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INTERFACE

Indigenous Planning: from Principles to Practice

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Introduction

There is growing momentum in planning research, education and practice as to the commitment these fields must make to a more just and respectful relationship with Indigenous peoples. One dimension of this is the collective efforts towards defining and understanding the concepts and practices of Indigenous planning (see for example Jojola, 2008; and contributions to Walker, Jojola, & Natcher, 2013), recognising distinctive practices of planning that derive from an "indigenous world-view, which not only serves to unite [Indigenous planning] philosophically, but also to distinguish it from neighbouring non-land based communities" (Jojola, 2008, p. 42).

There is relatively little opportunity, however, to actually share what it means to try and practice the principles of Indigenous planning, and for non-Indigenous planning to practice making space for Indigenous planning, on the terms of sovereign first peoples. At the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning Conference in 2016, a group of researchers and practitioners got together to discuss what it means to practice differently in light of the principles and ethics of Indigenous planning. Our discussion, engaging both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars and practitioners, helped clarify some of the dimensions and dilemmas with which the field of planning might need to engage to enable a new relationship to be built with Indigenous planning.

In this *Interface*, we bring together that discussion to think more deeply about what it means to practice the principles of Indigenous planning and the decolonising agenda it suggests. Contributions from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people follow, bringing perspectives principally from the settler-colonial states of Aotearoa-New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the USA. The contributions cover the ethics, pedagogy and principles of Indigenous planning, the links to health, community development, housing and design, and the theoretical and pedagogical implications of Indigenous planning for mainstream Western planning.

Notes on Contributor

Libby Porter is Associate Professor in planning and urban geography, based at the Centre for Urban Research, RMIT University where she is Vice Chancellor's Principal Research Fellow. Her research work is focused on dispossession and displacement and most recently on the recognition of Indigenous rights and title in planning. Her most recent books are *Planning for Co-Existence* (with Barry, Routledge 2016), and *Planning in Indigenous Australia* (with Jackson and Johnson, Routledge 2018). Libby co-founded Planners Network UK, a progressive voice for radical planning

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A Revolutionary Pedagogy of/for Indigenous Planning

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In his seminal treatise on the development of critical consciousness through education published in 1970, Brazilian educationist, Paulo Freire's radical aphorism `name the word, name the world', (my paraphrase) rang out like a clarion call across the indigenous world and other communities of the oppressed, marginalised and dispossessed. A deeply intellectual, highly political, disarmingly peaceful, yet revolutionary `call to arms', it espoused self-reflection, self-awareness, development of a critical consciousness coupled with a revolutionary pedagogy focussed on `naming', and then transformative action to reconfigure and `name', or rather, `rename' the world. In what amounted to a metaphoric scud missile to the economic, private property, resource owning, political, colonial, racial *elite* (singular and aggregate, because it is difficult to disaggregate), Freire was exiled for this kind of revolutionary talk. He 'called out' power for what it was, and had the audacity `to arm' the dispossessed and oppressed with the weapons of/for their own, albeit `peaceful' liberation. Freire also went on to challenge what he termed the unauthentic word, "one which is unable to transform reality" remonstrating that "when a word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection also suffers as well: and the word is changed into idle chatter, into verbalism into an alienated, alienating blah" (Freire, 1970, p. 47). In other words all talk no action, theory without its praxis dimension is just that – `idle chatter'.

In my view these `are' the challenges confronting planning education and planning practice today. Has planning just become idle chatter? An alienated, alienating blah, that, rooted `deep down' in its colonial past, and present – actually knows the problem, but in a form of soporific amnesia has airbrushed it out of existence, because confronting it requires facing up to its own history, its own complicity with the colonial project, and its ongoing marginalisation and dispossession of the very communities it actually needs to engage. Has planning become an `unauthentic word' that is unable to transform reality? Is it even trying to `call out' power for what it is? Or has it become so deprived of its dimension of justice and emancipatory action that it has become a functionary of the economic, political and often racial elite, in what remains an obstinately colonial, state-based, settler dominant, market-driven planning system?

It is in that vein that I approach the area of activity now known as indigenous planning. `Indigenous planning' is an attempt to `name the word, name the world', to carve out a theoretical and practice space for indigenous people and communities to do `their' planning `in' planning, to provide a framework for indigenous communities to `transform their reality', or as Freire would put it `to name planning' and therefore `name their world'.

Let me perhaps state my own humble aphorism –`no one owns planning'. No one owns that word. It's just a word – and an English language descriptor for a universal human activity about the future. In Maori we call it *whakatau kaupapa*. But, what a word! It has been used to dominate, control, remove and herd indigenous communities onto reserves and into enclaves, to erase and eradicate their memory and materiality, even humanity. It has also been used to `spatialise oppression' and violently zone it permanently onto contested landscapes. That said, to be human is to plan and to plan is to be human, therefore to `deny' the space for indigenous communities to do their planning, let alone exist as objects worthy of planning – is itself a form of institutionalised dehumanisation. Hence, as I suggest, the need for a revolutionary pedagogy in/for planning.

One often hears the phrase `unsettling planning theory'. However, before I even get past the, `okay whose planning theory are we talking about?', it is important to note that indigenous peoples have always been on the outside of `settler/colonial/Western/state-based planning', looking in. The unsettled state has become the norm as indigenous communities internally mediate tradition and modernity, while externally navigating the twin orbits of indigeneity and colonialism. In fact, `being unsettled' remains a natural/unnatural state for indigenous communities. So, to the central question: has planning theory even attempted to theorise the oppression of indigenous communities, let alone linked it to a transformative planning praxis and action? I suspect the likely response is for the most part 'no'. Therefore, if the theories do not fit, and if they cannot or worse still will not, comprehend indigenous experience – the only option left is to ditch them.

It is into this void in planning theory that indigenous planning has almost by default implanted itself – and in so doing created its own space to move, to name itself and its world. But, that is only the beginning. `Naming' indigenous planning has also become a vehicle by which indigenous peoples can write themselves back into planning history, planning theory and planning practice, from which generally they have been excluded – almost as entities lacking any agency – let alone the ability to plan. Indigenous planning is also a prism through which the rhetoric of `planning as a human universal' can be refracted to indigenous communities, their experience, past, present and indeed future. Ironically, indigenous planning actually `unsettles' `Western' planning theory and in particular its globalising/totalising tendencies, exposing them as a bit more `Anglo/Euro' culturally specific and laden than they might otherwise care to admit. Beyond all the rhetoric, indigenous planning provides an intellectual and political space for indigenous peoples to define themselves, to spatialise indigeneity and, most importantly, mark out their future.

