

BEFORE THE QUEENSTOWN LAKES DISTRICT COUNCIL

UNDER

The Resource Management Act 1991

AND

IN THE MATTER

of the Proposed Queenstown Lakes
District Plan Chapter 39: Wāhi Tūpuna

EVIDENCE OF DR LYNETTE CARTER

ON BEHALF OF

TE RŪNANGA O MOERAKI

KĀTI HUIRAPA RŪNAKA KI PUKETERAKI

TE RŪNANGA O ŌTAKOU

HOKONUI RŪNANGA

TE RŪNANGA O WAIHŌPAI

TE RŪNANGA O AWARUA

TE RŪNANGA O ŌRAKA-APARIMA

(COLLECTIVELY MANA WHENUA)

Dated 27 May 2020

Counsel Acting:
Rob Enright
Wānaka & Auckland
rob@publiclaw9.com
021 276 5787

Ko Kāi Tahu, Kāti Mamoe, Waitaha, Te Rapuwai ōku Iwi

Ko Kāti Huirapa, Kāti Ruahikihiki me Kāti Hawea ōku hapū

Ko Hikaroroa te mauka

Ko Waikōuaiti te awa

No Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki

Nā kā whanau ko Wybrow rāua ko Parata

Ko Lynette Carter tōku ingoa.

Naming to Own: whakapapa and landscape

The place recalls the name

The name recalls the whakapapa

The whakapapa recalls the connections

The connections recall the pride and identityⁱ

QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE

1. I hold the Degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Auckland.
2. My research involves investigating a number of interlinking themes relevant to Māori and Indigenous identity and development that substantiates Māori Rakatirataka and kaitiakitaka on landscapes in temporal and spatial contexts. Two key research areas focus are the politics of place names and the impact on land/water access, use, and development; and how place names indicate environmental change and development overtime in a climate change context.
3. I work with my hapū, Kāti Huirapa developing the climate change strategy, chair the Ahi Kā Komiti, and sit on the Komiti Kaupapa Taiao (Environment Committee).
4. I represent the Otago Rūnaka on the Otago Regional Council Strategy and Policy Committee (along with Edward Ellison, Ōtakou Rūnaka); and was a long-standing member of the Ngāi Tahu Research and Consultation Committee at the University of Otago. I am also the mana whenua representative on the Otago Natural History Trust; and mana whenua representative on the Advisory Board for the Centre for Sustainability at University of Otago (along with Matt Matahaere, Ōtakou Rūnaka).
5. I currently teach courses on landscape and identity and Indigenous Development at the University of Otago in Te Tumu, the School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies; and most recently have been a Principal Investigator on two National Science Challenge themes: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities (2017-2020); and Bio Heritage (2016-2019).
6. I have a strong working and personal relationship with Sami Indigenous communities in Norway, investigating and challenging non-indigenous place-based ontologies that tend to override indigenous knowledge, values and practices associated with landscapes, identity, land access and use.

7. I have also published widely on a range of key research areas around landscape and identity, utilising indigenous knowledge in climate change adaptation, as well as Māori economic development.

SCOPE OF EVIDENCE

8. My evidence will cover the following matters:
 - a) Significance of whakapapa and its link with traditional place names
 - b) Significance of traditional place names
 - c) Contemporary importance of traditional place names
9. The information I present in my evidence today will outline the social and cultural nuances that lay within place names that form part of the Wāhi Tūpuna as notified through Chapter 39 of the Proposed Queenstown Lakes District Plan.
10. I present this evidence today as an academic expert of Kāi Tahu descent. As previously stated, my expertise includes Māori indigenous diaspora and identity, the politics behind place naming as well as Māori development across social, economic, and political contexts. My methodology in preparing this evidence includes consideration of both traditional and relevant academic source material. I also acknowledge, tautoko and adopt the cultural evidence of Edward Ellison and David Higgins.
11. In preparing this evidence, I have read and complied with the Code of Conduct for Expert witnesses contained in the Environment Court practice note.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WHAKAPAPA IN RELATION TO TRADITIONAL PLACE NAMES

12. Each place name on a landscape is a starting point for mapping and claiming access and use rights for a surrounding catchment area (the place recalls the name), and acknowledges the connections (the whakapapa recalls the connections), which link tribal identity to places. This then acknowledges each tribal rakatirataka (leadership, authority, and decision-making powers) over the area and the resources within in it.

