space in two along the

⁵²² Jo Campbell and Jan Heijs, "Urban Stream Restoration and Community Engagement: Examples from New Zealand" (paper presented at the Stormwater Conference), 16.

⁵²³ Council, "The Wellington Waterfront Framework," 26, 37.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 26.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., 38.

⁵²⁶ Suzanne Green, "Chaffers on Show," *Landscape New Zealand*, no. Nov/Dec 2002; p.46-49: 47.

line of stream mouth- a plaza gridded with plantings on one side and a gardenesque park on the other. The Hughes proposal is the most symbolic in terms of applying pattern to the plan, with Māori artist Robyn Kahukiwa introducing a graphic spiral (torino) as a formal device to drive spatial arrangement of the recreational spaces radiating from the centre of the park.⁵²⁷

A different approach was taken by the sole international entry, by French students Benoit Vignes and Ariane Smythe. Drawing on the traditions of the French parklands, Vignes and Smythe's scheme focussed on creating an experiential park for revelation and reflection, an urban forest featuring a series of themed garden clearings. The forest was framed as a metaphysical transition space from the city to nature.

However, as suggested by Walliss in her examination of the design competition, the French scheme didn't translate well with locals, who read the design as a replication of the town belt. The European designers expressed a baroque interpretation of nature, inserting of a dense urban woodland that offered an experience of transition and relief at the threshold of the city and the sea. The French designers applied an experiential approach of encounter designing a series of themed gardens of contemplation, resonant with the traditions of French park design, in order to bring the experience of vegetation and nature into the urban fabric. This culturally situated understanding of nature shaped differentiated the French entry starkly against the New Zealand responses. As Walliss argues:

Unlike the highly urban fabric of Paris, New Zealand's 'young' cities offer a closer temporal and geographic proximity to an 'authentic' nature presented by Wellington's harbour, the mountainous green belt and wilderness areas of the conservation estate. Experiences of individual encounter and contemplation are associated with these spaces and are not required to be 'designed' within the urban fabric where instead community driven recreational space is preferred.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 49.

⁵²⁸ Jillian Walliss, " 'Not What You Would Normally Expect of a New Zealand Park:' An Exploration of the Chaffers Park Design Competition, Wellington," in *Proceedings of the 10th Australasian Urban History, Planning History Conference*, ed. Nichols D, et al. (The University of Melbourne. 2010), 596.



Figure 5.12. Cartoon by Grant Buist, "I considered it my civic duty! No one wants another mess like Queens Wharf do they?" 27 November, 2002., [Jitterati digital cartoons published from 2001 in The Capital Times newspaper]. Ref: DCDL-0008055. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23019707>

The New Zealand designers instead privileged open recreational spaces of 'utility'.⁵²⁹ Most designs such as the winning Wraight + Athfield plan (Figure 5.13) included provision for additional buildings on both the seaward and Te Papa sides of the park boundary. The Hughes entry (Figure 5.14), touted by lobby groups to be the only 100% open space offering, won the popular 'people's choice' in public voting.⁵³⁰ As suggested in Grant's Jitterati cartoon (Figure 5.12), an already civically engaged public were inclined to vote for the design which appeared the most 'green'. In discussion of the competition, winning landscape architect Megan Wraight reflected that the lobbying by Waterfront Watch blurred the public's reading of the detail within the competing masterplan designs.

There was a people's choice design which was selected, which was an interesting process, particularly given that a lot of people who voted for that one actually didn't really understand what was going on in it. It was because [the Hughes design] was lobbied for by Waterfront Watch that they voted for it at all. We have sort of just discovered that as we talked to people, you'd say "oh but that that had car parking all around the outside" - "oh did it?" So they didn't actually read it.⁵³¹

Despite the claim the Hughes' proposal was 100% open space, the proposal was dense with ornamentation, a pastiche of 'kitsch' furniture and intricately programmed spaces. In fact, Council assessed that the engineered proposal was too resolved, in judging the competition.⁵³²

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ This scheme had been designed by engineer Rachel Hughes, who brought in a team of designers and artists to finish the design for the final refined concept design stage. Nina Price, "Waitangi Park: Public Land in Competition" (Victoria University of Wellington, 2009), 22.

⁵³¹ Interview

⁵³² Price, 39.

CEO of Wellington Waterfront Limited, Ian Pike, in discussion of the competition process, suggested the limits of populism in determining the winner:

What the public like and what the designers and the experts like don't necessarily overlap. So the winning design for Waitangi Park, as far as the public were concerned, included things like whales and dolphins. These [elements] are absolutely fine, and I wouldn't decry that but that style also has a significant potential to date. The experts can see beyond that, if they're any good. I think we've got something that'll be good for long term, rather than what might've been popular in that period. But it's very, very difficult because of course you should never ignore the public voice. However, in some matters the experts are there for a reason.⁵³³

Throughout this process, we can observe the continuation of an argument over land use and land ownership in this specific and historically contested parcel of land. Both Wraight and Pike's comments on the competition process are suggestive of the tensions inherent in weighing public consultation against expert opinion. Illustrative of this, there was criticism over the equity in allowing 'insiders' such as Wraight (who had previously been appointed by council for the 1997 masterplan) to submit a competition entry.⁵³⁴ However, arguably in doing so the final design has evolved out of a much deeper and considered process, drawing on the revised policy conditions of the waterfront, such as the Wellington Waterfront Framework. The following section will examine the developed design.

⁵³³ Ian Pike.

⁵³⁴ Price, 43.



Figure 5.13. Megan Wraight Landscape Architects (Wellington), Stantiall's Studio Athfield Architects, NSW Dept of Public Works & Services , and Landscape Environment & Urban Design Unit (Australia). "Entry 190." 2002.

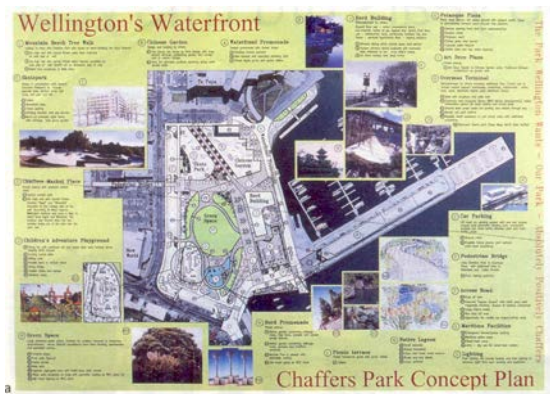


Figure 5.14. Rachel Hughes with Beca Carter Hollings & Ferner (Wellington), "Entry 148." 2002.



Figure 5.15. John Gray, Michael Sorkin, Tim Nees, Catherine Alington (Wellington). "Entry 201." 2002.

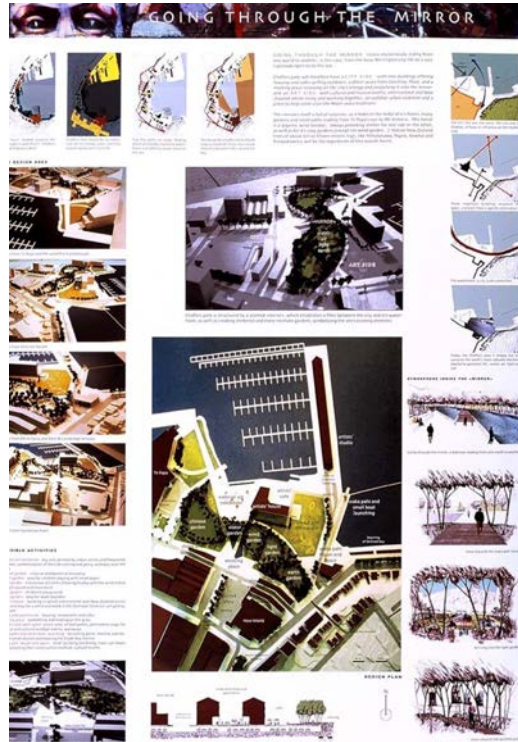


Figure 5.16. Vignes, Benoit, and Ariane Smythe. "Entry 142." Landscape Architecture Students (Versailles, France), 2002.



Figure 5.17. Chris Yandle and Peter Rough. "Entry 188." Peter Rough Landscape Architects (Christchurch), 2002.

5.2.3 The Design of Waitangi Park

In terms of national and local policy conditions, the new park at the Chaffers site reflects a process of design production enabled by the broader politics of decolonisation at play in New Zealand contemporary to its making. While previous schemes were scuttled by popular dissent, this scheme was successful in moving from concept design to design documentation and construction by gaining support with key stakeholders. Critically, the park design was supported in design consultation and through the resource consent process by Māori stakeholders, the Wellington Tenth Trust. This support was a pivotal to the designers realising their intent. Reflecting this political shift in power enabled through the Waitangi Tribunal Process, the RMA and the WWF, Chaffers Park was renamed Waitangi Park to reflect Māori landscape values, and the importance of the Waitangi lagoon as a shared space of cultural and landscape significance. This is substantial in scale and importance, as Waitangi Park is the largest urban park built in New Zealand in 100 years. Construction was completed in 2006, transforming the former Chaffers industrial area into a 6-hectare urban park at a cost of \$17 million (NZD).

Landscape Architects Wraight + Associates have a defined practice agenda for designing cultural landscapes which intermingle ecology with social practices – a decolonizing design approach reflective of the New Zealand experience. This design methodology, according to Wraight, is revelatory:

We are particularly interested in how that cultural landscape has evolved, and being able to reveal that story and it comes from also from having a belief in that idea engaging a wide population of people, a wider audience, that if you tap this idea of collective memory that different people will engage into different aspects of how that site has evolved over time.⁵³⁵

Wraight's language to describe design intent intertwines the romantic landscape with urbanist tactics of ecology and program which evoke the imaginary. This is evidence of the influence of European architectural post-structuralism on the designers, drawing on semiotic design methods applied in urban design projects such as the 1992 Barcelona Olympic waterfront renewal, where a design technique of editing produced the "juxtaposition of a very constructed landscape and the gardenesque landscape" to produce site responsive urban revitalization outcomes.⁵³⁶ Within the design we can observe this method applied to produce a bicultural urbanist parkland framed through formal and ecological poetics.

⁵³⁵ Megan Wraight, interview by Fiona Johnson, Monday April 16, 2013, 2013, Wellington.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.



Figure 5.18. Wraight+Athfields, *Waitangi Park Masterplan Level 0 A1-00 (Resource Consent Area 1)*, 2006, Wellington Waterfront Limited: Wellington, https://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.wellingtonwaterfront.co.nz/docs/A_100_masterplan.pdf



Figure 5.19. Neil Price, *Waitangi Park*, 2016, <http://www.landezine.com/index.php/2016/10/waitangi2/>



Figure 5.20. Neil Price, *Waitangi Park*, 2016, <http://www.landezine.com/index.php/2016/10/waitangi2/>

The shadows of waka trace a pathway through the gently sloping edge of the field.

A comparable approach of composition was applied to the generation of the park's masterplan, made through a methodology of mapping. This approach, emergent in the field of landscape architecture throughout the 1990s, reclaims composite map-making as a generative technique for design, the process of which according to James Corner results in "the productive reformulation of what is already given."⁵³⁷ The plan is speculatively produced through the layering of the various lines of reclamation along the seaward edge.⁵³⁸ As Wraight details:

This was designed primarily in plan, through mapping what was there previously. That's the original shoreline there, then it progressively moved out to here, and then it moved out to here [gestures to seaward edge on plan]. And these actually form some of the old sea walls that were there before, that former graving dock set up this structure. Those really drove those big major spatial structuring devices.⁵³⁹

Generated through this process the masterplan for Waitangi Park (Figure 5.18) comprises a large flat lawn, enclosed by constructed wetlands, and an active edge zone. The lawn space, 'the field', is flexibly utilized, for events such as music festivals, a weekly farmer's market and informal sports, as well general passive recreation. However, this prosaic space is interrupted by regular circulation paths which operate as punctuations in the gently sloping topography of the boundary zone. As the pathways slice through the mounded edge they generate a series of gently unfolding terraces, as reflected in Figure 5.19 and Figure 5.20. These circulation tracks offer threshold access perpendicular to the formal linear spine of the wetland promenade. These are symbolically identified in the design as the 'shadows of waka', operating as registers in the urban surface of the impression and movement of Māori boats being dragged through the lagoon and up the dunes, drawing on the cultural significance of the beach as a waka landing point and its proximity to Te Aro pā. Through this topographic gesture, the designers integrate cultural interpretation through patterns of spatial circulation and use – recovering pre-colonial spatial pathways in order "that they are then re-used as they were used" rather than superficially applying surface decoration to denote meaning.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁷ Corner, "Chapter 10: The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique, and Invention," 217.

⁵³⁸ Wraight.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

The designed outcome is reflective of Wright+Athfield's cultural practice agenda in two ways - through ecological performance and program. Both tactics were supported by and aligned with the agenda of the Tenth Trust, as the key Māori stakeholder group in Wellington. For the Tenth Trust, the political significance of renaming Chaffers Park to Waitangi Park was key, not only as a reclaimed toponym, but as a reflection of the lifting of the drained stream to the surface as a decolonizing act. Wright reflects on the power of the toponym:

It's important for the Tenth Trust that they have the original name for the stream, as the name of the park – it is about reclaiming the city. Naming is important, as these spaces have long term significance. The Waitangi lagoon was very significant site for providing food, (a kai area), as an important part of *that* history.⁵⁴¹

The declamation of the Waitangi stream is the largest political and spatial move within the design of the parkland. This notion of declamation as a postcolonial element first emerged as a strategy in the 1997 masterplan. Incorporating the pre-colonial and industrial elements of the site, the former graving dock operates as the performative and formal structure of the wetland. However, rather than being a dry space, the structure operates to recover the Waitangi Stream by retaining water on site.



Figure 5.21. Author's photograph, *Waitangi Park Graving Dock*, 2014.

The former graving dock reimaged as a constructed indigenous ecology.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

The designer reflects on the romanticism of this duality:

I particularly like the play of the graving dock – it was built to exclude water and demolish ships in, and to then build a water vessel within it, sheet metal referencing ship building, but instead it's holding water. I quite like that as a play, it seems perverse slightly. There is original wall at that end, that's what the water flows over, the original wall flows over that end, you can sort of see the segment we've uncovered. And it holds a different thing, it's the seedbank for the city, of the indigenous coastal plants.⁵⁴²

The recovery of the Waitangi Stream acts as a linkage throughout the site, with a third of the stream flow pumped and filtered through a gravel subsurface wetland before being day-lighted into the open wetland system.⁵⁴³ The system has been successful in improving overall water condition and reducing risk to public health from stormwater discharged into the harbour.⁵⁴⁴ This engineered response is aligned to Māori landscape values and management, to culturally value ecological and hydrological systems. As Gilmore and Mellish argue, the restoration of the Waitangi Stream system is intrinsically tied to Māori health, wellbeing and identity through practice:

Mauri in relation to water means life and the living. It has the capacity to generate and regenerate and uphold creation. Because of this, all living things in the water and its environs, which include people, are dependent on the mauri for their well-being and sustenance. Hence, often particular water bodies are seen as taonga (a highly prized possession) and are sacred due to the potential prosperity they can give to Māori associated with them.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴² Ibid.

⁵⁴³ Elsewhere bio-retention pits filter run off from adjacent Cable Street and Oriental Parade. A small portion of flows through to Clyde Quay, while most water flows westwards to the Graving Dock wetland where it is stored and used to irrigate the landscape. Campbell and Heijs.

⁵⁴⁴ There was a recorded build-up of heavy metals and hydrocarbons in the marine sediments in the general area of the Waitangi Park storm water outfall. An engineered stream restoration project, the treatment train uses pumps, screens, concrete and an expensive UV system, in addition to the natural filtration properties of the wetland and the vegetation. It treats approximately 10% of the base flows from the storm water pipe that runs beneath the park, according to Campbell. Remarkably, this system reduces the risk to public health by decreasing 90 to 99% of bacterial levels (fecal coliforms) of flows prior to entering the surface wetland, although this still relies on a small windmill and mains power. Ibid.; Wraight; Ralph Johns, nbsp, and Shelley Clement, "A Shore Thing; Wraight on Track," *Landscape New Zealand*, no. Aug 2006; p.6-8.

⁵⁴⁵ Gilmore, N. & Mellish, L. (2004). *Cultural Impact Report: Waitangi Park: 8*, as cited on Richard Francis Manning, "Place, Power and Pedagogy: A Critical Analysis of the Status of Te Atiawa Histories of Place in Port Nicholson Block Secondary Schools and the Possible Application of Place-Based Education Models" (Victoria University of Wellington, 2008), 22.

The graving dock is divided between a broad gravel flat on one side and a series of wetland terraces on the other, evoking the tidal contrast of a stream meeting the sea. This flat is composed of seven distinct plant communities from Wellington's wild coasts, carefully researched and collected by the design team.⁵⁴⁶ What could be viewed as a western approach to urban stream restoration is in this site a decolonising act. As Bryant reflects, "in Aotearoa New Zealand the constructed ecologies have the potential to reveal the hidden narratives of whakapapa because they recognise the cultural and spiritual importance of the stream and its ecology."⁵⁴⁷ As such, the curation of indigenous plant communities as functioning ecology is environmentally and culturally meaningful.

Māori landscape values are incorporated holistically into the park design to support contemporary cultural program and practice. Along the landward side of the park, an active edge zone is designed with several discrete and adaptable programmed spaces, such as a children's playground, a skate park, a street ball court, a climbing wall, a pétanque court and street art walls. However, each of these spaces is imagined by the designers effectively as plug-in stages which allow for 'reprogramming', adaptable to the future needs of the community. These spaces are divided by a series of parallel and linear promenades and boardwalks. The whole space is unsurprisingly a key event space within the events programming for Waitangi Day, as well as other festivals throughout the year.

The skate park was designed in close consultation with youth user groups, and is the most dynamic of the programmed spaces, with the graffiti surfaces bleeding across the three active youth spaces, blurring the boundaries and reflecting a dynamic and political urban street art culture. Notably, Māori elements within the site have remained largely untouched by the transgressing of these surfaces. When found, the presence of graffiti on these objects within the space has been generally accepted as part of the living landscape of the park.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁶ Geoff Park, "The Remnant Ecologies of Waitangi Park," *Forest and Bird*, no. Aug 2007; n.325:p.36-37: 37.

⁵⁴⁷ M Bryant, "Urban Ecology and Site Histories: Mutually Inclusive Themes of Urban Public Space Design in Aotearoa New Zealand" (paper presented at the WSUD 2012: Water sensitive urban design; Building the water sensitive community; 7th international conference on water sensitive urban design, 21-23 February 2012, Melbourne Cricket Ground, 2012), 964.

⁵⁴⁸ Wright.

Aside from the waka pathways, other spatial elements support Māori practices on site, such as a powhiri mound – a raised ceremonial area in the landform, which leads through a processional space. This area incorporates several large pieces of rock located between the skate park and the graving dock, selected from Taranaki, the maunga and home of Te Atiawa, axially aligned with places far and near, both the mountain in Taranaki and Te Aro pā. The Taranaki rocks and the powhiri mound are aligned to the position of the Waharoa (gate), which supports ceremonial (powhiri or welcoming) practices on site.

The spatial things that we worked through, like the powhiri mound and the orientation of a couple of other things [such as the Taranaki rocks] worked really well I think. The powhiri mound is great because it is a piece of ground that people gravitate to because it is ever so slightly raised.⁵⁴⁹

Elsewhere, interpretation through the installation of pou (waka landing poles, *Te Waka Pou*, by artist Ra Vincent) are suggestive of the original intent for the waka landing beach at Waitangi Park to support the marae at Te Papa, and reinforce the relationship to Te Aro pā and the Waitangi Stream. However, the contentious governance of the Marae, and the subsequent location of the new Wharewaka (boathouse) at the Taranaki Street Wharf have meant that the waka ramps have never been used.⁵⁵⁰ While this remains unresolved, the political significance of the incorporation of Māori practices as program within the park is significant, and reflects the guiding principles of the Wellington Waterfront Framework. For example, the Tenth Trust supported Wraight + Associates in the selection of specific flax species in the planting plan for their use in Māori textile practices. It is through lived experience and contemporary use that the park enacts decolonisation in the everyday, civic landscape. As Wraight reflects:

They are able to talk that history through, to their children, through the park, and feel a sense of belonging: through the naming; through the use of all the planting, and some of the references.... It is about reconciliation but it's also about occupation in a current and contemporary way. It's not all about writing the wrong, but it's about making those spaces usable and of significance to a cultural group and trying to make it useable and relevant to several cultural groups by referencing by what's in there.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. & Liz Melish, interview by Fiona Johnson, 6th February, 2014, Wellington.

⁵⁵¹ Wraight.

Given this complexity, the park is generally received as a success internationally and locally. It has received numerous professional accolades, including the 2006 Torsanlorenzo International Prize for Landscape Design and Protection; the 2007 NZIA Urban Design Gold Award and the Supreme Award for urban design; 2008 NZILA Gold Award for recreational park design and the Sustainability Award of Excellence; and the 2008 Wellington Civic Trust Awards for both Best Public Space and Supreme Winner.

However, while the park is celebrated for its rich decolonising response, broader questions of multicultural identity within a waterfront framework distinguished for its bicultural framing remain unanswered. For example, plans for a Chinese Garden situated adjacent to Waitangi Park have been abandoned, although this was planned as an interstitial walled space between the UN Studio Te Papa extension and Waitangi Park (Figure 5.22).⁵⁵² Historically speaking the Chinese community has been a presence within the urban fabric of Wellington dating back to the first European settlement.⁵⁵³ In fact, the first documented Chinese garden in the city dates back to 1869.⁵⁵⁴ Today there is widespread support from within the Chinese community of Wellington, alongside international encouragement from Wellington's sister cities of Xiamen and Beijing, friendly city Tianjin and partner province of Zhejiang, for such a built space.⁵⁵⁵

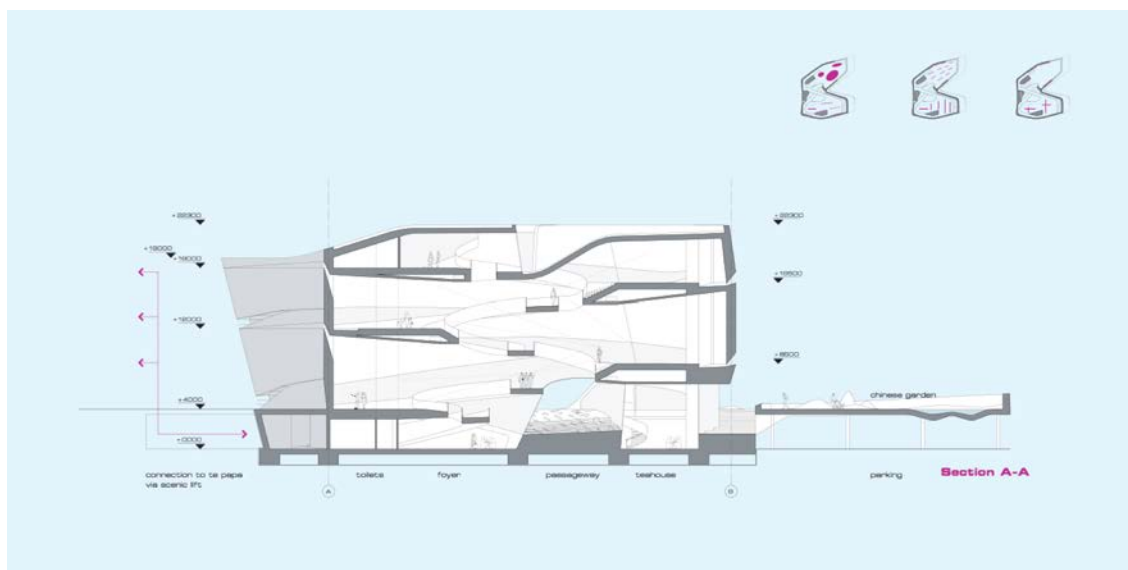


Figure 5.22. UN Studio /Arup/JASMAX, *Waitangi Precinct Design Competition. Area 2. Museum Extension:Harbour Edge Uplift*, 2006,

https://web.archive.org/web/20061004131618/http://www.wellingtonwaterfront.co.nz/docs/waitangipark/un_01-n.pdf

The Chinese Garden was imagined as a linkage between the proposed extension to Te Papa and Waitangi Park.

⁵⁵² UN Studio/Arup/JASMAX, *Waitangi Precinct Design Competition. Area 2. Museum Extension: Harbour Edge Uplift*, 2006.

⁵⁵³ Charles P Sedgwick, "The Politics of Survival: A Social History of the Chinese in New Zealand," (1982).

⁵⁵⁴ James Beattie, "Growing Chinese Influences in New Zealand: Chinese Gardens, Identity and Meaning," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2007): 39.

⁵⁵⁵ Wellington Chinese Garden Society Inc, "The Garden of Beneficence," Wellington Chinese Garden Society Inc, <http://www.wellingtonchinesegarden.org.nz/>.

A more recent proposal, which situates the garden in Frank Kitts Park, one of the few built elements of the 1980s Lambton Harbour Development Plan, has recently passed the Environment Courts process.⁵⁵⁶ The design for the park, also by Wraight+Associates, integrates the garden alongside a playground inclusive of skateable elements.⁵⁵⁷ However, the civic community organisation Waterfront Watch has opposed the project.⁵⁵⁸ Furthermore, critique in the local press seems preoccupied on the appropriateness of the siting of a Chinese cultural space along the waterfront, with suggestion that other more 'Chinese' architectural sites be more suitable.⁵⁵⁹ Claims to the limited flat civic space which has always plagued surveyors, placemakers and designers in Wellington appears to be even more problematic for those outside of the special ethno-political duality of *tangata whenua* and *tangata tiriti*.

For Australasian designers, Waitangi Park is an exemplary demonstration of design responding to a process of decolonization in New Zealand. Within the park design this plays out in two ways. Firstly, through the marriage of symbolic elements with cultural practices and spaces. Secondly, the shared ecological agenda of the designers and Māori stakeholders combine to produce a rich constructed ecology as outcome. The nuanced outcome here is produced by the policy framework established by the legislative redress of the Treaty of Waitangi. The approach differs to that typically found in Australia, which is moreover defined through an absence of decolonizing framework for designers to position themselves in. The following section will discuss the contrasting redesign of Victoria Square in Adelaide as an example of the type of urban regenerative park design that this state of legislative inertia produces.

⁵⁵⁶ "Court Closes Gate on Opposition to Chinese Garden Plans for Wellington's Waterfront," *Stuff*, 21/12/2018 2018. Collette Devlin and Damian George, "Wellington's Chinese Garden and Playground Given Green Light after Environment Court Throws out Appeals," *ibid.*, 09/04/2018.

⁵⁵⁷ Wraight+Associates, "Frank Kitts Park," <http://www.waal.co.nz/our-projects/urban/frank-kitts-park/>.

⁵⁵⁸ Damian George, "Waterfront Watch Says Environment Court Was Wrong to Approve Wellington's Chinese Garden," *The Dominion Post*, 03/09/2018 2018.

⁵⁵⁹ Helen Ritchie, "A Chinese Garden in a Chinese Place " *Wellington Scoop*, 04/02/2019 2019.



Figure 5.23. Aerial view of KBR Masterplan for Victoria Square showing central space; in Kellogg Brown & Root Pty Ltd, "Victoria Square– Tarntanyangga Urban Design Master Plan Technical Consultation and Design Revision Report." Adelaide: City of Adelaide, 2003: 28.

5.3 Reconciliation in the Creative City – regenerating Victoria Square

To consider the contemporary design vision for Victoria Square against Waitangi Park, we must first understand the urban policy framework that directly shaped it. In parallel to the regeneration of the waterfront at Wellington, urban planners and designers in the city of Adelaide were undertaking an urban renewal project. In the absence of the comprehensive placemaking agenda imparted by the Wellington Watrfront Framework and supported through the RMA, placemaking strategies in Adelaide were more fragmented. Two major policy ideas were influential in shaping the context for design at the level of Victoria Square in the early 2000s. The first was the notion of the creative city. The second was the continuation heritage management as an organizing principle for Adelaide.

The development of cultural quarters as a deliberate model for urban regeneration is a well understood strategy in urban design.⁵⁶⁰ More broadly speaking, the linkage between culture and capital had begun to be formally defined at a national level in the preceding decade. In fact, this relationship was articulated in the Keating Government's 1994 Creative Nation policy, the first Commonwealth policy to articulate a national agenda for culture, in the wake of the ending of the White Australia policy and the emergence of multiculturalism and Reconciliation as official policy positions which frame national identity.⁵⁶¹ The legislation explicitly positioned culture as an industry, and in doing so deliberately tied the economy of culture to this newly articulated definition of Australian identity which celebrated multiculturalism.⁵⁶²

At the level of the city, planners were continuing to question the role the city squares would play within the fabric of the city as place making devices, and contributors to the cultural strategy of the City of Adelaide. The City of Adelaide commissioned a Public Spaces and Public Life Study produced by Dutch urban designer Jan Gehl. Victoria Square was identified as a place of critical importance to the cultural programming of the city, one that should be "celebrated as the most important place in town for civic events."⁵⁶³

⁵⁶⁰ John Montgomery, "Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising Cultural Quarters," *Planning Practice & Research* 18, no. 4 (2003): 294.

⁵⁶¹ David Rowe et al., "Transforming Cultures? From Creative Nation to Creative Australia," *Media International Australia* (8/1/07-current) 158, no. 1 (2016): 8.

⁵⁶² Keating.

⁵⁶³ Gehl et al., 75.

5.3.1 2003-2007 City Arts and Living Culture Strategy

This position was reinforced by Council's 2003-2007 City Arts and Living Culture Strategy in terms of identifying street activation as a key element of the creative city, as "sites of human interaction".⁵⁶⁴ Gibson and Stevenson define these types of strategies as the nexus of urban planning and cultural programming.⁵⁶⁵ Drawing on both the Gehl report and the Keating Government's Creative Nation Policy, the strategy aspires to rebrand Adelaide as a creative city through support of knowledge based economies and innovative arts businesses.⁵⁶⁶ This report builds upon goals floated in the 1990s for the creative renewal of the West End (Hindley Street) and the Adelaide 21 Project (1996).⁵⁶⁷ Critically, the vision statement of this strategy links creativity to social justice and sustainability:

Adelaide is a creative city, a place of ideas and innovation. It is a city that is intellectually engaged and productive. It develops its vitality and viability by investing in its knowledge base - its people. It is socially just and environmentally, economically and culturally sustainable.⁵⁶⁸

Reflecting the approach of the Creative Nation Policy, living Kaurna cultures are acknowledged as the origin of Adelaide's arts culture, elaborated by "the cultural contributions of successive waves of people arriving from diverse places across the globe."⁵⁶⁹ The pluralist approach of the policy reconciles Indigenous and non-Indigenous urban heritage through programmed events aimed at promoting cultural interaction.⁵⁷⁰

As previously discussed, Adelaide City Council's Reconciliation Action Plan is a commitment to celebrate a discernible presence of traditional and contemporary Indigenous cultural expression in the city.⁵⁷¹ The City Arts and Living Culture Strategy is considered one of the first major policies designed in response the Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP) framework. The report takes pains to illustrate the importance of the

⁵⁶⁴ "City Arts & Living Culture Strategy 2003-2007," ed. City Strategies (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2003), 6.

⁵⁶⁵ Lianne Gibson and Deborah Stevenson, "Urban Space and the Uses of Culture," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 10, no. 1 (2004): 1.

⁵⁶⁶ "City Arts & Living Culture Strategy 2003-2007," 8.

⁵⁶⁷ For a detailed discussion of the creative cities strategy applied to Hindley Street see: John Montgomery, "Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 2: A Review of Four Cultural Quarters in the UK, Ireland and Australia," *Planning Practice & Research* 19, no. 1 (2004): 12-14.

⁵⁶⁸ "City Arts & Living Culture Strategy 2003-2007," 6.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 14.

creative city strategy as a social enterprise to support the active exchange of knowledge through living culture as an act of self-determination and cultural reclamation of practices and languages, with a privileging of symbolic and narrative practices through story-telling, dance and imagery.⁵⁷²

As a manifesto shaped around the core values of imagination, dynamism, liveability, connectedness and sustainability, the policy directs four strategic manifestations of the city as smart, innovative, vibrant and inclusive.⁵⁷³ The Smart City shapes the policy frameworks to support the entrepreneurship of knowledge economies within Adelaide.⁵⁷⁴ The Innovative City is a commitment to the inclusion of public artworks by Indigenous artists, as part of the intent to "add significant cultural depth and interest to the City environment and complement the existing expressions of cultural diversity in the public realm."⁵⁷⁵ Building on Gehl's report, the Vibrant City links together public open space strategies such as the Park Lands Management Strategy to provide participatory spaces for people to engage in the city's cultural life.⁵⁷⁶ In particular, the fourth goal of creating an Inclusive City is directly tied to Reconciliation as a "vehicle for community and personal development."⁵⁷⁷

However, there remains a tension between the encouragement of symbolic creative arts practices and practices of social inclusivity. According to research by Atkinson and Easthope, this schism is apparent more broadly with regards to the City Arts and Living Culture policy, whereby the arts are applied as objects of amelioration, rather than as linkage to the more strategic aspirations of innovation and community.⁵⁷⁸ More explicitly, they suggest that deliberate strategies for the creative city and an emergent creative class operationalizes an economy of dubious social equity:

Yet the fundamental question we turn to here is whether, in fact, the very pursuit of creativity either masks or sets in motion particular directions of development activity that may exclude or diminish the role or engagement of particular constituencies.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷² Ibid., 15.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 7.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 10-11.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁷⁸ Rowland Atkinson and Hazel Easthope, "The Consequences of the Creative Class: The Pursuit of Creativity Strategies in Australia's Cities," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33, no. 1 (2009): 69.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 70.

The nuances of this condition are reflected in the 2004 *Uniquely Adelaide: Social Issues and Trends Discussion Report*. Many of the aspirations of the 2003-2007 City Arts and Living Culture Strategy and Gehl's Public Space Public Life Report are mirrored in the *Uniquely Adelaide Report*, articulated in terms of social sustainability, social cohesion, liveability and amenity. The report highlights that while the Adelaide City Council has embraced Reconciliation through various programs, such as acknowledgment through *Welcome to Country* ceremonies at public events and the re-naming of the parklands, Aboriginal residents are disproportionately vulnerable, accounting for 9.1 % of the clientele accessing adult social services through the Inner City Administrator's Group, despite accounting for 1.3% of the city's population.⁵⁸⁰ The report also points to the complexity of the application of the dry zone policy at Victoria Square, and the need to balance increased support services for vulnerable adults in the Indigenous community against broader perceptions of public safety in open space.⁵⁸¹

The report highlights a number of issues for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people residing in the city, including the need for a central Meeting Place for Indigenous people, particularly due to the displacement outcomes of the dry zone, and the deployment of culturally sensitive mobile health services to places such as Victoria Square.⁵⁸² The notion of an alternative meeting place is also suggested within the 2003 Evaluation of the City of Adelaide's Dry Area Trial, which acknowledges the disproportionate impact the policy had on Aboriginal people, the complex and causal displacement of behavioural issues to both the parklands and the domestic family environment, away from the visible space of the squares and the support of central service providers.⁵⁸³

This report reflects the difficulty faced by designers to mediate these issues through largely symbolic approaches in urban design in the face of ongoing inequity and social welfare, heightened by the absence of constitutional recognition and reparatory legislation. In the case of Victoria Square this is politically complex, with the history of the dry zone legislation affecting the precinct. Atkinson and Easthope identify this type of policy practice as "revanchist strands to the control of public space", an ethno-political consequence of the emergence of the creative class and the creative city as placemaking methodology.⁵⁸⁴ The targeting of particular groups normally emerges as the result of two contributing factors: the creation of clean and safe spaces to encourage social and economic investment; and the emergence of a new urban

⁵⁸⁰ "Uniquely Adelaide: Social Issues and Trends Discussion Report," (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2004), 36.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 42.

⁵⁸² Ibid., 43.

⁵⁸³ Plexus Strategic Solutions, "Evaluation Report: City of Adelaide's Dry Area Trial," *Adelaide: Department of the Premier and Cabinet, Attorney General's Department, Adelaide City Council* (2003): 3.

⁵⁸⁴ Atkinson and Easthope, 73.

community less tolerant to social problems.⁵⁸⁵ Echoing the evaluation of the Dry Area Trial, the researchers found in stakeholder interviews that the dry zone bylaws deliberately displaced Aboriginal and homeless people from Victoria Square and concealed them within the less visible parklands without the provision of services, leaving a perception of a 'cleansed' engineered city.⁵⁸⁶

5.3.2 Cultural Heritage in the Parklands

Alongside local aspirations to revitalise the city through creative placemaking, there was the continuation of an impetus to preserve and document the built heritage of the city. Part of the movement to celebrate Adelaide's novel planning history was the aspiration to attain National Heritage recognition for the city's plan and parklands. National and World Heritage inscriptions are highly prestigious, linked to economic development alongside heritage conservation, attracting international aid and promoting tourism activity, and therefore are productive to private and public revenue for cities such as Adelaide.⁵⁸⁷ This aspirational undertaking is one of several nation-building spatial projects to be proposed and built in Australia around the celebrations of the 2001 centenary of the Federation of the Australian States as a nation.⁵⁸⁸ As in the previous chapter discussion, this marks a continuation of a heritage narrative amongst city planners and policy makers which dominated discussions of architecture and design in previous decades.

In response to the changes in land management in the 1999 Local Government Act, South Australian Local Councils were required to reassess the management of community lands, beginning a process of the production of Community Land Management Plans (CLMP). As part of this process, Adelaide City Council commissioned heritage consultant David Jones to conduct extensive heritage assessments on the park lands. A major objective was to supply quantifiable evidence to support the nomination of the City of Adelaide plan, inclusive of the parklands, to

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ In an interview with an NGO representative, there was the suggestion that the existing toilet blocks in Victoria Square were deliberately withheld from the heritage register, and subsequently demolished in order to displace the homeless people who slept in the structures. Ibid., 74.

⁵⁸⁷ Celmara Pocock and Ian Lilley, "Who Benefits? World Heritage and Indigenous People," *Heritage & Society* 10, no. 2 (2017): 172.

⁵⁸⁸ Other examples of projects which can be categorised as 'nation-building' include the design of National Museum of Australia, Commonwealth Place, Reconciliation Plaza and Federation Square. For further discussion see: SueAnne Ware, "Reconciliation Place [Canberra]," *Architecture Australia*, 2001 Sept 90, no. 5 (2001). Walliss, "'From Royal Pavilion to Reconciliation Place: Imaginings of Australian National Space'." "Exhibiting Environmental History: The Challenge of Representing Nation." Richard Weller, "The National Museum, Canberra, and Its Garden of Australian Dreams," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 21, no. 1 (2001). Charles Jencks, "The Undulating Federation Square, Designed by Lab Architecture, Mirrors the City and Country through Dissonance and Harmony," 2003.

the National Heritage register. The resultant Adelaide Park Lands & Squares Cultural Landscape Assessment Study (2006), assessing the landscape's intangible heritage at the scale of town park lots, using a conservation survey methodology that responded to National Heritage criteria.⁵⁸⁹ This assessed the following: overall patterns of landscape spatial organisation; land use; response to natural features; circulation networks; boundary demarcations; vegetation; structures; small-scale elements; small-scale elements; historical views and aesthetic qualities.