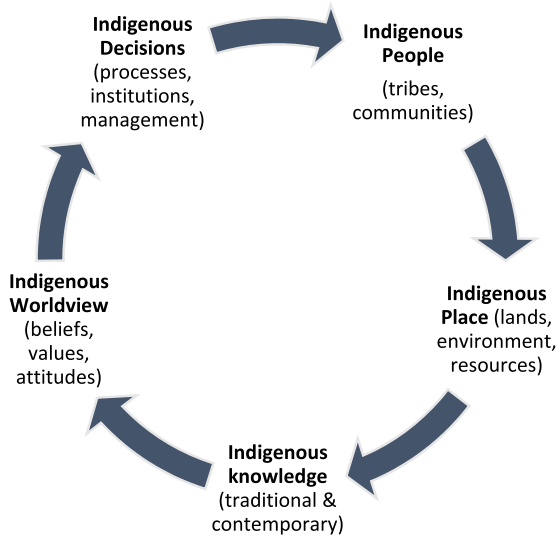
So, what is it?

First of all it is planning by/with (not for) indigenous peoples, using (or at least fully cognisant of) their processes to achieve their defined outcomes.

Clearly it is not just about process for the sake of process, but rather process that drives towards a set of desired outcomes. While specific context (i.e. spatial, cultural, social, economic, environment, politics, for example) might determine as a specific endpoint, the actual nature of the process and outcome, the ability to nuance process and outcome to specific contexts, and then weight various desired outcomes against each other – is critical.

On that basis, Indigenous planning as an outcome should mediate to a decision but across the following dimensions.

If we turn to the notion of Indigenous planning as a process, the critical factors that then come into play when making a decision can be articulated through the people–place–knowledge–values loop.



Therefore, on that basis I would broadly define Indigenous planning as:

'Indigenous people making decisions about their place (whether in the built or natural environment) using their knowledge (and other knowledges), values and principles to define and progress their present and future social, cultural, environmental and economic aspirations'.

However, another way to more succinctly define indigenous planning, given the critical connections of people, place and ancestors could be:

'Indigenous peoples spatialising their aspirations, spatialising their identity, spatialising their indigeneity'.

Clearly the challenge for `planning as a universal', is to create a theory–praxis space within the pantheon of planning(s) for indigenous planning as a process and outcome – to exist, and to facilitate a transformative planning pedagogy and practice.

However, Indigenous planning must in the first instance, ask the fundamental question `in context'.

What would flourishing as indigenous peoples in *this* place .... look like, feel like, and mean ?

In planning, or in urban design, architecture, or landscape architecture etc

And in spatial context - whether urban, suburban, peri-urban, rural, regional, remote or highly remote

Current estimates put the numbers of indigenous peoples at approximately 350 million world-wide across 5,000 different groups in over 70 countries. Notwithstanding the diversity of experience across these communities, they remain persistently among the most marginalised and disadvantaged groups in the world.

Across a range of socio-economic indices, poverty and `under' (or rather arrested) development is a common denominator. While there is considerable variation, depending on whether the community is located in the so called 'rich global north', or 'poor Third World global south', severe spatial disadvantages, brought about by rapid urbanisation and rural regional isolation, remain at the heart of often extreme, intractable social and cultural dislocation. This is the context that `settler', state-based, Western planning must confront.

In the title to this *Interface* piece I quite deliberately advocated for necessary revolutionary pedagogy in/for planning education and practice, that not only poses these questions, but equips itself with the theory–praxis armoury to facilitate transformative action.

In the 1970s and 1980s the concept of so-called radical planning challenged elitism, centralisation, colonialism, etc. in planning, and for this it needs to be commended. However, an inability to fully comprehend historic, systemic, institutionalised oppression of indigenous communities that are unique in global human history means planning remains ill-equipped to follow through to a transformative practice that is in any way coherent or significant let alone comprehensive. Hence the need for a `revolutionary pedagogy' for planning education and practice that moves beyond the radical to embrace revolutionary change – in planning.

Meanwhile the world moves on. For instance, after more than 20 years of discussion and consultation, the United Nations in 2007 ratified the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; 144 nations voted in favour, with 4 against, namely Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA. The Declaration recognised a bundle of rights including the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination, to exist as distinct peoples and communities, to own, use and control land and resources, to maintain and develop institutions and to protect intellectual and cultural property. In other words, the domain of planning. The nations who originally objected eventually did go on to ratify it – Australia in 2009, New Zealand and the USA in 2010 and Canada in 2016.

However, to again quote Freire:

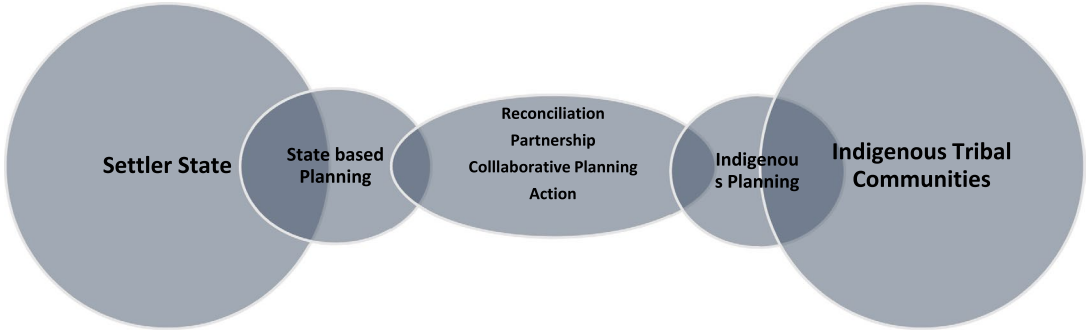
> Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action … there is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus to speak a true word is to transform the world … To exist humanly is to name the world – to change it. (p. 47)

The critical point for planning is that the `problem definition' phase is well gone. What is now overdue is a process of reconciliation, resolution and partnership, leading to collaborative planning with indigenous communities, and then action. If planning is the true word it often purports to be, it needs to move beyond reflection and into action. Hence the need for a revolutionary pedagogy.