13. It is whakapapa that provides the initial origins, relationships and practices that make a landscape uniquely the providence of a tribal group. Whakapapa in its most basic sense refers to genealogies. Implicit in whakapapa are notions of kinship and descent, which give authority to access and use rights to specific landscapes.
14. This authority comes from the beginnings of the land (Papatuanuku) and the shaping of Te Ao Marama (the world of light), which allowed for the creation of humans from the earth's soils. The cosmologies surrounding this event link all the past, present, and future generations of people to land from this point onwards. Hence the kinship relationship between the land (as parent) and humankind (child) is intergenerationally enduring.
15. The reciprocal responsibilities and obligations between parent and child is kaitiakitaka, which is expressed through care and protection, and provision of guardianship for future generations. Kinship relationships interrelate and intersect in places that carry the names of ancestors, refer to events and practices, and otherwise link everything together. When Kāi Tahu look at the landscape, they see kinship relationships intersecting and diverging.
16. The whakapapa, or lists of names that connect the relationships, opens the way to understanding Kāi Tahu values, knowledge, and practices to successfully inhabit that landscape. The knowledge of the way that whakapapa accesses the relationships to a particular area is contained in the landscape narratives and in most cases, the narratives explaining a landscape and places, begin with place names.
17. The Wāhi Tūpuna names carry the whakapapa of Kāi Tahu across the landscape in the QLDC region, and the purpose for each name carries with it the intergenerational kaitiakitaka responsibilities and obligations. A place begins to exist when people give it a name and a meaning. The Wāhi Tūpuna names are the keys to unlocking the way that Kāi Tahu understand themselves to be an integral, permanent part of the QLDC region.
18. Like whakapapa, the Kāi Tahu place names that also criss-cross this region contain the knowledge to access the relationships: between people and the land; people and the waterways; people as part of the ecosystems that exist within the catchment area.

19. Chapter 39 (Wāhi Tūpuna) implements the strategic direction set out in Chapter 5 of the District Plan by recognising the kaitiakitaka of Kāi Tahu as mana whenua in the district. Objective 39.2.1 requires that mana whenua values, including for identified wāhi tūpuna, are addressed as part of decision-making. These values are premised in Kāi Tahu whakapapa to, and of, the region's lands, waterways, taoka and resources. The Wāhi Tūpuna names reference specific parts of the collective narrative that direct Kāi Tahu to (for example) mahika kai areas, ara tawhito, and wāhi taonga.
20. Whakapapa orders the past, present, and future relationships, with all three often overlapping and blurring through landscape narratives. Rather than a delineated time frame specific to places with a finite ending point, the narratives weave together all relevant relationships for a particular kaupapa (purpose, activity).
21. Relationships adjust and change over time as each new challenge presents itself, and the way we approach the renegotiation of rules for engagement reflects on current and future management.
22. The experiences that each generation brings are the basis for the relationships' enduring influence over decision-making and planning. The experiential knowledge builds over time providing lessons for overcoming challenges that impact on successful kaitiakitaka. Wāhi Tūpuna record the activities, purpose and values that ensure future decision-making is attuned to change across the environmental, economic and social situations.

SIGNIFICANCE OF TRADITIONAL PLACE NAMES

23. The traditions pervade the landscape and explain the place and spatial context of the inhabitants, so that both place and space are mutually implicated within the environment. Just as whakapapa stories explain the layer of names in the genealogical tables; place names pervade the landscape and explain the layers of association that create a mosaic of kinship, values, use and practices that cloak the land and waterways. The names indicate that the places have been intensively used over a long period of time, and are key indicators of Kāi Tahu continued presence on the landscape.

24. No place name stands in isolation. It is part of a web of kinship relationships, practices and knowledge that spreads across a catchment area, and this is evident in the way one Wāhi Tūpuna area links with others:

Mai i te taha o Whakatipu-wai-Māori, kitea ai ki a Kā Kamu-a-Hakitekura; kitea ai Te nuku-o-Hakitekura; kitea ai Takerehaka i te mea, i te mea. From the side of Whakatipu-wai-Māori can be seen Kā Kamu-a-Hakitekura (Walter Peak and Cecil Peak); can also be seen Te Nuku-o-Hakitekura (Kelvin Peninsula); and Takerehaka (Kingston settlement) and so on, and so on.

Place names and the accompanying narrative allow us to imagine and remember places. This enables a circular time-space flow that develops through a lived experience of the world and creates an understanding of the world around us. This is part of the cultural landscape, which includes the dimension of time. In this way the Wāhi Tūpuna are significant in marking Kāi Tahu land-use practices, values and knowledge to do with mahika kai, wāhi taonga, ara tawhito and kinship connections intergenerationally across the region.