In 2008 Adelaide City Council was successful in their bid to have the Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout added to the national estate. This is significant as the first National Heritage listing of a representational plan of urban design merit.⁵⁹⁰ While the application was successfully satisfied six out of the nine criteria, the landscapes encompassed were not deemed of national significance in terms of cultural history, aesthetics and in terms of Indigenous importance.⁵⁹¹ The failure to satisfy the Indigenous importance criteria despite being the first site where the Aboriginal flag was flown in the history of the nation reflects issues found elsewhere in Australia terms of heritage recognition of contact and post-contact sites found in urban contexts.⁵⁹² This outcome is doubly disappointing given the efforts made by the consultant to specifically address Indigenous significance within the prescribed heritage methodology. According to Jones, while the consultancy was initially limited to post-contact assessment, this scope was broadened to include pre- and post-contact Indigenous associations alongside European landscape values.⁵⁹³ While Jones' Indigenous history research is comprehensive, drawing particularly on and acknowledging Hemming & Harris' outstanding research, there is little intermingling of Indigenous and colonial histories.⁵⁹⁴ This is unlike the entangled urban histories produced against the colonial redress framework for the Waitangi Tribunal. While the most extensive urban landscape history produced by the City of Adelaide, the Park Lands & Squares Cultural Landscape Assessment Study is unfortunately limited in scope by the threshold of significance determined by national heritage criteria.

⁵⁸⁹ Jones, "Uncovering Heritage Merit and Significance: Assessing the Cultural Landscape of the Adelaide Parklands," 132.

⁵⁹⁰ "Validating Planning Heritage: Evidence and Reasoning for National Heritage Recognition of the 'City of Adelaide Plan' and Park Lands," *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 134, no. 2 (2010): 187.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 186-87.

⁵⁹² For example, if we look to the Aboriginal Heritage Sites Register for Sydney only a few hundred of the 30,000 sites of public significance within the greater metropolitan area are dated from post-1788. This absence of recognition suggests, as argued by Hinkson, that the more recent urban record of the unresolved political conflicts between the nation-state and Indigenous people over civil and land rights is perceived to be far less attractive to the tourist market than the pre-colonial sites. See: Hinkson, 296.

⁵⁹³ Jones, "Uncovering Heritage Merit and Significance: Assessing the Cultural Landscape of the Adelaide Parklands," 132; *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁴ Hemming and Harris.

This outcome, which privileges past traces over living connections, is problematic for designers to draw upon in their responses to Reconciliation, as is demonstrated in the case of Victoria Square. In 2009 Jones was commissioned as part of the Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project to produce an urban history Design Development Report, entitled 'Settlement Heritage' which builds upon the earlier assessment study.⁵⁹⁵ While recognizing the absence of tangible evidence of cultural heritage within the Square (according to the principles of the Burra Charter), the report suggests the opportunity to celebrate past narratives of place through "the spaces, places, features, and design finishes that are expressed, erected, and crafted on the ground and vertical planes of this place."⁵⁹⁶ As will be discussed further, this statement is suggestive of an interpretive strategy of textual inscription applied to aspects of the design as part of the Urban Regeneration Project. However, there is very little evidence presented within this report of intangible narratives upon which a designer might draw.

While the report suggests the importance of acknowledging Kurna and Indigenous associations, the dominant narrative presented is of the constructed landscape of the Square over time from colonial foundation through to the present day.⁵⁹⁷ In contrast to the Wellington District Plan, this report sees the conflation of settlement history with the narrative of built interventions in the landscape. The Settlement Heritage report reinforces place history as read through design intervention, connecting the latest iteration of Victoria Square within the grand narratives of urban designers, surveyors, planners and gardeners dating back to Colonel Light. Each iteration is viewed in isolation from the broader colonial and political frame that influences the production of the square as a formal landscape.

Remarkably, rather than preserving the palimpsest of the landscape, this heritage report advocates a tabula rasa approach to design by finding very little of heritage value to preserve. Through this review, Jones concludes that none of the previous interventions in the built environment have had any impact on the cultural heritage of the place. In fact, Jones argues that the Regeneration Masterplan corrects these aberrations, as it "re-establishes the authenticity of the original design" by "ironically bringing the design back to the original configuration as designed by Light in 1836-

⁵⁹⁵ A note on spelling: at the time of writing this was the spelling was commonly used and identified by Adelaide City Council as the correct spelling. It is also commonly spelt *Tarndanyangga*. Throughout this dissertation, the most recent spelling of the *Tarntanyangga* will continue to be used unless spelt otherwise in cited sources.

⁵⁹⁶ David Jones, "Settlement Heritage," in *Victoria Square / Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project Design Development Reports*, ed. Taylor Cullity Lethlean & Team (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, Government of South Australia, 2011), 3.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

1837."⁵⁹⁸ The application of heritage in this process reinforces design decisions, rather than informing and complicating the design process. This raises questions over the limitations of a landscape heritage methodology as the privileged approach for recording existing traces in the landscape and for assigning value. This is particularly so when viewed against a more situated process as produced by the legislative framework of the Waitangi Tribunal, both in terms of the production histories of place, and in its broader institutional obligations for redress through design, development and landscape management. The remainder of the chapter will consider how Victoria Square has most recently been imagined through design, and how this reflects the policies and processes of Reconciliation in Australia.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., 62.

5.3.3 Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga: Re-Imagining the square in the creative city

While the city was conceptualised at a policy level as a creative space which celebrates built colonial heritage, the pursuit of a new design for Victoria Square continued. Akin to Wellington Waterfront, several redevelopment options were proposed for Victoria Square from the early 2000s. The first of these, the 2002 Urban Design Master Plan was produced by a multidisciplinary team including KBR (engineering, procurement and construction), Taylor Cullity Lethlean (landscape architects), James Hayter & Associates (urban designers) and Jensen Planning.⁵⁹⁹ This iteration was one of several key urban design master plans produced as part of Council's 2002 Central West Precinct New Directions renewal strategy.⁶⁰⁰

The plan reconceptualises the square as a unified space, through removal of all traffic access on Grote-Wakefield streets to make way for a central ceremonial space to reunify the square. This central space was conceived as ceremonial place reflecting the symbolism and centrality of Tarntanyangga to Kaurna people. The centre of the square is composed of two overlapping ellipses which denote a central paved plaza and a central lawn. The symbolic intersecting of these shapes in plan creates a third zone, composed of granitic sand, which contains the ceremonial space designated for cultural performances. This central space is surrounded by proposed copses of large Eucalyptus trees, a contrast to surrounding European plantings further to the edge of the square.⁶⁰¹

This masterplan is significant as it is the first to conceptualise a direct design response to Reconciliation, through a symbolic Arts and Culture strategy of 'cultural layering'.⁶⁰² There are two arms of the cultural strategy described in the master plan– 'Symbolising our Past' and 'Creating our Future'.⁶⁰³ The first is addressed through the acknowledgement of shared spatial significance, expressed not only through the central space but through dualities of naming (Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga); statutory (Queen Victoria/Kaurna Elder Inwartji) and flags (Australia/Aboriginal).⁶⁰⁴ However, despite being included in the conceptual framing of the scheme, only the proposal for a new statue honouring a Kaurna elder is original to the design, with the

⁵⁹⁹ James Hayter & Associates today practice as Oxigen.

⁶⁰⁰ Adelaide City Council, "Cwp Draft Urban Design Master Plans - the Central West Precinct New Directions," (2002).

⁶⁰¹ Tree coverage as proposed would increase by 118 mature trees. See: *ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁰² JimFitzpatrickArchitects, "Portfolio - Urban/Landscape: Victoria Square Master Plan and Cultural Layering, Adelaide, South Australia (Tcl)," <https://www.jfarchitects.com.au/portfolio-items/urban-landscape/>.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

dual naming of the square and the permanence being endorsed by Council as part of their Reconciliation Action Plan.⁶⁰⁵ The second stratagem is conceived programmatically through notions of the celebration of living culture, site, and exchange, expressed throughout a coordinated arts and culture program of events.⁶⁰⁶

While at Waitangi Park, designers were applying urbanism and ecology as postcolonial responses to the requirements of the Resource Management Act, in this proposal Australian designers apply symbolic pattern to acknowledge Reconciliation. For example, an emblematic approach as applied to the horizontal surface through paved 'journey lines' which radiate as a series of curved vectors from the central ceremonial zone. These are reinforced vertically through interpretive sculptures, interactive water features and sculptural seating along the path of the lines. In the cultural planning of the square, the journey line is conceived as a metaphor for shared a shared narrative of arrival:

We have all journeyed to be here – it may be the journey of centuries for Aboriginal people, the day's journey from the suburbs to the city or the migration journey from the other side of the world.⁶⁰⁷

Despite the laudable prominence of gestures responding to Reconciliation in the narrative pattern and programming proposed in this scheme, spatial and social politics plagued the plan. The proposed ceremonial space at the centre of the square, both symbolically and literally reconciling the open space, required major changes to traffic engineering including: the re-directing of traffic in one direction around the square; a reduction of lanes; an implementation of slip lanes; and a southern bus interchange. The edge of the square needed to be extended to form the proposed 'diamond' plan, re-aligning tramlines to accommodate a new formal boundary.

⁶⁰⁵ Council, "Cwp Draft Urban Design Master Plans - the Central West Precinct New Directions," 5.

⁶⁰⁶ JimFitzpatrickArchitects.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

Grant and Lavoie suggest the failure of this proposal to be realised is subject to the political implications resulting from the difficulty faced by the designers to mediate Victoria Square as a contested space - in terms of culture but most acutely in terms of use, through vehicular traffic management.⁶⁰⁸ As an example of this, the-then local government opposition leader capitalised on community anxiety around the traffic engineering of the project, with Lord Mayor Michal Harbison winning office in 2003 on a ticket which publicly opposed the KBR Urban Design Master Plan, instead favouring a 'do nothing' approach to the design of Victoria Square.⁶⁰⁹ While unsuccessful, this scheme is significant as the first design to directly engage with the Reconciliation. However, the following will discuss the next iteration of design responses conceived for Victoria Square, the 2008 Community Ideas Competition, which were more explicitly framed in response to Reconciliation through the design brief.

⁶⁰⁸ Elizabeth Grant and Caroline Lavoie, "Tarndanyanggaor Victoria Square? Meanings inside a Contested Space," in *Proceedings 46th Annual Conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning* (Kansas City, Missouri.2005).

⁶⁰⁹ Craig Bildstein, "Time Lord Mayor Showed Vision," *The Advertiser* 2007.

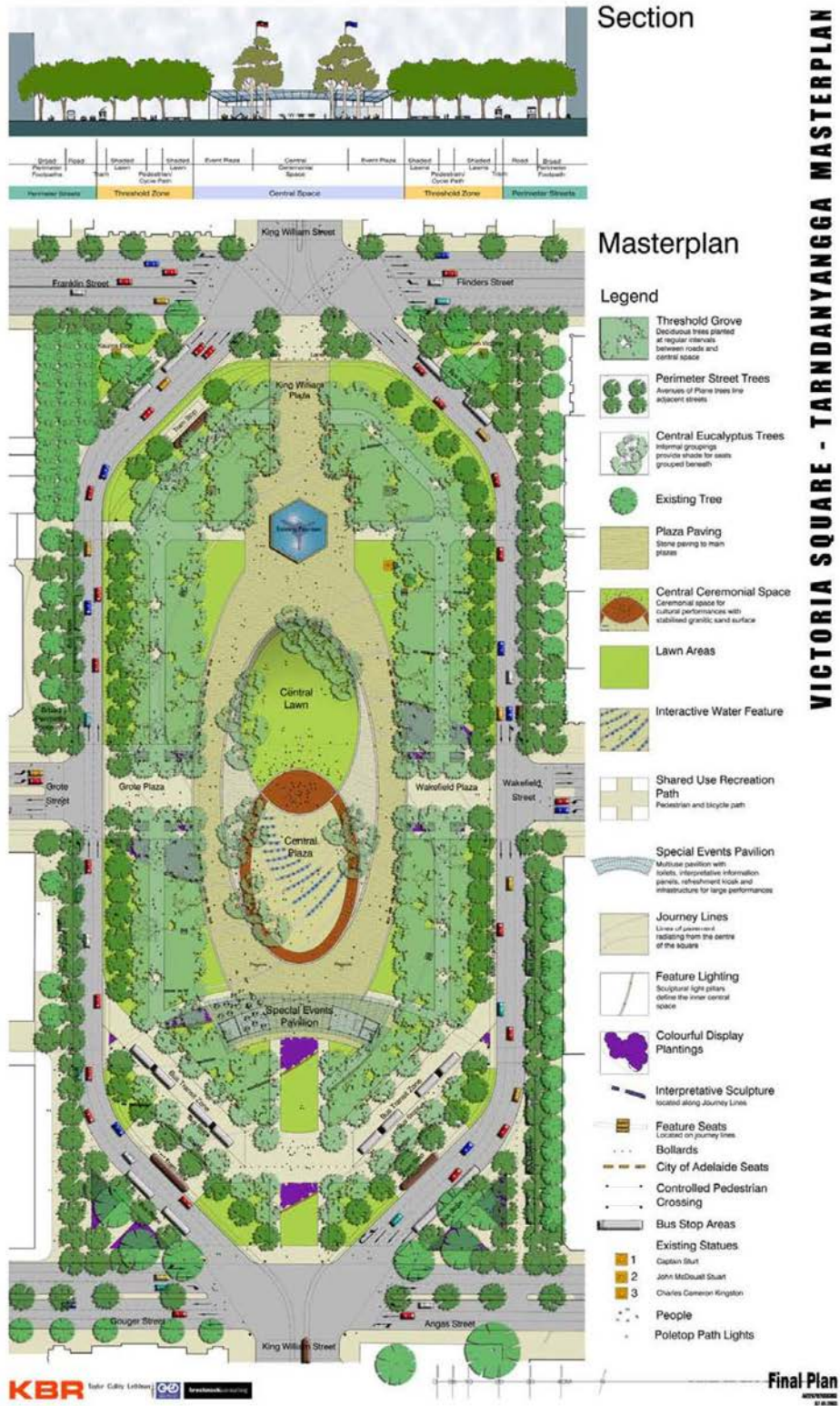


Figure 5.26. Kellogg Brown & Root Pty Ltd, *Victoria Square- Tarndanyangga Masterplan*, 2002, "Victoria Square– Tarndanyangga Urban Design Master Plan Technical Consultation and Design Revision Report." Adelaide: CITY OF ADELAIDE, 2003: 26.(Ltd 2003)

5.3.4 Victoria Square re-imagined through competition

After the failure of the 2002/2003 KBR Masterplan to gain support a move towards renewal of the square began in earnest in 2007. In response to previous preoccupations with traffic engineering, Council engaged consultants to produce diagrammatic concepts for the square focused on the various options for redirecting vehicular circulation around the square, as a means of generating conversation around the square in the community (Figure 5.27). In 2008, a Community Ideas Competition for the design of Victoria Square was held by the ACC in partnership with the State Government of South Australia, seeing 115 entries submitted.⁶¹⁰ There were two categories of entry, with one category for designs based on the existing square and an open ideas category, with the winners sharing in a twenty-thousand-dollar cash prize.⁶¹¹ The competition was intended as an idea generator to "understand community aspirations" for the square, with no obligation to put the winning entries into effect but to inform future planning and design work.⁶¹²

The competition asked designers to respond to the civic significance of the space, as well as the dual-naming of the square as act of Reconciliation. This position drew on the 2004-2007 City of Adelaide Strategic Plan through which council aspired to work with local Indigenous communities to "build effective Indigenous cultures in the community."⁶¹³ The framing of the competition also acknowledged the significance of Tarntanyangga/Victoria Square more broadly to Aboriginal communities throughout Australia.⁶¹⁴



Figure 5.27. Three conceptual design options drawn up by undisclosed consultants for Adelaide City Council; in Craig Bildstein, "Seven Ways to Get Some Action." *The Advertiser*, Monday August 13, 2007 2007, 5.

⁶¹⁰ "Vic Square: People's Plaza Article From: , , " *The Advertiser* August 13, 2007 02:15am 2007.

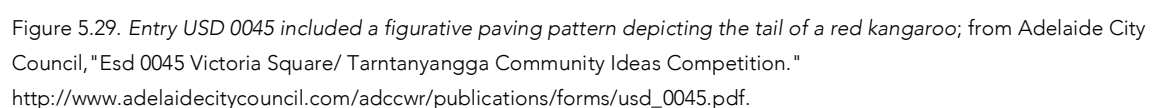
⁶¹¹ Adelaide City Council, "Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition," Adelaide City Council, http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/scripts/nc.dll?ADCC:STANDARD::pc=PC_151037.

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ "Creating Our Future 2008-2012 Strategic Plan. "

⁶¹⁴ "Community Land Management Plan. "

Despite the extensive research and information provided to entrants about the cultural significance of the site, very few of the shortlisted designs engaged with this history as a design generator. Council released 10 shortlisted designs, and awarded the prizes to Heath Jobson and Ian Nickolls in the Existing Square Design Category and GHD Pty Ltd in the Unrestricted Square Design Category on the 31st July 2008.⁶¹⁶ Design responses were largely problem solving responses, dominated by the traffic engineering of Grote-Wakefield streets. For example, the winning Jobson-Nickolls design ameliorated the roadway through the connecting gesture of a raised podium pedway ramped up over the roadway as illustrated in Figure 5.28, while others suggested limiting use to public transport, or creating a tunnel beneath the square.



⁶¹⁶ "Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition".

While engagement was limited, some designs did respond to notions of indigeneity, proposed through various modes of acknowledgement. For example, the Jobson-Nickolls scheme included an Indigenous art strategy, proposing public murals by Aboriginal artists. Another entrant, USD 0045, acknowledged Indigenous cosmology by pattern, featuring a red paving treatment evocative of the tail of the red kangaroo in Kurna dreaming.⁶¹⁷

The most elaborate response, ESD 0016, developed a dual zoning approach evocative of the KBR masterplan, organising the northern area of the square around the Dowie Three Rivers Fountain, and the southern portion around a 'Tree of Knowledge' conceived as a central Indigenous meeting space. This symbolic tree is imagined as promoting cultural diversity to 'give back to the people', linking Aboriginal clans throughout the country through directional markers indicating distance from the tree of knowledge. Similarly, interpretive markers would be positioned in relation to the Three Rivers fountain to 'locations of our multicultural heritage'.⁶¹⁸ The significance of the tree is symbolically tied to notions of exchange within the space, although this appears disconnected from a more potent unifying symbol, the Aboriginal flag (originating on this site), which might easily take the place of the 'tree'. Cultural and programmatic zoning is repeated in other proposals, such as the open category winner, the GHD scheme, which zoned the square programmatically through events spaces, such as 'the festival room' and 'the celebration room'.⁶¹⁹

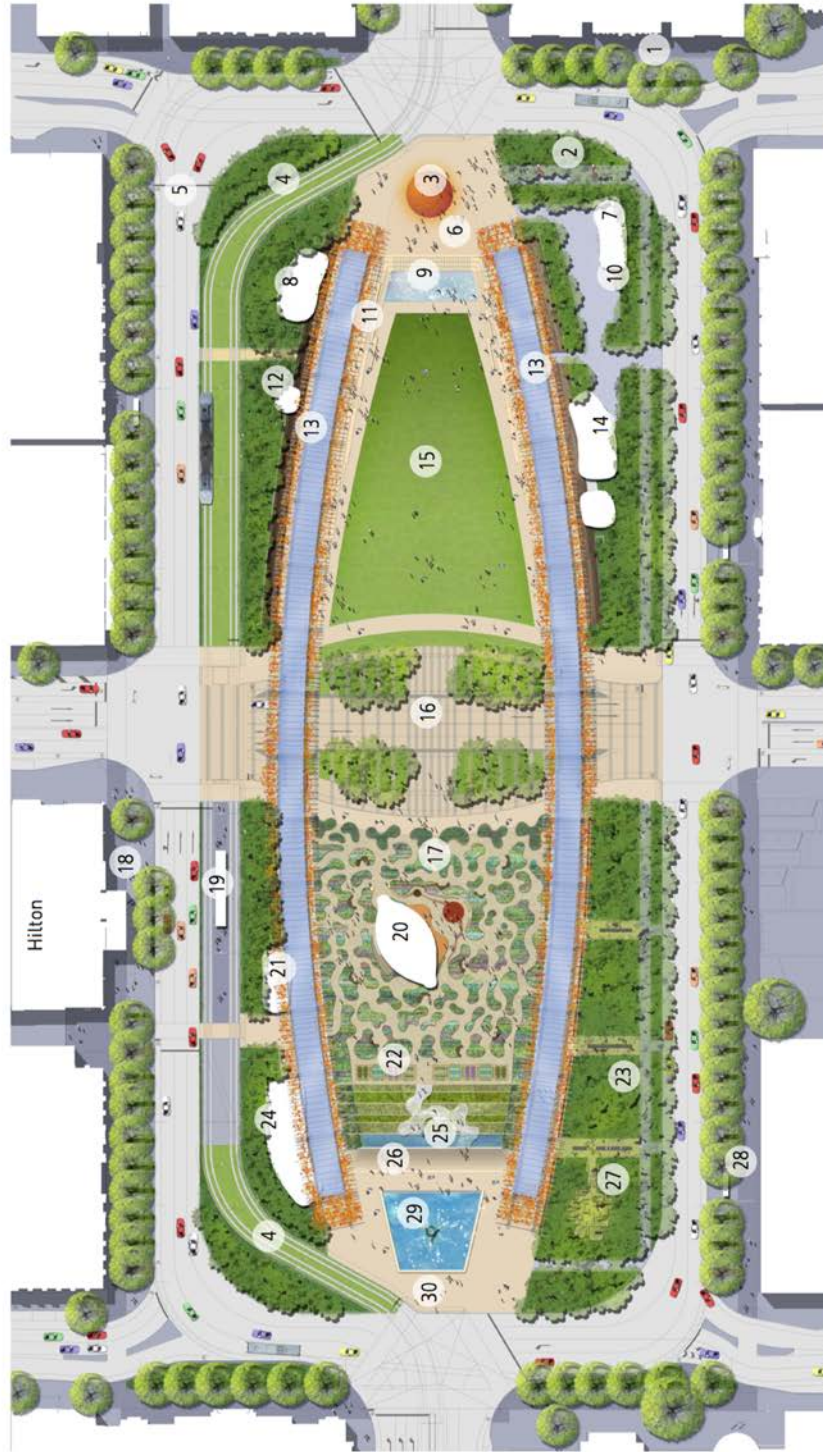
The design explorations proposed for the community ideas competition formed the basis for the most recent design iteration for Victoria Square/ Tarntanyangga. The competition proposals generally reflected an aspiration to regenerate the square as a civic centre. The following will explore this most recent proposal for the renewal of the square, the first of which to result in a built outcome in over 40 years.

⁶¹⁷ Two proposals also suggest Kurna meeting places or circles. ESD 0045 and ESD 0016 Source: "Esd 0045 Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition," Adelaide City Council, http://web.archive.org/web/20080719200322/http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/adccwr/publications/for ms/usd_0045.pdf;

⁶¹⁸ "Esd 0016 Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition," Adelaide City Council, http://web.archive.org/web/20080725004017/http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/adccwr/publications/for ms/esd_0016.pdf.

⁶¹⁹ "Esd 0081 Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition," Adelaide City Council, http://web.archive.org/web/20080725004017/http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/adccwr/publications/for ms/usd_0081.pdf.

3.2 Masterplan Proposal



- LEGEND**
1. Medina Hotel Porte
 2. Cochere
 3. Flags
 4. 'Fire' themed artwork
 5. Relocated tram line
 6. Perimeter Streets
 7. North Plaza - temporary staging
 8. Event back of house building
 9. Information Experience Centre
 10. North Water Feature
 11. Event service area
 12. Event Lawn terraces
 13. Public Toilets
 14. Arbours
 15. Cafe
 16. Event Lawn
 17. Central Plaza
 18. The Garden
 19. Hilton Hotel, Porte
 20. Cochere
 21. Existing tram stop - extended
 22. Mullabakka Centre (Kaurna Centre of Culture)
 23. Cafe
 24. Productive Gardens
 25. Perimeter Gardens
 26. Bicycle Hub & Public toilets
 27. Bio-filtration & Wetland Gardens
 28. Garden terraces
 29. Arcadian Grove -relocated statues
 30. Perimeter footpaths
 31. Three Rivers Fountain -relocated
 32. South Plaza



Taylor Cullity Lethlean Adelaide City Council

Figure 5.30. *Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Masterplan*; in Taylor Cullity Lethlean, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:18.



Figure 5.31. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, *Arbour Perspective*, "Victoria Square|Tarntanyangga Regeneration Masterplan Report." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2010: 23.

Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga re-imagined as an active and creative 'civic heart' of the city.

5.3.5 Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Regeneration Masterplan

The re-design of Victoria Square is significant for Australian architecture, landscape architecture and urban design as the first major public space project to be designed after the 2008 Parliamentary Apology to the Stolen Generations. Thirty-seven years prior, the square was the first public space in which the Aboriginal flag was flown, further highlighting the space's importance to Australian Reconciliation. Building on the ideas generated through the competition, council issued the *Victoria Square / Tarntanyangga Vision and Guiding Principles* brief in October 2008, and sought expressions of interest for teams to tender proposals for a suitable design. Of the 16 guiding principles, "Cultural Diversity and Unity" asked the design teams to explicitly produce a design that would "foster strong links with Aboriginal culture."⁶²⁰ Through direct consultation with the Kaurna community, designers were asked to interpret the spiritual significance of Tarntanyangga to enhance the identity of the space, as well as to 'creatively introduce' Aboriginal culture into Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga through education and celebration, drawing on practices of dance, music, performance, interpretation and design.⁶²¹

⁶²⁰ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project," (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011), 90.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

In May 2009 landscape architects Taylor Cullity Lethlean (TCL), along with architects Tonkin Zulaikha Greer (TZG) and engineers QED were announced as the successful team through this tender process to develop the masterplan for the 6 hectare Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project. The project also marked the continuation of the very successful horticultural partnership between TCL and planting designer Paul Thompson.⁶²² However, in the Australian context, the design team is otherwise unique in structure, comprised not only of the lead consultant landscape architects and architects, but working in collaboration on design and interpretation with Kaurna Indigenous consultant, Karl Telfer, and cultural curator, Peter Emmett.⁶²³ This diverse design team lead the masterplan through concept design and design development stages. The concept design, the Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project Masterplan Report, was published in 2010.⁶²⁴ This masterplan was further developed and detailed in the 2011 Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project Design Development, shown in Figure 5.30, and this discussion will focus on this most developed iteration.⁶²⁵

The masterplan for VS/T is the continuation of the methodology, aesthetic and ethos that lead consultant landscape architects TCL have developed through previous projects at a range of scales. This includes nationally significant examples such as the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre (in association with Anangu and Gregory Burgess Architects) and the Australian Garden in the Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria at Cranbourne (with Paul Thompson). Broadly speaking, the practice is known for its sensitive consultation methodology of negotiation with community and stakeholders; an appreciation for detail and materiality inclusive of Indigenous plant materials; alongside a more symbolic formalism which applies conceptual narratives as a generative design technique.

⁶²² These collaborative projects include the Adelaide Botanic Gardens Wetland, Monash University Campus Park, Bendigo Garden of the Future, Birrarung Marr, Elizabeth Quay, the Forest Gallery at Melbourne Museum, Monash Caulfield Campus Green; University of Sydney Cadigal Green and the Parliament of Victoria Members' Annexe Landscapes. See: TaylorCullityLethlean, "Projects," <https://tcl.net.au/projects/>.

⁶²³ The interpretation strategy also engaged secondary consultants for digital media Gary Warner and Rezon8, as well as sound designers Sonia Leber and David Cheswith. See: TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 137-48.

⁶²⁴ TaylorCullityLethlean, "Victoria Square|Tarndanyangga Regeneration Masterplan Report," (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2010).

⁶²⁵ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer.

In their recently published monograph which celebrates the practice's 25-year history, TCL theoretically position their design approach as emergent from the combined skill sets of the directors, Kevin Taylor, Kate Cullity & Perry Lethlean.⁶²⁶ This profile positions this cooperative synergy as the defining tenant of the firm:

Through the productive friction between the principals, TCL has developed an ethos – a respect for difference and diverse approaches that offer collaborative opportunities on multiple levels. They foster dynamic discussions with clients, communities, academics, consultants and colleagues that are richly orchestrated processes, that in turn allow the design work to simultaneously and serendipitously unfold.⁶²⁷

As an example of design produced through this defining consultative approach, the landscape of the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre is notable for closely working with the traditional owners, the Anangu people, to generate the designed outcome. The designers developed a culturally situated entrance experience of walking to the centre, through the careful manipulation of topography, materials and planting to curate a sensitive approach to the centre. The procession of the landscape aspires to ground the visitor in a moment of mindfulness and reflection as they approach Uluru, with minimal intervention.⁶²⁸

TCL's distinctive design style is shaped by a postmodern philosophy which emphasises narrative and pattern making. Diedrich describes the practice's discrete style as an agglomeration of an acute sensitivity to site, a minimalist approach in some cases, against a more playful style of form making:

The most striking mindset of TCL landscape architects, however, bewildering at first, exhilarating later, is probably their freedom of oscillation between creations that consider the landscape as found and works that compose the landscape as artifice.⁶²⁹

Compared to the more judicial editing of historical traces typical of landscape urbanism applied by designers Wraight+Associates in Waitangi Park, the designers of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga display a more whimsical formalism. For example, the

⁶²⁶ Principal Landscape Architect Kevin Taylor sadly passed in 2011 but his influence on the framing of the practice and the profession more broadly in Australia remains as a legacy.

⁶²⁷ *Taylor Cullity Lethlean : Making Sense of Landscape*, ed. Gini Lee and SueAnne Ware (Carlton, VIC: Taylor Cullity Lethlean, 2013), 10.

⁶²⁸ The architecture and landscape of the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre has been widely discussed in terms of the process of generating the design, and its success post-occupancy. See: Lisa Findley, *Building Change : Architecture, Politics and Cultural Agency* (London: Routledge, 2005), 77-123.; Kim Dovey, "Seeing Uluru," *Thresholds* (2000).

⁶²⁹ *Taylor Cullity Lethlean : Making Sense of Landscape*, 15.

ambitious Australian Garden at Cranbourne reflects a less local interpretation of landscape found elsewhere in TCL's canon of work. Instead, the designers explore more imaginary notions of national landscape through sculptural elements and pattern.

The boldest gesture, the inaccessible Red Sand Garden is a sandy field punctuated by a series of crescent berms and circular saltbush plantings symbolic of varied landscape features of the Australian interior, bisected by a linear planting representative of the straight continental journey of the earliest European explorers. In contrast to the minimalist approach found at Uluru-Kata Tjuta, the Australian Garden is a hyperreal experience, as Diedrich suggests, "positioning in its centre a big piece of red desert, as if a UFO had landed."⁶³⁰ The designers deliberately manipulate pattern, topography and iconography to suggest a symbolic meditation on the ways in which the Australian landscape is perceived. This is baroquely expressed through a series of sculptural gardens exploring Australia's central and arid landscapes emblematic of geology, hydrology, sustainability and ecology, alongside more demonstrative suburban and vernacular gardens. As Bolleter argues of the Red Sand Garden, the outcome is a didactic one:

Through conjuring a sense of vastness of scale the garden aspires to distil the sublime qualities of the Australian interior and brings to mind humankind's insignificance in the face of nature. Moreover, the creation of an 'anti-garden' prohibits entry and as such 'resists an Eden-like return'.⁶³¹

This approach is described by Lee and Ware as a distillation, suggesting that their "processes of conceptualising and designing the landscape embed densely coded, multivalent approaches into deceptively simple spatial outcomes."⁶³² As previously discussed, these methods are evident in TCL's earlier 2003 KBR masterplan. The practice in reflecting on their own ethos identify narrative as a thread throughout their work. The three design directors suggest:

It has been a constant design companion for the studio, as a way for us to convey meaning to an audience, to reinforce particular place stories or create places that are intrinsically interpretive.⁶³³

⁶³⁰ Ibid., 14.

⁶³¹ Julian Bolleter, "Postcards from the Edge: A Critical Reading of Representations of the Interior in Australian Landscape Architecture," *Journal of Landscape Architecture* 12, no. 1 (2017): 78.

⁶³² Taylor Cullity Lethlean : *Making Sense of Landscape*, 10.

⁶³³ K Cullity, "More Than Just Looking Good: Beauty, Aesthetics and Care-Braided Pathways: A Practice Sustained by Difference," (2013): 84. See also: Perry Lethlean, "It's Hard Getting Messy When You're Compositional--Braided Pathways: A Practice Sustained by Difference," (2013). & K Taylor, "Making Sense of Landscape," in *Taylor Cullity Lethlean Doctor of Philosophy - Braided Pathways: A Practice Sustained by Difference* (Melbourne: RMIT University, 2014).

The designers reflect on the consultative process as a source for the generative stories which inspires form. Speaking on Radio Adelaide's *The Plan* in 2011, Kevin Taylor revealed the value that collaboration with diverse practitioners holds for the studio, as key to its design process:

often the sense of a story or narrative behind a design has been something that has only developed through collaboration with others. People with different points of view who have brought in a perspective or a potential narrative that perhaps we wouldn't have thought of, if we were only working by ourselves. It's not part of every project but it's something that has been part of the way that we design.⁶³⁴

Similarly, the process of consultation is closely tied to the production of form for the practice, with narrative storytelling operating as a means of anchoring the design intent to site. The outcome is reflective of the process, although the legibility of the original narrative is variable within the work, as Perry Lethlean reflects:

On another level the design process necessarily distils, abstracts and stylises. The public may only connect partially, subliminally or not at all to the narrative concept. All that is understood is that the design is driven by a coherent sense of place enacted by the designers' intent. The work therefore treads a fine line between the literal and the abstract and between the nostalgic and the obscure.⁶³⁵

TCL and TZG have a similar ethos underpinning their studio practice. TZG are known in Australia for working across a diverse range of typologies, including commercial; public architecture; cultural architecture; urban design; infrastructure; as well as adaptive re-use and heritage architecture projects such as the celebrated Paddington Reservoir Gardens in Sydney. According to Peter Tonkin, the studio has "been perceived to do odd things, things that are difficult."⁶³⁶ The practice aspires to operate beyond the pragmatic, in what they term the space of "the other" - a more abstract, imaginary space beyond the physical.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁴ Josh Zeunet, *Interview with Kevin Taylor*, podcast audio, *The Plan* 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20180329095604/http://www.theplan.net.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Kevin-Taylor-_The-Plan.mp3; Also quoted in: Taylor, 201.

⁶³⁵ Taylor Cullity Lethlean : *Making Sense of Landscape*, 17.

⁶³⁶ Peter Tonkin, Director: TonkinZulaikhaGreer, interview by Fiona Johnson, 25/01/2013, 2013, Surry Hills: Sydney.

⁶³⁷ TonkinZulaikhaGreer, "Company Profile," <http://www.tzg.com.au/about>.

In terms of symbolism and narrative, the manifesto of the practice overlaps with the philosophy of TCL:

For TZG, the art of architecture, this sense of the "other", is achieved through meaning and metaphor, sculpture and light; through controlled sequences of spaces, the sparing use of iconography, the recalling of memory and the embodiment of ideas.⁶³⁸

This shared philosophy is evident in their symbolically-driven collaborative work which includes the 2004 competition winning entry for the masterplan of the National Arboretum in Canberra. Responding to a brief defining an arboretum as 'a living museum' for science and education, the design hybridises spatial experiences and ethno-botanical narratives within a forest laboratory.⁶³⁹ The masterplan, '100 Forests 100 Gardens', is organised around one hundred discrete garden experiences organised by singular endangered tree species organised as 100 monoculture forests.⁶⁴⁰ As shall be discussed, these interpretative, experiential strategies are also to be found in the masterplan the two practices would produce for Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga.

The consultative approach developed by TCL was similarly applied to the design process for Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga. The executive design group engaged in an iterative method to generate the master plan. TZG Director and Architect Peter Tonkin describes the process:

we sat down in a room with lots of pieces of paper, and a lot of other people from TCL and here, and lots of scribbling and arguing, and a fairly non-directed brainstorming, open-minded feel to it, a very studio kind of thing. Together we collaboratively worked out the masterplan over successive stages, from concept to detail, and then we tended for the masterplan to be developed into working drawings, and that was the whole stage tendered.⁶⁴¹

In examining the resulting masterplan for Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga, there is also a clear continuation of the shared TCL/TZG design philosophy, with symbolism as the major driver. The new design of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga, illustrated in Figure 5.30, aspires to draw together the various cultural threads of symbolic significance together through a multi-scalar experience-driven design outcome. Visually, the

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

⁶³⁹ SueAnne Ware, "Knowingly Unfinished: Exploiting the Temporality of Landscapes," *Architectural Design* 86, no. 1 (2016): 78.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid. TonkinZulaikhaGreer, "National Arboretum Canberra," <http://www.tzg.com.au/project/arboretum-national/>.

⁶⁴¹ Tonkin.

sinuous graphic forms found in the masterplan continues the aesthetic TCL have developed through previous projects, echoing the language of their work at the Australia Garden in Cranbourne, as well as their collaborative efforts with TZG at the National Arboretum in Canberra.

The Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga masterplan is formally driven by vehicular circulation and zoning, alongside a conceptual cultural strategy of placemaking, the last of which will be a further focus of discussion. TCL's practice methodology of utilising narrative to generate design is reflected in the theoretical framing of the design response for VS/T. Six guiding principles, illustrated as diagrammatic metaphors (Figure 5.32), are proposed by the designers as a mission statement to reinfuse the space with activity, an evocative approach which responds to council's City Arts and Living Culture Strategy. These are:

1. to "tease the site out of the edges" – drawing-in a base population of users from adjacent offices and businesses;
2. to "enable the New Civic" - facilitating socialisation, exchange and daily encounter in a particularly 'twenty-first century' way;
3. to "make the market connection" – making a physical and programmatic linkage to Adelaide's Central Market;
4. to "create new sources of light – a hybrid square" - develop a mixed-use space;
5. to "tell stories with meaning" – embedding an appreciation of the cultural significance of place, particularly in terms of the Kaurna community;
6. and to generate "a centre of the symbolic and actual life in the City" – linking a strategy of heavy programming with symbolic significance.