In this context it requires a commitment to a set of principles and practices, including:

- Reflection and reconciliation, leading to true dialogue with indigenous communities. The colonial project has left a legacy of material and ideological marginalisation of indigenous peoples, unmatched in `recent' human history. The very existence of many nation states is built on indigenous marginalisation. And, state-based planning has provided the conceptual and practical apparatus for institutionalising marginalisation. Therefore, knowing and responding to this history is critical.
- Acknowledging that indigenous planning, carried out by indigenous communities exists `beyond' mainstream state-based planning, as a legitimate planning in its own right. Through the colonial project and against all odds, indigenous communities have survived, retained agency and a

remarkable clarity of vision around their present(s) and future(s), based on the land, environment, their place and collective agency. Engaging with `their' planning and articulation of their future(s) is also critical.
- Creating a theory-praxis and political/institutional `third' space for indigenous planning `to connect' with state-based planning, and through facilitated partnerships, collaboration, `institutional/statutory connectors between the two planning systems' and collective action to indeed 'name and change the world', are also essential.



In this discourse there are three sites of/for planning, namely indigeneity, the settler colonial state, and the `third space' hybrid where the coloniser and colonised, oppressed and oppressor can come together to dialogue reconciliation, emancipation, collaboration and collective action for the future. Planning across all three sites is critical to that endeavour.

Notes on Contributor

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Settler-Indigenous Relationships as Liminal Spaces in Planning Education and Practice

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Like many planning scholars and practitioners, I have developed a commitment to 'unsettling' knowledge, perceptions and attitudes among planners and planning educators who continue to categorize Indigenous peoples and racialized communities as marginal. As members of universities and

professions are being called upon to examine their own truths as settlers and the possibilities for (re)building relations with Indigenous peoples, I am reminded of how the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada in 2015 was framed as offering "a rare second chance to seize a lost opportunity for reconciliation" that had been offered previously at a national scale in 1996, upon the release of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 7). This phrase, "lost opportunity" resonates for me. How can we as planners and educators, settlers and Indigenous people, begin to consider the possibilities for reconciliation when state-based planning and planning education remain constrained within settler colonial frameworks? How and where to begin when answers to this question are ever-evolving? The current practices of universities and institutions to acknowledge Indigenous presence on the land and in urban spaces are not enough when they are simply performative (Wilkes, Duong, Kesler, & Ramos, 2017). Rather than focusing purely on lost opportunities of reconciliation or public acts of acknowledgment, I contend that there is value in focusing on the liminal spaces where we ultimately redefine our mutual relationships, responsibilities and accountabilities to each other as settlers and as Indigenous people.

My collaborative work with the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation and with Walpole Island First Nation in Southern Ontario, Canada, started in 2011 with shared conversations about policy change consultation practices in land use planning in Southern Ontario. I am accountable to my research partners in our policy work together and in developing both the content and approach to teaching university students about planning with Indigenous peoples. As Indigenous and settler peoples (and in the case of the latter, academics) we also 'hold the pen together'. While we do not publish a lot, when we do publish, our work is co-written, and each of us focuses on our own part of our shared story. We each speak for our respective communities and to our systems of governance and education. Holding accountability to one another is important and is our choice. Our expectations of each other often go beyond the formalized research parameters established by state-driven research funding agencies. Our accountabilities to each other straddle our communities and our professional, and institutional affiliations. Being accountable to each other but also to our respective communities – be it to a First Nation, a university, or a profession (or to all three) – is paramount. However, contradictions exist between our different ways of knowing (Eurocentric and various Indigenous), and our actions are, at times, in conflict with state-based planning practices. These contradictions and conflicts can bubble to the surface when dominating state-based planning practices are founded on premises whereby Indigenous peoples, cultures, and lands are reified as property (see Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Such differences could be understood as being irreconcilable, and yet we work through them together as Indigenous people and settlers. Will our commitment to action, dialogue, hope, friendship and institutional change in addition to our practices of accountability be enough to sustain our relationships in the long term? We work together in what feels like a liminal space, a dynamic space as we attempt to reconcile these differences through our work.

Before I became an academic I was a community planner and worked for a time in the field of public policy at the level of the provincial government as well as with not-for-profit service organizations. My practice back then, and now as an academic, was/is founded upon principles of anti-oppression, empathy, and reciprocity. As a teacher, bringing these practices into an established professional planning curriculum is a struggle (plainly stated) as it is for some students when working in a university institution and profession that is historically founded upon systems of patriarchy, capitalism, and colonialism. Counterhegemonic practices in critical thought and action that oppose a 'naturalization' of colonial power relations are vital to transforming planning pedagogy and the planning profession. Attempting to do so as a settler in partnership with Indigenous planners and community members

fosters considerations about alliances and what they mean. Ta-Nehisi Coates has said at one point in conversation with Roxana Gay, on the topic of writing and talking about race, that "one has to even abandon the phrase 'ally' and understand that you are not helping someone in a particular struggle; the fight is yours." (Gay, 2015). There are realistic limitations to my capacity to enact my responsibilities and uphold my accountability to my Indigenous partners through research and as a planning educator in a professional planning program. These limitations relate to how I am embodied, how I am perceived, and structural limitations imposed by a system of whiteness that have an effect on fuelling and frustrating my capacity to resist oppression both from within and outside of academic institutions. As the daughter of immigrants from India and as someone born in Canada, my position as the daughter of "settlers" and "arrivants," (these terms used together draw from Byrd, 2011 who also cites the term "arrivant" from Brathwaite, 1973) also informs my capacities to act, my understanding of how and when to act, and of what and how to teach. Harsha Wallia's work reminds me that "being responsible for decolonization can require us to locate ourselves within the context of colonization in complicated ways, often as simultaneously oppressed and complicit" (Walia, 2012). I have learned from my parents' own experiences, living under British colonialism and, along with my re-education, they have informed my politics and sense of understanding of the ongoing practices of colonialism while living with (and under) state policies of multiculturalism (in Canada).