25. Kā Kamu-a-Hakitekura (Walter Peak and Cecil Peak) are two of the highest mountain peaks on the southern shore of Whakatipu Waimāori (Lake Wakatipu). Hakitekura, a Kāti Māmoe woman, was the first person to swim across the lake. After watching other young women attempt to outswim each other, Hakitekura decided that she wanted to outdo them. She got a kauati (a kindling stick used to start fires) from her father, and a bundle of dry raupō.
26. The next morning, Hakitekura set out from Tāhuna (Queenstown). With the kauati bound up tightly in harakeke (flax) to keep it dry, she swam across the lake in darkness with the bundle strapped to her. She steered her course by two mountain peaks on the other side of the lake, whose tops were twinkling and winking at her like two eyes in the dawning light. She then lit a fire using the raupō and the kauati, both to warm herself and to signal her father of her success. The mountain peaks that guided her way became known as “Kā Kamu-a-Hakitekura”, meaning “The Twinkling Seen by Hakitekura”.
27. The one narrative of Hakitekura demonstrates the way that place names can build multidimensional layers across the landscape, which means we can build knowledge

frameworks that intersect and give layered structure to how we understand our spaces. The layered structure builds the histories; associates these with the living; and assists with planning for the future to ensure that the landscape can link us at all times and in all contexts.

28. The components of the layered structure (the names and accompany narratives) are tools that can help with planning for the future through utilising the information and data contained within the structures. For example, the tools allow data about environmental change and challenges over time; spatial movements and occupation; contemporary uses and specific land use areas.
29. Thus, place names act as whai take (reference markers) for the wider resource catchment areas. The names themselves orient, rather than pinpoint, people to specific areas of importance. Within the wider areas are further place names that help to locate specific resources and/or land-use.
30. For example, Whakatipu-wai-maori references the whole catchment area surrounding the lake itself – names radiate out to create a multi-dimensional narrative about people (Te Hakitekura); associated geographical places such as Te nuku-o-Hakitekura (Kelvin Peninsula) and Takerehaka (Kingston settlement); resource places and access such as Kimiākau (Shotover River), which is part of the extensive network of kāinga mahinga kai (food-gathering places) and traditional travel routes (ara tawhito) throughout central Otago.
31. Therefore, place names provide alternative ways of understanding the landscape and acting within it. As Keith Basso recently suggested, ‘place names acquire a functional value that easily matches their utility as instruments of reference’. Henshaw in her work on Inuit toponyms, discusses how place names are “rich with visual imagery and metaphorical references that illuminate ... understandings of the surrounding world”.
32. All names indicate ‘where things happen’ and by association things that have occurred over generations”. Jane McRae notes that when Māori were reciting tribal boundaries, the lists of associated names were ‘like a map in the mind’ and could ‘make history in a sense of carrying underlying narratives associating people with places’. Henshaw notes that places are also multi-sensory and “bring to light the unique way [Inuit]

experience a place” and “make reference to other senses including smell, touch and sound”.

33. In the Kāi Tahu context, Turihuka is the Kāi Tahu name for Silver Island located in Lake Hāwea. On the earliest map of Lake Hāwea, drawn by the southern Kāi Tahu leader Te Huruhuru in 1844, the island is described as “a floating island shifting with the wind” that created visual imagery of a moving, sometimes disappearing, land. The multi-sensory nature of place names opens up the landscape to a fuller connection with and within places and occupied spaces. It allows indigenous peoples to experience landscapes that are alive and very much part of them through the relationships with other elements of the environmental ecosystems. It is also intergenerational, and the narrative surrounding places and landscapes develops, swings and flows from one experience to another.
34. Indigenous people talk about a place in ways that are relevant to how they best understand their particular connection and histories, which Helander claims comes from “terminology connected to the long-term success...” of customary activities on the land that have been extensively used over a long period of time.
35. The shared histories, beliefs, perceptions of how the world works, and the knowledge needed to operate within it are contained in language. Places are opened to wider interpretations through languages that contain the essence of a people.
36. Helander further insists that notions of space and place are not fixed in temporal and spatial terms, and that symbols such as place names open up means “to imagine, make available and explain far-away places, people, and animals” without being physically located in the named place. Thus, the associations persist regardless of location, and are known and continue to be practiced as a part of the intergenerational lived reality of Kāi Tahu in the QLDC region.
37. The relationships expressed through the various narratives about the landscape are associated with time and space, ancestors, histories, events, people and social activities.
38. Keith Basso stated recently that it is through the ‘manifold agencies of speech’ that landscapes can define, classify and verify cultural identity, and that ‘the discourse of

any speech community will exhibit a fundamental character—a genius, a spirit, an underlying personality—which is very much its own'. The narrative tracks the history, uses and shape of the landscapes over time and creates a pathway to follow in understanding the changes.