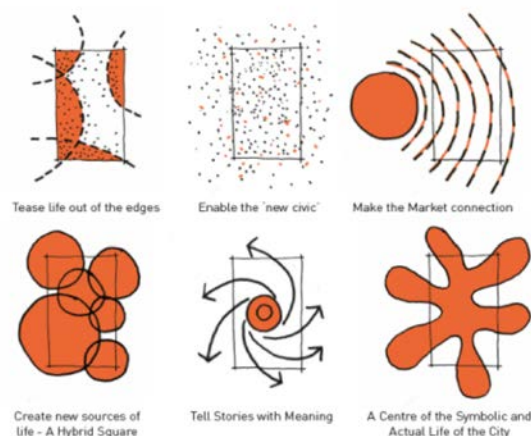


Figure 5.32. *The six conceptual strategies driving the design response for the square*; in Taylor Cullity Lethlean, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:13

As with previous schemes, the most pressing design challenge for the masterplan was to respond to the divide of the space by the central road. As articulated by the executive design team:

Central among the objectives in the new vision for the Square is the desire to create a unified urban form capable of being experienced as one space irrespective of the road configuration and associated vehicle movements.⁶⁴²

Against the singularity of a unifying design agenda was the pull to generate a variable spatial experience across the flat expanse of the generous square. Responding to the existing divide, Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga is apportioned into two 'zones'- the Stage 1 northern active entertainment space or 'Grass Domain'; and the Stage 2 southern cultural landscape, the 'Mosaic Garden', which includes provisions for an Indigenous cultural centre, 'Mullabukka', inclusive of a ceremonial fire site; the 'Native Garden' – a mosaic of intimate garden plantings utilizing a mix of indigenous vegetation; a community-driven productive garden; and a bio-retention garden.

The Events Space is composed of a gently sloping lawn, terraced up to a plaza at the northern edge which can operate as a stage (Figure 5.33).⁶⁴³ An ephemeral water-play fountain is located at the lowest point of the lawn.⁶⁴⁴ The space has a capacity for up to 9000 revellers, offering a significant space for events and arts programming.⁶⁴⁵ In contrast to the openness of the Events Space, the Garden to the south offers a more intensely planted space. The ground plane is similarly tilted from the highest point at the arterial road to a 1.5-meter level drop at the south, the inverted reflection of the Events Space. (Figure 5.34)

⁶⁴² TaylorCullityLethlean, "Victoria Square|Tarndanyangga Regeneration Masterplan Report."

⁶⁴³ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 25.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

5.5 Sections

The Event Lawn slopes gently from the Central Plaza down to 1.5m below the surrounding Arbour Promenade and North Plaza. Terraced steps allow seating and access around three edges. The lower north end is 1.5m below the North Plaza therefore allowing the plaza to be the venue for temporary staging for large events. It is estimated that 4,000-7,000 people can occupy the Event Lawn with a further 2,000 on the adjacent Arbour Promenade for major events. As described in Section 20.3 the Event Lawn is serviced by the full range of infrastructure necessary for large events including underground electricity, communications, water and sewer.



Figure 5.33. Sections 5.5 in Taylor Cullity Lethlean, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:26



Figure 5.34. Section illustrating the Mosaic Garden in the southern half of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga; in Taylor Cullity Lethlean, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:30



Figure 5.35. Taylor Cullity Lethlean. *The Native Garden*, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:32

View to the South through the Native Garden illustrating the meandering experience through the organic garden beds.

The Native Garden, the largest installation in Zone 2, is defined by small biomorphic garden beds which divide the space into a series of tighter circulation paths through the space.

Its organic garden beds have a mosaic character with a multitude of paths allowing many possible journeys through the Garden.⁶⁴⁶

As illustrated in Figure 5.35, the planting design celebrates the texture and colour of South Australian indigenous plants, and is evocative of the experiential and symbolic planting aesthetic of the earlier collaboration of TCL with Paul Thompson at the Australian Garden in Cranbourne. According to Kate Cullity, TCL's intent is for the garden to operate as a space of respite while also acting as a model sustainable landscape, offering a "rejuvenating experience that will hopefully allow those who experience it to find reverberation in the sustainable ideals that underpin the design; a garden that "orders nature" in a sustaining way."⁶⁴⁷ This intensely botanical space is suggestive of a deep contrast experientially to the open field of the Grass Domain. The typologically different spaces of the north and south landscapes are accentuated by the central divide of Grote-Wakefield Streets.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 31.

⁶⁴⁷ Cullity, 193.

However, the two zones are tied together through a bold formal icon, the Arbour Promenade which operates as a reconciliatory metaphor in the site. Defining perimeter boulevards running north-south, the arbours are 8 meter structures composed of pre-cast concrete columns, blades and beams, festooned with plantings of ornamental grapes (Figure 5.37).⁶⁴⁸ In justifying the sheer scale of the structures as proposed to Council's Design Review Panel, the designers entered into an extensive precedent investigation, "from the rough backyard kind of structures to urban colonnades, and then branching out from that looking worldwide at architecturally covered spaces in public."⁶⁴⁹ As illustrated by the architect's physical model (Figure 5.36), garden pavilions were located adjacent to the arbours to support events programming in the square, including a café, bike hub, visitor centre and service hub.

Early in the design process, the executive design team explored several ways of modulating the flat expanse of the square through level changes as a way of addressing the divided square.

We were looking at raising and lowering bits of the site and we pursued quite a lot of extravagant mounding options early on which proved to be unrealisable both environmentally with the amount of stuff you needed on the site. The levels just didn't work. And that got translated into this notion of arbours, which I think was a very Adelaide thing.⁶⁵⁰

Instead, these iconic elements were proposed to define the edge of the space, operating as the main circulation device within the masterplan. According to Tonkin:

Very early on we as an executive design group decided that there needed to be a powerfully vertical structuring of the space, that you couldn't just do it with landscape, with planting and paving, you needed more.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁸ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 19.

⁶⁴⁹ Tonkin.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.



Figure 5.36. Photographs of physical models of the arbours, terraces and pavilions, in TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:174.

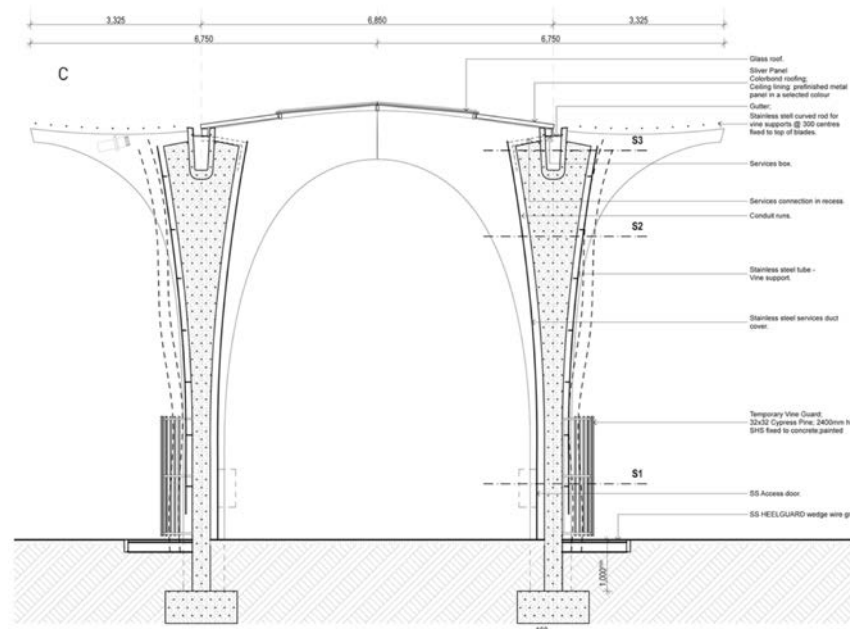


Figure 5.37. Detail of the Arbours; in TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:175.

The curved form of the arbours emerged from TCL and TZG's collaborative workshop design process, as they explored the ways in which the two halves of the square could be reunited. As the architect recalls:

The initial curving gesture of them was Perry Lethlean's gesture, although it was just lines on a plan. It had no sense of physicality, he was just trying to link two halves of the square, and cover the spaces and it was just one of a whole number of diagrams linking the north to the south, which is the primary design issue with Victoria Square.⁶⁵²

However, the exploration of level change was pursued to temper the site east-west, to facilitate more diverse and intimate experiences at the pedestrian scale. As illustrated in Figure 5.38, the design incorporates a series of terraced and sloped edges from the sunken central spaces up to the promenade. Opportunity for occupation parallel to the arbours is encouraged through linear timber site furniture congruous with the terraces, including the urban lounge in the northern zone. The designers responded to the existing condition of the level plane at Victoria Square, looking to complicate the spatial experience.

Just trying to reimagine such a large public space, because it's so flat, you need to create, almost from a bare tabula rasa, whatever can modulate the space. Whereas other cities, Sydney especially, it's never flat. The changes in levels are what modulates the space. In Vic Square, we just had to create everything from the beginning.⁶⁵³



Figure 5.38. Sections A & B (4.5 Sections) illustrating changes in levels across the site; in TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:20

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

The terraces operate to address the impact of vehicular traffic around the perimeter of the square on the pedestrian experience. This topographical move reflects TCL's design intent for culturally constructed landscape emergent of site, supporting "the 'thickness' of site as a field of interactions and memories which permeate and expand beyond the physical attributes of place."⁶⁵⁴ The terraces are suggestive of a broadening of circulation beyond the boundaries of the harbour. The designers intend that this 'thickening' of edge conditions produces, spontaneous passive recreational use patterns:

The edges of the promenade are thickened to create social friction. They are habitable, permeable spaces for lingering, watching, playing, resting and meeting. They encourage the promenader to pause, stop, engage with others and/or the activities of the adjacent garden, café or Event Lawn."⁶⁵⁵

This condensing of social use described by the designers reflects their experience of site activation at North Terrace, where there was an extraordinary response to arts-based programmatic placemaking as part of the 2008 Adelaide Fringe Festival Northern Lights Installation. As Kevin Taylor describes, the behaviour of the community in the space was surprising:

The people of Adelaide responded in an unexpected manner. They came in their thousands and watched the changing projections, but more importantly they stayed and talked to friends and strangers. They lingered and occupied the pathways, forecourts and plazas in a way seldom seen in the preceding decades. Many of them returned a second and third time, not just to see the images, but to experience the social exchange made possible by this temporary event.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁴ Taylor, 171.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 184.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 177.

5.3.6 The emergence of the placemaker and the 'New Civic'

At Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga the designers formally articulate this approach of social thickening through a creative placemaking ethos - the 'New Civic' - the second principle of the masterplan design. As Tonkin reflects, the designers deliberately conceptualise the square as a novel interpretation of the typology:

this whole notion that instead of civic space being formal and Civic with a capital C, a place where you were on your best behaviour, the 'New Civic' becomes a space where tribes can inhabit the space in a very informal and transitory way.⁶⁵⁷

Arguably, this interpretation of site activation is shaped by creative city placemaking strategies, such as Adelaide's City Arts and Living Culture Strategy. Building on modernist planning and urban design discourse, placemaking emerged in Australia in the 1970s, and developed in the following decades through policy adoption and strategic governance as a broadly positive approach to engendering coherence and meaning to locale.⁶⁵⁸ As Ryan articulates:

Place-making aims to turn public spaces into places; places which engage with those who inhabit them, places through which people do not merely pass, but have reason to 'stop and become involved'; places which offer rich experience and a 'sense of belonging'; places in short, which have meaning, which evoke pleasure or contemplation, or reflection and, most importantly, an appreciation of cultural and environmental diversity.⁶⁵⁹

The idea of the creative city is seen to be somewhat of an urban 'cure-all' through placemaking, not only revitalising of the public and social life of the city, "but through regeneration of the built environment and therefore the local economy, resolve the city's 'urban problems' in general."⁶⁶⁰ While this type of strategy is appealing to urban policy makers, the key indicators of a successful creative city are largely measured through increases in speculative land value and decreasing vacancy rates, which are also economic indicators of the displacement of marginalised, low-income city residents.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁷ Tonkin.

⁶⁵⁸ Kate Shaw and Geua Montana, "Place-Making in Megaprojects in Melbourne," *Urban Policy and Research* 34, no. 2 (2016): 167.

⁶⁵⁹ C Ryan, "Introduction," in *Places Not Spaces: Placemaking in Australia*, ed. Tamara Winikoff (Envirobook, 1994), 7.

⁶⁶⁰ Shaw and Montana, 168-69.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 169-71. See also: Jim McGuigan, "Doing a Florida Thing: The Creative Class Thesis and Cultural Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15, no. 3 (2009).

The influence and emergence of the placemaker within the project is most clearly articulated through the inclusion of 'cultural curator' Peter Emmett in the design team. Emmett is known for his role in the development of the curatorial ethos for Museum of Sydney, noted for his 'art and artifice' approach to museum curation, maintaining a focus on material culture while also engaging with the 'poetics of place'. Emmett typically worked with an array of creative practitioners, eschewing the conventional dominance of the writer, "to both compose and liberate the metaphor of place."⁶⁶² This approach to museology practice emerged in the 1990s, described as the new museum, reflecting the increasing understanding of the contingent nature of evidence and historical truth.⁶⁶³ The new museum typically deploys technology and interaction to demonstrate its image of newness.⁶⁶⁴

In an introductory essay for 'The Curated Square', produced as part of the Design Development documentation for Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga, Emmett defines the 'New Civic' in the following manner:

The 'New Civic' shifts the paradigm of urban culture from grand city symbols, strategies and master-narratives to many stories about personal and collective memory of its citizens, interpreting place through spatial experience and interaction with others. Place becomes experience and not thing. We ask not what is this place but what is taking place here? ⁶⁶⁵

However, Emmett's definition of 'New Civic' is not positioned within the lineage of the theoretical understanding of civic as understood to encompass competing tensions of singularity and pluralism; critique and accord; fluidity and transcendence; familiarity and development; and the collective and the individual.⁶⁶⁶ Instead it can be argued that Emmett's framing is responding to museological strategies rather than understandings of urban space. Although Emmett claims a "fresh approach to the concept of the public domain created by informal people experience rather than formal urban planning" there is little evidence in the proposed design interventions of people's ability to use and gather in space in an indeterminate manner.⁶⁶⁷ This is somewhat surprising given the site's history as a space where Aboriginal people have gathered to live, protest, commemorate and celebrate.

⁶⁶² Peter Emmett, "Wysiwyg on the Site of First Government House," *Sites: Nailing the Debate: Archaeology and Interpretation in Museums* (1996): 114.

⁶⁶³ Kate Gregory, "Art and Artifice: Peter Emmett's Curatorial Practice in the Hyde Park Barracks and Museum of Sydney," *Fabrications* 16, no. 1 (2006): 2.

⁶⁶⁴ Message, 604-05.

⁶⁶⁵ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 107.

⁶⁶⁶ Rowe.

⁶⁶⁷ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 107.

The typological shift away from the didactic architecture of the museum, botanic garden and cultural centre into the public sphere is where this strategy becomes difficult. This direction conflates ideas of placemaking with the concept of civic space. This is problematic in the context of reconciliation where there is intent for open dialogue and collaboration. There are two ways in which this is manifest - the insertion of the Mullabukka Cultural Centre into the space, as well as the explicit narration of place in the external civic space. The remainder of the chapter discussion explores the latter, while the cultural centre is discussed in Chapter 6.

The new museum's emphasis on the intersection of art, new media and museology clearly shapes Emmett's creative placemaking strategy, *The Curated Square*, which highlights an "integrated approach to public art, design, interpretation, heritage, digital interactions and wayfinding."⁶⁶⁸ This philosophy is most evident in three major design elements:

- textual inscription
- 'the Arcadian grove' installation
- digital installation.

These strategies construct and heavily interpret place through object placement and surface inscription, as distinct from allowing the place to operate as a socially performed civic space.

However, at Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga there is to be found instead a highly-curated approach to history and meaning, developed through interpretive signage, such as the Arbour Text Fragments. Inscribed quotes on the surfaces of the arbour promenade structure have been drawn from the historic record by curators to tell the "rumblings of the collective unconscious of Adelaide city - musing and debating about who has the right to be or not to be in this place?"⁶⁶⁹ Ironically, while the surfaces are embossed with text about exclusion, the whole design strategy is an exclusionary practice. In particular, Indigenous users of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga do not need to be reminded of spatial 'exclusion', as this is engaged through their own lived experience. According to Hall, the community of Aboriginal people who have regularly met in the square over the past 30 years are some of the most marginalised and traumatised in the Indigenous community, as members of the Stolen Generations.⁶⁷⁰ Furthermore, evidence suggests the deliberate exclusion of Indigenous people from the public spaces of Adelaide not just as historical experience, but a contemporary one.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., 108.

⁶⁷⁰ Hall, 62.

This heavy narration is continued through the Arcadian Grove, a ruin-like installation through which the colonial statutory of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga are dismantled, “knocked off their pedestals” as conceptualized in Figure 5.40, and repositioned alongside a sound installation. According to Emmett these statues are reconceived as ‘The Oracles of Victoria Square’ which act as witnesses to past events in the Square. This installation is clearly derivative of the practices developed at the Museum of Sydney. At the Museum of Sydney Emmett utilised a strategy of juxtaposition, through the manipulation of image and text, in order to counter a linear view of history and reveal new meanings.⁶⁷¹ For example, both the sound installation by Paul Carter, *The Calling to Come* and the forecourt installation designed by Janet Laurence and Fiona Foley, *The Edge of the Trees*, utilise the juxtaposition of language and objects to interrogate relationships between Eora and colonial subjects at the site of contact. At the Arcadian Grove we find the direct application of these same techniques. In the case of the Museum of Sydney, Emmett consciously adopts these techniques to generate a sense of place through the metaphor of absence.⁶⁷² This is designed to reveal a place that is obscured, the archaeological dig site of Sydney’s First Government House buried underneath the new museum, and is located in a space that contains no existing users. However, this approach is perplexing when positioned in a civic space with existing users and associations of place.

⁶⁷¹ Carter, *Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research*, 75.

⁶⁷² Emmett, 112.; Gregory, 12.

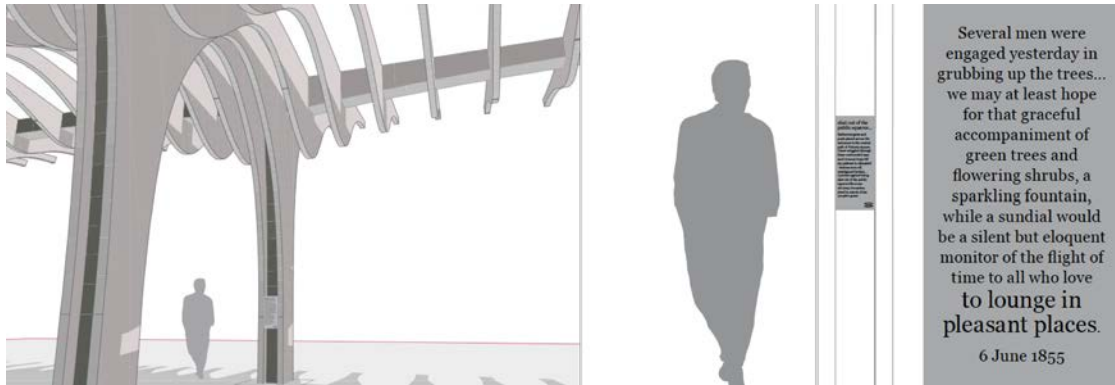


Figure 5.39. TaylorCullityLethlean, *The Arbour Fragments*, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 132.

The Arbour Text fragments inscribe interpretive narratives of place onto the surface of the arbor structure.



Figure 5.40. Taylor Cullity Lethlean. *The Arcadian Grove*, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 112.

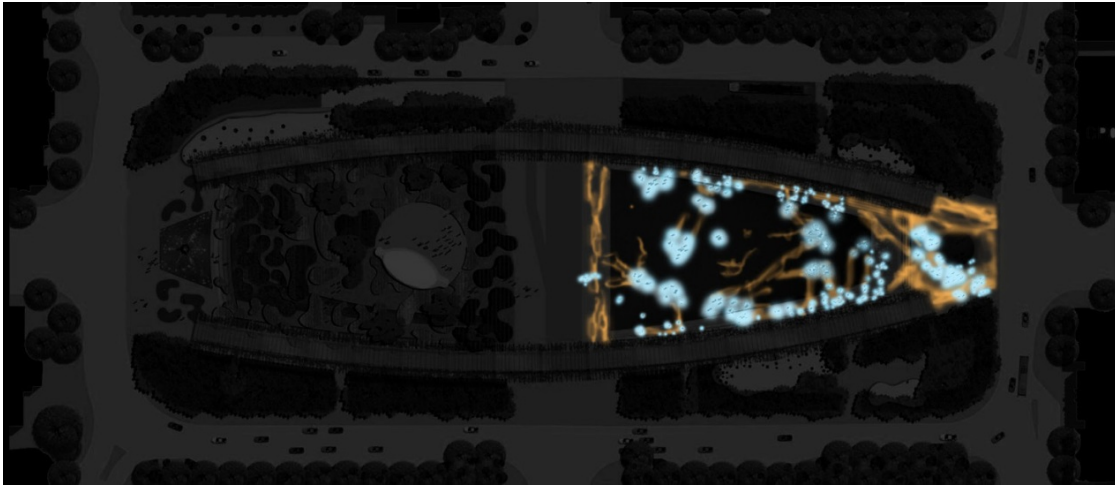


Figure 5.41. Taylor Cullity Lethlean. *The Digital Sigh*, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 116.

The proposed cultural curation of the landscape at Victoria Square extends to the active engagement with the site, which is very different to the more discrete but indeterminate zoning of program found at Waitangi Park. For example, real-time digital installations and projections, drawing on technology, lighting and social media, suggest a new interactive landscape. One such proposed installation, the "Digital Sigh", projects the passage of people through the square onto the urban surface, offering a kind of residue of movement as shown in Figure 5.41.⁶⁷³ Other strategies include a large digital scrim suspended from the arbour, a series of OLED 'augmented reality' pillars, digital pod sculptures, and digital graffiti projections.

However, a closer interrogation of this interactivity reveals a highly curated and prescriptive strategy, best illustrated by the concept of the digital graffiti. The digital graffiti strategy offers the user the opportunity to generate 'digital messages' that could be projected onto the surfaces of the square and publically 'tagged' to a geospatial location using smartphone technology (Figure 5.42). However, this strategy implies a level of content control with all messages running through the 'digital graffiti' application. This is most apparent when we view this in contrast to Waitangi Park, where the provision of more traditional graffiti wall surfaces provides opportunities for the community, particularly youth stakeholders, to engage in political conversations. For example, Figure 5.43 illustrates the expression of artists at Waitangi Park in response to the Paris Charlie Hebdo bombings. However, at VS/T the inevitable form of censorship to artistic expression implied by technology institutionalizes interactivity, removing the subversive edge and creative potential normally associated with graffiti and urban art projects.

⁶⁷³ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 115.



Figure 5.42. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, *Digital Graffiti*
"Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration
Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The
Government of South Australia, 2011: 124.



Figure 5.43. Author's photograph, A regional response to
the Charlie Hebdo Bombings expressed on the graffiti wall
at Waitangi Park, 13/01/2015

The mirroring of the museum as a typology is extended to the framing of interactivity in the passive recreational spaces of the proposed Native Garden in the southern Stage 2 of the masterplan. Mirroring the 'docent' of the museum, the design team propose that the garden will be inhabited by trained cultural guides and gardeners, 'hosts' who provide visitor interaction and information.⁶⁷⁴ These interactions, it is suggested by the landscape architect, could take on a theatrical quality of orchestrated surprise for the visitor, potentially forming part of an ephemeral pieces of performance art.⁶⁷⁵ The institutionalisation of interactivity implicit in such a proposition is discordant with the special role that Adelaide's city squares and parks have held for Aboriginal people as places of social convergence on one hand, and exclusion on the other.

The intent to didactically narrate the postcolonial landscape is legible at Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga when viewed in contrast to the interpretive elements of lived culture applied at Waitangi Park. For example, in the southern Native Garden designers position the proposed mosaic of organically shaped native plantings as a narrative thread throughout the space, alongside "special pavements that "reflect the stories and culture of the Kaurna people."⁶⁷⁶ The conceptual generator adopted by the design team emerged from the pattern generated by Indigenous firestick farming, and was in part inspired by the superimposition of artwork by Pupunya painter Johnny Warangula Tjupurrula depicting this pattern overlaid onto the plan during the iterative process.⁶⁷⁷ Arguably the reduction of cultural practices to graphic patterns is problematic for Australian designer, given the loaded history of the theft of intellectual property from Aboriginal artists and First Nations more broadly.⁶⁷⁸ The application of

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., 91.

⁶⁷⁵ Cullity, 196.

⁶⁷⁶ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 29; .

⁶⁷⁷ Cullity, 193.

⁶⁷⁸ The literature discussing issues around Aboriginal art in relation to copyright, intellectual property and cultural appropriation is extensive. See: Elizabeth Burns Coleman, *Aboriginal Art, Identity and*

spatial pattern is less problematic for Wraight+Athfield at Waitangi Park, where pathways that evoke historic Māori land-use are grounded in the site. Spatialized as patterns of circulation which slice through the gently titled topography resume an interrupted pattern of land-use, reflecting the act of dragging boats up onto the Te Aro foreshore. More effectively, decolonisation is enacted through the everyday lived experience and practices which are engaged with in the civic landscape. This is supported by the arrangement of cultural elements within the site, such as the ceremonial elements of the Waharoa and powhiri mound, spatially support these programs.

In this new vision for the square, civic is understood as an expression and representation of culture, stories and histories achieved largely through interpretation, narration and way finding strategies. Conversely, civicness within urban space is assumed to encourage individual and collective expression, interaction and dialogue of democracy. Positioned within a reconciliation context, civicness would extend to building mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous and other Australians. The adoption of these place making strategies not only limits the square's ability to perform as space of collective expression, but potentially continues practices of spatial exclusion that have marginalized Indigenous relationships to civic space in Australian cities.

The importance of Indigenous spatial engagement and ownership has been discussed extensively in scholarship from architecture, urban design, cultural studies and history.⁶⁷⁹ Consistent to all is the importance of engaging with the practices of everyday life, arguing for an engagement with the dynamics of contemporary Aboriginal life, rather than the representation of Aboriginal culture through static artefact or symbolism. This framing also holds true to the notions of civic space. This understanding is less preoccupied with the meaning of space, but instead how space can support individual and collective expression.

Appropriation (Routledge, 2017). Jane Anderson, "The Making of Indigenous Knowledge in Intellectual Property Law in Australia," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12, no. 3 (2005); Isabella Alexander, "White Law, Black Art," *ibid.* 10, no. 2 (2001); Tony Davies, "Aboriginal Cultural Property," *Law Context: A Socio-Legal J.* 14 (1996).

⁶⁷⁹ Shaneen Fantin, "Which Way?" (2008/01//Jan/Feb2008 2008).; Jacobs.; Carroll Go-Sam, "Carroll Go-Sam on Working with and against the Three Indigenous Design Paradigms," *ARCHITECTURE AUSTRALIA* 97, no. 5 (2008).; Kalervo N. Gulson and Robert J. Parkes, "From the Barrel of the Gun: Policy Incursions, Land, and Aboriginal Peoples in Australia," *Environment and Planning A* 42, no. 2 (2010).; McGaw, Pieris, and Potter.; Paul Muldoon and Andrew Schaap, "Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation: The Constituent Power of the Aboriginal Embassy in Australia," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30 (2012).

Read against the historical development of Adelaide, the goals of reconciliation and an understanding to civicness, the interpretative ambitions and techniques expressed in this new vision for the square appear somewhat out of place. Rather than delivering a space of civic engagement inclusive of Indigenous Australians, the scheme serves to institutionalise and neutralise civic space, while shutting down opportunistic and spontaneous uses of space. Further, the heavily designed external spaces erase the existing civic relationships and meanings inherent to the site.

Symbolic design responses in Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga, however well intentioned, are further undermined by the continuing ambiguity of the legislative control of the space at the level of policy and placemaking, reflecting the unsettled state of constitutional and legislative decolonization in multicultural Australia. Victoria Square has been well known to be a space of public drinking by a mostly Indigenous homeless community, and was subject to a controversial re-zoning as a 'dry area' in 2001 by Adelaide City Council.⁶⁸⁰ According to Hall, the community of Aboriginal people who have regularly met in the square over the past 30 years are some of the most marginalised and traumatised in the Indigenous community, as members of the Stolen Generations.⁶⁸¹ This re-zoning has widely been discussed as being a racially motivated decision, which effectively targeted and drove Aboriginal people from one of their most favoured and important meeting places in the city of Adelaide.

This echoes the experiences of 'parkies' in other public spaces throughout Australia, such as Weld Square in Perth – where the sprinklers were switched on reputedly for irrigation purposes, but effectively discouraged Aboriginal people sitting in the square.⁶⁸² This typical response, which is well explored by scholars such as Jane M. Jacobs and Hannah Lewi, reflects a continuation of the policing and control of Aboriginal people in the city dating back to settlement.⁶⁸³ As Harris suggests, "Even after the dismantling of the government legislation that could proscribe the area that Indigenous Australians should occupy, the law is still implicated in the creation of a spatial segregation that is intent upon removing Aboriginal people from the public gaze."⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸⁰ Hall, 66-69.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., 62.

⁶⁸² To clarify, terms such as 'parkies' are used by Australian Indigenous public space dwellers to identify themselves with their 'home' environment, seeing themselves as 'placed' and eschewing labels such as 'homeless'. Paul Memmott et al., "Categories of Indigenous' Homeless' People and Good Practice Responses to These Needs: Work in Progress," in *AHURI Final Report No. 49* (Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Limited, 2003). For further discussion of Weld Square see: James Rogers and Christopher Sawyer, "The Black Stump," *Architecture Australia* 87, no. 1 (1998).

⁶⁸³ Jacobs. Hannah Lewi, "Whose Heritage: The Contested Site of the Swan Brewery," *Fabrications* 15, no. 2 (2005).

⁶⁸⁴ Mark Harris, "Mapping Australian Postcolonial Landscapes: From Resistance to Reconciliation?," *Law Text Culture* 7 (2003): 73.

At the time the law was instated, criticism from the community sector suggested that the dry zone specifically targeted Aboriginal people who would normally gather in open space, being refused service at pubs, and would ultimately result in more Aboriginal people incarcerated, which would be in breach of the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody.⁶⁸⁵ Celebrated Chilean-Australian artist Juan Davilla, highlighted a hypocrisy inherent to the application of the dry zone law as "an affirmation of a will for order, can be read as a perversion, given the dependence of the economy on the wine industry."⁶⁸⁶ This remains a contemporary issue with the dry zone law trialled at Victoria Square and now extended across all park lands throughout Adelaide, found by ICHAG, the Independent Community-Wide Homelessness Administrators Group, in a 2015 report to unfairly target vulnerable people within the homeless Indigenous population of Adelaide.⁶⁸⁷ Arguably through the ongoing application of the dry zone law in this way, council undermines the continued flying of the flag in the square and the application of dual-signage to the square, for as Goldsworthy suggests "it might as well be called Empty Gesture Square."⁶⁸⁸ This reading of the square is consistent with the critique of creative cities strategies which suggests that despite aspirations to diversity and equality these strategies largely serve to support the aspirations of developers, at the expense of marginalised urban communities.⁶⁸⁹

The Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project masterplan constituted the boldest vision for the square to date. The masterplan included a radical re-articulation of the perimeter roads surrounding the square to reinstate a rounded rectangular footprint, modifying the existing diamond configuration. The required major traffic engineering works to re-align the tramway along the western edge, alongside new feature paving of Grote-Wakefield Streets. Other design details included the shifting of the Three Rivers Fountain from the north to the south of the square, to be replaced by a water play fountain in the north. The masterplan also stipulated the movement of the Australian and Aboriginal flags to the central plaza of the square, situated on the southern edge of Grote-Wakefield Streets. The design also proposed the removal of the Queen Victoria Memorial out of its central median location to an adjacent sculptural garden, 'The Arcadian Grove'. These elements, in addition to the interpretive and arts strategies, alongside perimeter landscape elements, the events lawn, the mosaic garden and the harbour, constitute an ambitious and unprecedented restructuring of the urban morphology of the square.

⁶⁸⁵ Kerryn Goldsworthy, *Adelaide* (UNSW Press, 2011), 30.

⁶⁸⁶ Juan Davilla's essay 'The Ruins of Adelaide' as quoted in Tracy Crisp, "Destination: Adelaide," *The Griffith Review* 15, no. Autumn 2007 (2007).

⁶⁸⁷ Craig Cook, "Yorke Peninsula Elder Says Adelaide Parklands Dry Zone Legislation Is Racist in Report," *The Advertiser* 2015.

⁶⁸⁸ Goldsworthy, 29.

⁶⁸⁹ Shaw and Montana, 169-71.

However, much of this vision remains unbuilt. TCL/TZG completed detailed design of the entire project, and contract documentation for Stage One, inclusive of the northern section of the site and the central plaza.⁶⁹⁰ Construction of Stage 1 of the masterplan commenced in March 2013 and was completed in February 2014, at a cost of \$28 million.⁶⁹¹ Stage 1 consists of only 20-25% of the total masterplan, and does not include the construction of the arbor promenade, the largest gesture to reconcile the square into a collective space.⁶⁹² In its contemporary incarnation, the central plaza named Reconciliation Plaza, operates as the most substantial spatial and symbolic gesture of reconciliation legible from the masterplan, achieved through the application of the plaza paving and the central re-positioning of the Indigenous and Australian flag poles.

The masterplan redevelopment of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga came at a time of unprecedented renewal in Adelaide, alongside to the redevelopment of Adelaide Hospital, North Terrace, Adelaide Oval, the Riverbank Precinct and Festival Centre, the Parklands redevelopment, Adelaide Railway Station and the Convention Centre. As time passes, further redevelopment conceived in the masterplan seem unlikely to come to fruition on the ground. In discussing the project, Peter Tonkin lamented the difficulty of funding for the project, suggesting that it was an increasing challenge for public architecture and public realm in Australia, increasingly reliant financial support from all three levels of governance.

It is increasingly [down to] the Federal Government - its tax base is increasing and state tax base is decreasing, so major urban projects started by the local and state governments, need Federal funding, it's a simple as that. They don't have the money anymore.⁶⁹³

In the end, the largest challenge for the realization of the vision for Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga continues to be economic, with the project competing for funding against other capital works projects in the state capital.

⁶⁹⁰ Cullity, 192.

⁶⁹¹ Brett Williamson, "Council Accused of 'Mismanagement' over Projects Debt," ABC Adelaide, <http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2013/04/30/3748070.htm>.

⁶⁹² Tonkin.

⁶⁹³ Ibid.

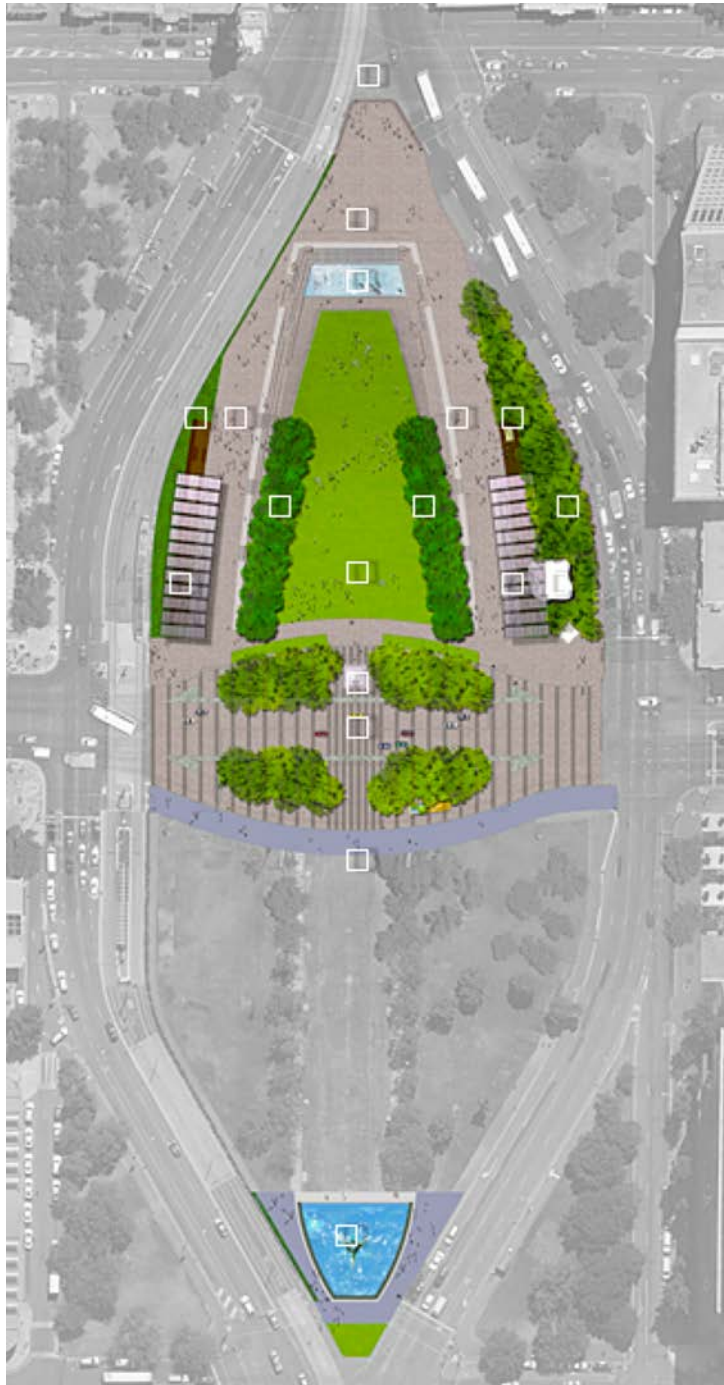


Figure 5.44. Brett Williamson, *Stage 1 Masterplan*, 2013, "Council Accused of 'Mismanagement' over Projects Debt." ABC Adelaide, <http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2013/04/30/3748070.htm>.

5.4 Conclusion

With a shared heritage, the sovereign and settlement history of both cities set up differing planning challenges for urban renewal in the twentieth century. This examination revealed two different approaches to urban renewal and placemaking, based around internationalism and heritage. The 1986 Lambton Harbour Development Plan for the Wellington Waterfront constituted a nine-hundred-million-dollar redevelopment of the waterfront site reliant on public-private partnerships. The scheme attempted to balance commercial development with the provision of public amenities, and the retention of maritime heritage architecture through commercial redevelopment. However, a changing economic and cultural landscape stymied much of the aspirations of the scheme, and began a civic debate over public and private ownership of space on the Waterfront.

New placemaking strategies in both cases was driven by economic imperatives and framed by notions of the creative city. While Wellington City Council adopted a comprehensive model through the Wellington Waterfront Framework, framed against the Treaty obligations of the Resource Management Act. By contrast Adelaide City Council's placemaking is more fragmented, driven by culture and programmatic strategies which acknowledge indigeneity on the one hand, and preserve European heritage on the other. Alongside local aspirations to revitalise the city was the continuation of an impetus to preserve and celebrate Adelaide's novel planning history, with the aspiration to attain National Heritage recognition. This marks a continuation of a heritage narrative amongst city planner and policy makers which dominated discussions of architecture and design in framing of the city.