My collaborative research with members of Walpole Island First Nation and the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation has involved researching, analysing and critiquing state-based approaches to planning, and working together to develop solutions to enhance Indigenous-municipal relationships, and to advocate for changes to state-based policy on land use planning. Our priorities have shifted or evolved. For example, changes in leadership within the First Nations have affected how we approach our partnership. Some Indigenous leaders distrust universities due to the histories of First Nations' engagement with formalized education and the impact of the colonial legacy of residential schools. Changes in leadership and perspectives might then affect whether a formalized relationship continues or not. Changes to municipal leadership that either support or largely ignore the importance of Indigenous engagement also affect the context of our collaborative work and quality of the Indigenous-municipal relationships. Finally, the academics on our team whose affiliations as faculty and student researchers have changed over time within their respective universities, have affected how day-to-day collaboration and priorities are informed by joint work, while taking care of their own internal community or institutional issues. Indeed, relationships are in a constant state of flux, but our accountabilities to each other and responsibility to transform planning education remains steadfast.

As planning educators and scholars, we have an obligation to grasp those previously lost opportunities to examine truths about planning's colonial present and past, and its impact on the lives of Indigenous communities and planning practitioners, many of whom have diverse community affiliations. In retrospect, however, perhaps our shared path of reconciliation may have less to do with seizing lost opportunities and more to do with fostering an openness to redefining our relationships with each other as settlers and Indigenous peoples, as well as making transparent our responsibilities and accountabilities to each other.

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Indigenist Planning

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I am a member of the Carrier Nation in the north interior of what is now known as British Columbia, from the village of the Stellat'en First Nation, adopted into the frog clan on my father's side of the family. My mother is Acadian and Scottish from Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. I live and work as a guest on the lands of the xʷməθkwəy̓əm (Musqueam), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish), and səl̓ilwətaʔɬ (Tsleil-Waututh) peoples in Vancouver. As I finish my PhD work in the School of Community and Regional Planning, I deeply reflect on the meaning of place and belonging, of how the urban spaces we create can reproduce conditions of exclusion or be places of transformation for Indigenous peoples.

At the start of the 2016 Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning conference in Portland, I attended a pre-conference workshop on unsettling planning. It provided an opportunity for planning scholars to unpack a broad range of issues including ecological resilience, community engagement, and urban settler colonialism. I myself felt unsettled throughout the workshop. While the conversations were stimulating and always respectful, it was an extension of the discomfort I have always felt in theorizing about Indigenous rights within a planning context. In countries such as Canada, the USA, and Australia, planning practice and education continues to reinforce a normative framework that privileges settler understandings of place and space while rendering Indigenous presence, as Baloy (2016) describes it, as either "spectacle" or "spectral."[1] The fact that in places such as British Columbia, Indigenous title and rights to land remains largely unresolved is most often seen as a topic for other disciplines or the responsibility of other levels of government.

Although innovative work is being done by Indigenous peoples across British Columbia and Canada to plan their communities (as well as within some Canadian municipalities), planning schools have been slow to change their pedagogical approaches to historical and contemporary planning, and this is reflected in the limited scholarship on settler/Indigenous relationships.[2] As one of few Indigenous scholars working in the field of planning in Canada, this can be an unsettling place indeed. With few planning colleagues with whom I can develop an Indigenous research agenda, I have had to turn to

other disciplines for inspiration and guidance. My research and teaching engages with a rich and critical body of work coming from Indigenous scholars in law, political science, Indigenous studies, education and other fields. In this context I share here a little bit about my doctoral research as a means of contributing to the decolonizing of planning education, and grounding the conversation in Indigenous pedagogical practices.

I have a background in Indigenous governance and health education and research, so when I came to planning I was keen to explore the fit between public health and planning, and how Indigenous models of health and healing were being mobilized within that context. Although the fields of public health and planning co-developed, they diverged in the early twentieth century and the resulting silos have created significant challenges for reintegrating perspectives that were once seen as complementary. Through my PhD work with the Native Courtworker and Counselling Association of British Columbia (NCCABC), I have begun to see how these silos can be broken down through an intersectional approach that can benefit both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

NCCABC has been around for over four decades. It brings together legal, health and other community resources to provide culturally appropriate services to Indigenous peoples and communities throughout the province. Through a collaborative research process I have followed NCCABC's front-line workers over the last few years as they assist clients in navigating the maze of justice, health and social service delivery systems in British Columbia's lower mainland. Through relationships developed over the last 40 years, NCCABC has developed partnerships in all sectors whose policies impact Indigenous peoples. As a result of its intersectoral work, the organization is involved in an intricate interplay of policy development and implementation. How those policies get translated into front-line work, and how institutional ideologies get taken up and resisted, is a key interest in my research.

NCCABC has been on the front lines of Indigenous community development, supporting the health and well-being of people struggling with the legacy of colonial policies and ongoing systemic violence and discrimination. Although staff may not describe their work as community planning, this is very much what I have observed over the last number of years: they are involved in building community, in creating relationships that connect people to one another, that instil a sense of belonging and hope for the future, while engaging with the traumas of the past. It is also a space that contests the primacy of neoliberal colonial policies in which workers and clients are bound up. For example, at a province-wide training session hosted by NCCABC several years ago, one of the courtworkers said, "these are not our laws. We need to bring back our Indigenous laws." Even as we work within these systems, myself as a researcher and the NCCABC staff as front-line workers continue to embody the laws and principles of our ancestors. Perhaps as Haudenosaunee scholar Audra Simpson writes, it is a sovereignty that "exists more in consciousness than in practice" (Simpson, 2014, p. 39). It is also a continual process of negotiating multiple and overlapping identities (urban/Indigenous/Carrier) within governmental structures that claim sole regulatory legitimacy.

NCCABC recently hosted a "gratitude gathering" to express gratitude towards the many social service, legal, and health agencies that work with the organization. This came hard on the heels of a massive loss of funding to NCCABC that would ultimately disrupt services to a very vulnerable group of Indigenous people in Vancouver for the second time that year. During this gathering there were courageous stories from clients describing how staff had helped turn their lives around. One of the provincial managers broke down in tears. There was anger expressed over the precarity of the funding models – ultimately putting lives at risk. Space was made for emotion, for love, for gift giving, and for envisioning how we could all move forward together.