39. The place names are key to following these pathways. The narratives (written and oral) can as Squire et al states, 'make visible the consequences and actions and events over time', as they apply to the past, present and future intergenerational values, knowledge and practices. In the context of this paper one narrative that opens up further interpretation of the named places and surrounding landscapes are those explaining Wānaka:

Wānaka is one of the lakes referred to in the tradition of "Ngā Puna Wai Karikari o Rākaihautū" which tells how the principal lakes of Te Wai Pounamu were dug by the raketira (chief) Rākaihautū. Rākaihautū was the captain of the canoe, Uruao, which brought the tribe, Waitaha, to New Zealand. Rākaihautū beached his canoe at Whakatū (Nelson). From Whakatū, Rākaihautū divided the new arrivals in two, with his son taking one party to explore the coastline southwards and Rākaihautū taking another southwards by an inland route. On his inland journey southward, Rākaihautū used his famous kō (a tool similar to a spade) to dig the principal lakes of Te Wai Pounamu, including Wānaka.... Wānaka was traditionally noted as a rich tuna (eel) fishery, with many thousands of the fish once being caught, preserved and transported back to the kāinga nohoanga (settlements) of coastal Otago. The tūpuna had considerable knowledge of whakapapa, traditional trails and tauranga waka, places for gathering kai and other taonga, ways in which to use the resources of Wānaka, the relationship of people with the lake and their dependence on it, and tikanga for the proper and sustainable utilisation of resources. All these values remain important to Ngāi Tahu today.

40. Sometimes appropriation of the landscape can subdue or eliminate earlier occupiers of the space, removing them to a pre-historical context only. Differing place-based ontologies can subsume people and their kinship relationships along with the land and smother associations and histories. In the early colonisation period the restricted view from a surveyor's theodolite for example created an equally restricted view of segmented and divided landscapes. Thus the landscape is perceived and redrawn as

individualised plots, each bounded and separated from the ones next door. The narratives surrounding these are themselves individualised and separate.

41. The names indicating specific mahika kai sites, ancestors and values important to Kāi Tahu were replaced with other names on the official maps and drawn landscapes. These names were transplanted histories and connections from another more distant homeland. The redrawing of the landscape subdued and rendered Kāi Tahu associations invisible. For example, Whakatipu-wai-Māori became known as Lake Wakatipu and the surrounding areas under the umbrella name of 'Queenstown', which challenged the original purposes and relationships with the landscapes.
42. The older, named landscape will be maintained through the way each group maintains its relationship with it. Merata Kawharu has noted that older ways of understanding an environment might lay dormant under farms, towns and reserves. Despite the physical transformation of landscapes, the way that Kāi Tahu remembers through whakapapa helps to maintain their particular way of knowing and 'seeing' what lies across the landscape and helps continue the associations with it. This includes urbanised areas and townships such as Queenstown and Wānaka.
43. So it is with the place, Manuhaea: a physical space which no longer exists, but is still seen and recalled as an important link in the whakapapa across the Hāwea area.

Manuhaea is a lagoon lying at the foot of Isthmus Peak and included the site of an old pā. The site is long disappeared after the lake levels were raised for hydropower generation in the 1960s. However, the site can still be "seen" through the narratives describing the surrounding places.

Pekerakitahi is the Māori name for Kidds Bush located near Manuhaea at Lake Hāwea.

Te Pī-o-te-koko-maunga is a mountain located near Manuhaea at Lake Hāwea. In the evidence gathered for the 1879 Smith-Nairn Commission of Inquiry into the Ngāi Tahu land claims, Ngāi Tahu kaumātua recorded Te Pī-o-te-koko-maunga is a kāinga mahinga kai where weka, kea, kererū, kākā, kiwi and kākāpō were gathered.

Te Uhakati is the Māori name for Sentinel Peak that overlooks Manuhaea. In the evidence gathered for the 1879 Smith-Nairn Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Ngāi Tahu land claims, Ngāi Tahu kaumātua recorded Te Uhakati as a kāinga mahinga kai (food-gathering settlement) where kāuru (cabbage tree root), weka, āruhe (fernroot) and tuna (eel) were gathered.

44. It is evident then that placing a name on the landscape shapes the discourse surrounding the landscape, and places begin to exist and are differentiated from other places once they are named. The values, beliefs and knowledge that underpin each community's awareness of their place within the landscape are the starting points for this understanding.