When considering the first design iterations at the level of the urban park to be produced post-RMA & RAP, more direct design responses to postcolonialism can be found. Along the Wellington Waterfront, designers were applying urbanism and ecology as decolonising devices, whereas Australian designers were using symbolic zoning and pattern-making strategies as acts of reconciliatory acknowledgement.

In comparing design master plans for the most recent iterations of the urban park, broadly the design approaches can be simplified to an exploration of postcolonial ecology and urban systems at Waitangi Park, as compared to more symbolic postmodernist approach driven by interpretation at Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga. The long history of intense civic agitation along the waterfront precinct provided opportunity for design ideas to develop over an extended period. These responses were framed against local council's obligations to the Waitangi Tribunal, through the RMA and the Environment Court process. New Zealand designers Wraight+ Athfields applied a declamation strategy to integrate the waterfront edge with city and sea, alongside programmatic interventions to support lived cultures. Landscape Architects

Wraight + Associates have a defined practice agenda for designing cultural landscapes, intertwining the romantic landscape with urbanist tactics of ecology and social practice as devices to evoke the imaginary. Both tactics were supported by and aligned with the agenda of the Tenth Trust, as the key Māori stakeholder group in Wellington.

Given its ground-breaking status, Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga has been universally celebrated as an exemplary project, particularly in terms of its reconciliatory response, with very little design critique. As a largely unbuilt form, the project was received by the design press with praise.⁶⁹⁴ In terms of professional recognition, the project is also widely awarded. The Masterplan received the 2010 SA Local Government Award for Planning Excellence; the 2010 Urban Design SA Commendation for Planning Excellence; a commendation for Urban Design at the 2011 Planning Institute of Australia National Awards for Planning Excellence and the 2011 Australian Institute of Landscape Architecture SA Award for excellence in Urban Design. The constructed Stage 1 is similarly celebrated, having been awarded the 2015 AILA SA Award of Excellence for Urban Design, the Australian Institute of Architecture's 2015 Gavin Walkley Award for Urban Design, and the 2016 AILA National Award for Urban Design. This celebration, without critique, from a design community with very few examples to turn to, is problematic as it sets up the project as a model for exemplary procedure.

Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga is the first urban design project of its kind, and is a project without precedent in Australia in terms of encapsulating the aspirations of reconciliation within a civic space. The redesign of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Square offered the potential for demonstrating a fresh design approach for a civic space reflective of a new era of reconciliation. It is important to acknowledge the challenges faced by the design team given this task. However, in the absence of formal redress, legislative change and the subsequent revision of urban and environmental history that such a process should produce, the designers are largely limited to symbolism and museological design techniques. As such, the Australian designers cannot draw on the same processes that drove design responses at Waitangi Park.

⁶⁹⁴ Warwick Keates, "Victoria Square Masterplan:[the Redevelopment of a Central Adelaide Public Space.]," *Landscape Architecture Australia* August 2010, no. 127 (2010); Matt Davis, "Victoria Square Tarndanyangga:[Adelaide's Latest Urban Regeneration Project.]," *Architecture Australia* 99, no. 4.

Instead, this discussion reveals the emergence and reliance on the 'placemaker' agent as the dominant strategy in Australia for designers to respond to issues of indigeneity and reconciliation in the absence of legislative change. By contrast, the framework of the RMA, Environment Court and the Waitangi Tribunal have provided designers with a more structured process of decolonization to work through design responses which engage with Māori landscape values and practices.

The adoption of a 'New Civic' philosophy derived from the experience of the new museum, rather than an understanding of physical and political space leads to the privileging of representational strategies of narration, symbolism and inscription over spatial practices reflective of collective and individual expressions of democracy. Rather than interrogating what civic space might be in an era of reconciliation, the design instead offers a new 'interpretation' of place layered over a space that is already imbued with significance and meaning realized through lived spatial practices.

Problematically, these strategies potentially represent the continuation of practices of spatial exclusion that have marginalized Indigenous relationships to civic space throughout Australian cities. The formalisation of program, the restriction of informal use, the heavily narrated spaces and the highly-curated interactions all act to control and institutionalise how the public perceive and use public space. Combined, these strategies may act to 'museumify' the square rather than redefining the square as the vibrant heart of the city. The following chapter will continue this discussion through the architectural frame of the indigenous cultural centre.

Chapter 6 Culture Makers

Architecture

6.1 Introduction: Making Civic Architecture

The very notion of an indigenous cultural centre as a typology provokes questions over the degree to which architecture can shape citizenship in settler colonial contexts through the armament of culture. McGaw and Pieris suggest that the typology of the indigenous cultural centre, blending the museum, gallery, community centre and the memorial "emerged as a mechanism for instrumentalising political reconciliation in the 1990s.⁶⁹⁵" Drawing on this connection to the museum, the indigenous cultural centre could be viewed through the lens of Bennett's discussion of the museum as civic laboratories, wherein an experiment of assemblage plays out:

through the studied manipulation of the relations between people and things in a custom-built environment, to produce new entities that can be mobilized both within the museum and outside it in social and civic programmes of varied kinds.⁶⁹⁶

The metropolitan cultural centre offers the opportunity to apply architecture as a civic technology to shape decolonisation. However, the expression of indigenous culture through architecture is a more complex negotiation than the relationship between people and objects as within the frame of the museum, reflecting the dynamic shifts in the political, cultural and economic context of settler colonialism. Framed by culture, the typology is at once referential to pre-colonial indigenous practices of landscape, but also shaped by the spatial contestations of colonisation, as much entangled with an unstable settler colonial identity as with the definitions of indigeneity.⁶⁹⁷

Implicit in this process is an engagement with a compromised socio-spatial process inherent to architectural conventions grounded in Western traditions of practice and knowledge. Moreover, this process is problematic for Indigenous communities for while it attains a visible prominence in the metropolis, it does so through the political compromise of the fixed architectural object.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁵ McGaw and Pieris, 3.

⁶⁹⁶ Tony Bennett, "Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthook and the Governance of the Social," *Cultural Studies* 19, no. 5 (2005): 525.

⁶⁹⁷ McGaw and Pieris, 1-2.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 52-53.

Despite inherent challenges for design, there are increasing demands for architects to respond to the politics of postcolonialism in settler contexts throughout the world, demonstrated in survey studies such as Jonathan Alfred Noble's 'African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture' (2011).⁶⁹⁹ There are further examples of architectural engagement with the politics of sovereignty and the articulation of culture in the settler societies elsewhere in the northern hemisphere, such as the Canadian Museum of Anthropology, at the University of British Columbia.⁷⁰⁰

Within the New Zealand context, the design discussion in architecture is driven by the revival of Māori architecture typologies such as the wharehau, particularly in the wake of the Māori renaissance.⁷⁰¹ Architectural practitioners in New Zealand are continuing to reflect upon and engage with the proposition of what defines bicultural architecture.⁷⁰² This builds upon the extensive discussion of the bicultural approach taken to the design of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa as the international exemplar of the new museum.⁷⁰³

In the Australian context, there is a significant body of discourse which critically explores the framing of Aboriginal architecture. Reflecting a heightened engagement from architectural researchers in the wake of the 2008 Parliamentary Apology and the nearing completion of Native Title Settlement processes, new research has been produced celebrating Indigenous Architecture more broadly, as well as critically exploring the typology of the Australian Indigenous cultural centre.⁷⁰⁴ Given the tensions within the decolonising process of Australia, much discussion concerns negotiating the complexities of cultural architecture for designers. For

⁶⁹⁹ Noble.

⁷⁰⁰ See: Jonathan Alex Clapperton, "Contested Spaces, Shared Places: The Museum of Anthropology at Ubc, Aboriginal Peoples, and Postcolonial Criticism," *BC Studies*, no. 165 (2010).; Miriam Clavir, *Preserving What Is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002).

⁷⁰¹ Mike Austin, "Biculturalism and Architecture in Aotearoa/New Zealand," *National Identities* 5, no. 1 (2003); Brown.

⁷⁰² Justine Harvey, "Conversation: Bicultural Architecture," *Architecture New Zealand*, no. 4 (2012).

⁷⁰³ Henare. Gore, *Representations of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*. Paul Harvey Williams, *New Zealand's Identity Complex: A Critique of Cultural Practices at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* (2003). Philipp Schorch, "The Experience of a Museum Space," *Museum Management & Curatorship* 28, no. 2 (2013).

⁷⁰⁴ I acknowledge my own engagement as a research assistant as part of McGaw and Pieris' ARC Linkage Project, Indigenous Placemaking in Central Melbourne: Representations, practices and creative research, the outcomes of which included the publication of: Anoma Pieris et al., *Indigenous Place: Contemporary Buildings, Landmarks and Places of Significance in South East Australia and Beyond* (Parkville, Victoria: Melbourne School of Design, 2014). McGaw and Pieris. Anoma Pieris, *Indigenous Cultural Centers and Museums: An Illustrated International Survey* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016). Elizabeth Grant et al., *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture* (Springer, 2018).

example, Paul Memmott has contributed theory for both design process and the documentation of traditions of Aboriginal architecture through an anthropological frame, while Shaneen Fantin discusses the intricacies of articulating Australian Aboriginal identities, ancestors and places through architecture.⁷⁰⁵ Kim Dovey traces, through Glen Murcott's Yirrkala house, the dynamics between architecture and aboriginality as constructed and distorted through the media.⁷⁰⁶ Similarly, Janet McGaw, Anoma Pieris and Emily Potter discuss the marginalisation of Aboriginal people within the dominant processes of architectural and urban 'place-making'.⁷⁰⁷ Carroll Go-Sam illustrates the territorial difficulties inherent to the realisation of a metropolitan Indigenous Cultural Centre, through the Musgrave Park Cultural Centre (Brisbane), whereby the architecture is subject to "heightened and exaggerated claims about its purpose and intent to those within and outside its Aboriginal constituency."⁷⁰⁸

When considering the civic realm of these two urban renewal schemes, the most incisive responses to reconciliation policy is found to be articulated at the level of architectural expression, through the indigenous centres Te Raukura Te Wharewaka o Pōneke and the Mullabakka Centre for Indigenous Culture. Located at Taranaki Wharf, the celebrated Māori boat house Te Wharewaka o Pōneke is the physical manifestation of Wellington City Council's commitment to mana whenua as part of its moral and ethical obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. Similarly, the design gesture to insert an indigenous cultural centre into Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga can be traced back to Adelaide City Council's comparable commitment to recognise Kaurna heritage through the physical features of the city as part of its 1997 Reconciliation Vision Statement. In the broadest terms, we see articulated in these centres a model of obligation against a more discretionary model of recognition, reflecting the relative difference between the two countries.

⁷⁰⁵ Paul Memmott, "Aboriginal Signs and Architectural Meanings," *Architectural Theory Review* 2, no. 1 (1996).; "Cultural Change and Tradition in the Indigenous Architecture of Oceania," *Architectural Theory Review* 16, no. 1 (2011). Also: Shaneen Fantin, "Aboriginal Identities in Architecture," *Architecture Australia*, no. 5 (2003).

⁷⁰⁶ Kim Dovey, "Myth and Media: Constructing Aboriginal Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education* 54, no. 1 (2000). See also "Architecture About Aborigines," *Architecture Australia* 85, no. 4 (1996).

⁷⁰⁷ McGaw, Pieris, and Potter. McGaw and Pieris; Pieris et al.

⁷⁰⁸ Carroll Go-Sam, "Fabricating Blackness: Aboriginal Identity Constructs in the Production and Authorisation of Architecture," in *SAHANZ 2011: Audience. XXVIIIth International Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* ed. Antony Moulis; Deborah van der Plaats (Brisbane, QLD, Australia: Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ), 2011), 18.

McGaw and Pieris reflect that “Indigenous cultural centres are rarely static; they are a typology in evolution.”⁷⁰⁹ This chapter considers two such examples reflective of the articulation of this typology in flux. State aspirations for reconciliation are reflected through the governance and positioning of both indigenous cultural centres within the broader project contexts of both the Wellington Waterfront Redevelopment and Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga. The exploration the design of the two civic cultural centres is driven according to three frames: governance, design and program. This discussion will first consider Te Wharewaka as the exemplary Antipodean model for indigenous cultural centres in a metropolitan context, beginning with the reciprocal governance established by decolonisation.

⁷⁰⁹ McGaw and Pieris, 1.

6.2 Reciprocal Governance: Te Raukura Te Wharewaka o Poneke

Te Raukura Te Wharewaka o Poneke, referred to more casually as 'the Wharewaka', is the most visible articulation in the waterfront's built environment of Wellington City Council's reconciliatory obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. Reflecting the bicultural relationship between *tangata tiriti* and *tangata whenua* structured into the treaty, the building is shaped through a structure of partnership. This organisation is reflected in the economics underpinning the construction of the centre. The building construction cost of \$12.5 million dollars was collectively funded, with \$7 million grant coming from the crown, \$1 million from the Wellington City Council, while the remaining funds were provided as five year loans to Wharewaka trust by the iwi trusts.⁷¹⁰

Emerging from this ambition of redress, *tangata whenua* Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika (Taranaki Whānui) are directly positioned as the client. The significant investment on the part of the iwi has shaped and driven a clear strategy of programming around economic imperatives. The *tangata whenua* settlement trusts of Wellington Harbour/Te Whanganui-a-Tara are represented by the Wharewaka o Poneke Charitable Trust, and today they administer and manage the Wharewaka as an events facility. The settlement trusts consist of the Wellington Tenths Trust, the Port Nicholson Block Treaty Settlement Trust, and the Palmerston North Māori Reserve Trust.⁷¹¹

⁷¹⁰ Linda Tyler, "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Poneke," *Architecture New Zealand*, no. 4 (2012): 54.

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

		Group		Palmerston North Māori Reserve	
	Note	2013	2012	2013	2012
CAPITAL					
Trust Capital		45,209,350	44,352,867	38,260,606	36,335,197
TOTAL CAPITAL		45,209,350	44,352,867	38,260,606	36,335,197
<i>Represented By</i>					
CURRENT ASSETS					
Westpac Banking Corporation		642,292	30,634	631,112	16,621
Accounts Receivable		31,914	17,224	31,914	17,224
Accrued Interest		110	-	110	-
Prepayments		15,884	4,521	14,696	3,317
Rent Arrears		44,269	94,245	43,589	94,153
Wellington Tenth Trust		34,602	(143,421)	34,602	(143,421)
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS		769,071	3,203	756,023	(12,106)
NON-CURRENT ASSETS					
FIXED ASSETS	12	153,243	504,626	144,563	500,016
INVESTMENTS					
Mellifcare Palmerston North Limited—Equity	6	7,069,500	8,166,500	-	-
Thorndon Quay Development		22,912	-	22,912	-
Baxters Limited		-	-	1,774,136	1,800,204
Wharewaka o Poneke Charitable Trust	13	950,549	894,522	950,549	894,522
Shares	15	-	-	600	600
Investment Properties	16	68,273,000	67,595,600	66,588,000	65,902,600
Other Investments	17	-	13,401	-	13,767
TOTAL INVESTMENTS		76,315,961	76,670,023	69,336,197	68,611,693

Figure 6.1. *Statement of Financial Position, "Annual Report Year Ended March 31, 2013."* Wellington: Palmerston North Māori Reserve Trust, 2013: 26

The reciprocal relationship between Council and Iwi is similarly reflected in governance of land use and property tenure. The land is owned and administered by the Wellington Waterfront Authority as part of the broader precinct. This drives a certain level of scrutiny set against the backdrop of a historically contested waterfront as a public precinct, as discussed in chapters 3 and 5 of this research. However, the building is owned and administered by the iwi trusts. This similarly reinforces a level of corporate accountability to Māori stakeholders. Investor dividends are published by the trusts, as capital investment and capital loans by the trust, such as that made for the Wharewaka, must be accounted for to members of the trust, who effectively sit in the position of shareholders. For example, as is illustrated in Figure 6.1, capital investment in Wharewaka o Poneke Charitable Trust is listed amongst the capital assets for the annual reports of the Palmerston North Māori Reserve Trust.⁷¹²

For Te Atiawa, the Wharewaka is emblematic of re-establishing a tangata whenua presence on the harbour at Wellington, which is physically and spiritually significant to Māori, as discussed in chapter 5, in concert with the import of hydrological systems to wellbeing/mauri (wellbeing). As discussed in chapter 1, the harbour performed as a place of transport, economy, warfare and ceremony. Waka (Māori canoes) were the primary form of transportation infrastructure utilised to negotiate the harbour, and throughout Aotearoa.⁷¹³ The largest and most elaborate single hulled war canoes, Waka taua, are today signifiers of self-determination and are used by for ceremonial events, as well as being enjoyed recreationally as a sport.

⁷¹² "Annual Report Year Ended March 31, 2013," (Wellington: Palmerston North Maori Reserve Trust, 2013).

⁷¹³ Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr, "Waka – Canoes - Pacific Origins," <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/waka-canoes/page-1>



Figure 6.2. Photograph by Phil Reid Alexander, *The two waka being launched ceremonially into Wellington Harbour from Petone Beach*, (Te Raukura on the right, and Te Aniwanuiwa on the left.), 1989. Turnbull Library Dominion Post Collection (PAColl-7327), National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa.

The governance of Te Wharewaka is subject ongoing disputes in relation to the settlement of the treaty as an ongoing lived experience. The story of the design of the Wellington Wharewaka is partly entangled in an inter-iwi dispute over the ownership of the waka, *Te Raukura* and how this relates to the issue of broader compensation from the Port Nicholson Block settlement treaty.

As part of the 1990 Treaty of Waitangi sesquicentenary celebrations, two Waka taua were commissioned by the neighbouring municipalities of Wellington City and Hutt City. (Figure 6.2)⁷¹⁴ There was an aspiration to construct two wharewaka to house the waka, and allow a ceremonial traverse across harbour by the two-sister waka.⁷¹⁵ Wellington's waka, *Te Raukura*, was built at Waiwhetu alongside a sister waka for Hutt City, *Te Aniwanuiwa*. Carved by master waka builder Rangi Hetet, Wellington City Council invested \$100,000 for the carving of *Te Raukura*.

⁷¹⁴ *Taone Tupu Ora : Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design* 91.

The two waka were first launched ceremonially into Wellington Harbour from Petone Beach in 1989. A documentary about the construction of these waka, 'He Waka Hono Tangata' was screened at the 2005 Wellington Film Festival. Robin Greenberg, *He Waka Hono Tangata =: A Canoe That Unites the People* ([New Zealand]: [publisher not identified], 2005).

⁷¹⁵ *Taone Tupu Ora : Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design* 91.

Despite *Te Raukura* being funded by Wellington ratepayers, Waiwhetu Māori took the responsibility and care for the waka when it was first constructed in the absence of a wharewaka in Wellington to house the boat. With some trepidation Waiwhetu Te Atiawa later ceremonially handed *Te Raukura* over to the custodianship of Wellington council.⁷¹⁶ Due to the belief in the embodied nature of waka, the ceremony was one of great loss for Waiwhetu Te Atiawa. However, *Te Raukura* fell into disrepair, and there is some question over whether council had appropriately stored the waka, which materially is sensitive to environmental conditions. The waka was returned to Waiwhetu to be rehulled in 2004 at expense of \$80,000 to council, where it was then retained for storage.⁷¹⁷

However, when the new boathouse opened on Waitangi Day, 2011, the waka for which it was built, *Te Raukura*, was conspicuously absent.⁷¹⁸ Due to the poor storage management of the traditionally tapu (sacred) waka, Waiwhetu Māori refused to return *Te Raukura* to Wellington City Council for the opening of the Wharewaka, prompting protracted court action. The long running dispute was enmeshed with the inter-iwi politics of the treaty process. Two stand-in waka from Whakatane were loaned for the opening ceremony of the Wharewaka.⁷¹⁹ Ultimately the issue was resolved through mediation, with *Te Raukura* purchased from Wellington City Council by Waiwhetu Te Atiawa for \$150,000 and replaced with a newly commissioned waka.

In parallel, a legal petition to investigate allegedly inappropriate spending of trust funds in the administration of Te Wharewaka was made, and dismissed by the office of the Auditor General.⁷²⁰ Waiwhetu Māori believe that the Port Nicholson Block 2008 Treaty settlement failed to properly address Waiwhetu compensation within the \$25 million cash and property outcome.⁷²¹ This embittered position was further articulated by Waiwhetu Māori in a heated critique in the popular press throughout the design

⁷¹⁶ Lillian Hetet, "Smoothing the Waters for Wellington's Waka," *Tu mai (Online)* February 2011, no. 115 (2011): 32-33.

⁷¹⁷ Waiwhetu Māori undertook building works to upgrade their Marae in 2005, and as part of that work commissioned the construction of the Te Māori cultural centre. Designed by Athfield Architects, Te Māori included the design of facilities to house both *Te Raukura* and *Te Aniwanīwa*. Te Māori takes its name from the 1984 watershed exhibition of Māori art which toured New Zealand and is considered as a high point of the Māori Renaissance, and the development of Biculturalism in New Zealand. Williams, 13-28.

⁷¹⁸ *Taone Tupu Ora : Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design* 91.

⁷¹⁹ Tim Donoghue, "Dispute Keeps Main Guest Away from Wharewaka Opening," (Dominion Post, The, 2011).

⁷²⁰ The auditor general Lyn Provost made the decision that the funds for the building *Te Raukura* were spent appropriately. "Investigation into *Te Raukura* Funds Ends," *The New Zealand Herald*, 07/31/2012 2012.

⁷²¹ This dispute played out publicly in the press through a series of letters to the editor between Waiwhetu Māori leader Dr Kara Puketapu and Port Nicholson Block Treaty Settlement Trust chairman Sir Ngatata Love. "Waka Tipped to Turn up for Wharewaka Ceremony," (Dominion Post, The, 2011).

process of the Wharewaka.⁷²² However, the legacy of this saga remains embedded in the retained name of the Wharewaka as 'Te Raukura Te Wharewaka o Pōneke' – despite the physical absence of the *Te Raukura waka*.

In spite of this territorial dispute over the ownership of the waka, and the appropriate investment of iwi funds, the Wharewaka is a widely awarded building, having received the 2011 Wellington Civic Trust Award in "Enhancement or Protection of the City's built environment"; the 2011 NZIA Wellington Architecture Award; the 2012 NZIA New Zealand Architecture Award; and a Merit commendation in the Special Purpose Property Award category of the 2011 Property Council New Zealand Awards, which celebrate excellence in commercial property development. The latter is particularly significant as it emphasises the degree to which the Wharewaka is exemplary as a commercial enterprise, as the awards assessment is rigorous, requiring submission of economic and financial data to prove efficient use of capital, maximum investor return, and in the case of public buildings such as the Wharewaka, community benefit.⁷²³

This sense of partnership is supported by parallel aspirations to reconnect *tangata whenua* Māori with Wellington harbour, alongside council's placemaking agenda of relinking the city to the sea. In interviews with both Wellington Waterfront and the Tenth Trust, a great deal of pride was expressed for the successful outcome of the Wharewaka project as it is composed within the overall structure of the waterfront. The commercial impact and cultural capital of the Wharewaka for the precinct is prized by the waterfront authority, such that WWF CEO Ian Pike reflects the wish that they "could have ten more Wharewaka."⁷²⁴ The following will consider how the reciprocal organisation established by Council's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi is similarly reflected in architectural form.

⁷²² There was speculation in the press that there was improper process in the construction funding of the wharewaka. There were also public comments criticising the size of the waka storage area, which suggested the allocation of floor space reflected the privileging of other economic drivers as the primary agendas of the Trusts investing in the building. Donoghue Tim and Rutherford Hamish, "Wharewaka Funding Inquiry Request Refused," (Dominion Post, The, 2012). Tata Parata, "The Sorrowful Mess of the Wharewaka," (Dominion Post, The, 2011).

⁷²³ "Property Council Rider Levett Bucknall Property Industry Awards 2011," Property Council New Zealand, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120302192628/http://www.propertynz.co.nz/index.asp?pageID=214586036> 1.

⁷²⁴ Ian Pike.

6.2.1 Negotiating Biculturalism through Architecture



Figure 6.3. Location of Te Wharewaka, Taranaki Street Wharf, Wellington Waterfront. Source: Nearmaps, 2018.

The insertion of the Wharewaka into the Wellington Waterfront is a direct response to the loss of a Māori architectural presence in the city, after the Wellington pā were emptied at the end of the 19th century. As previously discussed in chapter 2, Māori communities were displaced from their land, driven from the city and the space co-opted for other uses.⁷²⁵ Te Raukura Wharewaka Function Centre/Te Wharewaka O Poneke is located on the Taranaki Street Wharf Lagoon at the Wellington Waterfront (Figure 6.3). The Wharewaka sits on an angle on an arm protruding out from the Taranaki Street lagoon, squeezed amongst the existing heritage architecture of the waterfront. It is with some irony that the Wharewaka is located on reclaimed land, as it was the reclamation of the foreshore, Taranaki Wharf and the extension of Taranaki Street that cut Te Aro pā in two, further fracturing the marginalised Te Atiawa community.⁷²⁶ This particular location was a fortuitously available as a site for development within the precinct, as a largely dead space within the existing fabric of waterfront.⁷²⁷ As discussed in Chapter 3, in the early Lambton Harbour Development Project masterplan the site was the proposed location for the controversial hotel and casino complex. (Figure 6.4).

⁷²⁵ Taone Tupu Ora : *Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design* 91.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁷²⁷ There had been numerous other suggestions for this site during the redevelopment of the waterfront. During the controversial Variation 11 proposals for the waterfront, architect Ian Athfield (Athfields Architects), working alongside urban designers, had advocated the moving of the Free Ambulance building into this vacant space. Stuart Gardyne, "Stuart Gardyne: Recent Works, Wharewaka," in *Fast Forward 2012* (Auckland: The University of Auckland, 2012).

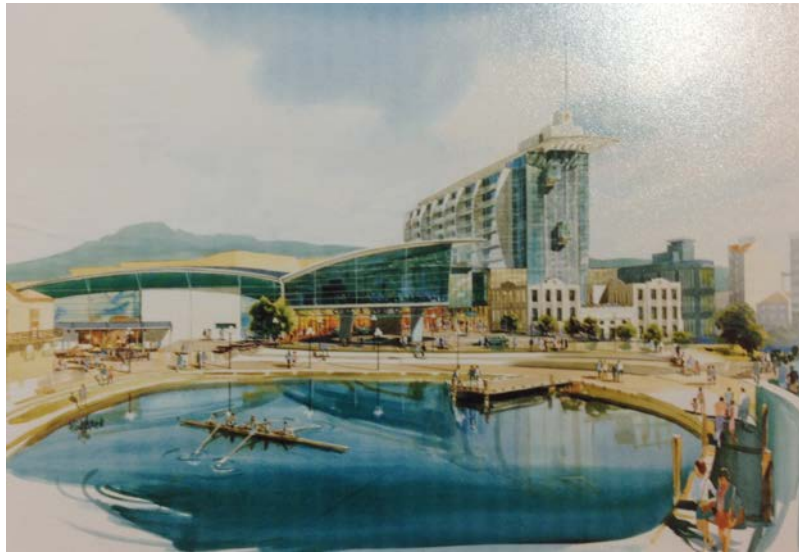


Figure 6.4. *The proposed Capital Hotel & Casino, Wellington, "Lambton Harbour Development Project."* edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-20. Wellington, New Zealand: Lambton Harbour Management Ltd, [199?]:20.



Figure 6.5. *The waka house and extended ramp at Te Papa, as first proposed in Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan, "Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan Design Description."* edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited, 1-21. Wellington, New Zealand, 1999: 18

The Wharewaka was originally proposed to be located near Te Papa as part of the Wellington's Waterfront Public Spaces Concept Plan, as discussed in Chapter 5. (Figure 6.5) This is described by the iwi as a meagre proposal for a "shed", which was felt to be insulting.⁷²⁸ The remnant of this as an idea remains in the built landscape of Waitangi Park in the form of a Waka landing beach at the mouth of the Waitangi Stream. (Figure 6.6). This was to be linked to the national marae within Te Papa (Figure 6.7), although this is contentious in some ways, as the idea of a national marae sits in conflict to the local interest of the Port Nicholson block. As Williams suggests of the National Marae,

While its appearance is unorthodox, the issue of the cultural ownership of the marae space is arguably more contentious: traditionally, the marae is the key symbol through which tribes assert their customary possession over land (and recognise another's). The local tribe exercises rights of invitation and procedure that governs the conduct of outsiders. In this case, however, the concept of the marae has been nationalised."⁷²⁹

The waka was specific to place and iwi, so there would be governance and ownership issues of locating with waka within the institutional framework of the museum. Furthermore, as illustrated in Figure 6.5, the space available to accommodate a Wharewaka was constrained by the existing fabric of Te Papa and the proposed design of Chaffers Park. However, in terms of siting the confluence of the Waitangi Stream and the harbour at this point offers the best approach to land waka on the waterfront, while also having strong cultural links to the Waitangi stream and Te Aro pa. As such, the competition winning Wraight Athfield Landscape + Architecture design for Waitangi Park very deliberately incorporated waka launch access.⁷³⁰

However, the Taranaki lagoon site too offered a practical place for waka launching, and landscape plans included an extension to the lagoon further to allow better access for both the Wharewaka and existing rowing clubs. In addition to the practical convenience of the site for the launching of vessels, it was also felt to be culturally appropriate. The aspect afforded by the site condition allowed a building footprint which faced north-east to Mount Taranaki, the Maunga of the local iwi.⁷³¹ This orientation of the Wharewaka aligns the building to traditional wharenui design.⁷³²

⁷²⁸ Melish.

⁷²⁹ Williams., 02.4 – 02.10.

⁷³⁰ Wraight.; Melish.

⁷³¹ Gardyne.; Tyler, 54.

⁷³² 54.



Figure 6.6. Wraight + Associates, *Waitangi Park*, 2019, <http://www.waal.co.nz/our-projects/urban/waitangi-park>.

Waitangi Park incorporates waka launching points from the beach or the pier at high tide.



Figure 6.7. Author's photo, *The waka ramps at Te Marae, Te Papa.*, 2013.

The waka landing beach at Waitangi Park created a linkage between the existing ramps at Te Marae, Te Papa.

The design team for Te Wharewaka features an architect, landscape architect, and a Māori architectural consultant, and a Māori carver, working in consultation with the client, WWF and WCC. This structure has enabled a hybrid design outcome. The building was designed by the Wellington based studio Architecture +, in consultation with Māori architect Mike Barnes from Auckland based Oceanic Architecture. The landscape was designed by architects Athfield Associates in collaboration with Wraight + Associates landscape architecture and architecture.

An analysis of the building form reveals a complex dialogue between bicultural identities. The Pākehā architect Stuart Gardyne, Director, Architecture+, drew inspiration from prints by the Pākehā painter Richard Killeen in developing the form of the roof of the building, through zinc panels and aluminium screens. Killeen was a key player in the appropriation debate which emerged from the 1992 touring exhibition of New Zealand art, *Headlands*, at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Sydney, where controversy raged over the works of senior artist Gordon Walters. Walters was recognized for his paintings where he explored formal ambiguities between figure and ground through the koru, an uncurling fern leaf motif found in the patterning of painted rafter in Māori meeting houses.⁷³³ While on the one hand Walters' paintings were explorations of pure formalism, at the time it was argued that he was making an appropriation of an uniquely Māori motif, "raiding another culture's treasure box for his own gain."⁷³⁴ Killeen, working in the wake of the Walters' controversy, developed a series of works also based on tukutuku patterns and structures derived from Māori items of personal adornment such as combs.⁷³⁵ Killeen's works utilised koru, chevron and triangle patterning, and while appearing 'Māorified', served to critique the idea of cultural copyright by exploring the universality of shapes and geometries across cultures.

⁷³³ Ibid., 52.

⁷³⁴ Ibid.

⁷³⁵ Ibid.



Figure 6.8. Photograph of Korowai, in Linda Tyler "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Poneke." *Architecture New Zealand*, no. 4 (2012): 51.

The application of bicultural geometries complicates the surface treatment of the Korowai.



Figure 6.9. Architecture+, *Te Wharewaka*. Architecture Plus Ltd, Accessed 2019-10-12, <http://architectureplus.co.nz/public/wharewaka/>.

The north side of the building draws heavily on the wharenui typology, including a marae ātea.

A parallel discussion surrounding cultural appropriation of form can be found in the Australian context, most notably in the debate surrounding the appropriation of the work of indigenous artists by the non-indigenous painter Imants Tillers, and the ensuing critique and appropriation of Tillers and others by indigenous artist Richard Bell.⁷³⁶ This remains a heated issue in the Australian art industry, due to the continuing appropriation of indigenous art through the tourism-driven arts and crafts market, and the impacts of the collapse of ATSIC on the art centre system in remote Indigenous communities in the early 2000s.⁷³⁷ Appropriation is problematic as a strategy for indigenous engagement, resounding as it does with experiences of loss, alienation and displacement more broadly. A parallel example within Australian landscape architecture is John Oldham's 1961 design for the parterre garden and car park at Serpentine Dam in Western Australia, which is celebrated as the first project of its kind to feature the direct borrowing of visual language and representation from Indigenous Western Desert painting.⁷³⁸ However, there is no revisionist design critique of the adoption of this pattern as an act of appropriation. This is surprising given a growing awareness of the complex customary ownership structures of cultural knowledge and form that render appropriation a particularly sensitive and complex challenge for artists and architects to engage with in the Australian context.⁷³⁹

Gardyne, inspired by this formal exploration, used Killeen's patterns as a generator for the roof form of the Wharewaka. The architects were interested in exploring the nuances of appropriation, and were particularly interested in the use of European folk symbols in late 19th century Māori architecture.⁷⁴⁰ This approach discursively engages with the history of cultural politics in New Zealand. Remarkably, while consulting with iwi on the project, these forms resonated for the client, the Killeen-style geometries echoing the sail form of an ocean-going waka.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁶ Rex Butler and Morgan Thomas, "'I Am Not Sorry': Richard Bell out of Context," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*, no. 1 (2003). Richard Bell, "Bell's Theorem: Aboriginal Art - It's a White Thing," (2002). Imants Tillers, "Locality Fails," in *The Myth of Primitivism*, ed. Susan Hiller (London: Routledge, 2006).

⁷³⁷ Coleman.

⁷³⁸ Andrew Saniga discusses the nuances of the development of these patterns, which while problematic, are significant as Oldham was the first to celebrate an Indigenous representational language in a large scale infrastructure project in Australia. Andrew Saniga, *Making Landscape Architecture in Australia*. (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2013), 135-43. Marc Treib, *The Architecture of Landscape, 1940-1960*, Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 262.

⁷³⁹ Paul Memmott and Joe Reser, "Design Concepts and Processes for Public Aboriginal Architecture" (paper presented at the 11th Conference on People Physical Environment Research, 2000).

⁷⁴⁰ Gardyne cited Rua's Temple of the Tuhoe people, Maungapohatu in the rugged Ureweras as a precedent, where, after the decline of Māori carving skills through colonisation, painted decorations were applied in Māori architecture. At Rua's Temple, motifs derived from a deck of playing cards has been applied to the façade. Gardyne.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

Gardyne describes this moment of serendipitous revelation:

In explaining this to our clients they immediately said this reminds us of ocean-going waka, the sails of waka, which is very interesting in the ways in which different people understand and perceive architecture and perceive form. And look I'd never seen a sail on an ocean-going waka before but that is what they saw, and they found this very powerful, they liked that idea even though that wasn't their intention.⁷⁴²

This experience of manifold semiotic readings has also been found to be common to the best practice examples of Indigenous Cultural Centres in Australian architecture. For example, at Brambuk Living Cultural Centre at Halls Gap in Victoria, the building form resonated with numerous totemic relationships and relationships to country beyond that originally intended by the architect, Gregory Burgess. According to Fantin, "Aboriginal users and clients of the facility have "seen" a range of ancestors, including cockatoos, eagles, and whales, in its physical form without them being purposefully designed into the building."⁷⁴³ Arguably, at Te Wharewaka the reception of the form by the client reflects the richness of the approach to the form applied by the design team to explore the traditional typology of the wharenui through a bicultural frame. As Memmott articulates of Brambuk:

Perhaps it can be said that an outstanding attribute of a piece of high-quality architecture is its capability to generate a semiotic dialogue with its users, to stimulate and maintain multiple meanings and associations which provides the users with an aesthetic response that combines intellectual complexity and intricacy with visual aesthetics.⁷⁴⁴

Building complexity, Māori architectural consultant Mike Barnes introduced of the element of the Korowai to the project, as the cloak which wraps around the roof and facades of the Wharewaka. This element, building on the Killeen patterning, resonates with the embodied nature of the wharenui typology in Māori architecture.⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴² Ibid.

⁷⁴³ Fantin, "Aboriginal Identities in Architecture," 84.

⁷⁴⁴ Memmott, "Aboriginal Signs and Architectural Meanings."

⁷⁴⁵ Brown.

Brown articulates the importance of the anthropomorphic quality of wharenuī to tribal belief and practice:

Some meeting houses are regarded as representing the physical body of an ancestor, usually the tribe's founding ancestor, if not an important mythological or ancestral person.... In keeping with this metaphor, orators delivering whaikōrero (formal speeches) on the marae will often address the house as a living ancestor.⁷⁴⁶

If, according to the traditions of Māori architecture, the building represents the human body, with the maihi (diagonal bargeboards) signifying the arms, the tāhuhu (ridge beam) the backbone, and the heke (rafters) signifying the ribs, the Korowai is the cloak that protects the building.⁷⁴⁷ The korowai is not only a symbolic shield, but acts as a functional skin to the architecture and resonating with the Māori built tradition. Zinc panels extend from portal to portal to conceal building services, and improve the overall performance of the building.⁷⁴⁸ Other elements drawn from traditional wharenuī architecture are found in the carved portal at the front of the building, and the mahau (porch).⁷⁴⁹

Tyler describes the Korowai as emblematic of a watershed shift in New Zealand architecture, "the perfect metonym for a new idiom of bicultural building."⁷⁵⁰ While having a resonance with the wharenuī typology, the Wharewaka is a contemporary construct which draws on the older typology. For example, unlike the wharenuī, the Wharewaka is visible from all sides, and the transparency of the façade treatment reflects the requirements of the Waterfront Authority and council for the building to contain public space.⁷⁵¹ Contextually, this public sphere of the waterfront is very different to the space of the private space of a marae. Given this situation, the following section will consider the programming strategy of Te Wharewaka.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., 51-52.

⁷⁴⁷ Deidre Brown, *Māori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenuī and Beyond* (Auckland, N.Z.: Raupo, 2009), 52-53.

⁷⁴⁸ Tyler, 55. See also *Taone Tupu Ora : Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design* 93. The wharewaka is constructed to high level of sustainability, exceeding 50 year standards in order to be a long term feature of the waterfront. It is built to withstand liquefaction, and includes passive environmental building services. Also Melish.

⁷⁴⁹ Morrie Love, "A Wharewaka for Wellington: Keeping a Maori Footprint in the City," in *Taone Tupu Ora : Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design* ed. Keriata Stuart and Michelle Thompson-Fawcett (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010), 95.