Front-line workers know that service disruptions cost lives. Their response is to mobilize community support, to show what can happen when the community comes together and to reorient definitions of 'success' both for staff and clients. Government funding frequently hinges on criteria that are not developed by Indigenous organizations and which reflect the goals and aspirations of the dominant society (for example sobriety, court-ordered attendance, completion of certain programs). Indigenous definitions of 'success', however, are grounded in relational accountability. Long-term relationships of trust are carefully built and cultivated to counter the institutional harms inflicted on generations of Indigenous people and communities. This type of relational work is one of the many micro-sites of resistance that I have witnessed through my field work with NCCABC.

I have increasingly begun to think of this work as "Indigenist planning" following on Lester Irabinna Rigney's (1999) early work in Australia, articulating an Indigenist research paradigm and building on Martin and Mirraboopa (2003) who evoke the strength of Indigenous world views in addition to privileging Indigenous voices, experiences and lives. In the face of repressive colonial policies that are continually reproduced for clients and front-line staff, there is a dual resistance and resurgence that is taking place. This is happening within an urban context that is both the homelands of the xʷməθkwəy̓əm, Sḵwx̱wú7mesh, and səl̓ilwətaʔɬ people and a place of exile for many other Indigenous peoples. It is also a place of hope and healing created in an effort to restore individual, family, community and cultural strengths.

Perhaps the unsettling I experienced at the ACSP workshop reminded me of the tokenism that often permeates efforts to 'Indigenize' settler spaces. What I advocate for is a deep rethink of settler colonial relationships while generating spaces of belonging and inclusion within dominant cultural systems that is not about indigenizing those spaces as much as it is about creating something new – and potentially regenerative – in the interstices of the urban settler state.

Notes

1. Baloy's research "reveals how everyday encounters with Aboriginal alterity are produced and experienced through spectacular representations and spectral (or haunting) Aboriginal presence, absence, and possibility in the city" (2016, p. 209).
2. The exceptions are two recent path-breaking works: Jackson, Porter and Johnson (2018); Porter and Barry (2016).

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What is the Work of Non-Indigenous People in the Service of a Decolonizing Agenda?

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There is a tree on the river near where I live that to my eye (uneducated on such matters, so it is a guess) looks some hundreds of years old. The tree is enormous. A huge powerful trunk. Towering branches. And then a soft drooping, that gum trees have a special way of doing, so that the limbs and leaves seem to reach back towards the ground. Whenever I am near this tree it always strikes me that it seems to encircle everything in its vicinity, inviting anyone and anything in to enjoy its gentle protective force.

It was that tree that my mind's eye called up when I was having a yarn to someone recently and our conversation came around to the different ways we each see the country. The person I was talking to is an elder of his people, one of the Kulin Nations, whose lands were stolen to create the city of Melbourne. He had asked me, "Libby, what do you see when you see a tree?" (and so this particular tree sprang into my thoughts immediately). I think I mumbled something mildly ridiculous about strength and beauty or some such. And he went on to talk about all the different things that a tree offers – a home, shelter, food, water, warmth, direction, healing, respite, tools, clean air, a weather report, knowledge ... a philosophy of life, in short.

That tree, and the river it stands so gently and grandly beside, belongs to Wurundjeri and Boonwurrung/Bunurong country. The river is Birrarung, in the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung languages – the local languages of this place. This is the *country* that sustains me and my life, *country* stolen from those peoples. (*Country* signifies all of the lands, waters and skies that constitute the distinct identity and sovereignty of each Aboriginal nation in the continent that is now called Australia.) As a descendant of that theft and the colonial relations it continues to prop up, I am situated in a relation of power that is ever-present in settler-colonial Australia. It is hidden from view for most of us in the non-Indigenous community most of the time, for white Australia works hard to deny or not know – a structure of forgetting intrinsic to the properties of being a colonist in a settler-colony. In saying these things I respectfully acknowledge the country that sustains me, the peoples of the Kulin Nations who sustain this 'country' and had done for more than 200 generations before the structure of invasion that enabled me to be here.

This acknowledgement is important because it helps situate my comments and reflections in this piece. The relationship of peoples to each other, to 'country', to ancestors and kin is central to building an understanding of who we are and what we are doing in the work of decolonization in planning. For that work cannot occur without an honest account of the histories that indelibly mark our present and so profoundly shape (but do not determine) our shared futures. In the relationship between planning and Indigenous peoples in a place such as the one where I live, this requires a truthful account of how planning is complicit in the activities of colonization.

Planning is an important activity and structure of governance, shaping the contemporary ways we organize space and fulfil our relationships with place. At the same time, Indigenous structures of

governance and relationships to place have been profoundly marginalized through the violence of colonization. This highlights the very specific accountability planning has to Indigenous peoples. Yet, it is not really possible to work 'outside' of the relations of power that shape this accountability. Speaking as a non-Indigenous person, if we are listening carefully and ethically, with our whole selves to what Indigenous people are saying, we will begin to understand, as the meaning of the tree was revealed to me in the opening story, the importance of moving over to make room for Indigenous sovereignties. This is quite a different demand than simply 'being included'. Instead, the specific demand is that the agenda Indigenous peoples set is a self-determined one, rooted in the laws and sovereign practices of distinct Indigenous nations. What then, is the work that needs to be done in planning – its theory and its practice – for non-Indigenous planning to attend to the agenda of Indigenous planning?

There are neither clear nor easy answers to this question. But let us return to the story I opened with to consider this challenge from one specific locale. Here in Melbourne, just like many other settler-colonial cities, the legacy of colonization is raw and present. The invasion that occurred in this little corner of south-eastern Australia where I have grown up was one of the swiftest and most brutal in British colonial history. Within the space of a handful of years after John Batman and his small party of unauthorized land grabbers arrived and pretended to create a 'treaty' with leaders of the Kulin Nations, tens of thousands of hectares of land had been usurped, thousands of people murdered, and whole settlements – their people and their thousand-year-old infrastructures – destroyed. All without the authorization of London, but in plain sight. Melbourne is founded on this appalling, violent deception.