CONTEMPORARY IMPORTANCE OF TRADITIONAL PLACE NAMES

45. In the contemporary world, Māori often seek to incorporate Māori ways of knowing into their contemporary settlements and dwellings, to renew the relationships they have with their named places. The purpose, the activities, the relationships and how these are enmeshed within modern land development are in effect bringing the past into the present in ways meaningful to that particular group and its association with the defined spaces. The Wāhi Tūpuna names and narratives are bringing forth a Kāi Tahu explanation, values and expectations to the future shape of the QLDC region.
46. The information can also utilise past knowledge of what shaped the named places and the future problems that would need to be mitigated and/or adapted to, such as erosion-prone areas, flood areas and so on.
47. Understanding the Kāi Tahu history of events, associations and important relationships leads to understanding how we aspire to shape places for future intergenerational needs and aspirations. For example, ensuring healthy living environments that consider the needs of all generations (socially and culturally).
48. The shape and type of development that meets the cultural needs, and is informed through cultural values and beliefs, are also important considerations. The very landscape itself needs to be considered, as it is here that the social and cultural systems reproduce and inform ways people engage within it.

49. Understanding intergenerational relationships with places and the spaces within them builds a set of tools that will help guide a plan for future development. Kāi Tahu, as an integral part of the QLDC region through whakapapa, have that knowledge, which is accessed through place names.
50. Successful planning and development that utilises Kāi Tahu intergenerational knowledge of place and space ensures interconnecting social, cultural, environmental, and economic factors are given balanced consideration to address Kāi Tahu rakatirataka. The rakatirataka authority is expressed through kaitiakitaka: the way that Kāi Tahu manage and look after the lands for future generations. Included in this is the authority to direct decisions over future management and development. The land and integrated waterways are the constants in the mix, and as such, what we know about Kāi Tahu places within it will better inform and acknowledge culturally driven interpretations for inhabiting it.
51. Chapter 39 (Wāhi Tūpuna) of the QLDC District Plan is addressing these to ensure that the Kāi Tau relationships and narratives remain part of the current and future planning and development of the landscapes and waterways in the QLDC region. The Wāhi Tūpuna place names embed the Kāi Tahu whakapapa and intergenerational kaitiakitaka in the QLDC region, thus recording and recognising that Rakatirataka exists and will be an integral part of the landscape and its future management.
52. The Wāhi Tūpuna names and their associated stories help to verify both the historical and contemporary kinship associations, signalling the enduring connections between Kāi Tahu and the landscape that they occupy (past, present and future). The names open up the narratives that explain the kaitiakitaka purpose and practices to ensure what happens on the land does not have a detrimental impact on (for example) the water quality, quantity, mahika kai, and does not disrespect the Kāi Tahu relationships and values. Wāhi Tūpuna are part of the fabric of Kāi Tahu society, culture, and overall hauora. Their existence acknowledges the intergenerational kaitiakitaka values, practices, and relationships with the QLDC region.

CONCLUSION

53. I am certain that you now have a deeper understanding of the way that whakapapa and traditional place names are interlinked and the significance that these places hold

for my people. I have explained the intrinsic value of traditional place names and have provided examples of such places which cover the landscape of this District. I have also shown that these values endure to this day in the hearts and minds of our Kāi Tahu Whānui while also contributing considerably to the sustained good health of the whenua and its associated waterways.

ⁱ Carter, L. (2004) Unpublished PhD thesis, *Whakapapa and the State. Some case studies in the impact of central government on traditionally organised Māori groups*. University of Auckland.

ⁱⁱ Carter, L. (2019). Knowing your place. Indigenous Knowledge and spatial mapping, in *New Zealand Surveyor*, December 2019, no. 305, pp. 61-76. (See also, Carter, L. (2004). Naming to Own. Place names as indicators of human interaction with the landscape, *AlterNative. An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, Vol. 1 pp.7-25. Auckland: Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga, Māori Centre for Research Excellence, University of Auckland)

ⁱⁱⁱ Basso, K. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places. Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, p. 141.

^{iv} Henshaw, A. (2006). Pausing along the Journey: Learning Landscapes, environmental change, and toponymy amongst the Sikusilarmiutt, *Arctic Anthropology*, vol. 43, No. 1 (2006), pp. 52-66. University of Wisconsin Press, p.59.

^v McRae, J. (2017). *Māori Oral Tradition. He Kōrero nō te Ao Tawhito*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, p. 74.

^{vi} Henshaw, 2006.

^{vii} Riseth, J.A., Tommervik, H., Helander-Renvall, E., Labba, N.V., Sarri L.E, Schanche, A., Callaghan, T.V. (2011). Sami traditional ecological knowledge as a guide to science: snow, ice and reindeer pasture facing climate change, *Polar Record*, 47: 202-217.