⁷⁵⁰ Tyler, 51.

⁷⁵¹ Melish.

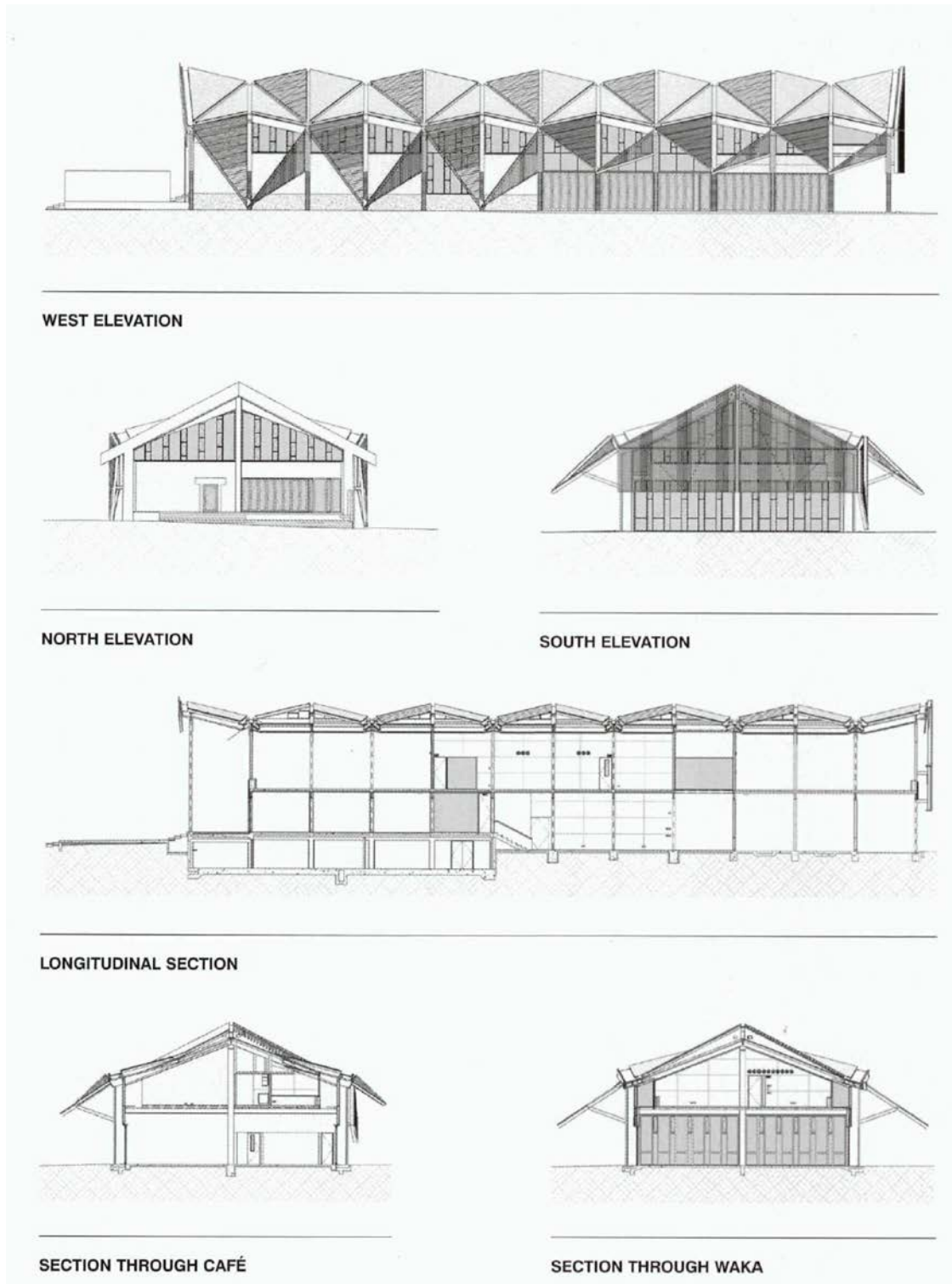


Figure 6.10. The elevations and sections illustrating the Korowai and permeability of the Wharewaka. in Tyler, Linda. "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Poneke." *Architecture New Zealand*, no. 4 (2012): 56.

6.2.2 Programming the Wharewaka

It was important to the client that the building in form and programming project a strong sense of collective iwi and Māori ownership, both in terms of local identity and international profile.⁷⁵² As such, the Wharewaka is positioned by the Te Wharewaka o Poneke Charitable Trust as a materialisation of a contemporary lived Māori culture, as contrasted to the museum space of Te Papa. Its primary function is to both house, promote and facilitate the use of waka, unlike a museum space where material culture is preserved and memorialised rather than practiced. However, only 10% of the total floor space of the Wharewaka is allotted to the storage of waka. The building also needed to accommodate various business and ceremonial functions for the iwi, such as Wellington office space for the Tenth Trust, as well as facilitating the meeting of the two landowning trusts, along with the Port Nicholson settlement trust.⁷⁵³

Te Raukura, with 1800m² building footprint, is comprised of three spaces or functions within a single building:

1. the Wharewaka, or waka (canoe) house;
2. Whare Tāpere, the conference, events and entertainment house; and
3. Wharekai, the eating house where the Karaka cafe is located.

It is arguably the latter, the Karaka café, which has been one of the strongest drivers of public use and activation around the Wharewaka. This is reflective of the economic imperatives set up by the governance structure of the Wharewaka, which has driven a very clear strategy of programming.⁷⁵⁴ Internally there are two large meeting rooms upstairs, as well as lettable office space. There are two kitchens, to cater for both the cafe and for the function centre. Ground floor includes a more public area, which includes a flexible-use hui (assembly or gathering) space for events and exhibitions. The function rooms are named after the three Wellington Harbour Islands owned and co-managed by the Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust, Matiu (Somes), Mokopuna and Makaro (Ward) islands.⁷⁵⁵ These spaces are utilised for anything from corporate conventions, gallery exhibitions and weddings, beyond the use of the settlement and landowner trusts, and the ceremonial needs of tangata whenua.

⁷⁵² Taone Tupu Ora : Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design 93.

⁷⁵³ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁴ Love, "A Wharewaka for Wellington: Keeping a Maori Footprint in the City," 98.

⁷⁵⁵ According to Legend both Matiu and Makaro Islands received their original Māori name from Kupe, the first navigator to reach New Zealand. Kupe named them after his two daughters when he first entered Wellington harbour. Te Wharewaka o Poneke Charitable Trust, "Te Wharewaka O Poneke," <http://www.wharewakaoponeke.co.nz/>.



Figure 6.11. *Te Wharewaka from the lagoon*, in Linda Tyler, "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Poneke." *Architecture New Zealand*, no. 4 (2012): 53.

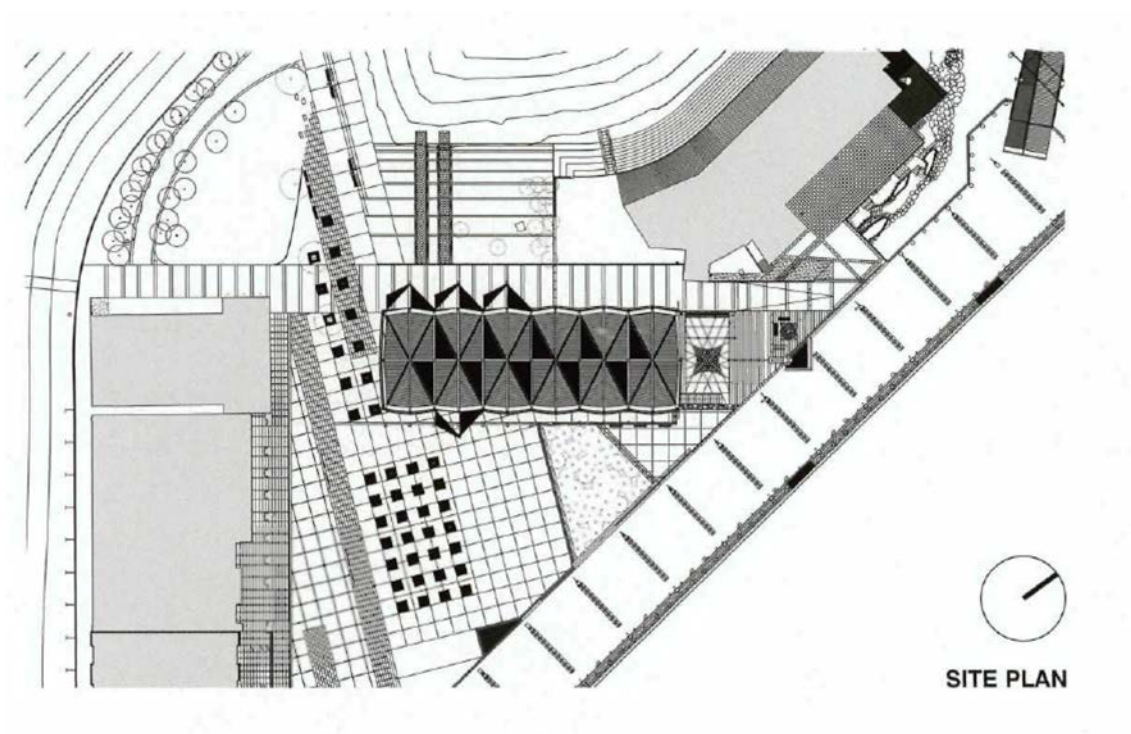


Figure 6.12. *Te Wharewaka Site Plan* in Linda Tyler, "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Poneke." *Architecture New Zealand*, no. 4 (2012): 55.

Further imperatives for a wharenui to facilitate ceremonial uses such as the powhiri have also dictated program for the external spaces. The landscape, like Waitangi Park is designed by the collaboration of Athfield & Associates with Wraight + Associates. It includes a karaka grove and re-shaped lagoon for launching the boats, alongside a marae ātea in the front of the building.⁷⁵⁶ A marae ātea is a courtyard or public forum located in front of the wharenui. It is a space to formally welcome visitors, as well as to debate issues.⁷⁵⁷ Benches were also constructed to form paepae to enable ceremonial functions outside, as well as inside of the Wharewaka.⁷⁵⁸ These ceremonial spaces spill into the public realm of the waterfront promenade, blurring the boundaries of the Wharewaka and the waterfront.

Conflicts between the cultural values and principles of a wharenui against the economic imperatives of the Wharewaka has generated a new set of challenges for the trustees. As chairman Morrie Love suggests,

that conflict of cultural values and principles versus economic function is something we didn't have to face when we were building them back in the old days. Obviously, there were economics in terms of the time, and the resource, but they didn't have to think about it 'returning' anything other than its function.⁷⁵⁹

The use of the internal and external spaces has been extended well beyond the traditional wharenui typology. The flexibility of use afforded within the spaces of the Wharewaka allow it to operate as an additional entertainment venue within the broader precinct, something which has generated tensions. Most notably, the Wharewaka operated as a live site during the Rugby World Cup in 2011.

⁷⁵⁶ Love, "A Wharewaka for Wellington: Keeping a Maori Footprint in the City," 95.

⁷⁵⁷ John C Moorfield, "Marae Ātea," in *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary* (New Zealand: Longman/Pearson Education, 2005).

⁷⁵⁸ Love, "A Wharewaka for Wellington: Keeping a Maori Footprint in the City," 95.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., 98.



Figure 6.13. Author's photograph, *The waka ramps continue the patterning of Te Wharewaka, and lead into the new lagoon, 2014.*



Figure 6.14. Architecture+. *Te Wharewaka*, Architecture Plus Ltd, <http://architectureplus.co.nz/public/wharewaka/>.

This use revealed an inherent tension between the traditional understandings and cultural uses of the wharenuī against this new typology space of the Wharewaka as a capital enterprise, generated through the public-private partnership between council and iwi. It was argued by dissenting Waiwhetu Te Atiawa iwi members that the use of the Wharewaka as a World Cup live site was culturally inappropriate. This was one of the reasons given for not returning the Te Raukura waka to the city, as Waiwhetu runanga executive officer Teri Puketapu argued, "We all know what happens at party time... We don't want our waka in the middle of 1800 drunks."⁷⁶⁰ Similarly, the Wharewaka has been described as "a contemporary, yet vacuous, conference centre and café", and critiqued its commercial nature and subsequent lack of institutional or educational content.⁷⁶¹

As previously discussed in Chapter 5, biculturalism as a design strategy can be problematic, particularly in terms of expressing diversity through architecture. This has been playing out in the heritage field, for example, where there is much discussion around the demolition of the Aniwanīwa Visitor Centre at Te Urewera. Designed by John Scott, the celebrated New Zealand architect, of Māori and Pākehā descent, whose architectural style was defined by biculturalism, through a unique 'synthesis' of the wharenuī and the woolshed as vernacular type.⁷⁶² However, the lineage of the building was symbolic of assimilation for the iwi Tuhoe, so under co-governance with the Department of Conservation the building was demolished, despite lobbying by the architectural profession and a heritage listing.⁷⁶³ The new post-settlement structure of co-governance at Te Urewera empowers Tuhoe to commission architecture which celebrates distinct identity, rather than conserving an example of blended cultures.⁷⁶⁴ The difficulty for the architectural profession was the emphasis on the preservation of the building on the basis of its importance as an architectural expression of a bicultural framing of New Zealand identity, rather than being aligned specifically with Tuhoe interests.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶⁰ Lane Nichols, "Whare Too Small for Waka Deadline Passes and Still No Resolution," (Dominion Post, The, 2011).

⁷⁶¹ In a letter in the Dominion Post in 2011 from the American-born documentary film maker Robin Greenberg critiqued the wharewaka. Robin Greenberg, "Contemporary and Vacuous," (Dominion Post, The, 2011).

⁷⁶² Julia Gatley and Bill McKay, "Beyond Futuna: John Scott, Modern Architecture and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand," in *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture* (Springer, 2018), 607-08.

⁷⁶³ Tyson Schmidt, " "...Who Comes First: [Māori] Interests or Architectural Interests?": Three Heritage Cases Challenging Identity and Institutions in New Zealand," *Fabrications* 28, no. 2 (2018).

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., 144.

As a counter to biculturalism, Hill and McKay suggest the adoption of the theoretical frame of third space as a tactic to acknowledge "multiple cultural viewpoints and concepts bearing on a building."⁷⁶⁶ This has great potential, as there are examples where architectural expressions of Māori identity outside of relationship between *tangata whenua* and *tangata tiriti* are not recognised in heritage conservation, such as of Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga in Palmerston North.⁷⁶⁷ The issue remains unresolved if the architectural profession cannot recognize a more diverse spectrum of perspectives in relation to biculturalism, beyond synthesis and blending, to a frame more equitable and accepting of diverse cultural perspectives. If this cannot be resolved, Māori interests and architectural interests could remain disparate.⁷⁶⁸

These tensions reveal a new paradigm shift in the decolonisation of architecture in New Zealand. As the Waitangi Tribunal concludes compensation settlements, it has produced increasingly economically empowered Māori agents engaged in the development of the built environment. As Māori architect Rau Hoskins identifies:

The new paradigm we're entering into is the Māori as an economic force. Whereas Māori architecture in the last 30 years has been about advances through the education amendment act and health legislation, etc., which has brought Māori into conversation and has created an economy where Māori architecture could actually exist, now we've got the economic powers of Tainui and Ngai Tahu and Ngati Whâtua, in particular. It's iwi as developers.⁷⁶⁹

The Waitangi Tribunal process has enabled a shift in hierarchy in the dynamics of the built environment of New Zealand, with Māori clients and developers in a position of economic strength. This relative difference produced by the decolonising process is most acute when seen against an Australian case. The following will consider the speculative proposal for a similarly urban Indigenous cultural centre for Adelaide, situated at Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga.

⁷⁶⁶ Carolyn Joy Hill and Bill McKay, "Binding Significance: Reflections on the Demolition of the Aniwhaniwa Visitor Centre, Te Urewera," *ibid.*: 236.

⁷⁶⁷ Tyson Schmidt, " "...Who Comes First: [Māori] Interests or Architectural Interests?": Three Heritage Cases Challenging Identity and Institutions in New Zealand," *ibid.*: 144.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 153-54.

⁷⁶⁹ Harvey, 36-37.

6.3 Reconciliation through Placemaking: Mullabakka Kurna Centre for Culture

As previously discussed, Reconciliation in Adelaide's built environment is directed by the City of Adelaide's 1997 Reconciliation Visions Statement's commitment to recognise Kurna heritage through the built features of the city. However, in the absence of the formal reparations and obligations at work in the City of Wellington, the Aboriginal community is positioned as a stakeholder to be *recognised*, rather than directly as a client. This is a critical difference in hierarchy and empowerment, which distinguishes the Mullabakka Kurna Cultural for Centre from Te Wharewaka, effecting the entire architectural production structure in terms of governance, design and program.

While the Wharewaka is directly shaped by Wellington City Council's obligations of redress under the Treaty of Waitangi, the reconciliatory gesture of the proposed Mullabakka Kurna Centre for Culture at Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga is wrapped within a broader creative cities policy which shapes the framework of masterplan, as discussed in Chapter 5. As has been discussed in previous chapters, reconciliation policy has framed the guiding principles of the Regeneration Masterplan for VS/T.

Of the guiding principles of the masterplan, those that drive the theoretical positioning of Mullabakka, are:

- to "tell stories with meaning" – to embed an appreciation of the cultural significance of place, particularly in terms of the Kurna community;
- And to generate "a centre of the symbolic and actual life in the City" – to link a strategy of heavy programming with symbolic significance.⁷⁷⁰

As illustrated in Figure 6.15, the site principle diagrams graphically suggest these principles bleeding beyond the boundaries of the site as part of a placemaking approach.

⁷⁷⁰ TaylorCullityLethlean, "Victoria Square|Tarndanyangga Regeneration Masterplan Report," 21.

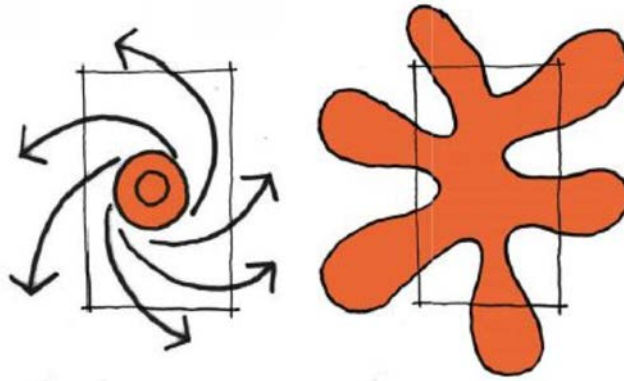


Figure 6.15. Taylor Cullity Lethlean. *Diagrams to illustrate site principles*, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:13.



Figure 6.16. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, *Sustaining Culture, The New Civic*, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:91.

Considering the overall framing of the centre within the placemaking strategy of the masterplan, there is an evident conflation of culture with an agenda of sustainability, *Sustaining Culture*, as illustrated in Figure 6.16. The centre is key to generating one of the 'layers of experience' programmed into the square, as a *Place of Cultural Exchange*, "A place for all cultures built on a foundation of the living Kurna culture".⁷⁷¹ This layer encompasses a range of diverse aspirations, such as a space to learn about Kurna culture, an events venue, a place to experience Aboriginal culture, and a place to learn about Adelaide's development.⁷⁷² As the project has developed this has been clarified as part of the overarching strategy of sustainability which permeates through the masterplan. The cultural centre functions as a lynchpin of a system for 'cultural sustainability' within the square. Architect Peter Tonkin describes this as generating a flow of activation down from North Terrace into the square as a strategy of regeneration.⁷⁷³

As discussed in Chapter 5, this is theorized by design team curator Peter Emmett as part of the 'New Civic'. The centre is described in these terms:

The Kurna Centre of Culture (Mullabakka) is central to the interactive sustainability agenda, with local representatives acting as a conduit for transferal of millennia of wisdom from the local and wider Australian landscape. It is anticipated that through a range of active and passive strategies, Mullabakka representatives will educate and interact with visitors to VST.⁷⁷⁴

The design philosophy set up by Emmett through the 'New Civic' has permeated through to the typological positioning of the cultural centre. Telfer and Emmett describe Mullabakka as a space for "Living Kultja" a place for the transfer and activation of the knowledge of country, ritual, song, custom, memory, place and belonging.⁷⁷⁵ It is framed as space through which tourists will pass to gain knowledge of Country before venturing into the rest of South Australia.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., 7.

⁷⁷² Ibid., 22.

⁷⁷³ Tonkin.

⁷⁷⁴ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 91.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., 127.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid., 127.

Echoing the museological language employed for the 'New Civic', Emmett and Telfer assert a 'newness' of typology when introducing the cultural centre:

Mullabakka is not a building with a garden around it, or a garden with a building in it. It is not a museum or gallery or theatre or garden. But it does all the things that these places do – and more.⁷⁷⁷

The claims to newness asserted in this statement are not isolated, with similar sentiments expressed in proposals for other new urban Indigenous centres proposed throughout Australia. For example, the description resonates with the positioning of a proposed Indigenous cultural centre within Sydney's Barangaroo waterfront development, which is described as "post park, post museum, post gallery."⁷⁷⁸ Arguably, in the case of both the programmatic flexibility of these descriptions could reflect the uncertain ownership and tenancy arrangements to secure these facilities.⁷⁷⁹ Furthermore, the collapsing of typologies can be read as a self-conscious move to shift away from the Eurocentric colonial baggage of architecture and spatial practices.

However, inherent to the cultures of placemaking is the inevitable reinscription of hierarchies of spatial occupation and political purchase codified in the historic structures of architecture.⁷⁸⁰ Demonstrably, in the case of Mullabakka, the centre is problematically co-opted within the placemaking frame of sustainability. This sees an awkward return to collapsing of indigeneity with "nature". This positioning, alongside an uncertain future staging of the construction of the centre, raises the question of how much this centre fulfils the aspirations of reconciliation, or whether it merely pays lip service to the policy framework? Expanding on this, the following section will contemplate the siting and production of the architectural form of Mullabakka.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., 128.

⁷⁷⁸ JohnsonPiltonWalker, "Barangaroo Cultural Space," <http://www.jpw.com.au/Projects/Cultural/Barangaroo/BCS.shtml>.

⁷⁷⁹ Uncertainties over political, economic and land-use governance has contributed to the ongoing occupation and use of Indigenous cultural centres elsewhere in Australia, such as Galina Beak in Healeville, Victoria. Source: McGaw, Pieris, and Potter, 308.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 298.



Figure 6.17. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. *Mullabakka Cultural Centre Aerial Perspective*, "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 168.

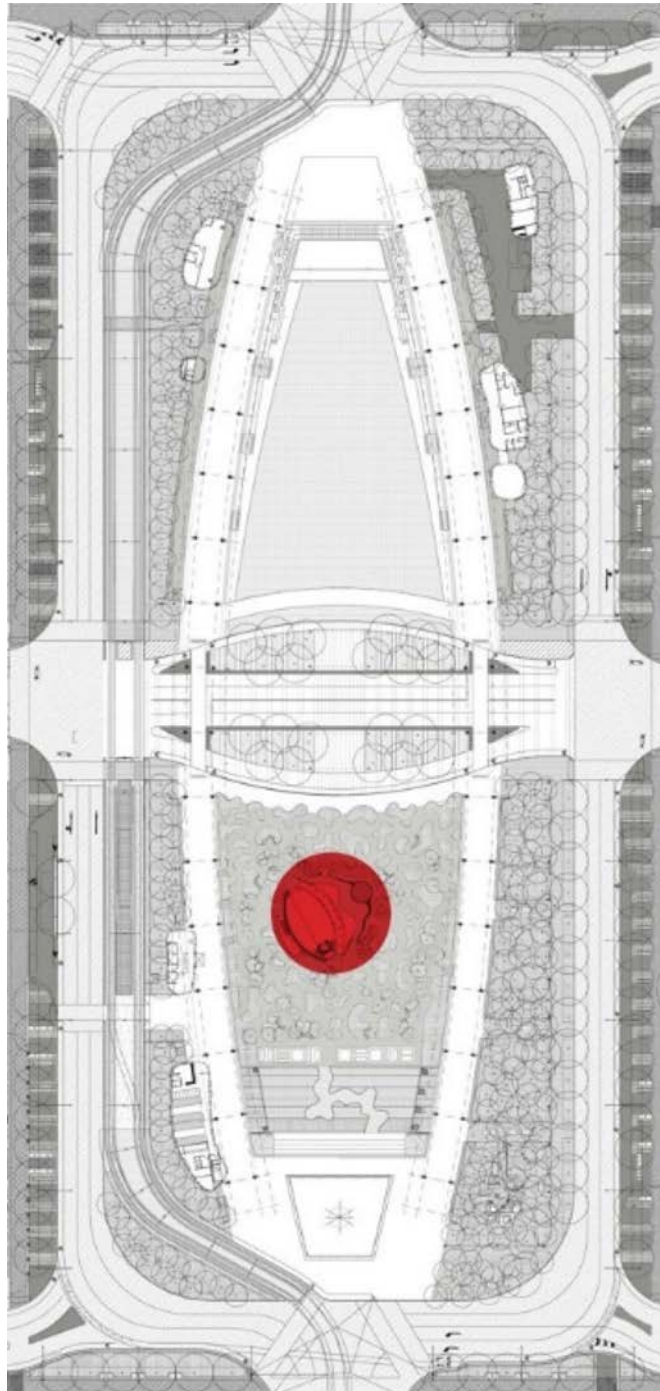


Figure 6.18. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. *Mullabakka Cultural Centre*, "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011: 126.

6.3.1 Making Space at the Centre

Reflecting the metaphor of centrality suggested in the VS/T guiding principles, the building site chosen for Mullabakka Centre for Culture is as closely located to the centre of the space as possible (Figure 6.18). The gesture of inserting an iconic piece of Indigenous architecture into the very centre of Adelaide is an appealing proposition, as a symbol of growing Indigenous political agency and visibility in the city. As McGaw, Pieris and Potter suggest the “symbolism of such a situation, at the centre of urban space rather than at its periphery, suggests a politics of re-occupation, and of claiming agency within a locus of power rather than at its margins.”⁷⁸¹

Furthermore, the proposition of inserting a piece of architecture into the space resonates with the politics of Indigenous spatial occupation of Victoria Square over time. As previously discussed, Victoria Square as a landscape has well established significance for its traditional Kaurna land use, as well as containing histories of colonial marginalisation and contemporary resistance. However, the formalisation of Indigenous territorial occupations of resistance through architecture is politically complex. The legitimising of presence through the built form can neutralise political agency, whereby “the idea of such a Centre unavoidably echoes the institutionalised history of an “authorised” Aboriginal presence in the Australian city.”⁷⁸² As illustrated in Figure 6.18, the proposed site is in the southern section of the square, within the mosaic native garden. As previously discussed in chapter 5, designers have applied pattern making approach to the intensely designed garden with a high level of social choreography. For example, the social dynamics imagined by the placemakers is illustrated through a structure diagram (Figure 6.19). The nature of the garden requires a significant amount of input and management, which adds a degree of surveillance to the space of the square. Siting a building within into what has operated as an open civic space shifts the internal and external dynamics of the square significantly, between active and passive, private and public.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., 297.

⁷⁸² Ibid.

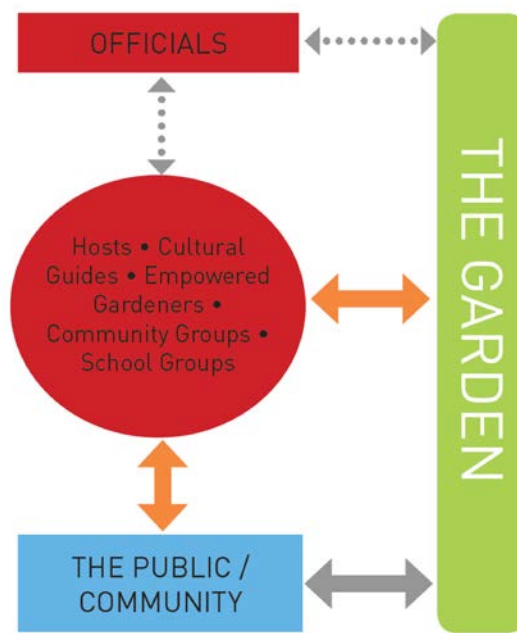


Figure 6.19. Taylor Cullity Lethlean, *The Populated Garden, The New Civic*, "Victoria Square | Tarntanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:91.

An artificial separation occurs between different design disciplines in the planning and presentation process - landscape design, planting schemes, architecture, interior fitout, lighting, display methods, multimedia, performance, public programs and so on.⁷⁸³

As Emmett and Telfer suggest above, Mullabakka is positioned specifically as a deliberately transdisciplinary construct within the project. The Mullabakka architectural design team continues the masterplan partnership of TCL and TZG, in collaboration with Indigenous consultant Karl Telfer acting on behalf of the traditional owners, alongside cultural curator Peter Emmett.⁷⁸⁴ The conceptual position for the building is written by Telfer and Emmett, although Telfer is the driver of both the form and program of the cultural centre. However, in terms of ongoing sustainability, it is problematic for a single representative of a cultural group to be the sole driver of both the form and program of the cultural centre.

⁷⁸³ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 127.

While the future governance and funding of the centre remains speculative, within the documentation for the project, a five-year plan to generate digital content for Mullabakka was initially proposed.⁷⁸⁵ Within this structure, Telfer is also proposed as the director of the cultural centre.⁷⁸⁶ While an argument can be made for consistency, particularly against a small pool of appropriately experienced candidates, it could equally be argued that this reveals a conflict within the project. This is not to diminish the expertise, experience and role that Telfer has had within the design team, and in any future roles. Rather, it points to a potential vulnerability in relying on a single individual or perspective to be representative of a diverse Kaurua and Aboriginal community, as opposed to a wider community investment in the project. This is thrown into relief when compared to New Zealand, where the procedures of the Waitangi Tribunal have necessitated a corporatisation of structure to Māori organisations which requires a diverse stakeholder process.

⁷⁸⁵ TaylorCullityLethlean, "Victoria Square|Tarndanyangga Regeneration Masterplan Report," 134.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., 134.



Figure 6.20. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:165.



Figure 6.21. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:137



Figure 6.22. TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. Mullabakka shields, "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:128.

Working with the design team, Telfer prototyped the building through a series of maquettes, its curving roof structure rising from the ground plane as illustrated in Figure 6.20. The architectural envelope was developed iteratively, through variations to the physical model, before being translated by the architects into a digital model (Figure 6.21).

The form of the building is based closely upon the Kurna shield Mullabakka, a symbol of authority and protection, which resonates with the ongoing survival of Kurna culture in Adelaide and is found in several public arts and placemaking strategies throughout the city (Figure 6.22).⁷⁸⁷ In practice, the use of these shields was spectacular and performative. The wokali or wocaltee shields are regionally distinctive, crafted from eucalypt bark and painted with red and white pigments. These shields were utilised in tribal conflicts and warfare, as recently as the 1840s, but are extremely rare objects to be found in museum collections, as they were largely ephemeral in terms of use, and furthermore mounted police were known to destroy the shields, as clear symbols of conflict and dissent amongst Kurna.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁷ The shield form features within the entrance project to the Living Kurna Cultural Centre at Marion, the Tjirbruke Gateway: The Kurna shield, symbol of territory (1997). It is also applied in the sculpture Kurna meyunna, Kurna yerta tampendi (2002) at the Adelaide Festival Centre and the North Terrace installation Yerrakartarta (1995). Sources: Ashley Walsh, "Sa Museum Secures Rare Aboriginal Artefact," *ABC Adelaide*, 2/02/2008 2008.; Hemming and Harris, 31.; "Kurna Shield at the South Australian Museum: Ron Learns About These Weapons of War in the Adelaide City Region of South Australia," in *Postcards South Australia* (Adelaide: Channel 9 South Australia, 2008). Margaret Worth, "Margaret Worth | Works | Tjirbruke Gateway Sturt, Sa," <https://margaretworth.com.au/works/tjirbruke-gateway----sturt--sa>.

⁷⁸⁸ Hemming and Harris, 31.; "Kurna Shield at the South Australian Museum: Ron Learns About These Weapons of War in the Adelaide City Region of South Australia."

The architects felt that the form produced through this collaborative process was a strong basis for design development:

To an extent, I would have to say Karl designed it. In that he built a model of a scheme, which we were very happy to carry forward. I think if we hadn't been happy to carry it forward there might've been a bit more [development]. We felt it could be fleshed out and developed, and we felt that it could become a good building. Primarily it had to become a good building.⁷⁸⁹

As developed by the architects the shield rests on the structure of the building, rather than peeling up from the site surface. The shield is clad in zinc standing seam roofing, the curving form shaped by a complex series of timber purlins, with a flexible ply suspended ceiling treatment. The overall structure of the building is formed by steel columns and beams, with a glazed colonnade north-east façade and limestone clad masonry on the southwest (Figure 6.23).⁷⁹⁰ The interior ground floor plan consists of an open space and a retail/reception zone. Elsewhere, the services are contained within the basement level, inclusive of storage, plant, ablutions, locker and staff rooms, all concealed from street level.

⁷⁸⁹ Tonkin.

⁷⁹⁰ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 166.

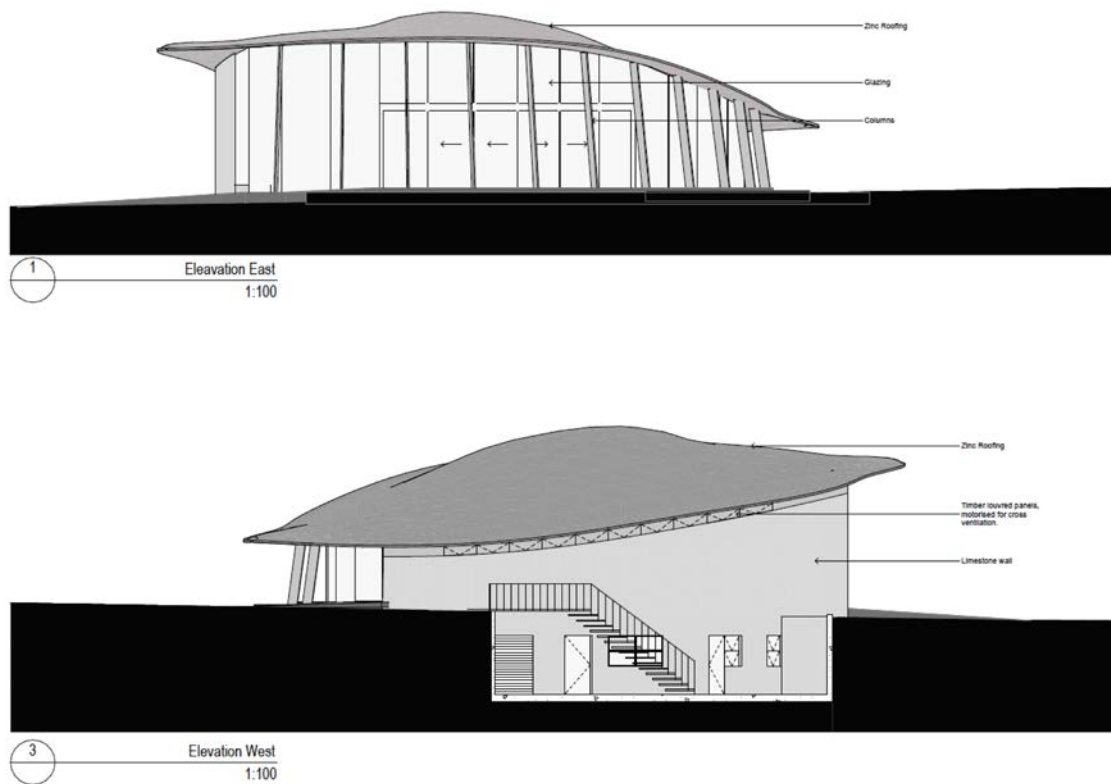


Figure 6.23. East & West Elevations illustrating roof and façade materials (Scale 1:100 @A1), TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:212 (DD Drawing Set:A1-2010-011, Sheet:1802)



Figure 6.24. Basement, Ground Floor and Roof Plans (Scale 1:100 @A1), TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:211 (DD Drawing Set:A1-2010-011, Sheet:1801)

Further to this, Tonkin argues that the outcome produced through this method was felt to be strong enough to sustain architecturally:

I didn't much care who designed it, it was irrelevant really, if you get a good building and it's the right thing for the Indigenous community at which it is aimed. And I think it is both. If it hadn't been a good building, it wouldn't have been good for the Indigenous community, whether it included their cultural references or not. It was so prominent it had to be a good building. And that model of Karl's, so much appropriateness to the site, and to his Indigenous view of culture, and it had a strong sense of powerful architecture to it.⁷⁹¹

There is a strong argument for the application of a clearly legible cultural form to denote Aboriginal identity through architecture. As Fantin suggests, "...Aboriginal groups who have suffered dispossession will often endorse the use of ancestral imagery in architectural design as recognition of their group Aboriginal identity."⁷⁹² Similarly, there is a strong argument for the empowering potential of symbolic representation through architecture. As Alison Joy Page, interior architect at Merrima Studio, articulates symbolic representation through architecture has the potential to empower Indigenous communities:

The representation of relevant cultural totems in a building can strengthen the sense of cultural pride. It is not only generating a unique adaptation of a western technology, but it can be a powerful communication tool for a community, enabling them not only to express their presence but also to reveal the stories that tell of the land and its creation.⁷⁹³

However, the use of cultural symbols as the basis for generating form for Indigenous architecture can be problematic, particularly given the history of appropriation of Indigenous art, and the fraught history of representation. The work of Memmott, Fantin, Go-Sam, O'Brien and Lochert explores the question of representing Aboriginal identity through architecture.⁷⁹⁴ Memmott suggests that in examples of best practice, a semiotic approach imbues architecture with a sense of aboriginality and layers multiple

⁷⁹¹ Tonkin.

⁷⁹² Fantin, "Aboriginal Identities in Architecture," 85-86.

⁷⁹³ Alison Joy Page, "Building Pride," *Australian Planner* 40, no. 2 (2003): 121.