This not only brought about fragmentation of the existing law, economic order, culture and system of governance that the distinct peoples of the Kulin Nations had been practicing for more than 200 generations, it was near annihilation, arising from a distinctly genocidal intent. Of the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung language speaking peoples, by the 1850s only a handful of people survived murder, disease, starvation and abduction. Yet, those communities, in the face of this apocalypse not only survive but are resurgent today.

This history is very present today in at least three distinct ways. First, the people of the Kulin Nations are still finding their way home. Any engagement or relationship with the communities that today make up the Kulin Nations will quickly reveal personal stories of those who have only recently learned about their heritage and are attempting to reconnect to their people, and of the profound efforts so many people have made to establish organizations to express and practice their own forms of governance. So one of the real struggles is building capacity through organizations that can reconnect people, and creating a space for Indigenous law and practice.

Second is that the urban context, and especially the city of Melbourne, is seen as a condition of Indigenous extermination. From the perspective of mainstream non-Indigenous Australia, Melbourne is not an Aboriginal place – for there is neither an obvious (to white eyes) connection to Indigenous culture, nor much visibility of Aboriginal people, unlike other Australian cities. There exists an anxiety about the category 'urban' even among Aboriginal communities themselves, because it registers a context that too readily occludes their existence and sovereignty. It suggests extermination and so 'urban' is sometimes decisively refused.

Yet, an important struggle is to make more visible the fact that 'country' is still here, still present. 'Country' is not 'out there' beyond the city limits, somewhere or somewhen else. It is the rock and soil into which the concrete and steel of the city is bolted. It is the sky country into which the buildings of the central city soar. It is the tree on the banks of the Birrarung still providing, nurturing, inviting me and many others. To indigenous peoples the city is a profoundly important yet fundamentally problematic place in which to think about the responsibility of planning.

Third is that the way in which non-Indigenous Australia, including planning systems and policy regimes, mostly chooses to engage with its responsibility to Indigenous peoples is wrapped up in a

structure of privilege that sustains the very dynamic it (sometimes) purports to be trying to overcome. There has been a recent rush to 'engage' with Indigenous people such that many representative and community-based organizations are experiencing engagement-fatigue and unable to keep up with demand. But this lack of resources is not the only or even perhaps the main problem. For the rush to engage signals a deeper malaise. All of the 'engaging' is done on the terms of non-Indigenous institutions. One outcome is sheer tokenism. Projects are already designed, plans set, monies committed. There is too often an exercise in box-ticking when 'doing' this Indigenous engagement.

But the deeper dimension is the politics of recognition in which so much engagement and consultation, even when not tokenistic or cynical, is embedded. Indigenous people are thought of as one more stakeholder at the planning table, adding another diverse voice to a planning sphere which does not itself change. And in the field of planning scholarship especially, this is a genuine paradox. Indigenous perspectives are not 'in' planning in Australia, in the sense that the field of planning in Australia has been almost entirely silent on its relationship with Indigenous people, and that there are very few Indigenous planning practitioners and no senior Indigenous scholars in the planning field. This massive silence is a really significant gap. Yet stating that immediately signals the slippery politics of recognition to which we should be alert. Who can and should do the work of bringing Indigenous perspective 'in'? And is 'in' even the goal? Taking a sovereignty approach would signal a different requirement – flipping the table, perhaps, so that Western planning paradigms seek recognition and are required to find a fit 'in' Indigenous planning paradigms. At the very least, taking Indigenous sovereignty seriously signals the fundamental requirement that the whiteness of planning has to move over, make space, relinquish power and control at least in some places, to enable Indigenous perspectives to come to the fore, on their own terms.

We have then a context marked by a fully present and often raw legacy of colonization, an urban context that makes Indigeneity invisible, and a limiting politics of recognition that consistently thwarts the practice of Indigenous sovereignties. In this context, then, what is the work to be done? It is vitally important that it is Indigenous people themselves who create the terms of their struggle (and they do) and speak on their own terms (and they do). And there is of course a clear and present danger that 'alliance' work by non-Indigenous people might be undertaken with paternalistic intent, white guilt, or the presumption of Indigenous deficit. Yet, the responsibility of non-Indigenous people for finding ways of thinking and practising that transcends these dilemmas remains. What, then, is the work to be done by non-Indigenous people, and especially non-Indigenous planners in practice, research, and education in the face of these dilemmas?

I will offer a few ideas here, both large and small, based on my experience as a non-Indigenous person attempting to create forms of practice that activate an ethic of accountability. One crucial aspect of the work is education – of ourselves and our (white) communities, and this is nowhere better seen than in the field of planning education. As I write in Australia there are less than a handful of planning degrees that include any content at all about the historical and contemporary relationship between planning and Indigenous peoples. Consequently, planning students sit in classes that begin their story of planning and development in Australia as if Indigenous people did not exist, as if the lands on which planning interventions are practised are not stolen lands, and as if the whole story began in 1788, the date invasion of the great southern continent began in earnest.

A conversation that then often arises from this observation is the extent to which planning education should include material 'about' Indigenous Australia. There is an important distinction to be made here, one that helps answer the discomfort that I sense many non-Indigenous educators start to feel. The education gap is not addressed by including material 'about' (and certainly not 'for') Indigenous identity, history, culture or law. Especially when that material would be taught by non-Indigenous

educators. Instead, the focus should be on bringing into our planning education a critical perspective on the relationship between planning and Indigenous people, historically and today. Essentially that means fulfilling a demand that I hear quite often from Indigenous scholars and educators who are too often tasked with teaching white folks a more accurate account of colonial history and race relations. As one colleague put it to me recently, "why am I always having to spend my time teaching your mob your history? That should be your mob's job". Quite right, so it should.

To walk in solidarity, then, with a decolonizing agenda set by Indigenous people, requires both decentring and de-privileging the centrality of whiteness in the story which planning tells about itself, at the same time as taking responsibility for educating ourselves and others with a more truthful account of that very story. This will necessarily involve identifying how the continued expansion and exploitation of Indigenous lands occurs, and the role of planning as a central mechanism in that continued structure of dispossession. And there is equally important work to be done in finding mechanisms to challenge this, to create forums to have different kinds of conversation and to continually speak about this.