⁷⁹⁴ Fantin, "Aboriginal Identities in Architecture."; Carroll Go-Sam, "Fabricating Blackness: Aboriginal Identity Constructs in the Production and Authorisation of Architecture" (paper presented at the SAHANZ 2011: Audience. XXVIIIth International Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand, 2011); Mathilde Lochert, "Mediating Aboriginal Architecture," *Transition*, no. 54-55 (1997); Memmott, "Aboriginal Signs and Architectural Meanings." Kevin O'Brien, "Aboriginality and Architecture: Built Projects by Merrima and Unbuilt Projects on Mer" (2006).

meanings, be it in relation to cosmology, country or totemic form.⁷⁹⁵ The most celebrated examples to date, not only in their formal application of semiotics, but in their consultative process are Gregory Burgess' designed cultural centres, Brambuk Living Cultural Centre and the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre.⁷⁹⁶ This produces architecture clearly legible as aboriginal, for as Fantin describes, both of these projects "use abstractions of Aboriginal ancestral histories or environmental relationships as a medium to represent Aboriginal identity in building design."⁷⁹⁷ However, these centres remain problematic despite their formal success, as for example, Brambuk despite being designed in collaboration with community, is sited on Crown land, and this has meant that it is not owned by the community it was intended to sustain.⁷⁹⁸

The use of symbolism and pattern at Mullabakka is largely consistent with cultural centre typology in Australia, which differs to centres found elsewhere such as the Wharewaka which draw more directly on Indigenous architecture as a source of building form. As Grant and Greenop identify:

Very few projects have used ethno-architecture as the basis for the design of the building form. Unlike other countries, where ethno-architectural forms such as the tipi, hogan (USA and Canada) and wharehau (meeting houses) (Aotearoa New Zealand) have been used as the basis of design, vernacular architecture has not been extensively used as a design trigger in Australian Indigenous architectural projects.⁷⁹⁹

The use of a strong icon is somewhat of a double-edged sword – in one sense the denotation of identity secures Kaurna presence in a very substantive way. However, the use of a strong iconography has the potential to limit future use of the architecture. Fantin argues that a semiotic approach to Indigenous architecture can be restrictive to adaptive reuse:

Although there might be problems associated with custodianship and authority in using a symbolic reference in a building, another consideration should be the flexibility of ownership and use of a building over time. If architecture contains obvious cultural references or abstractions, its reuse is immediately affected by its "built-in" identity.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁵ Memmott, "Aboriginal Signs and Architectural Meanings."

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷ Fantin, "Aboriginal Identities in Architecture," 84.

⁷⁹⁸ Paul Walker, "Indigenous Place-Making," *ibid.* 99 (2010): 39.

⁷⁹⁹ Grant et al., 74.

⁸⁰⁰ Fantin, "Aboriginal Identities in Architecture," 86.

We know from experience of galleries and social services within Indigenous urban communities such as Fitzroy and Redfern the ongoing occupation of buildings can be difficult.⁸⁰¹ Furthermore, while uncertainty remains over the ownership of the building, arguably the simplistic application of iconography to form remains a tokenistic gesture. As Fantin so potently asserts, "to layer a cultural brand, such as an abstracted symbol of an ancestor, over western technology and aesthetic without attending to the broader issues of Aboriginal custodianship and occupation is to pay lip-service to the richness of Aboriginal culture, its maintenance and persistence."⁸⁰²

As a point of contrast, Fantin advocates an approach to Aboriginal architecture which seeks to express "Aboriginal identity first through occupation and then through representation."⁸⁰³ This argument is grounded in practice, program and contemporary lived culture, through:

architectural processes and projects that might imbue architecture with Aboriginal identity through client involvement and authorization, though respecting Aboriginal social practices and revering existing places and histories without attempting to abstract them into semiotic devices in form, plan or section.⁸⁰⁴

Indigenous architect Kevin O'Brien similarly champions an Aboriginal approach to architecture, which is grounded in Country, materiality and program. O'Brien suggests drawing on traditional Aboriginal architectural traditions in the same way that Japanese architect Tadao Ando draws on ancient Shinto principles, through site responsive construction methods:

The architecture was constructed inside Country and beside a fire. The architecture did not look like goannas, crocodiles, stingrays or faces. These are potent clues for Aboriginal architects and how we might move past the semiotic traps of the original question.⁸⁰⁵

According to Fantin, exemplar of this approach is the proposed centre at Musgrave Park, designed by Richard Kirk Architects and Innovarchi. The form of the building was deliberately restrained, featuring a series of spaces workshopped with community, based on programmatic needs, simply wrapped in planes, with an emphasis on the

⁸⁰¹ Pieris et al., 80-84; 177-82.

⁸⁰² Fantin, "Aboriginal Identities in Architecture," 86.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 84.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁵ Kevin O'Brien, "For Architecture and Country: [How to Bring a Sense of Aboriginality to Architecture in Our Cities?]," *Artlink* 32, no. 2 (2012): 63.

transparency between interior and exterior spaces.⁸⁰⁶ The centre was imagined as a mixed-program facility, incorporating a gallery space, a performances space, cafe, retail, a keeping place and a meeting place. The design eschewed a semiotic or zoomorphic approach.

The architect positions the design intent of the building against a definition of contemporary Aboriginal Architecture as "an intervention (building, landing or both) on a site that in some way generates an Aboriginal quality about itself."⁸⁰⁷ Site and function drive form with the result, as Walker summarises, that "rather than prioritising the representation in built form of the cultures it is intended to accommodate, its aesthetic austerity came from their other, more straightforward community needs."⁸⁰⁸ The unbuilt centre included a solitary pole flying the Aboriginal flag as the only signifier of identity, otherwise "denuded of any referencing to Aboriginal culture, [the centre] appears to passively reinforce the building's neutral stance on identity ideology and it curiously stands apart from other built contemporaries."⁸⁰⁹

Despite this celebrated formal approach, issues of economic sustainability and self-determination plagued the centre, echoing the challenges experienced elsewhere by Indigenous communities to seeing their cultural architectures realised as built form. Issues of ongoing funding for the centre's construction, the challenges of bureaucratic governance structures, as well as heightened claims of purpose and intent have, according to Go-Sam, largely scuttled the project.⁸¹⁰ The contested nature of the place of Musgrave Park contributes to the difficulties inherent in pursuing the Musgrave Park Cultural Centre, subject to "heightened and exaggerated claims about its purpose and intent to those within and outside its Aboriginal constituency." Taking into consideration the amplified claims to purpose which complicate metropolitan Indigenous Cultural Centres, the remaining discussion will contemplate the internal programming of the centre.

⁸⁰⁶ RichardKirkArchitects, "Musgrave Park Cultural Centre," <http://www.richardkirkarchitect.com/en/projects/cutural-public/musgrave-park-cultural-centre/>.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁸ Walker, 40.

⁸⁰⁹ Go-Sam, "Fabricating Blackness: Aboriginal Identity Constructs in the Production and Authorisation of Architecture," 3.

⁸¹⁰ Go-Sam relates that a funding shortfall scuttled the project – in part due to a protracted Native Title claim, as well as escalating construction and infrastructure costs, and in reality the Centre fell outside of the objectives of the Millennium Arts Project, and was excluded from funding adjustments. Ibid.

6.3.2 Programming Mullabakka

While the semiotics of the building envelope for Mullabakka are easily comprehended, the purpose of the Mullabakka cultural centre is less clearly understood. The interior and exterior spaces have been designed to flexibly accommodate several programs - Workshop mode, Performance Mode (Indoor & Outdoor), Display mode, Function mode. A vast array of functions potentially accommodated within the building are suggested, including special ceremonies; various dinners; storytelling; forums; seminars; performances; workshops; retail; films; lectures; school programs; video conferencing. Similarly, it is described in the documentation as a performative space for the reestablishment of cultural rites.⁸¹¹

Yet interestingly the building is imagined as simultaneously without program, described by the architect as an unprogrammed space:

.... it's not a museum, it's not a cultural centre, it's not a performing centre, it's just a place where Indigenous culture can be nurtured in a very broad way. And not only can people interact with it in a non-structured way, which I think supports storytelling, they can also just drop in and hang out, which really suits an Indigenous lifestyle. I don't know how to describe it, but they like sitting down and chatting, and they don't like tours that start at 12.15 and finish at whatever...⁸¹²

The designation of open programming is problematic, given the assumptions made about the way in which users would inhabit space. As Potter suggests, "any space consciously given over to unplanned happenings is ambivalent at best, and the contradiction of demarcating space for improvisation is difficult to reconcile."⁸¹³ This indeterminacy is similarly reflected in the words of Emmett and Telfer:

Mullabakka is not a building with a garden around it, or a garden with a building in it. It is not a museum or gallery or theatre or garden. But it does all the things that these places do – and more.⁸¹⁴

⁸¹¹ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 130.

⁸¹² Tonkin.

⁸¹³ McGaw and Pieris, 101.

⁸¹⁴ TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 128.

The challenge remains on how to situate Indigenous performative social practices within the fixed architectural envelope of the cultural centre. By its institutional association with the museum is fixed within a timetable of programmed events supportive of the imperatives of the visitor, rather than the host. While these more liminal practices of placemaking reflect traditional cultural practices of moving through Country, that are also a political tactic, the product of inequitable power relations between Indigenous and Settler-colonial agents.⁸¹⁵

⁸¹⁵ Aunty Margaret Gardiner and Janet McGaw, "Indigenous Placemaking in Urban Melbourne: A Dialogue between a Wurundjeri Elder and a Non-Indigenous Architect and Academic," in *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture* (Springer, 2018), 584.

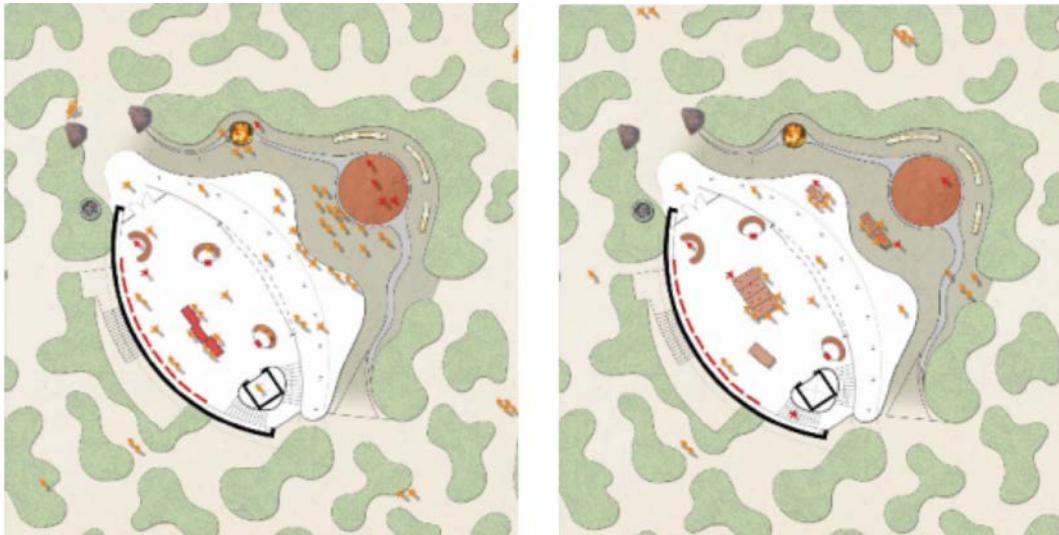


Figure 6.25. **Left:** *Display Mode*; **Right:** *Workshop Mode*; TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:130.

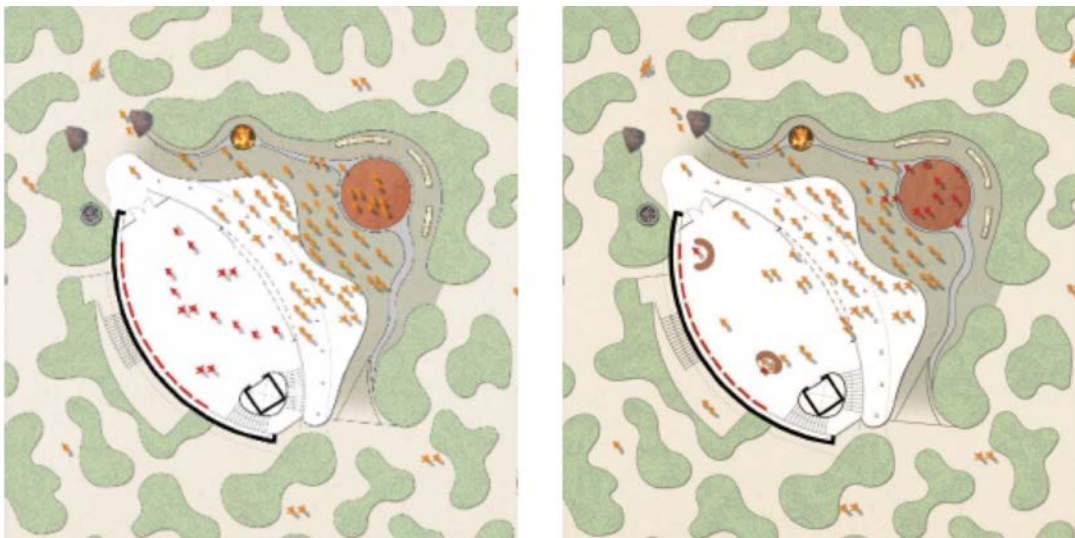


Figure 6.26. **Left:** *Inside Performance Mode*; **Right:** *Large Performance Outside Mode*; TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square | Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011:130 & 171.

Current	Recommended First Stage		Possible Future Stages (based on notional 5.70m stages)			
2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	≈ 2017/18 5yr "sweet spot"	TBD	TBD	TBD
						
Current Condition	Recommended Stage • Event Lawn • Central Roadway/Plaza • North Plaza (Event Stage) • Water Play Area • Promenade (with seating and shelters) • Tree Planting in the northern area • Cafés and bike hub through partnership • Shared use NE corner • Investigation and implementation of pedestrian and cyclist accessibility improvements		Road Alignment • Based on current asset condition, the optimal time for road realignment is in approximately 5 years. • Tram realignment would be best achieved at the same time subject to State Government	Full Perimeter Footpaths, Street Trees and remainder of Northern Gardens • Footpath implementation to Masterplan intent including remaining street trees, street furniture, planting etc. • Remainder of northern plantings	Southern Gardens • Implementation of Southern Gardens including wetlands and community gardens	Full Masterplan including Arbours & Culture Centre

Figure 6.27. Adelaide City Council, *Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Staging*, 2013, "Chapter 16 Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga," in *The Parklands Community Land Management Plan*, ed. Adelaide Parklands (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2013; reprint, 2017): 6.

The absence of program in the interior space contrasts with the heavily programmed and narrated external spaces of the square. The immediate surrounds of the cultural centre are densely designed. This anomalous reversal of the centre's internal and external spatial relationships raises questions, especially when contextualised against the history of Indigenous cultural centres developed throughout the past two decades.

Firstly, the on-going viability of an unprogrammed and as yet unfinanced cultural centre must be questioned. Mullabakka remains an unfinanced proposition. The delivery of the cultural centre was 'To Be Confirmed' within the original timeline of staging and funding for the project set by council in the 2013 Community Land Management Plan for the Adelaide Parklands.⁸¹⁶ It was slated as a possible future stage to be completed sometime in the future beyond the "sweet spot" of 2017/2018 when the major traffic engineering for the project is complete, however this remains unfinanced. (See Figure 6.27) Architect Peter Tonkin is circumspect about the funding for the centre:

with the capital cost of building, that's a long game, because Indigenous communities tend to be highly politicised, and to get them working in an ongoing funding structure I think it is a task that's a bit more involved than anyone is willing to pay attention to yet. ⁸¹⁷

⁸¹⁶ Adelaide City Council, "Chapter 16 Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga," in *The Parklands Community Land Management Plan*, ed. Adelaide Parklands (Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2013; reprint, 2017).

⁸¹⁷ Tonkin.

This points to the difficulty for Indigenous stakeholders in the case of this metropolitan centre is exacerbated by funding structures reliant on Federal and State funding as part of its feasibility. This business structure necessarily disempowers the Indigenous community as stakeholders rather than clients, who only receive their centre at the behest and discretion of government structures and political cycles, entangled historically with colonial traumas and power structures.

The experience of extensive cultural centres constructed throughout Australia suggests that structures of governance, programming and economics are the key determining factors of ongoing investment from the community, and ultimately success.⁸¹⁸ This position requires a thorough assessment of the viability of the centre from a governance perspective, particularly when such structures often necessitate compromise from Indigenous communities:

Ensuring that the flows of community to and from a cultural building continue to breathe life into it after building works are complete involves a deep understanding of relationships, and an interrogation of the legal and organisational structures that settler society often places around them."⁸¹⁹

In the absence of sovereign ownership of the centre and the site, it is unsurprising that the nature of the centre remains indistinct. The open-ended time scale of the centre articulated by architect Peter Tonkin suggests a disjuncture with international temporalities that cultural tourism implies in structure, which "funnel their subjects through the centre on half-hour cycles geared to global schedules."⁸²⁰ The experience of less formalised and spontaneous structures of cultural programming applied elsewhere, such as at the Uluru Kata-Tjuta Cultural centre, suggest that open programs have limitations. While the socio-cultural, spatial and economic relationships around the centre are complex, Anangu women engaged in participatory activities within the centre, such as traditional arts demonstrations, or the Walkatjara Pottery Initiative, find these informal structures unsatisfying:

For the most part, however, these Anangu [women] are not particularly receptive to having idle conversations with tourists, and they usually refuse to have their pictures taken. They have found the experience of superficial interaction not at all rewarding, and in some cases, intrusive.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁸ This experience has been shared throughout Australia, in the failed Galina Beek Living Cultural Centre at Healesville, the unrealised Musgrave Park Cultural Centre in Brisbane, and the contested Melbourne Museum space of Bunjilaka.

⁸¹⁹ McGaw, Pieris, and Potter, 308.

⁸²⁰ Dovey, "Seeing Uluru."

⁸²¹ Findley, *Building Change : Architecture, Politics and Cultural Agency*, 122.

The lesson from the experience of Anangu the Uluru Kata-Tjuta Cultural Centre is that the reciprocity hoped for by both sides remains largely unfilled, as the processes of exchange assumed by a flexible program of spontaneous encounter makes cultural and impractical assumptions about both Indigenous and non-Indigenous agents.

However, this is in a regional context with a singular cultural population. The situation at Adelaide is more culturally and politically complex, home to a dispersed and diverse urban Indigenous population intent on expressing sovereignty over a traditionally occupied space central to the city. Tonkin and Telfer envision the centre as an orienting entry-point to the state, whereby "through appropriate protocols of respect for the lands of other people, we will ensure Aboriginal people are the guides to country for those who enter South Australia from Adelaide."⁸²² This aspiration echoed in relation to metropolitan centres elsewhere in Australia, such as Melbourne's proposed Treaty House, whereby the First Priori right of welcome by Indigenous communities forms a political assertion of territorial ownership.⁸²³

However, the reversal of active-passive spatial relationships in Victoria Square/Tardanyangga reduces the ability of the external open to space to function with accepted meanings of civic. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter, this compromises the ability of the public to use the space for unscripted use, particularly by those members of the Indigenous community who have traditionally occupied Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga socially and politically. It raises questions over how civic space is framed: Is civic in this case understood as the expression and representation of culture and history, or instead of space to facilitate experience, interaction and dialogue of democracy?

Indigenous architect and academic Kevin O'Brien suggests that quotidian social moments such as sitting, talking and eating are highly significant to Indigenous spatio-temporal practices.⁸²⁴ We can see this approach demonstrated in other metropolitan centres, such as TonkinZulaikhaGreer's other Indigenous centre, the National Centre for Indigenous Excellence, a campus landscape where a clear strategy of community and sports programs, governed by Indigenous stakeholders, sees a fine-grain design resolution of incidental exchange spaces throughout the building.⁸²⁵ These smaller moments reiterate the performative nature of cultural life and community-generation

⁸²² TaylorCullityLethlean and TonkinZulaikhaGreer, 129.

⁸²³ Anoma Pieris and Gary Murray, "A Treaty Needs a House: Emplacing First Peoples' a Priori Rights in Wurundjeri Country, Metropolitan Melbourne," in *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture* (Springer, 2018).

⁸²⁴ O'Brien, "Aboriginality and Architecture: Built Projects by Merrima and Unbuilt Projects on Mer."

⁸²⁵ "National Centre of Indigenous Excellence," <https://ncie.org.au/>.

for Indigenous communities.⁸²⁶ There is much to draw on within a quotidian approach for designers to explore and enable everyday practices, where the agendas of civic space and decolonisation coalesce, through dialogue and the encouragement of socio-political exchange.

⁸²⁶ McGaw and Pieris, 110.

6.4 Conclusion

State aspirations for reconciliation are reflected through the governance and positioning of both indigenous cultural centres within the broader project contexts of both the Wellington Waterfront Redevelopment and Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga. The much-celebrated Māori boat house Te Wharewaka o Poneke is the physical manifestation of WCC's commitment to mana whenua as part of its moral and ethical obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. Similarly, the design gesture to insert an Indigenous cultural centre into Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga can be traced back to ACC's commitment to recognise Kurna heritage through the physical features of the city as part of its 1997 Reconciliation Vision Statement.

It is important to clarify in this discussion that the Mullabakka Centre for Kurna and Aboriginal Culture at Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga remains an unrealised project. This comparison therefore is of a conceptual speculation against a realised project. This is reflected in the relative complexity behind the story and process of Te Wharewaka when read in comparison to the fledgling Mullabakka. However, such a comparison reveals vulnerabilities within the formative Australian case.

The need to respond to a context shaped by the legacy of the Treaty of Waitangi has generated a very different outcome in comparison to the speculative Mullabakka Kurna Centre for Culture in Adelaide, where the relatively new policy framework of reconciliation, in the absence of a formalised treaty, has produced a more ambiguous design proposal for an urban Indigenous cultural centre.

The cultural centre Te Wharewaka o Poneke, the Te Raukura Function Centre at Wellington Waterfront, represents the outcomes of the structures and policies which enable and shape design in the New Zealand context. The layered nature of the site, alongside the lengthy process of the waterfront redevelopment, and the bicultural experience of the designers involved has produced a nuanced architectural outcome notable for both its hybrid formal outcome and its programmatic clarity.

It is argued that a flexible programming strategy suggested for Mullabakka, rather than generating a 'new' typological frame, renders the cultural centre as a vague installation on site symptomatic of the uncertain governance, ownership and unfolding economics of the project. This is in direct contrast to the intensive interpretive and programmatic strategies found within the open space design. This is a framework which fails to build upon the lessons taken from the regional Indigenous cultural centre typology. This experience suggests that the success of such centres lies through careful programmatic and operational consideration of the architecture, and through the fostering of strong community connections through sustainable governance and

ownership structures.

Further analysis of the design Mullabakka reveals an inherent vulnerability to a governance structure reliant on a singular Indigenous consultant, particularly when compared to the highly structured bureaucratic system supporting the design of Te Wharewaka, which has in turn driven a strong programmatic agenda. Rather than offering an opportunity to decolonise the space of Victoria Square, the cultural centre potentially continues colonial practices of erasure, institutionalising Indigenous presence within an architectural frame. Arguably this reflects the discretionary framework within which the designers and consultants find themselves operating.

Te Wharewaka benefits from the 30 years of negotiations and capitulations that have occurred in New Zealand society through the settlement process of the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori are empowered in the process as governors, designers and clients. Non-Māori designers and stakeholders benefit from a decolonising practice generated through a personal lived bicultural experience. Meanwhile, the design of Mullabakka suffers in the muddy waters of reconciliation without reparation. Despite the best intentions of all involved, this centre is fraught with questions over its ongoing procurement and the nature of its function.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

The main research aim of this dissertation was to understand the positioning of designers of civic spaces against the sovereign politics of Australasia. In good part, the impetus to engage in this endeavor emerged from my own sense of frustration as a newly graduated landscape architect with the inertia of Australian reconciliation and design practice. Responding to this original urgency, this chapter draws together the conclusions of this dissertation, before opening discussion to the future state of play - in terms of the professions and of design - as both countries continue working through decolonisation.

7.1 Making Civic Space

As this research has revealed, the proposition of decolonising practice is problematic for the discipline of landscape architecture due to the discipline's sparse engagement with postcolonial theory. The perpetuation of the notion of the landscape architect as steward of the landscape in an Antipodean setting is highly problematic, given the history of paternalism implicit to the settler colonial project. This dissertation has considered two Oceanic exemplars, addressing the need to consider Australian and New Zealand landscape architecture against local examples through the theoretical context of settler colonialism, drawing broadly on diverse disciplines, including architecture, urban design, geography and cultural studies.

Within the existing body of knowledge, comparative studies of landscape across Australia and New Zealand remain limited, despite the richness offered by such a juxtaposition. As demonstrated in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, a trans-Tasman comparison offers an extraordinary opportunity for critical reflection for either nation, particularly given the shared colonial histories of Wellington and Adelaide as socially progressive and wildly speculative economic spaces, fields for the performance of the British ideal of modern civic life. However, the urban devices of the grid and the park land operated as tools through which the vision of a civilising city was superimposed onto an indigenous landscape, disordering existing territorial landscape uses. These gestures, shaping notions of designed civic space from the time of foundation, continue to confound the urban design context of Wellington and Adelaide today.

The shape of the civic waterfront precinct at Wellington from the 1980s onwards was rapidly reworked through newly formalised policy processes of decolonisation, enabled through the Resource Management Act and the settlement process of the Waitangi Tribunal. As a result, Wellington City Council adopted a comprehensive model to guide to future development on the waterfront, explicitly bicultural in the positioning of culture, heritage and history, linked through the shared value of the harbour. Adelaide City Council's planning framework remains fragmented, driven by culture and

programmatic strategies which acknowledge Indigeneity on the one hand, and preserve European heritage on the other. When viewed against New Zealand, Australia's parallel attempts to address land rights and native title through legislation has been incredibly slow, and has very little application to metropolitan contexts, in large part due to the protracted nature of the settlement process. However, as financial settlements begin to trickle through, and native title holders leverage their recognised sovereign agency, it is highly likely that more architectural and civic scale projects will surface in Australia's metropolitan centres that must address new and emerging obligations of reconciliation. In the meantime, as an affirmative action model, Reconciliation Action Plans present the closest comparative policy to the RMA, although lacking in the culpability of New Zealand's Environment Court process.

By its very nature research is also protracted, twisting and turning with the eddies and flows of data and circumstance. It is important to acknowledge that these projects are no longer as 'new' as they were when I commenced the PhD. Waitangi Park was the largest urban park constructed in New Zealand in 100 years. Waitangi Park was completed in 2006, transforming the former Chaffers industrial area into a 6-hectare urban park. Similarly, Te Wharewaka o Ponoke was completed in 2011. Stage 1 of Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga, was completed in 2014, and included extensive traffic engineering, paving and planting schemes, the construction of a water play space and the moving of statutory. There have been many financial challenges for council and the designers in the interceding years and it is seeming increasingly unlikely that the design strategies discussed in this thesis will find expression.

When viewed together in Chapter 5 these two spaces offer a revealing collision of design, policy and indigenous reconciliation. As argued, the ability of Australian designers to engage in a process of decolonisation through design remains challenging in the absence of legislative and policy frameworks for national reconciliation, let alone the built environments. Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga is a project without precedent in Australia in terms of encapsulating the aspirations of reconciliation within a civic space. However, in the absence of formal redress, legislative change and the subsequent revision of urban and environmental history that such a process should produce, the Australian designers TaylorCullityLethlean are largely limited to symbolism and museological design techniques. The discussion further revealed the emergence and reliance on the 'placemaker' as the dominant design agent through which response to issues of indigeneity and reconciliation are expressed, in the absence of legislative change.

When viewed in contrast, the constructs established by the Waitangi Tribunal, biculturalism and the RMA have provided designers with a stronger footing from which to explore detailed design responses appropriate to the postcolonial context of New Zealand. The framework of the RMA, Environment Court and the Waitangi Tribunal have provided designers with a more structured process of decolonization to work through design responses which engage with Maori landscape values and practices. At Waitangi Park, New Zealand designers Wraight+ Athfield applied a political declamation strategy to integrate the waterfront edge with city and sea, alongside programmatic interventions to support lived cultures, tactics aligned to Maori agendas in the harbour precinct.

When considering the civic realm of these two urban renewal schemes through Chapter 6, the most acute responses to reconciliation policy were found the level of architecture, through the typology of the indigenous centre - Te Raukura Te Wharewaka o Pōneke and the Mullabakka Centre for Indigenous Culture. The cultural centre Te Wharewaka o Pōneke, the Te Raukura Function Centre at Wellington Waterfront, represents the outcomes of the structures and policies which enable and shape design in the New Zealand context. The layered nature of the site, alongside the lengthy process of the waterfront redevelopment, and the experience of the designers working with the RMA has produced a hybrid architectural outcome notable for its programmatic clarity and reciprocal governance.

In contrast, the speculative Mullabakka Kaurua Centre for Culture in Adelaide, where the discretionary policy framework of reconciliation, in the absence of a formalised treaty, has produced an uncertain design proposal. The adaptable, open programming strategy of the centres internal spaces sits in direct contrast to the intensive interpretive and programmatic strategies found within the open space design discussed in Chapter 5. This uncertainty extends to the governance, ownership and unfolding economics of the project, and reflects the need for far stronger obligations in terms of policy, legislation and organisation to the benefit of indigenous stakeholders. Emerging from the discussion of both the public space and cultural centre at Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga is the deferral to placemaking strategies of inscription derived from the new museum as the clearest strategy of indigenous acknowledgement, over other possible spatial articulations of the civic through landscape architecture, in a challenging situation in which both designers and indigenous stakeholders have limited agency to effect change.

As a point of comparison, this is not to say that the approaches found in New Zealand are not unproblematic. The continuance of discrimination experienced by Maori people is reflected in the reports of the Waitangi Tribunal that have been published beyond the boundaries of this research. In 2011, the Tribunal published Wai 262 claim "Ko Aotearoa Tēnei" ('This is Aotearoa' or 'This is New Zealand'), which concerns the ownership and rights to mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) in regard of indigenous flora and fauna. This report has wide ranging implications to intellectual property in New Zealand, more so given the breadth of scope as the first 'whole-of-government' report handed down by the Tribunal. The Tribunal found through this review that:

"[w]hat we saw and heard in sittings over many years left us in no doubt that unless it is accepted that New Zealand has two founding cultures, not one; unless Māori culture and identity are valued in everything government says and does; and unless they are welcomed into the very centre of the way we do things in this country, nothing will change. Māori will continue to be perceived, and know they are perceived, as an alien and resented minority, a problem to be managed with a seemingly endless stream of taxpayer-funded programs, but never solved."⁸²⁷

It would be easy to assume that given the wide-reaching nature of the Waitangi Tribunal over the past 44 years, that the revision of national history would be comprehensive. While the contention over a national Australian History curriculum in Australia has long been a politically heated discussion, it is surprising to find that New Zealand history is not compulsorily taught in the NZ national school curriculum.⁸²⁸ While this will be implemented in 2022, historians such as Michael Belgrave are calling for the urgent need to address a lack of comprehension in terms of the complexities and contradictions of New Zealand cultures, not only just in terms of colonial history, and the definitions of the Treaty of Waitangi, but in terms of diversities of race, culture, gender, class and region.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, "Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: A Report into Claims Concerning New Zealand Law and Policy Affecting Māori Culture and Identity. Wai 262," *Wellington, New Zealand: Author. Flawed* (2011): xviii.

⁸²⁸ Michael Belgrave, "Why It's Time for New Zealanders to Learn More About Their Own Country's History," *The Conversation* (2019). Tony Taylor, "Howard's End: A Narrative Memoir of Political Contrivance, Neoconservative Ideology and the Australian History Curriculum," (2009). Robert J Parkes, "Reading History Curriculum as Postcolonial Text: Towards a Curricular Response to the History Wars in Australia and Beyond," *Curriculum Inquiry* 37, no. 4 (2007). Bill Atweh and Parlo Singh, "The Australian Curriculum: Continuing the National Conversation," *Australian Journal of Education* 55, no. 3 (2011).

⁸²⁹ Belgrave, "Why It's Time for New Zealanders to Learn More About Their Own Country's History."

For Australia, decolonisation is a very slow process. A constant point of anxiety in any research project is the need to complete the outcome while the data that lies within the methodology remains fresh. While a limitation, the extended nature of this project has been matched by the sluggishness of Australian reconciliation. For Australian designers, these issues remain unresolved. Legislative change through constitutional recognition remains uncertain, particularly given recent political instability in Australian politics. Debates continue to rage over the shape of Constitutional Recognitions of First Nations. In 2019 Australia has its first Indigenous Minister for Indigenous Affairs in Ken Wyatt, and as a conservative member of Scott Morrison's Liberal Coalition Government, there is some cautious optimism for bipartisan reconciliation.⁸³⁰ Mischaracterisations over the intentions of the landmark *Uluru Statement from the Heart* for an Indigenous voice to parliament as a 'third chamber' of parliament have muddled the efficacy of debate over indigenous representation in terms of national governance.⁸³¹

Overall, Australia is largely in a state of inertia in terms of reconciliatory policy frameworks. However, while the notion of a treaty has largely evaporated from national discussions, state and territory governments are actively working through models, the most notable being the Victorian State Government which began a process in 2016 to work through Australia's first treaty in Indigenous people.⁸³² Subsequently, the Victorian Government has passed the first legislation committing parliament to treaty negotiations, through the 2018 "Advancing the Treaty Process with Aboriginal Victorians Act".⁸³³ In 2019, the state government is in process of establishing the First Peoples' Assembly of Victoria, which will be an independent and elected body to negotiate the framework for a treaty.⁸³⁴ We can be cautiously optimistic that this state model will be more productive to a process of redress for traditional owners, potentially more appropriate to the scale of Country than a national treaty model.

However, given growing awareness I find optimism in new approaches in the realm of architecture, landscape architecture and urban design. I shall now discuss emerging positions through two frames – professional decolonisation; and new design exemplars.

⁸³⁰ Amy Remeikis, "Ken Wyatt Wants Referendum on Indigenous Constitutional Recognition within Three Years," (2019).

⁸³¹ "Peter Dutton Rules out Voice to Parliament, Labelling It a 'Third Chamber'," (2019).

⁸³² Australian Broadcasting Corporation, "Victorian Government to Begin Talks with First Nations on Australia's First Indigenous Treaty," (2016).

⁸³³ "Australia's First Ever Treaty Legislation Is Set to Become Law," ed. Aboriginal Victoria (Melbourne: Victorian Government, 2019).

⁸³⁴ "First Peoples' Assembly of Victoria | Victorian Treaty Advancement Commission," (Carlton, Victoria: Victorian Treaty Advancement Commission, 2019).

7.2 Decolonising the Professions

As previously discussed, history has established a very different legislative position and obligation for designers operating in Australia and New Zealand. In terms of practice, architects, landscape architects, urban designers and planners in New Zealand have been responding to the demands of the Treaty of Waitangi through the Resource Management Act for decades. Despite this, change within the professional organisations has been comparably recent. The professional organisations are working to foster bicultural relationships through several strategies. For example, the New Zealand Planning Institute offers accredited continuing professional development (CPD) training in 'Planning for Maori Values'.⁸³⁵

In 2017, Te Kāhui Whaihanga New Zealand Institute of Architects (NZIA) signed Te Kawenata o Rata, a covenant of co-operation with Ngā Aho, the society of Māori design professionals. This is a broad values-based agreement in the spirit and format of partnership reflective of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁸³⁶ Similarly, New Zealand Institute of Landscape Architects Tuia Pito Ora (NZILA) has a similarly formalised relationship with Ngā Aho through Te Tau-a-Nuku, a Māori landscape architects ropu (committee) within NZILA.⁸³⁷ NZILA and Te Tau-a-Nuku work to foster shared public environments through strategies such as wānanga (forums).⁸³⁸ This builds on the international significance of the distinctly postcolonial tone of the NZILA hosted 2013 International Federation of Landscape Architects World Congress in Auckland, 'Shared Wisdom in an age of Change', noteworthy not only in its location in the Antipodes but through a unique program promoting indigenous knowledge and methodologies for landscape architecture.

⁸³⁵ "Planning for Maori Values: An Update : New Zealand Planning Institute," https://www.planning.org.nz/Event?Action=View&Event_id=1077.

⁸³⁶ The agreement is made according to five articles: Respect / Whakaritenga; Authority and Responsibility / Rangatiratanga; Knowledge and Tikanga / Mātauranga Whaihanga; Co-operation / Mahi Kotahitanga; and Representation / Kanohi Kitea See: Architects.

⁸³⁷ "News from Te Tau-a-Nuku - the Māori Landscape Architects Ropu | Nz Institute of Landscape Architects," @nzila_info, <https://nzila.co.nz/news/2018/02/news-from-te-tau-a-nuku-the-maori-landscape-archit>.

⁸³⁸ Kathleen Kinney, "Kore Rawa E Rawaka Te Reo Kotahi: "One Language Is Never Enough", " *Architecture Now New Zealand* December, no. 28 (2015).



Figure 7.1. New Zealand Institute of Architects, *Te Kawenata O Rata*, 2017, <https://www.nzia.co.nz/explore/te-kawenata-o-rata>.

In Australia, designers are now implicated within the process and policy implementation of Reconciliation Action Plans directly from within their professional organisations, and in some cases from within practice. The Planning Institute of Australia was one of the first organisations in the built environments to implement at Reconciliation Action Plan in 2008.⁸³⁹ Mirroring the state government progress towards treaty negotiations, the development of a reconciliation framework has emerged through the Victorian chapter of both the AIA and AILA, work which is supported by the not-for-profit organisation Indigenous Architecture and Design Victoria, founded by indigenous architects Rueben Berg and Jefa Greenaway in 2010.⁸⁴⁰

The strongest responses have emerged through architecture. In September 2010, the Victorian Chapter of the Australian Institute of Architects launched its Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP), detailing steps and priorities for the profession to take to help achieve indigenous equality.⁸⁴¹ An illustrative instance of the institute's engagement in this process is the Victorian Aboriginal Language Group map included as part of the RAP document, which diagrammatically attempts to illustrate the complexities of locality for language groups across the state. This map is rendered in an architectural graphic style as three dimensional, non-Cartesian catchments, appealing to architects through a familiar pattern of illustration.

⁸³⁹ "Reconciliation Action Plan for the Period October 2008 to March 2011," ed. Planning Institute of Australia (Canberra: Reconciliation Australia, 2008).

⁸⁴⁰ "About iadv," Indigenous Architecture and Design Victoria, <https://iadv.org.au/about-iadv/>.

⁸⁴¹ Australian Institute of Architects Victorian Chapter, "Reconciliation Action Plan," (Melbourne: Australian Institute of Architects, 2010).