There are many different fronts across which non-Indigenous planning educators, researchers and practitioners need to work to reset a more truthful relationship between planning and Indigenous peoples. Sometimes these can feel quite contradictory. At the same time as we need to work in relationships with communities, we also need to be championing change in our local institutes and accrediting bodies, in our local governments and other departments where the work of planning gets done, and of course, in universities where planning research and education is centred. I often find that the language I need to use in these different forums is very different, often contradictory. But it seems very important to try and translate between different settings the work for which planning must take responsibility and to show how that work can be done by different people in such varied contexts.

That work is really about listening closely and honestly to the agenda set by Indigenous people and creating ways of being accountable to that agenda. The work of non-Indigenous people is to relinquish power and control, refuse the colonialist impulse to possess, move over, make space and stop filling up all the room. I interpret this as a requirement to risk myself, the things I know and hold dear, and hold the space.

Notes on Contributor

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Supporting Indigenous Planning in the City

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As a non-Indigenous planner and scholar of urban planning, there are many things within my sphere of influence that can be done to help remediate the discursive and material spaces that have been mined for a long time, and to a precipitous depth, by colonialism. The goal in so doing is to reclaim

space for Indigenous planning so that it takes a firm hold in urbanism, occupying its place among approaches to city planning that aspire to a post-colonial practice. Three points are discussed below, under separate headings, which would assist in the remediation process.

Indigenous Sovereignty and Territoriality

Heather Dorries (2016) has argued that a decolonized city would situate Indigenous sovereignty and resurgence at the normative centre of an anticolonial approach to planning, foregrounding Indigenous political authority. Indigenous sovereignty in this context might be thought of as the practice of self-determining control over such things as land, resources, the terms of social, cultural, spiritual, economic, and political relations – to name a few – ultimately with the goal of creating a good urban life. Far more effort than should be necessary is expended by Indigenous nations in settler states such as Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the USA to be recognized and heard as sovereign peoples. The harmful ignorance supported by city planning and decision-making processes that restrict Indigenous worldviews, protocols, and practices from directing the production of urban space in Indigenous (urbanized) territory underpins the reproduction of colonized cities that most people – Indigenous and non-Indigenous – live in today. Re-territorializing urban space so that Indigenous cultural landscapes circulate with greater prominence in the spirit of the city is critically important if our urbanism is to be an instrument of reconciliation and decolonization (for examples see Stuart & Thompson-Fawcett, 2010; Tomiak, 2016; Walker & Nejad, 2017).

More than Stakeholders, Voices, and Tables

Over a decade ago a friend helped me to transcribe interviews I had conducted with planners and other city officials about Indigenous affairs. At the end of the project she said she could not stand to hear another reference to Indigenous peoples as 'stakeholders', or as important 'voices' to have sitting at 'the table.' Her indignation still resonates with me, and indeed throughout my work since then, the language has been a persistent feature of how urban planners (for the most part) see Indigenous peoples and their leadership in the city. These simple words – used in contexts meant to signify inclusive and progressive planning – are illustrative of how poorly mainstream urban planning practice has conceptualized its relationship with Indigenous communities. Seen as stakeholders – alongside others such as a local council on aging, newcomer settlement organization, university community, transit users, or a youth group – it is easy to conclude that work must yet be done to remediate the discursive space that ought instead to be framed by Indigenous sovereignty, political authority, and claims to the territory within which urban planning occurs.

Simply recruiting Indigenous 'voices' to attend open public consultations can present its own problems, if seen as the only approach to engaging with Indigenous peoples in planning processes. There can be an expectation, implicit or explicit, that the Indigenous participants in an open public consultation process – often a numerical minority of voices in the room – will be 'speaking for' Indigenous peoples in general, and not just as individuals. That 'voices' be heard is not sufficient. Inviting Indigenous voices to be heard gives no indication of the use to which the knowledge and perspectives will be put, if they are heard at all and interpreted properly. It gives no assurance of prioritization for informing action. Most fundamentally flawed is that the authority to set agendas, guide processes and protocols for participation, set priorities and make decisions, resides within the non-Indigenous civic authority in most cases.

Of primary importance is the structural and procedural framework that would enable Indigenous political, administrative, and community authority, to operate in the city as a sovereign territorial partner in the creation of good lives together that reflect multiple worldviews, shared authority, and place-based histories. In the right structural and procedural context Indigenous 'voices' support, and are reinforced by, the political authority and cultural integrity that resides with sovereign Indigenous peoples. And the 'tables' at which these urban planning processes are undertaken will vary, some set by Indigenous communities, others by non-Indigenous communities, and some arranged specifically to bridge Indigenous and non-Indigenous processes within a balanced set of power relations.

Structural Violence – Call it What it Is

'Violence' is a term that practitioners of professions such as planning would find horrifying to have associated with them. Yet institutions and social practices that systematically prevent people from meeting their needs, enacting self-expression, and achieving goals that would constitute a good life can be characterized as structural violence (Mohammed, Walker, Loring, & Macdougall, 2017). Structural violence takes form in an unequal balance of power and resources, and the extent to which tools of colonial governance (e.g. laws, policy priorities, programs, civic processes) serve to structure persistent material and discursive marginalization among Indigenous peoples. This type of violence is often not disapproved of. In planning it can go unchallenged; moreover, it is typically supported through conventional political, cultural, economic, and social norms. When planners look past Indigenous sovereignty, and territoriality, condone harmful ignorance, and see only stakeholders, voices, and tables, they reproduce structural violence. One useful act of remediation in the terrain of urban planning theory and practice aspiring to decolonize, is to recognize structural violence and stop perpetuating it.

Conclusion

Non-Indigenous planners and scholars can help to decolonize space and make room for Indigenous planning and urbanism. Cities in countries such as Canada, USA, Australia, and New Zealand can become the crucibles for moulding reconciliation among peoples in shared territory. Urban planning, as a discipline, has an enormous role to play. In its support of Indigenous urbanism, however, it will be required to drop the expectation of seeing an Indigenized mirror image of its settler self. Indigenous worldviews, protocols, goals, processes, and expertise will take their own form in planning theory and practice, and that is ultimately what coexistence might be expected to look like.