During the 2019 Reconciliation Week, the NSW chapter of the AIA held a number of events around the theme 'Grounded in Truth: Walk Together in Courage' including a formal CPD point event, the first Reconciliation Week Forum 'Reconciliation Conversations.'⁸⁴² Elsewhere, the New South Wales chapter of the AIA encourages design engagement with reconciliation by holding a Reconciliation Prize for work which encourages partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people; which responds to traditional custodianship and practices; and the encouragement of training and employment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people.⁸⁴³

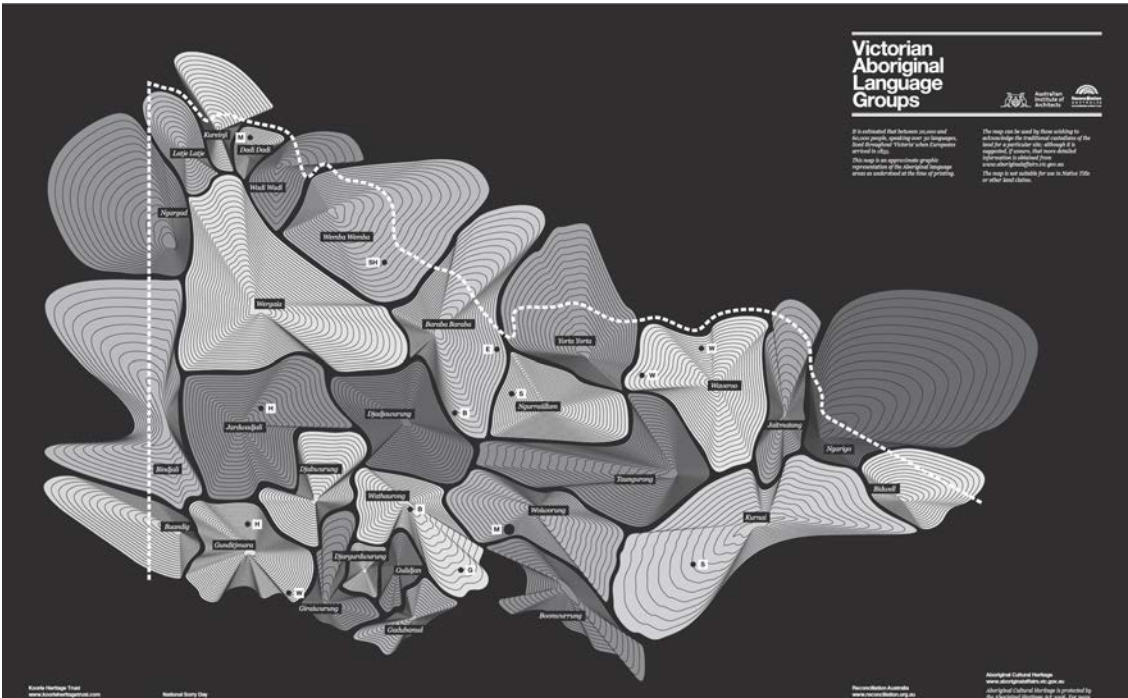


Figure 7.2. Australian Institute of Architects Victorian Chapter, *Reconciliation Action Plan*, 2010, Melbourne: Australian Institute of Architects.

⁸⁴² "Reconciliation Conversations," (2019).

⁸⁴³ "Reconciliation Prize Extended to Wednesday 18 September | Nsw Awards." NSW Chapter Australian Institute of Architects, <https://wp.architecture.com.au/nswawards/reconciliation-prize/>.

By contrast, Australian Institute of Landscape Architects has been comparatively slow to develop a RAP. In July 2017 the Victorian chapter established a Connection to Country Committee with the objective of developing a Reconciliation Action Plan, working in collaboration with Reconciliation Australia and an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander advisory group.⁸⁴⁴ In July 2018 the Australian Institute of Landscape Architects released their inaugural national RAP, a significant step in the acknowledgment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, cultural and connections to landscape.⁸⁴⁵ In particular, the RAP encourages advocacy by AILA in public conversations around Reconciliation, where the professional institute should be a stronger voice. The RAP identifies 15 actions organised into four themes – relationships respect, opportunities and governance – all geared around building professional awareness, fostering connections and encouraging affirmative action.

While this is indicative of an encouraging emergence of designers as professional collectives advocating for Reconciliation, it is also critical that they reflect and decolonise private practice. This is a difficult challenge, but one worth engaging with. Designers should not limit responsibility to box ticking exercises which can equate to lip service. Landscape architects should celebrate their expertise and theorise their own practices critically. There is a need to continue to critically evaluate and reflect on projects such as these, and look to regional examples in Oceania and Asia more broadly for precedence.

⁸⁴⁴ "Yurlendj-Nganjin ('Everyone's Knowledge'/'Our Intelligence')," Australian Institute of Landscape Architecture, http://www.aila.org.au/iMIS_Prod/AILAWeb/Media_Releases/Yurlendj-nganjin___everyone_s_knowledge___our_intelligence___.aspx.

⁸⁴⁵ "Aila Launches Reconciliation Action Plan," *Landscape Australia* (2018).

7.3 Reconciling Design

Given the maturation of decolonisation, we can now look to more recent projects to see how design is being positioned going forward. For New Zealand, with larger questions of decolonization established through the framework of the Waitangi Tribunal, biculturalism and the RMA, designers are continuing to explore the finer grade design solutions. This legislative positioning has dramatically re-shaped the power dynamics of urban renewal at the scale of the city. The most notable example is Ngāi Tahu and local hapu Ngāi Tūāhuriri in the Christchurch reconstruction and redevelopment efforts, who in the wake of the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes were granted special status as a Statutory Partner to Crown, Regional and Local Government agencies under legislation (Greater Christchurch Regeneration Act).⁸⁴⁶ Ngāi Tahu has an explicit agenda to maintain and promote indigenous cultural values as part of the reconstruction of the city.

The 2012 Central Christchurch Recovery Plan (CCRP) was completed through a partnership between Christchurch City Council, the Crown and Ngāi Tahu.⁸⁴⁷ Crown-led Anchor Projects are being delivered through a partnership of Crown Company Ōtākaro Limited, Regenerate Christchurch and the Ngāi Tahu established Matapopore Charitable Trust.⁸⁴⁸ Ngāi Tahu are embedded in the design process through the trust, weaving mana whenua narratives and values across anchor projects at a number of scales of the public realm. This is most notable in the Te Papa Ōtākaro / Avon River Precinct, where Ngāi Tahu seek to rebalance and decolonise the picturesque urban design language of the public realm along the riverfront. This is being achieved through a number of strategies such as street furniture, materials selection, planting palette, extensive public art commissions and ecologically through the restoration of the stream condition.⁸⁴⁹ For example, Ngā Whariki Manaaki, thirteen woven mats of welcome, are integrated into the paving pattern throughout the pathways of precinct, supporting a powhiri process to welcome visitors to Christchurch.⁸⁵⁰ As the recovery efforts continue to unfold, the CCRP offers a rich potential as a precedent to be considered in more detail, as an example of the decolonising of a city at an urban scale.

Similarly, in Australia I have found optimism in new approaches in the realm of landscape architecture and urban design. One such example is Yagan Square in Perth,

⁸⁴⁶ "Matapopore Charitable Trust | About Us," <https://matapopore.co.nz/about-us/>.

⁸⁴⁷ "About Us - Otakaro Limited," Otakaro Limited, <https://www.otakaroltd.co.nz/about-us/>.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid.; "Matapopore Charitable Trust | About Us".

⁸⁴⁹ "Avon River Precinct," Otakao Limited, <https://www.otakaroltd.co.nz/anchor-projects/avon-river-precinct/>.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid.

designed by Lyons Architects in association with Iredale Pederson Hook Architects and Aspect Studio landscape architects. An infrastructural infill project, the square is composed of a central gathering space, framed by a signature canopy structure, conceived around a distinctively Western Australian food hall as the predominant programmatic driver.⁸⁵¹ Moving on from the interactive digital strategies suggested for Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga, in part due to technological advancement, Yagan Square has a sophisticated digital infrastructure for a public digital art gallery featuring dynamic imagery and sound.⁸⁵²

In structure, the project is conceived holistically, building on the placemaking approach tested at Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga. A common language was ensured across the public art, architecture and landscape architecture through the application of a comprehensive "creative template".⁸⁵³ Composed through extensive engagement with the local Indigenous community, the template was developed by Dr Richard Walley, a well-respected Nyungar artist and leader, in collaboration with Paul Carter and the project artists and architects.

The template frames and identifies points of site convergence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous stories, producing a diverse range of public art responses at these moments of convergence.⁸⁵⁴ Similarly, the template brings together non-Indigenous and Indigenous designers, artists and communities into a cross-cultural relationship of authorship, as opposed to placemaking approaches which are inclusive of Indigenous stories but curated by non-Indigenous designers.⁸⁵⁵ This approach formed the pilot project for the Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority's Cultural Compact Agreement Kaart Koort Waarnginy (Head, Heart, Talking) with Whadjuk traditional owners, also developed by Walley, which positioned alongside the MRA's Placemaking approach now frames all projects within the MRA development precinct.⁸⁵⁶

Moving forward, there is much potential for future research of these cases, and beyond. As decolonising processes continue to shift and mature, the reconciliatory obligation resides with design criticism to continue to develop, evaluate and reflect on the range of tactics and approaches which shape the way in which we conceive of civic space through design in the Antipodean city.

⁸⁵¹ Lyons, "Yagan Square: Development Application Report," (2014).

⁸⁵² Jillian Walliss, "Designing the Contemporary Civic: Three Australian Squares," (2018).

⁸⁵³ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁴ Lyons.

⁸⁵⁵ Walliss, "Designing the Contemporary Civic: Three Australian Squares."

⁸⁵⁶ Richard Walley, "Cultural Compact Agreement Kaart Koort Waarnginy (Head, Heart, Talking)," ed. Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority (Perth: Western Australian Government).

Bibliography

- "The 1980s - Overview." Research and Publishing Group of the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/the-1980s/overview>.
- "1990 Coalition Meeting Minutes - October 1988." Wellington: 1990 Colalition Group, 1988.
- "About iadv." Indigenous Architecture and Design Victoria, <https://iadv.org.au/about-iadv/>.
- "About Indigenous Land Use Agreement (Iluas)." edited by National Native Title Tribunal. Canberra: Australian Federal Government, 2019.
- "About the Waitangi Tribunal - Members of the Waitangi Tribunal." Waitangi Tribunal Te Ropu Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, <https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/about-waitangi-tribunal/members-of-the-waitangi-tribunal/>.
- "About Us - Otakaro Limited." Otakaro Limited, <https://www.otakaroltd.co.nz/about-us/>.
- An Act to Empower His Majesty to Erect South Australia into a British Province or Provinces and to Provide for the Colonisation and Government Thereof.* 15 August 1834.
- "Adelaide City Council 2018-2021 Stretch Reconciliation Action Plan ". edited by Reconciliation Committee. Adelaide, 2018.
- Adelaide, City of. "Adelaide City Council 2015- 2018 Stretch Reconciliation Action Plan." 1-28. Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2015.
- "The Adelaide Tribe." *The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA : 1889 - 1931)*, 8 December 1927 1927.
- "The Advertiser. Adelaide: Tuesday, November 15, 1864." *The South Australian Advertiser (Adelaide, SA : 1858 - 1889)*, 15 November 1864 1864.
- "Aila Launches Reconciliation Action Plan." *Landscape Australia* (2018).
- Aird, Michael, and Dennis Conlon. *Brisbane Blacks*. Keeaira Press, 2001.
- Alexander, Isabella. "White Law, Black Art." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 10, no. 2 (2001): 185-216.
- Amery, Rob. "It's Ours to Keep and Call Our Own: Reclamation of the Nunga Languages in the Adelaide Region, South Australia." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 113, no. 1 (1995): 63-82.
- Amery, Rob, and Georgina Yambo Williams. "18 Reclaiming through Renaming: The Reinstatement of Kurna Toponyms in Adelaide and the Adelaide Plains." In *The Land Is a Map : Placenames of Indigenous Origin in Australia* edited by Luise Hercus, Flavia Hodges and Jane Simpson, 255-76. Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2002.

- Amoamo, Maria, and Anna Thompson. "(Re) Imaging Māori Tourism: Representation and Cultural Hybridity in Postcolonial New Zealand." *Tourist Studies* 10, no. 1 (2010): 35-55.
- Anderson, Grahame. *Fresh About Cook Strait: An Appreciation of Wellington Harbour*. Methuen, 1984.
- Anderson, Jane. "The Making of Indigenous Knowledge in Intellectual Property Law in Australia." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12, no. 3 (2005): 347-73.
- Anderson, Kayla. "Ethics, Ecology, and the Future: Art and Design Face the Anthropocene." *Leonardo* (2015).
- Anderson, Thistle. *Arcadian Adelaide*. Thistle Anderson in Edwardian Adelaide. Edited by Derek Whitelock Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1985. 1905.
- "Annual Report Year Ended March 31, 2013." Wellington: Palmerston North Maori Reserve Trust, 2013.
- Antimo, Iannella. "Push for Re-Think on Square Proposal." *Advertiser, The (Adelaide, Australia)* (2007): 013.
- Architects, N. Z. Institute of. "Te Kawenata O Rata." <https://www.nzia.co.nz/explore/te-kawenata-o-rata>.
- "Assessment of Effects on the Environment, Proposed Development - North Kumutoto Precinct, Wellington Waterfront: ." Wellington: Urban Perspectives Ltd, 2014.
- Atkinson, Rowland, and Hazel Easthope. "The Consequences of the Creative Class: The Pursuit of Creativity Strategies in Australia's Cities." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33, no. 1 (2009): 64-79.
- Atweh, Bill, and Parlo Singh. "The Australian Curriculum: Continuing the National Conversation." *Australian Journal of Education* 55, no. 3 (2011): 189-96.
- Austin, Mike. "Biculturalism and Architecture in Aotearoa/New Zealand." *National Identities* 5, no. 1 (2003): 39.
- Australia, Reconciliation. "About Us." Reconciliation Australia, <http://www.reconciliation.org.au/home/about-us>.
- "Australia's First Ever Treaty Legislation Is Set to Become Law." edited by Aboriginal Victoria. Melbourne: Victorian Government, 2019.
- "Avon River Precinct." Otakao Limited, <https://www.otakaroltd.co.nz/anchor-projects/avon-river-precinct/>.
- Bagust, Phil, and Lynda Tout-Smith. "Native Plants of Adelaide." (2010).
- Ballara, Angela. "Te Whanganui-a-Tara: Phases of Maori Occupation of Wellington Harbour C. 1800–1840." *The Making of Wellington* 1914 (1990).

- Banivanua Mar, Tracey. "Settler-Colonial Landscapes and Narratives of Possession: [Paper In: Stolen Lands, Broken Cultures: The Settler-Colonial Present. Hinkson, John; James, Paul and Veracini, Lorenzo (Eds.)." *Arena Journal*, no. 37-38 (2012 2012): 176-98.
- Barclay-Kerr, Hoturoa. "Waka – Canoes - Pacific Origins." <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/waka-canoes/page-1>
- Barkan, Elazar. *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*. JHU Press, 2001.
- Beattie, James. "Growing Chinese Influences in New Zealand: Chinese Gardens, Identity and Meaning." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2007): 38.
- Bechervaise, Harry, Malcolm Challen, G. M. Legoe, and Russell Olsson. *Urban Design Guidelines: City of Adelaide 1986-91*. Adelaide: Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1988. Non-fiction.
- Belgrave, Michael. *Historical Frictions. : Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories*. New York: Auckland University Press, 2013.
- . "Why It's Time for New Zealanders to Learn More About Their Own Country's History." *The Conversation* (2019).
- Belich, James. *Making Peoples : A History of the New Zealanders : From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. [London] : Allen Lane ; Auckland, N.Z. : Penguin Press, 1996., 1996. Bibliographies Non-fiction.
- . *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld*. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Bell, Avril. "Bifurcation or Entanglement? Settler Identity and Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand." *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 20, no. 2 (2006): 253-68.
- Bell, Richard. "Bell's Theorem: Aboriginal Art - It's a White Thing." (2002).
- Bennett, Tony. "Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthook and the Governance of the Social." *Cultural Studies* 19, no. 5 (2005): 521-47.
- Berg, Lawrence D, and Robin A Kearns. "Naming as Norming: 'Race', Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14, no. 1 (1996): 99-122.
- Berg, Shaun. *Coming to Terms: Aboriginal Title in South Australia*. Wakefield Press, 2010.
- . "A Fractured Landscape: The Effect on Aboriginal Title to Land by the Establishment of the Province of South Australia." In *Coming to Terms: Aboriginal Title in South Australia*, edited by Shaun Berg, 1-24. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2010.

- Best, Elsdon. "The Land of Tara and They Who Settled It." *Part III. Transaction and Proceedings of the Polynesian Society* 27 (1918): 49-71.
- "Big Job under Way - Stormwater Drainage to End Basin Flooding: Pipes and Box Culvert." *Evening Post*, 13 March 1936.
- Bildstein, Craig. "Time Lord Mayor Showed Vision." *The Advertiser*, 2007, 5.
- . "Vic Square: People's Plaza Article From: , ." *The Advertiser* August 13, 2007 02:15am 2007.
- Birch, Tony. "'Death Is Forgotten in Victory': Colonial Landscapes and Narratives of Emptiness ". In *Object Lessons: Archaeology and Heritage in Australia, 186-200*: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2005.
- Blomley, Nicholas. *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property*. Routledge, 2003.
- Boast, Richard P. "The Waitangi Tribunal in the Context of New Zealand's Political Culture and Historiography." *Journal of the History of International Law / Revue d'histoire du droit international* 18, no. 2-3 (2016): 339-61.
- Bolleter, Julian. "Postcards from the Edge: A Critical Reading of Representations of the Interior in Australian Landscape Architecture." *Journal of Landscape Architecture* 12, no. 1 (2017/01/02 2017): 74-85.
- Bowring, Jacky. "Containing Marginal Memories: The Melancholy Landscapes of Hart Island (New York), Cockatoo Island (Sydney), and Ripapa Island (Christchurch)." *Memory Connection* 1, no. 1 (2011): 252-69.
- Brand, Diane. "Surveys and Sketches: 19th-Century Approaches to Colonial Urban Design." *Journal of Urban Design* 9, no. 2 (06// 2004): 153-75.
- Brine, Judith. "City Planning in Adelaide and Brisbane the New Right Plan?". *Australian Planner* 24, no. 4 (1986/12/01 1986): 19-22.
- Brodie, Veronica, and Mary-Anne Gale. *My Side of the Bridge: The Life Story of Veronica Brodie as Told to Mary-Anne Gale*. Wakefield Press, 2002.
- Brooks, Peter. "Public Consultation and the Waterfront." In *A account, based on the records of the Wellington Civic Trust, of the public consultations undertaken by the Wellington City Council in 1996-97 on the development of the waterfront*. Wellington, NZ.: Wellington Civic Trust, 1999.
- Brown, Deidre. *Māori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenui and Beyond*. Auckland, N.Z.: Raupo, 2009.
- Brown, Deidre Sharon. *Maori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenui and Beyond*. Raupo Penguin, 2009.
- Bryant, M. "Urban Ecology and Site Histories: Mutually Inclusive Themes of Urban Public Space Design in Aotearoa New Zealand." Paper presented at the WSUD 2012: Water sensitive urban design; Building the water

- sensitive community; 7th international conference on water sensitive urban design, 21-23 February 2012, Melbourne Cricket Ground, 2012.
- Burke, Rebecca. "' Friendly Relations between the Two Races Were Soon Established'?: PāKehā Interactions with MāOri in the Planned Settlements of Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth, 1840-1860." (2014).
- Butler, Rex, and Morgan Thomas. "'I Am Not Sorry': Richard Bell out of Context." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*, no. 1 (2003): 29.
- Byrne, Denis. "The Ethos of Return: Erasure and Reinstatement of Aboriginal Visibility in the Australian Historical Landscape." [In English]. *Historical Archaeology* 37, no. 1 (2003): 73-86.
- Byrnes, Giselle. *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*. Bridget Williams Books, 2001.
- . *The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand History*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Campbell, Jo, and Jan Heijs. "Urban Stream Restoration and Community Engagement: Examples from New Zealand." Paper presented at the Stormwater Conference, 2010.
- Carter, Paul. *Dark Writing: Geography, Performance, Design*. University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- . *The Lie of the Land*. Faber & Faber London, 1996.
- . *Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research*. Melbourne University Press, 2004.
- . *The Road to Botany Bay: A Spatial History*. London: Faber and Faber, 1987.
- "Case Summary: Yorta Yorta V Victoria." edited by Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Canberra: AIATSIS, 2015.
- Caust, Jo. "A Festival in Disarray: The 2002 Adelaide Festival: A Debacle or Another Model of Arts Organization and Leadership?". *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 34, no. 2 (2004): 103-18.
- Cerwonka, Allaine. *Native to the Nation : Disciplining Landscapes and Bodies in Australia*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.
- Dictionaries.
- "Chaffers Design Competition Assessment Criteria." edited by Wellington City Council. Wellington: Wellington City Council, 2002.
- Chapter, Australian Institute of Architects Victorian. "Reconciliation Action Plan." Melbourne: Australian Institute of Architects, 2010.
- Charrison, Emily. "Ramindjeri; V Kurna; on Vic Sq." *Messenger - The City (Adelaide, Australia)* (2010): 008.
- Chattopadhyay, Swati, and Jeremy White. *City Halls and Civic Materialism: Towards a Global History of Urban Public Space*. Routledge, 2014.

- "Chief Justice Declares Treaty 'Worthless' and a 'Simple Nullity'." Ministry for Culture and Heritage, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/the-chief-justice-declares-that-the-treaty-of-waitangi-is-worthless-and-a-simple-nullity>.
- "City Arts & Living Culture Strategy 2003-2007." edited by City Strategies. Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2003.
- "City Needs Federation Square ". *Sunday Mail (SA)*, August 26, 2007. 2007
- Clapperton, Jonathan Alex. "Contested Spaces, Shared Places: The Museum of Anthropology at Ubc, Aboriginal Peoples, and Postcolonial Criticism." *BC Studies*, no. 165 (Spring 2010): 7-30.
- Clarke, P. A. "- the Aboriginal Ethnobotany of the Adelaide Region, South Australia." - 137 (2013): - 126.
- Clarke, Philip A. "Adelaide Aboriginal Cosmology." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28, no. 1 (1990).
- Clavir, Miriam. *Preserving What Is Valued : Museums, Conservation, and First Nations*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002.
- Clément, Gilles. "The Third Landscape." Consultado em, 2003.
- Coleman, Elizabeth Burns. *Aboriginal Art, Identity and Appropriation*. Routledge, 2017.
- Committee, Lambton Harbour Community Consultative. "Ccc Report on Design Team Proposals for the Waterfront." Wellington, 1997.
- "Community Land Register and Management Plans." Adelaide Plains Council, <http://apc.sa.gov.au/clrmp>.
- "Constitutional Recognition Referendum Will Be an Uphill Battle, Says Warren Mundine." *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 27 2015.
- Consultants, Ruakura. "Basin Bridge Project Hauwai." In *Technical Report 15 Assesment of Effects - Cultural*, 1-40. Wellington, New Zealand: WELLINGTON TENTHS TRUST & PORT NICHOLSON BLOCK SETTLEMENT TRUST, 2013.
- Cook, Craig. "Yorke Peninsula Elder Says Adelaide Parklands Dry Zone Legislation Is Racist in Report." *The Advertiser*, 2015.
- Corner, James. "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention." *The Map Reader: Theories of Mapping Practice and Cartographic Representation*: 89-101.
- . "Chapter 10: The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique, and Invention." In *Mappings*, edited by Denis Cosgrove, 213-52. London: Reaktion Books, 1999.
- . *Recovering Landscape : Essays in Contemporary Landscape Architecture*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999.

- Corporation, Australian Broadcasting. "Kaurna People Granted Native Title Rights in Adelaide, 18 Years On." [In en-AU]. (2018-03-21T16:05:43+1100 2018).
- . "Record \$1.3b Wa Native Title Settlement Registered after Three-Year Wait." [In en-AU]. (2018-10-17T14:02:21+1100 2018).
- . "Victorian Government to Begin Talks with First Nations on Australia's First Indigenous Treaty." [In en-AU]. (2016-02-26T13:37:42+1100 2016).
- Council, Adelaide City. "Adelaide Park Lands Community Land Management Plans - Piltawodli (Park 1)." edited by Park Lands and Sustainability Business Unit. Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2006.
- . "Chapter 16 Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga." In *The Parklands Community Land Management Plan*, edited by Adelaide Parklands. Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2013. Reprint, 2017.
- . "Community Land Management Plan." edited by Adelaide City Council. Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2007.
- . "Creating Our Future 2008-2012 Strategic Plan." edited by Adelaide City Council. Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2012.
- . "Cwp Draft Urban Design Master Plans - the Central West Precinct New Directions." 2002.
- . "Esd 0016 Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition." Adelaide City Council, http://web.archive.org/web/20080725004017/http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/adccwr/publications/forms/esd_0016.pdf.
- . "Esd 0019 Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition." Adelaide City Council, http://web.archive.org/web/20080725002616/http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/adccwr/publications/forms/esd_0019.pdf.
- . "Esd 0045 Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition." Adelaide City Council, http://web.archive.org/web/20080719200322/http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/adccwr/publications/forms/usd_0045.pdf.
- . "Esd 0081 Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition." Adelaide City Council, http://web.archive.org/web/20080725004017/http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/adccwr/publications/forms/usd_0081.pdf.
- . "'Place Naming'." <http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/your-community/culture-history/place-naming/>.
- . "Victoria Square/ Tarndanyangga Community Ideas Competition." Adelaide City Council, http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/scripts/nc.dll?ADCC:STANDARD::pc=PC_151037.

- Council, Wellington City. "Biodiversity Action Plan." *Wellington City Council, Wellington, NZ* (2007).
- . "Draft Wellington Waterfront Development Plan - 3 Years (2015/2016-2017-2018)." 1-7. Wellington: Wellington City Council, 2015.
- . "Issues for Tangata Whenua." Chap. 2 In *Wellington City District Plan = Te Kaupapa Whenua O Pōneke*, 2/1-2/14. Wellington, N.Z.: Wellington City Council, 2000.
- . "Nga Waahi Taonga O Te Whanganui a Tara Maori Sites Inventory." (1994).
- . *Wellington City District Plan = Te Kaupapa Whenua O Pōneke*. Kaupapa Whenua O Pōneke. Wellington, N.Z.: Wellington City Council, 2000.
- . "The Wellington Waterfront Framework." In *Report of the Waterfront Leadership Group*. Wellington: New Zealand, 2001.
- Council, Wellington City, Civic Square, and Wakefield Street. "Issues for Tangata Whenua." In *Wellington City District Plan*. Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington City Council, 2000.
- . "Wellington City District Plan." *Wellington, Wellington City Council* (2000).
- "Court Closes Gate on Opposition to Chinese Garden Plans for Wellington's Waterfront." *Stuff*, 21/12/2018 2018.
- Crisp, Tracy. "Destination: Adelaide." *The Griffith Review* 15, no. Autumn 2007 (2007): 119-25.
- Crocker, Therese. "History and the Treaty of Waitangi Settlement Process." [In English]. *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, no. 18 (2014): 106.
- Cullity, K. "More Than Just Looking Good: Beauty, Aesthetics and Care-Braided Pathways: A Practice Sustained by Difference." (2013).
- Czerniak, Julia, George Hargreaves, John Beardsley, and Harvard University. Graduate School of Design. *Large Parks*. 1st ed. New York Cambridge, Mass: Princeton Architectural Press ; In association with the Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 2007.
- Daly, Anne, Tesfaye Gebremedhin, and Muhammad Sayem. "A Case Study of Affirmative Action Australian-Style for Indigenous People." [In English]. *Australian Journal of Labour Economics* 16, no. 2 (2013 2013-11-06 2013): 277-94.
- Daniels, Christopher B, and John Hodgson. *Adelaide: Water of a City*. Wakefield Press, 2010.
- Daniels, Christopher Brian, and Catherine Tait. "Adelaide Nature of a City: The Ecology of a Dynamic City 1836-2036." (2005).
- Davies, Tony. "Aboriginal Cultural Property." *Law Context: A Socio-Legal J.* 14 (1996): 1.

- Davis, Matt. "Victoria Square Tarndanyangga:[Adelaide's Latest Urban Regeneration Project]." *Architecture Australia* 99, no. 4: 29.
- Denoon, Donald, Philippa Mein Smith, and Marivic Wyndham. *A History of Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific*. The Blackwell History of the World. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
- Development, Adelaide (S.A.). Corporation. Department of Planning and, Harry Bechervaise, G. M Legoe, Russell Olsson, and Adelaide (S.A.). Department of Planning and Development. *The Design of Adelaide* [in English]. Adelaide Adelaide City Council, 1987.
- Devlin, Collette, and Damian George. "Wellington's Chinese Garden and Playground Given Green Light after Environment Court Throws out Appeals." *Stuff*, 09/04/2018 2018.
- Dickey, Brian, ed. *William Shakespeare's Adelaide, 1860-1930* vol. Accessed from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.cat-vn1562004>. Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians, 1992.
- Dieffenbach, Ernst. *Travels in New Zealand, with Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of That Country, by Ernest Dieffenbach*. J. Murray, 1843.
- Donoghue, Tim. "Dispute Keeps Main Guest Away from Wharewaka Opening." A3: Dominion Post, The, 2011.
- . "Waka Tipped to Turn up for Wharewaka Ceremony." A6: Dominion Post, The, 2011.
- Doorne, Stephen. "Power, Participation and Perception: An Insider's Perspective on the Politics of the Wellington Waterfront Redevelopment." *Current issues in tourism* 1, no. 2 (1998): 129-66.
- Dovey, Kim. "Architecture About Aborigines." *Architecture Australia* 85, no. 4 (July-August 1996): 98-103.
- . "Myth and Media: Constructing Aboriginal Architecture." *Journal of Architectural Education* 54, no. 1 (2000): 2-6.
- . "Seeing Uluru." *Thresholds* (2000): 60-65.
- Edmonds, P. *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities*. University of British Columbia Press, 2010.
- Edmonds, Penelope, and Tracey Banivanua Mar. *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. doi:10.1057/9780230277946.
- Emmett, Peter. "Wysiwyg on the Site of First Government House." *Sites: Nailing the Debate: Archaeology and Interpretation in Museums* (1996): 107-22.
- "Environment Court | Environment Court of New Zealand." <https://www.environmentcourt.govt.nz/>.

- Fantin, Shaneen. "Aboriginal Identities in Architecture." *Architecture Australia*, no. 5 (Sep 2003): 84-87.
- . "Which Way?", 2008/01//Jan/Feb2008 2008.
- Felton, Emma, Oksana Zelenko, and Suzi Vaughan. *Design and Ethics: Reflections on Practice*. Routledge, 2013.
- Ferner, Rachel Hughes with Beca Carter Hollings &, and (Wellington). "Entry 148." 2002.
- Findley, Lisa. *Building Change : Architecture, Politics and Cultural Agency*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- . *Building Change: Architecture, Politics and Cultural Agency*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- "First Peoples' Assembly of Victoria | Victorian Treaty Advancement Commission." Carlton, Victoria: Victorian Treaty Advancement Commission, 2019.
- Fleras, Augie. *The Politics of Multiculturalism. [Electronic Resource] ; Multicultural Governance in Comparative Perspective*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009., 2009. Non-fiction.
- Fleras, Augie, and Paul Spoonley. *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*. Oxford University Press, USA, 1999.
- Foley, Gary. "Black Power in Redfern 1968-1972. 2001." *The Koori History Website*< http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_1.html (2013).
- Forster, Clive. "Economic Restructuring, Urban Policy and Patterns of Deprivation in Adelaide." *Australian Planner* 24, no. 1 (1986/03/01 1986): 6-10.
- Foster, Robert. "The Aborigines Location in Adelaide: South Australia's First 'Mission' to the Aborigines." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28, no. 1 (1990).
- . "Feasts of the Full-Moon: The Distribution of Rations to Aborigines in South Australia: 1836-1861." *Aboriginal History* 13, no. 1/2 (1989): 63-78.
- . "'His Majesty's Most Gracious and Benevolent Intentions': South Australia's Foundation, the Idea of 'Difference', and Aboriginal Rights." *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 15 (2013): 105.
- . *Out of the Silence : The History and Memory of South Australia's Frontier Wars*. Adelaide : Wakefield Press, 2012., 2012. Dictionaries.
- Foster, Robert, and Paul Sendziuk. *Turning Points : Chapters in South Australian History*. Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2012.
- Freestone, Robert. "An Historical Perspective." In *Planning Australia : An Overview of Urban and Regional Planning*, edited by Susan Thompson and Paul J. Maginn, 73-97. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

- A Fresh Look at Your Public Waterfront. Lambton Harbour Development Project, 1997.
- Fry, Tony. *Design Futuring : Sustainability, Ethics and New Practice*. Oxford Berg, 2009.
- Fuad-Luke, Alastair. *Design Activism : Beautiful Strangeness for a Sustainable World*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013.
- Gabites, Helen Isobel. *Wellington's Living Cloak: A Guide to the Natural Plant Communities*. Wellington Botanical Society, 1993.
- Gammage, Bill. "The Adelaide District in 1836." In *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*, edited by Robert Foster and Paul Sendziuk, 29-56. Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2012.
- Gara, Tom. "The Life of Ivaritji ('Princess Amelia') of the Adelaide Tribe." *Aboriginal Adelaide Special Issue, Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28, no. 1&2 (1990).
- Garbutt, Rob, Soenke Biermann, and Baden Offord. "Into the Borderlands: Unruly Pedagogy, Tactile Theory and the Decolonising Nation." *Critical Arts*, no. 1 (2012): 62.
- Gardiner, Aunty Margaret, and Janet McGaw. "Indigenous Placemaking in Urban Melbourne: A Dialogue between a Wurundjeri Elder and a Non-Indigenous Architect and Academic." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture*, 581-605: Springer, 2018.
- Gardyne, Stuart. "Stuart Gardyne: Recent Works, Wharewaka." In *Fast Forward 2012* Auckland: The University of Auckland, 2012.
- Gatley, Julia, and Bill McKay. "Beyond Futuna: John Scott, Modern Architecture and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture*, 607-35: Springer, 2018.
- Gatley, Julia, Paul Walker, Damian Skinner, and Justine Clark. *Vertical Living: The Architectural Centre and the Remaking of Wellington*. Kobo ed.: Auckland University Press, 2014.
- Gehl, Jan, Helle Sørholt, SA Planning, South Australia, Capital City Committee, and Gehl Architects Aps. *Public Spaces and Public Life: City of Adelaide, 2002*. Planning SA, 2002.
- George, Damian. "Waterfront Watch Says Environment Court Was Wrong to Approve Wellington's Chinese Garden." *The Dominion Post*, 03/09/2018 2018.
- Gibson, Lianne, and Deborah Stevenson. "Urban Space and the Uses of Culture." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 10, no. 1 (2004): 1-4.
- Ginn, Franklin. "Extension, Subversion, Containment: Eco-Nationalism and (Post) Colonial Nature in Aotearoa New Zealand." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33, no. 3 (2008): 335-53.

- Go-Sam, Carroll. "Carroll Go-Sam on Working with and against the Three Indigenous Design Paradigms." [In English]. *ARCHITECTURE AUSTRALIA* 97, no. 5 (// 2008): 53-60.
- . "Fabricating Blackness: Aboriginal Identity Constructs in the Production and Authorisation of Architecture." Paper presented at the SAHANZ 2011: Audience. XXVIIIth International Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand, 2011.
- . "Fabricating Blackness: Aboriginal Identity Constructs in the Production and Authorisation of Architecture." In *SAHANZ 2011: Audience. XXVIIIth International Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* edited by Antony Moulis; Deborah van der Plaats, 1-27. Brisbane, QLD, Australia: Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ), 2011.
- Goldsworthy, Kerry. *Adelaide*. UNSW Press, 2011.
- Goodsell, Charles T. *The Social Meaning of Civic Space : Studying Political Authority through Architecture Studies in Government and Public Policy*. Lawrence, Kansas University Press of Kansas, 1988.
- Gore, James Michael. *Representations of History and Nation in Museums : The National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa* Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert Academic Pub., 2010.
- . *Representations of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealandthe National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*. 2002.
- "Government Gazette." *South Australian* (Adelaide, SA : 1844 - 1851), 7 August 1849 1849.
- Grant, Elizabeth, Kelly Greenop, Albert L Refiti, and Daniel J Glenn. *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture*. Springer, 2018.
- Grant, Elizabeth, and Caroline Lavoie. "Tarndanyanggaor Victoria Square? Meanings inside a Contested Space." In *Proceedings 46th Annual Conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning*. Kansas City, Missouri., 2005.
- Gray, John. "City-to-Sea-Bridge : More Than Meets the Eye." *Prodesign*, no. Apr/May 1994; p.28-30.
- Green, Suzanne. "Chaffers on Show." *Landscape New Zealand*, no. Nov/Dec 2002; p.46-49.
- Greenberg, Robin. "Contemporary and Vacuous." B4: Dominion Post, The, 2011.
- . *He Waka Hono Tangata =: A Canoe That Unites the People*. [New Zealand]: [publisher not identified], 2005.

- Gregory, Kate. "Art and Artifice: Peter Emmett's Curatorial Practice in the Hyde Park Barracks and Museum of Sydney." *Fabrications* 16, no. 1 (2006): 1-22.
- Groat, Linda N., and David Wang. *Architectural Research Methods*. New York: J. Wiley, 2002.
- Guild, Dennys, and Murray Dudfield. "A History of Fire in the Forest and Rural Landscape in New Zealand- Part 2, Post 1830 Influences, and Implications for Future Fire Management." *New Zealand Journal of Forestry* 54, no. 4 (2010): 31-38.
- Gulson, Kalervo N., and Robert J. Parkes. "From the Barrel of the Gun: Policy Incursions, Land, and Aboriginal Peoples in Australia." *Environment and Planning A* 42, no. 2 (2010): 300-13.
- Hall, Andrew. *A Brief History of the Laws, Policies and Practices in South Australia That Led to the Removal of Many Aboriginal Children : We Took the Children : A Contribution to Reconciliation / Andrew Hall*. Edited by Education South Australia. Department for and Development Child Adelaide, SA: Department for Education and Child Development, 2014.
- Hall, Lee-Anne. "Sitting Down in the Square: Indigenous Presence in an Australian City." *Humanities Research* XI, no. 1 (2004): 54-77.
- Happen!, Chaffers Park - Make it. "Report to the Lambton Harbour Community Consultative Committee." In *CCC Report on the Design Team Proposals for the Waterfront*, 1-39. Wellington: Lambton Harbour Community Consultative Committee, 1997.
- Harper, Jenny, Aaron Lister, and Bruce Connew. *Wellington: A City for Sculpture*. Victoria University Press, 2007.
- Harris, Mark. "Mapping Australian Postcolonial Landscapes: From Resistance to Reconciliation?" [In English]. *Law Text Culture* 7 (2003): 71-97.
- Harvey, Justine. "Conversation: Bicultural Architecture." *Architecture New Zealand*, no. 4 (2012): 31-40.
- Hassell, Kathleen. *The Relation between the Settlers and Aborigines in South Australia, 1836-1860*. Libraries Board of South Australia, 1966.
- Hay, Iain, Andrew Hughes, and Mark Tutton. "Monuments, Memory and Marginalisation in Adelaide's Prince Henry Gardens." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 86, no. 3 (2004): 201-16.
- Hayward, J., and N. Wheen. *The Waitangi Tribunal: Te Roopu Whakamana I Te Tiriti O Waitangi*. Bridget Williams Books, 2016.
- Healy, Chris, and Andrea Witcomb. "Experiments in Culture: An Introduction." In *South Pacific Museums : Experiments in Culture*, edited by Chris Healy, Andrea Witcomb and Monash University ePress., 01.1-01.5. Clayton, Vic.: Monash University ePress, 2006.

- Hemming, Steve. "'Kaurna' Identity: A Brief History." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28, no. 2 (1990).
- Hemming, Steve, and Rhondda Harris. "Tarndanyunga Kaurna Yerta." edited by Hassell Pty Ltd and City of Adelaide. Adelaide: City of Adelaide, 1998.
- Henare, Amiria. "Rewriting the Script: Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand." *Social Analysis* 48, no. 1 (2004): 55-63.
- Hetet, Lillian. "Smoothing the Waters for Wellington's Waka." *Tu mai (Online)* February 2011, no. 115 (2011): 32-34.
- Hill, Carolyn Joy, and Bill McKay. "Binding Significance: Reflections on the Demolition of the Aniwanui Visitor Centre, Te Urewera." *Fabrications* 28, no. 2 (2018/05/04 2018): 235-55.
- Hinkson, Melinda. "Encounters with Aboriginal Sites in Metropolitan Sydney: A Broadening Horizon for Cultural Tourism?" *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 11, no. 4 (2003): 295.
- "History of the Sewerage Network." Wellington City Council, <http://wellington.govt.nz/services/environment-and-waste/sewerage-and-wastewater/history-of-the-sewerage-network>.
- Hodges, Flavia. "Language Planning and Placenames in Australia." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 8, no. 3 (2007/11/01 2007): 383-403.
- Honey, Tommy. "Wellington Embraces Its Harbourside Assets." *Architecture/New Zealand*, no. Mar/Apr (1993): 38-42.
- Hood, Walter, and Leah Levy. *Walter Hood: Urban Diaries*. Vol. 2: Spacemaker Pr, 1997.
- Howe, Kerry Ross. *Race Relations: Australia and New Zealand: A Comparative Survey 1770's-1970's*. Methuen Publishing, 1977.
- Hracs, Brian J., and Bryan H. Massam. "Places/Spaces of Celebration and Protest: Citizenship, Civic Conversations and the Promotion of Rights and Obligations." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 17, no. 1 (Summer2008 Supplement 2008): 63-81.
- Hromek, Michal, and Stephen Harfield. "Looking from within, What Comes Out?: An Indigenous Perspective on Community and Urbanism." In *UHPH_2014 : Landscapes and Ecologies of Urban and Planning History*, edited by Morten Gjerde and Emina Petrović, 291-307. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 2014.
- Hudson, Brian. "In Retrospect: Wellington Harbour Reclamation." [In English]. *E.nz Magazine: The Magazine of Technical Enterprise* 10, no. 6 (2009): 32.
- Huygens, Ingrid. "Developing a Decolonisation Practice for Settler Colonisers: A Case Study from Aotearoa New Zealand." *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 2 (2011/01/01 2011): 53-81.

- Ian Pike, CEO Wellington Waterfront Limited. "Wellington Waterfront " By Fiona Johnson (4/4/2013 2013).
- Inc, Wellington Chinese Garden Socitey. "The Garden of Beneficence." Wellington Chinese Garden Socitey Inc, <http://www.wellingtonchinesegarden.org.nz/>.
- "Investigation into Te Raukura Funds Ends." *The New Zealand Herald*, 07/31/2012 2012.
- Irvine-Smith, Fanny Louise. *The Streets of My City: Wellington, New Zealand*. AH & AW Reed, 1948.
- Jackson, William Keith, and Alan McRobie. *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand*. Historical Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East, No. 56. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005.
- Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York Ramdom House, 1961.
- Jacobs, Jane M. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. Routledge, 2002.
- Jencks, Charles. "The Undulating Federation Square, Designed by Lab Architecture, Mirrors the City and Country through Dissonance and Harmony." 2003, 109.
- JimFitzpatrickArchitects. "Portfolio - Urban/Landscape: Victoria Square Master Plan and Cultural Layering, Adelaide, South Australia (Tcl)." <https://www.jfarchitects.com.au/portfolio-items/urban-landscape/>.
- John Gray, Michael Sorkin, Tim Nees, Catherine Alington (Wellington). "Entry 201." 2002.
- Johns, Ralph, nbsp, and Shelley Clement. "A Shore Thing; Wraight on Track." *Landscape New Zealand*, no. Aug 2006; p.6-8.
- Johnson, David. *Wellington Harbour*. Wellington Maritime Museum Trust, 1996.
- Johnson, Donald. *Anticipating Municipal Parks : London to Adelaide to Garden City*. Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2013.
- Johnson, Donald Leslie. *Anticipating Municipal Parks: London to Adelaide to Garden City*. Wakefield Press, 2013.
- Johnson, Fiona, and Jillian Walliss. "Reconciling History: Inserting an Indigenous Space into the University of Melbourne Campus." *Landscape Review* 15, no. 1 (2014): 47-63.
- JohnsonPiltonWalker. "Barangaroo Cultural Space." <http://www.jpw.com.au/Projects/Cultural/Barangaroo/BCS.shtml>.
- Jonas, William. "Social Justice Report 2001: Chapter 1: Ten Years on from the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody." edited by

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner.
Canberra Australian Human Rights Commission, 2002.
- Jones, Andrew L. "13 on the Water's Edge: Developing Cultural Regeneration Paradigms for Urban Waterfronts." *Tourism, culture and regeneration* (2007): 143.
- Jones, David. *Adelaide Park Lands & Squares Cultural Heritage Landscape Assessment for the Corporation of the City of Adelaide Council*. Adelaide Research & Innovation Ltd., 2007.
- . "Adelaide Park Lands and Squares Cultural Landscape Assessment Study." edited by Adelaide City Council, 1-23. Adelaide, 2007.
- . "Settlement Heritage." In *Victoria Square / Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project Design Development Reports*, edited by Taylor Cullity Lethlean & Team, 1-71. Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, Government of South Australia, 2011.
- . "Uncovering Heritage Merit and Significance: Assessing the Cultural Landscape of the Adelaide Parklands." In *The Adelaide Parklands Symposium , A Balancing Act: Past-Present-Future*, edited by Christine Garnaut and Kerrie Round, 128-40. The University of South Australia, Adelaide: Centre for Settlement Studies and the Bob Hawke Prime Ministerial Centre, University of South Australia, 2006.
- . "Validating Planning Heritage: Evidence and Reasoning for National Heritage Recognition of the 'City of Adelaide Plan' and Park Lands." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 134, no. 2 (2010/01/01 2010): 177-97.
- "Kaurna Shield at the South Australian Museum: Ron Learns About These Weapons of War in the Adelaide City Region of South Australia." In *Postcards South Australia*. Adelaide: Channel 9 South Australia, 2008.
- Keates, Warwick. "Victoria Square Masterplan:[the Redevelopment of a Central Adelaide Public Space]." *Landscape Architecture Australia* August 2010, no. 127 (2010): 21, 23-24.
- Keating, Michael, and Monika De Frantz. "Culture-Led Strategies for Urban Regeneration: A Comparative Perspective on Bilbao." *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 16, no. 3 (10// 2003): 187-94.
- Keating, Paul. "Creative Nation: Commonwealth Cultural Policy." *October* 1994 (1994).
- King, Michael. *Penguin History of New Zealand*. New Zealand: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Kinney, Kathleen. "Kore Rawa E Rawaka Te Reo Kotahi: "One Language Is Never Enough"." *Architecture Now New Zealand* December, no. 28 (2015).

- Knight, Catherine. "The Paradox of Discourse Concerning Deforestation in New Zealand: A Historical Survey." *Environment & History* (09673407) 15, no. 3 (2009): 323-42.
- "Lambton Harbour: Wellington's Waterfront." edited by Lambton Harbour Management Limited. Wellington, 1987.
- Langton, Marcia. *Honour among Nations [Electronic Resource] : Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous People / [Edited by] Marcia Langton ... [Et Al.]*. Carlton, Vic. : Melbourne University Press, 2004., 2004. Dictionaries.
- Lavia, Jennifer, and Michele Moore. "Introduction: Education, Community and Change." In *Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Policy and Practice: Decolonizing Community Contexts*, edited by Jennifer Lavia and Michele Moore, 1-9. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Lee, Gini. "North Terrace." *Architecture Australia* (2006): 710-79.
- Lethlean, Perry. "It's Hard Getting Messy When You're Compositional--Braided Pathways: A Practice Sustained by Difference." (2013).
- Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom Erecting and Establishing the Province of South Australia and Fixing the Boundaries Thereof*.
- Lewi, Hannah. "The Commemorative Anatomy of a Colonial Park." In *Landscapes of Memory and Experience*, 9-30, 2000.
- . "Whose Heritage: The Contested Site of the Swan Brewery." *Fabrications* 15, no. 2 (2005/12/01 2005): 43-61.
- Lewinson, Anne S. "Viewing Postcolonial Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania through Civic Spaces: A Question of Class." *African Identities* 5, no. 2 (2007): 199-215.
- Limited, Casinos Austria International, and Lambton Harbour Management Limited. "Winning Design for Wellington's Waterfront Hotel and Casino Concept." news release, 21 June 1995, 1995.
- Linzey, Michael. "Metaphor and Narrative." *Architecture/New Zealand*, no. May/Jun 1998; p.98-103.
- Llewellyn-Smith, Michael. *Behind the Scenes: The Politics of Planning Adelaide*. University of Adelaide Press, 2012.
- Lochert, Mathilde. "Mediating Aboriginal Architecture." *Transition*, no. 54-55 (1997): 8-19.
- Love, Morrie. "Appendix 3 Town Belt Traditional History " In *Wellington Town Belt Management Plan*. Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington City Council, 2013.
- . "A Wharewaka for Wellington: Keeping a Maori Footprint in the City." In *Taone Tupu Ora : Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design* edited by Keriata Stuart and Michelle Thompson-Fawcett, 91-99. Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010.

- Love, Morris. "Te Āti Awa of Wellington - after 1840." <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/te-ati-awa-of-wellington/page-5>.
- Ltd, Kellogg Brown & Root Pty. "Victoria Square– Tarndanyangga Urban Design Master Plan Technical Consultation and Design Revision Report." Adelaide: CITY OF ADELAIDE, 2003.
- Lyons. "Yagan Square: Development Application Report." (2014).
- Macarthur, John, and Naomi Stead. "The National Museum of Australia as Danse Macabre: Baroque Allegories of the Popular." *South Pacific Museums: Experiments in Culture*, Monash University E-Press and Sydney University Press, Melbourne and Sydney (2006): 19.7.
- Macintyre, Stuart, and Anna Clark. *The History Wars*. MUP, 2004.
- Maddison, Sarah. *Black Politics : Inside the Complexity of Aboriginal Political Culture*. Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2009.
- . "Indigenous Identity, 'Authenticity' and the Structural Violence of Settler Colonialism." *Identities* (2013): 1-16.
- Malone, Gavin. "Ways of Belonging: Reconciliation and Adelaide's Public Space Indigenous Cultural Markers." *Geographical Research* 45, no. 2 (2007): 158.
- Manning, Richard Francis. "Place, Power and Pedagogy: A Critical Analysis of the Status of Te Atiawa Histories of Place in Port Nicholson Block Secondary Schools and the Possible Application of Place-Based Education Models." Victoria University of Wellington, 2008.
- Marr, Cathy, Robin Hodge, Ben White, and Waitangi Tribunal. *Crown Laws, Policies, and Practices in Relation to Flora and Fauna, 1840-1912*. Waitangi Tribunal Wellington, 2001.
- Marsden, Susan , and Kathy Gargett. "Adelaide: A Brief History." Adelaide, SA.: History Trust of South Australia, 1996.
- Marshall, Michael. "Humans Colonised Asia in Two Waves." *New Scientist* (22 September 2011 2011).
- "Matapopore Charitable Trust | About Us." <https://matapopore.co.nz/about-us/>.
- Mathur, Anuradha, and Dilip da Cunha. *Mississippi Floods: Designing a Shifting Landscape*. Yale University Press, 2001.
- Maudsley, Ann. "Grid Planning and Sustainability." In *The Sustainability of Australia's Country Towns: Third National Country Towns Conference 2010* 1-18. Centre for Sustainable Regional Communities, The Faculty of Law and Management, La Trobe University, Bendigo Campus,, 2010.
- McCahon, Shona. "Appendix 4 Town Belt Historical Outline." In *Wellington Town Belt Management Plan - June 2013* Wellington New Zealand: Wellington City Council, 2013.

- McClean, Robert Andrew, Trecia Smith, and Waitangi Tribunal. *The Crown and Flora and Fauna: Legislation, Policies, and Practices, 1983-98*. Waitangi Tribunal, 2001.
- McDonald Crowley, Amanda. "Tarndanyungga." <http://publicartaction.net/tarndanyungga/>.
- McGaw, Janet, and Anoma Pieris. *Assembling the Centre: Architecture for Indigenous Cultures*. Routledge Research in Architecture. Routledge, 2015.
- McGaw, Janet, Anoma Pieris, and Emily Potter. "Indigenous Place-Making in the City: Disposessions, Occupations and Implications for Cultural Architecture." *Architectural Theory Review* 16, no. 3 (2011): 296-311.
- McGrath, Ann. *Contested Ground : Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995.
- McGuigan, Jim. "Doing a Florida Thing: The Creative Class Thesis and Cultural Policy." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15, no. 3 (2009/08/01 2009): 291-300.
- McIntyre, Iain. *How to Make Trouble and Influence People: Pranks, Protests, Graffiti & Political Mischief-Making from across Australia*. PM Press, 2013.
- McIntyre, Roberta, and David Allan Hamer. *The Making of Wellington, 1800-1914*. Victoria University Press, 1990.
- Meekings-Stewart, Pamela. "A Cat among the Pigeons." NZ Film Commission, QEII Arts Council of New Zealand and TVNZ., 1992.
- Megan Wraight Landscape Architects (Wellington), Stantiall's Studio Athfield Architects, NSW Dept of Public Works & Services -, and Landscape Environment & Urban Design Unit (Australia). "Entry 190." 2002.
- Melish, Liz. "Waitangi Park and the Tenths Trust." By Fiona Johnson (6th February 2014).
- Memmott, Paul. "Aboriginal Signs and Architectural Meanings." *Architectural Theory Review* 2, no. 1 (1996/11/01 1996): 38-64.
- . "Cultural Change and Tradition in the Indigenous Architecture of Oceania." *Architectural Theory Review* 16, no. 1 (2011): 38-54.
- . *Gunyah, Goondie + Wurley : The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia*. 1st ed. St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 2007.
- Memmott, Paul, Stephen Long, Catherine Chambers, and Frederick Spring. "Categories of Indigenous' Homeless' People and Good Practice Responses to These Needs: Work in Progress." In *AHURI Final Report No. 49*. Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Limited, 2003.

- Memmott, Paul, and Joe Reser. "Design Concepts and Processes for Public Aboriginal Architecture." Paper presented at the 11th Conference on People Physical Environment Research, 2000.
- Meriluoto-Jaakkola, Marjo. "This Land Is My Land, Contested Layers of Land Ownership in Te Whanganui-a-Tara Wellington." (2011).
- Message, Kylie. "The New Museum." *THEORY CULTURE & SOCIETY* 23, no. 2-3 (2006): 603-06.
- Miller, John Owen. *Early Victorian New Zealand*. Oxford University Press, 1958.
- Montgomery, John. "Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising Cultural Quarters." *Planning Practice & Research* 18, no. 4 (2003/11/01 2003): 293-306.
- . "Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 2: A Review of Four Cultural Quarters in the Uk, Ireland and Australia." *Planning Practice & Research* 19, no. 1 (02// 2004): 3-31.
- Montgomery, Roy. "Absolutely Positively Not the First Plan for Wellington: Unravelling Popular Misconceptions About the Process of Planning New Zealand's Capital City." In *UHPH_14: Landscapes and ecologies of urban and planning history,p*, edited by Morten Gjerde and Emina Petrović, 499-514. Wellington: Australasian Urban History / Planning History Group and Victoria University of Wellington, 2014.
- Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*. New Zealand: Longman/Pearson Education, 2005.
- Mostafavi, Mohsen, Gareth Doherty, and Harvard University. Graduate School of Design. *Ecological Urbanism*. Baden, Switzerland: Lars Muller, 2010.
- Muldoon, Paul, and Andrew Schaap. "Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Politics of Reconciliation: The Constituent Power of the Aboriginal Embassy in Australia." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30 (2012): 534-50.
- "National Centre of Indigenous Excellence." <https://ncie.org.au/>.
- "News from Te Tau-a-Nuku - the Māori Landscape Architects Ropu | Nz Institute of Landscape Architects." @nzila_info, <https://nzila.co.nz/news/2018/02/news-from-te-tau-a-nuku-the-maori-landscape-archit>.
- Nguyen, Thi Hong Hanh. "The Wellington Waterfront and Tourism Development: Planning Process and Legislative Framework." (2010).
- Nichols, David, Kate Darian-Smith, and Hannah Lewi. "'Contentment, Civic Pride and Progress': The Built Legacy of Community and Everyday Modernism in Australia." *Journal of Architecture* 15, no. 5 (2010): 587-600.
- Nichols, Lane. "Whare Too Small for Waka Deadline Passes and Still No Resolution." A1: Dominion Post, The, 2011.

- Noble, Jonathan Alfred. *African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture : White Skin, Black Masks*. Ashgate Studies in Architecture Series. Burlington: Ashgate Pub, 2011.
- Norman, Richard. "Harbour City, Blueprints for the Future: Winning Entries in the Wellington Civic Trust Harbour City Competition." *The Evening Post*, August 23 1983, 11-12.
- O'Brien, Kevin. "Aboriginality and Architecture: Built Projects by Merrima and Unbuilt Projects on Mer." 2006.
- . "For Architecture and Country: [How to Bring a Sense of Aboriginality to Architecture in Our Cities?]." *Artlink* 32, no. 2 (June 2012 2012): 60-63.
- O'Brien, Lewis, and Mary-Anne Gale. "And the Clock Struck Thirteen: The Life and Thoughts of Kaurua Elder Uncle Lewis Yerloburka Obrien/as Told by Mary-Anne Gale." (2007).
- O'Neil, Andrea "Protests, Pigeons, Pa and Public Art." *The Dominion Post*, March 23, 2015 2015.
- "#Official: Low to Mid Rise Stuff." <http://www.sensational-adelaide.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=7&t=82 - p72>.
- "On the Waterfront : A Report and Commentary on the Lambton Harbour Forum Held at the Events Centre, Lambton Harbour, Sunday 19 May 1996." In *Lambton Harbour Forum*. Wellington, N.Z.: Wellington Civic Trust, 1996.
- Orr-Young, Jill. "Place and Praxis: Valuing Australian Indigenous Place in Landscape Architecture Practice.", RMIT, 2012.
- "Our Archives." Adelaide Park Lands Preservation Association Inc (APPA), <http://www.adelaide-parklands.asn.au/archives/>.
- Page, Alison Joy. "Building Pride." *Australian Planner* 40, no. 2 (2003/01/01 2003): 121-22.
- Parata, Tata. "The Sorrowful Mess of the Wharewaka." B4: Dominion Post, The, 2011.
- Park, Geoff. "Looking for Signs of Life - *Nature and the Genius Loci in the Austral City*." In *Theatre Country : Essays on Landscape & Whenua*, 44-53. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006.
- . *Ngā Uruora = the Groves of Life : Ecology and History in a New Zealand Landscape*. Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 1995.
- . "The Remnant Ecologies of Waitangi Park." *Forest and Bird*, no. Aug 2007; n.325:p.36-37.
- . *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape & Whenua*. Wellington: Victoria University Pres, 2006.
- Park, Geoff, and Waitangi Tribunal. *Effective Exclusion?: An Exploratory Overview of Crown Actions and Maori Responses Concerning the*

- Indigenous Flora and Fauna, 1912-1983*. Waitangi Tribunal Publication, 2001.
- Parkes, Robert J. "Reading History Curriculum as Postcolonial Text: Towards a Curricular Response to the History Wars in Australia and Beyond." *Curriculum Inquiry* 37, no. 4 (2007): 383-400.
- Parsons, Michael. "The Tourist Corroboree in South Australia to 1911." *Aboriginal History* 21 (1997): 46-69.
- Pearson, David. "Reconnecting the Antipodes: A Reflective Note." *Thesis Eleven* 82, no. 1 (August 1, 2005 2005): 88-96.
- Pieris, Anoma. *Indigenous Cultural Centers and Museums: An Illustrated International Survey*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- . "Occupying the Centre: Indigenous Presence in the Australian Capital City." *Postcolonial Studies* 15, no. 2 (2012): 221-48.
- Pieris, Anoma, and Gary Murray. "A Treaty Needs a House: Emplacing First Peoples' a Priori Rights in Wurundjeri Country, Metropolitan Melbourne." In *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture*, 551-79: Springer, 2018.
- Pieris, Anoma, Naomi Tootell, Fiona Johnson, Janet McGaw, and Rueben Berg. *Indigenous Place : Contemporary Buildings, Landmarks and Places of Significance in South East Australia and Beyond* Parkville, Victoria: Melbourne School of Design, 2014.
- Pike, Douglas. *Paradise of Dissent; South Australia 1829-1857*. Melbourne University Press, 1967.
- Pitcher, William Bonython. *Victorian and Edwardian Adelaide from Old Photographs*. St. Ives, NSW: John Ferguson, 1977.
- "Planning for Maori Values: An Update : New Zealand Planning Institute." https://www.planning.org.nz/Event?Action=View&Event_id=1077.
- Pocock, Celmara, and Ian Lilley. "Who Benefits? World Heritage and Indigenous People." *Heritage & Society* 10, no. 2 (2017/05/04 2017): 171-90.
- Price, Nina. "Waitangi Park: Public Land in Competition." Victoria University of Wellington, 2009.
- "Property Council Rider Levett Bucknall Property Industry Awards 2011." Property Council New Zealand, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120302192628/http://www.propertynz.co.nz/index.asp?pageID=2145860361>.
- "Proposed District Plan for Wellington City. ." In *Wellington City district plan : Te kaupapa whenua o Poneke* edited by Wellington City Council. Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington City Council, 1994.
- Pryor, Rob. "Te Aro Park." *Landscape*, no. Win 1990; n.46:p.24-25.

- Radford, Robin, and Valerie Campbell. "Archaeology of the Southern Adelaide Region Part 4- Material Culture." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 20, no. 2 (1982).
- "Reconciliation Action Plan for the Period October 2008 to March 2011." edited by Planning Institute of Australia. Canberra: Reconciliation Australia, 2008.
- "Reconciliation Conversations." (2019).
- "Reconciliation Vision Statement." edited by Adelaide City Council. Adelaide, 1997.
- Remeikis, Amy. "Ken Wyatt Wants Referendum on Indigenous Constitutional Recognition within Three Years." (2019-07-10 2019).
- . "Peter Dutton Rules out Voice to Parliament, Labelling It a 'Third Chamber'." (2019-07-12 2019).
- "Remodelling of Victoria Square as Prepared by the City Engineer & Surveyor". Adelaide: Adelaide City Council Archives, 1966.
- Parliament of New Zealand. *The Resource Management Act*.
- Reynolds, Henry. *Forgotten War*. Dural Delivery Centre, AUS: NewSouth, 2013.
- RichardKirkArchitects. "Musgrave Park Cultural Centre." <http://www.richardkirkarchitect.com/en/projects/cutural-public/musgrave-park-cultural-centre/>.
- Ritchie, Helen. "A Chinese Garden in a Chinese Place " *Wellington Scoop*, 04/02/2019 2019.
- Ritter, David. "Rejection of Terra Nullius in Mabo: A Critical Analysis, The." *Sydney L. Rev.* 18 (1996): 5.
- Roberts, John H. (John Haig). *Te Aro Pa : Its Significance*. Wellington, New Zealand: J. Roberts?, 1989.
- Rofe, Matthew W., and Luke Stein. "Shedding New Light on Adelaide? Intersections between Urban Design Projects and City Marketing." 16 (2011): 333-50.
- Rogers, James, and Christopher Sawyer. "The Black Stump." *Architecture Australia* 87, no. 1 (1998): 72.
- Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies : An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. 2nd ed. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2007.
- Ross, Betty, ed. *Aboriginal and Historic Places around Metropolitan Adelaide and the South Coast*. Adelaide: Anthropological Society of South Australia, 1984.
- Rowe, David, Greg Noble, Tony Bennett, and Michelle Kelly. "Transforming Cultures? From Creative Nation to Creative Australia." *Media International Australia (8/1/07-current)* 158, no. 1 (2016): 6-16.

- Rowe, Peter G. *Civic Realism* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997.
- Russ, Tom. *Sustainability and Design Ethics*. CRC Press, 2010.
- Ryan, C. "Introduction." In *Places Not Spaces : Placemaking in Australia*, edited by Tamara Winikoff: Envirobook, 1994.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993.
- Saniga, Andrew. *Making Landscape Architecture in Australia*. . Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2013.
- Schmidt, Tyson. "'...Who Comes First: [Māori] Interests or Architectural Interests?': Three Heritage Cases Challenging Identity and Institutions in New Zealand." *Fabrications* 28, no. 2 (2018/05/04 2018): 136-59.
- Schöllmann, Andrea, Harvey C Perkins, and Kevin Moore. "Intersecting Global and Local Influences in Urban Place Promotion: The Case of Christchurch, New Zealand." *Environment and Planning A* 32, no. 1 (2000): 55-76.
- Schorch, Philipp. "The Experience of a Museum Space." *Museum Management & Curatorship* 28, no. 2 (2013): 193-208.
- Sedgwick, Charles P. "The Politics of Survival: A Social History of the Chinese in New Zealand." (1982).
- "Settlement Package." Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust, <https://www.pnbst.maori.nz/the-settlement/settlement-package/>.
- Shaw, Kate, and Geua Montana. "Place-Making in Megaprojects in Melbourne." *Urban Policy and Research* 34, no. 2 (2016/04/02 2016): 166-89.
- Shelton, Barrie. "The City of Adelaide Plan 1986–1991: Built (and Spatial) Form." *Australian Planner* 24, no. 4 (1986/12/01 1986): 23-26.
- Shoebridge, Tim, and Waitangi Tribunal. *Waitangi Tribunal Bibliography 1975-2011*. Waitangi Tribunal, 2012.
- Simpson, Gerry. "Mabo, International Law, Terra Nullius and the Stories of Settlement: An Unresolved Jurisprudence." *Melb. UL Rev.* 19 (1993): 195.
- Simpson, Moira G. *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era*. Psychology Press, 1996.
- "Single Noongar Claim Frequently Asked Questions." South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council, <http://www.noongar.org.au/faq>.
- "Slums - Accusing Finger Pointed at City." *The Evening Post*, 16/07/1963 1963.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples* Dunedin, N.Z.: University of Otago Press, 1999.
- Solutions, Plexus Strategic. "Evaluation Report: City of Adelaide's Dry Area Trial." *Adelaide: Department of the Premier and Cabinet, Attorney General's Department, Adelaide City Council* (2003).

- South Australian Colonization, Commission. *First & Second Annual Reports of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies 1836 and to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies 1837*. Edited by Lords Great Britain. Parliament. House of [Adelaide: Surveyor-General's Office.
- Stead, Naomi. "Museological Landscapes, Mythological Lands: The Garden of Australian Dreams." In *Museum, Gallery and Cultural Architecture in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Region: Essays on Antipodean Identity*, edited by Michael J. Ostwald and Steven Fleming, 69-80. Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.
- Strakosch, Elizabeth. "Counter-Monuments and Nation-Building in Australia." *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 22, no. 3 (2010): 268-75.
- Strakosch, Elizabeth, and Alissa Macoun. "The Vanishing Endpoint of Settler Colonialism: [Paper In: Stolen Lands, Broken Cultures: The Settler-Colonial Present. Hinkson, John; James, Paul and Veracini, Lorenzo (Eds).]" *Arena Journal*, no. 37-38 (2012 2012): 40-62.
- Studio/Arup/JASMAX, UN. "Waitangi Precinct Design Competition. Area 2. Museum Extension: Harbour Edge Uplift." 2006.
- Sumerling, Patricia. *The Adelaide Park Lands: A Social History*. Wakefield Press, 2011.
- Swaffield, Simon. "Contextual Meanings in Policy Discourse: A Case Study of Language Use Concerning Resource Policy in the New Zealand High Country." *Policy Sciences* 31 (1998): 199.
- Swaffield, Simon R. *Theory in Landscape Architecture : A Reader*. Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Taone Tupu Ora : *Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Urban Design* Edited by Keriata Stuart and Michelle Thompson-Fawcett Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010.
- Taylor Cullity Lethlean : *Making Sense of Landscape*. Edited by Gini Lee and SueAnne Ware Carlton, VIC: Taylor Cullity Lethlean, 2013.
- Taylor, K. "Making Sense of Landscape." In *Taylor Cullity Lethlean Doctor of Philosophy - Braided Pathways: A Practice Sustained by Difference*. Melbourne: RMIT University, 2014.
- Taylor, Ken. "A Charter for All Seasons: The Burra Charter in an Asia-Pacific Context." *Historic Environment*, no. 1 (2004): 46.
- Taylor, Tony. "Howard's End: A Narrative Memoir of Political Contrivance, Neoconservative Ideology and the Australian History Curriculum." (2009).
- TaylorCullityLethlean. "North Terrace Redevelopment." <http://www.tcl.net.au/projects/masterplans/north-terrace-adelaide>.

- . "Projects." <https://tcl.net.au/projects/>.
- . "Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga Regeneration Masterplan Report." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2010.
- TaylorCullityLethlean, and TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square I Tarndanyangga Urban Regeneration Project." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, The Government of South Australia, 2011.
- "Te Ara O Nga Tupuna Heritage Trail/the Path of Our Ancestors." Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust, <https://www.pnbst.maori.nz/what-we-do/cultural-well-being/history/te-ara-o-nga-tupuna-heritage-trail/>.
- "Te Aro Pa and Matairangi." <http://www.wcl.govt.nz/maori/wellington/ngawaahiaro.html>.
- Teichelmann, C G, and C W Schürmann. *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Phraseology of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia*. authors, 1840.
- Thomas, Nicholas, Klaus Neumann, and Hilary Ericksen. *Quicksands : Foundational Histories in Australia & Aotearoa New Zealand*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 1999.
- Thompson, Ian H. *Rethinking Landscape : A Critical Reader*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Thompson, Janna. *Taking Responsibility for the Past : Reparation and Historical Injustice*. Cambridge, UK.: Polity Press, 2002.
- Tillers, Imants. "Locality Fails." In *The Myth of Primitivism*, edited by Susan Hiller, 284-95. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Tim, Donoghue, and Rutherford Hamish. "Wharewaka Funding Inquiry Request Refused." A4: Dominion Post, The, 2012.
- Tindale, N. B. "Kurna (Sa) - Nb Tindale's Aboriginal Tribes of Australia (1974)." Adelaide, <http://archives.samuseum.sa.gov.au/tindaletribes/kaurna.htm>.
- Tindale, Norman. "Aboriginal Tribes of Australia. 2 Vols." Canberra: Australian National University Press. *Kulin greenstone quarries* 285 (1974).
- Tonkin, Peter, Director: TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga." By Fiona Johnson (25/01/2013 2013).
- TonkinZulaikhaGreer. "Company Profile." <http://www.tzg.com.au/about>.
- . "National Arboretum Canberra." <http://www.tzg.com.au/project/arboretum-national/>.
- "Torrens River/Karrawirra Parri ". Adelaide City Council, <<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/community/reconciliation/kaurna/place-naming/sign-site-karrawirra-parri/>>.
- Treadwell, Nicky. "What Is Open Space?". *Landscape New Zealand*, no. May/Jun (1999): 17-19.

- Treib, Marc. *The Architecture of Landscape, 1940-1960*. Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Tribunal, Waitangi. "Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: A Report into Claims Concerning New Zealand Law and Policy Affecting Māori Culture and Identity. Wai 262." *Wellington, New Zealand: Author. Flawed* (2011).
- . "Te Whanganui a Tara Me Ona Takiwa: Report on the Wellington District." *Wellington: Legislation Direct* (2003).
- Trust, Te Wharewaka o Poneke Charitable. "Te Wharewaka O Poneke." <http://www.wharewakaoponeke.co.nz/>.
- Turnbull, Michael. *The New Zealand Bubble: The Wakefield Theory in Practice*. Price, Milburn, 1959.
- Tyler, Linda. "Te Raukura Te Wharewaka O Poneke." *Architecture New Zealand*, no. 4 (2012): 50-56.
- "Uniquely Adelaide: Social Issues and Trends Discussion Report." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council, 2004.
- v Queensland, Mabo. "Hca 23;(1992) 175 Clr 1 (3 June 1992)." 1992.
- Van den Brink, Adri, Diedrich Bruns, Hilde Tobi, and Simon Bell. *Research in Landscape Architecture: Methods and Methodology*. Routledge, 2016.
- Veracini, Lorenzo. "Isopolitics, Deep Colonizing, Settler Colonialism." *Interventions* 13, no. 2 (2011/06/01 2011): 171-89.
- . "Settler Colonialism and Decolonisation." *Borderlands E-Journal: New Spaces in the Humanities* 6, no. 2 (10// 2007): 11-11.
- "Victoria Square Fountain Opened in 1968 by Hrh the Duke of Edinburgh." Adelaide: Adelaide City Council Archives, 1968.
- Vignes, Benoit, and Ariane Smythe. "Entry 142." *Landscape Architecture Students* (Versailles, France), 2002.
- Waitangi, Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiriti O. "The Claims Introduction." New Zealand Ministry of Justice, Tāhū o te Ture, <http://www.justice.govt.nz/tribunals/waitangi-tribunal/the-claims-process>.
- . "Waitangi Tribunal Practice Note: Guide to the Practice and Procedure of Waitangi Tribunal." Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Ministry of Justice, Tāhū o te Ture, 2012.
- Waite, Gordon. "Consuming Heritage: Perceived Historical Authenticity." *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 4 (2000/10/01/ 2000): 835-62.
- Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. *A Letter from Sydney: The Principal Town of Australasia*. J. Cross, 1829.
- Waldheim, Charles. *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*. 1st ed. New York, N.Y.: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006.
- Walker, Paul. "Indigenous Place-Making." *Architecture Australia* 99 (2010/11//Nov/Dec2010 2010): 39-40.

- Walley, Richard. "Cultural Compact Agreement Kaart Koort Waarnginy (Head, Heart, Talking)." edited by Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority. Perth: Western Australian Government.
- Walliss, Jillian. "Designing the Contemporary Civic: Three Australian Squares." (2018).
- . "Exhibiting Environmental History: The Challenge of Representing Nation." *Environment and history* 18, no. 3 (2012): 423-45.
- . "'From Royal Pavilion to Reconciliation Place: Imaginings of Australian National Space'." In *The Mesh Book : Landscape/ Infrastructure* edited by Julian Raxworthy and Jessica Blood, 102-14. Melbourne, Australia RMIT Publishing, 2004.
- . "'Not What You Would Normally Expect of a New Zealand Park:' An Exploration of the Chaffers Park Design Competition, Wellington." In *Proceedings of the 10th Australasian Urban History, Planning History Conference*, edited by Nichols D, Hurlimann A, Mouat C and Pascoe S, 589-97. The University of Melbourne. , 2010.
- . "Place for the People or Monumental Absence?". *Landscape Architecture Australia* 27 (2005): 38-40.
- . "Transformative Landscapes: Postcolonial Representations of Uluru-Kata Tjuta and Tongariro National Parks." *Space and Culture* (2013): 1206331213499470.
- Walsh, Ashley. "Sa Museum Secures Rare Aboriginal Artefact." *ABC Adelaide*, 2/02/2008 2008.
- Ward, John. *Information Relative to New Zealand: Compiled for the Use of Colonists*. John W. Parker, 1840.
- Ward, Louis Ernest. *Early Wellington*. Whitcombe & Tombs Wellington, 1928.
- Ware, SueAnne. "Knowingly Unfinished: Exploiting the Temporality of Landscapes." *Architectural Design* 86, no. 1 (2016): 74.
- . "Reconciliation Place [Canberra]." *Architecture Australia*, 2001 Sept 90, no. 5 (2001): 40-42.
- . "Reconciling This Place." *Architecture Australia* 90, no. 5 (2001): 42.
- "Waterfront Reclamation." Wellington City Council, <http://wellington.govt.nz/about-wellington/history/history-of-wellington-waterfront/waterfront-reclamation>.
- Weller, Richard. "The National Museum, Canberra, and Its Garden of Australian Dreams." *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 21, no. 1 (2001/03/01 2001): 66-84.
- "Wellington's Waterfront: A History of Chaffers Park and Immediate Environs." edited by Wellington City Council. Wellington: Wellington City Council, 2002.

- "What Is Native Title? | the Aurora Project." <https://auroraproject.com.au/what-native-title>.
- Whitelock, Derek A. *Adelaide, from Colony to Jubilee: A Sense of Difference*. Savvas Pub., 1985.
- Whitelock, Derek, and Anthony Edward Baker. *Adelaide: A Sense of Difference*. Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2000.
- Whyte, William H. *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. Washington, DC: The Conservation Foundation, 1980.
- Wilkie, Meredith. *Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997.
- Williams, Paul. "Reforming Nationhood: The Free Market and Biculturalism at Te Papa." In *South Pacific Museums : Experiments in Culture*, edited by Chris Healy and Andrea Witcomb, 02.01- 02.16. Clayton, Vic.: Monash University ePress, 2006.
- Williams, Paul Harvey. *New Zealand's Identity Complex: A Critique of Cultural Practices at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*. 2003.
- Williamson, Brett. "Council Accused of 'Mismanagement' over Projects Debt." ABC Adelaide, <http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2013/04/30/3748070.htm>.
- Worth, Margaret. "Margaret Worth | Works | Tjirbruke Gateway Sturt, Sa." <https://margaretworth.com.au/works/tjirbruke-gateway----sturt--sa>.
- Wraight, Megan. "Waitangi Park." By Fiona Johnson (Monday April 16, 2013 2013).
- Wraight+Associates. "Frank Kitts Park." <http://www.waal.co.nz/our-projects/urban/frank-kitts-park/>.
- Yandle, Chris, and Peter Rough. "Entry 188." Peter Rough Landscape Architects (Christchurch), 2002.
- Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*. Applied Social Research Methods Series. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2009.
- Young, David, and Victoria University of Wellington. Institute of Policy Studies. *Values as Law : The History and Efficacy of the Resource Management Act*. Wellington, N.Z.: Institute of Policy Studies, 2001.
- Young, Emma. "New Arrival Date for Earliest Australians." *New Scientist* (18 February 2003 2003).
- Yska, Redmer. *Wellington: Biography of a City*. Raupo, 2006.
- Yunupingu, Galarwuy. "Barunga Statement." *Barunga: Northern Land Council and Central Land Council* (1988).
- "Yurlendj-Nganjin ('Everyone's Knowledge'/'Our Intelligence')." Australian Institute of Landscape Architecture,

http://www.aila.org.au/iMIS_Prod/AILAWeb/Media_Releases/Yurlendj-nganjin_everyone_s_knowledge_our_intelligence_.aspx.

Zeisel, John. *Inquiry by Design: Tools for Environment-Behaviour Research*. CUP archive, 1984.

Zeunet, Josh. *Interview with Kevin Taylor*. Podcast audio. The Plan2011.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20180329095604/http://www.theplan.net.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Kevin-Taylor-The-Plan.mp3>.