Notes on Contributor

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Film as a Catalyst for Indigenous Community Development

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For the past decade a small group of scholar/practitioners have been exploring the potentials of film/video as a planning intervention in a variety of contexts (Sandercock & Attili, 2010). One example documents the use of film as a therapeutic intervention in the context of a deeply divided community (Sandercock & Attili, 2012, 2014). Currently, a partnership between the Haida Nation, the Inuit film production company Kingulliit, and Leonie Sandercock (Indigenous community planning, University of British Columbia) is exploring film as a catalyst for Indigenous community development with the Haida Nation. This brief essay discusses this work in progress.

The Haida people have inhabited the remote island archipelago of Haida Gwaii, 100 kms offshore from Prince Rupert in northern British Columbia, since time immemorial.

By the early twentieth century, the impact of European diseases and government policies of assimilation had reduced the Haida Nation from 25,000 people, pre-contact, to just 580 survivors. Once residing in over 300 villages around the extensive coastline, the Haida were confined by the early twentieth century to just two small reserves (today known as the villages of Skidegate and Old Massett) and their sovereignty was erased by the still-extant Indian Act of 1876. Haida culture and language faced the threat of annihilation by the mid-twentieth century. For the past fifty years or so the Haida Nation has been politically resurgent. But the struggle for economic, cultural and language revitalization is ongoing. Geographic isolation, lack of opportunities for young people, and inundation of Western media compound the challenges of revitalization.

In 2012 the Indigenous Community Planning program[1] at the University of British Columbia (UBC) began a four-year relationship with the Skidegate Band Council on a Comprehensive Community Plan (CCP) process. Among the highest priorities identified through the CCP process were language revitalization, the creation of jobs that would keep young people on Haida Gwaii, and protection of the land and waters of Haida Gwaii through sustainable development.

A conversation ensued between Leonie Sandercock and the Skidegate Haida, and then with the Council of the Haida Nation, about the possibilities of making a film (by and about the Haida, and in

the two Haida dialects) that might serve as a support for all three of these objectives: the ongoing work of language revitalization, a catalyst for job creation in the twenty-first century digital economy, and protecting the land and waters. Could film be used in the context of community development to serve these Haida aspirations?

We were initially inspired by the success of the Inuit film production company, Isuma, in making feature films in the Inuktitut language that showcase Inuit culture and employ Inuit as actors, costume and set designers, writers and directors. A three-way partnership was formed in 2013 between the Council of the Haida Nation (the overarching Haida governance structure), an Inuit team from Isuma Productions (now Kingulliit Productions), and Leonie Sandercock, from Indigenous Community Planning at UBC. We successfully applied for a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Partnership Development Grant and began work on this project in May 2014.

We describe this as a community-based and community-driven action research project which aims to support Haida Nation aspirations by designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of a community-based feature film and multimedia project that is intended to generate locally relevant and sustainable solutions to current challenges.

The Skidegate Haida Immersion Program (SHIP), a group of elders who meet daily over the two school semesters each year to document and preserve the Skidegate Haida language, also partnered with Kingulliit Productions and UBC on this language recovery project, as part of their Haida Language Revitalization Plan. The Haida Nation regards their language status as in crisis, given the diminishing number of fluent speakers. Their 2006 census showed that 10% of the population were fluent Haida speakers. But by 2016, less than 1% were fluent, and of that 1%, the vast majority were between 75 and 95 years old. The Haida are concerned that there is not enough interaction between these remaining fluent elders and younger community members to support long-term language revitalization goals. Intergenerational transmission of the language is critically endangered, and opportunities for elder teachings are increasingly limited, so the Haida Nation welcomed the concept of the film project as, in part, a social enterprise with the goal of saving the Haida language. This project provides people with access to audio and video tools to preserve and regain language skills, and creates links between elders, parents and children by using existing and new technologies to encourage reading and speaking. And the film itself adds motivation and inspiration for young people to learn the language, by bringing Haida language into the popular culture.

Further, the Haida Nation regards the digital media and film industry as a sustainable approach to support a green economy and aligns with traditional Haida values to protect the natural beauty of the islands. For the past hundred and more years, European settlers turned Haida Gwaii into a resource extraction-based economy, dependent on logging and commercial fishing, along with some government jobs, and service industry employment connected with tourism. The Haida Nation aspires to self-sufficiency and wants to support community initiatives that provide work experience and new opportunities for young people. So the idea of the film and multimedia project was seen to support the three core Haida aspirations noted above, as part of a transition to self-determination.

Working with two Haida partners, Dana Moraes in Skidegate and Lucille Bell in Old Massett, we co-designed and facilitated a series of community-based story gathering workshops in which community members were asked to suggest what Haida story or stories they would most like to see portrayed in a feature film. These were followed by scriptwriting workshops in both villages, and a writing contest in which members of the Haida community were invited to submit a short story/film idea. The three winners – Jaalen and Gwaai Edenshaw and Graham Richard – then worked with Leonie for 6 months in the co-development of the feature film script, 'Edge of the Knife'.[2]

The script was submitted successfully for production funding to the Canada Media Fund (CMF) by our Inuit partner. Elders in Skidegate and Old Massett then translated the script into the two Haida dialects (Xaad kil in Old Massett and Xaayda kil in Skidegate). The Inuit partner worked with the Haida in creating a majority Haida-owned film production company, building on the nation-to-nation learning and knowledge transfer that has been foundational to this project. Pre-production began in early 2016, with the hiring of two Indigenous co-directors, Gwaai Edenshaw (Haida) and Helen Haig-Brown (Tsilhqot'in, living on Haida Gwaii with her Haida partner). Gwaai and Helen ran casting workshops and auditions in the two Haida villages, following the Isuma model of working with untrained community members. The cast have been learning their lines with the help of the fluent elders. Two Haida were hired as production managers and more as set and costume designers and builders. Filming was scheduled for May-June 2017, with a budget of $1.89 m (Canadian).

In creating the story, the writing team worked under two important Haida guidelines. The first was that the story should be roughly balanced between northern and southern dialects to encourage people in both communities to learn their respective dialects, and to have a film that showcases both. The second was that the story should showcase traditional Haida culture and technology, such as longhouses and canoes. The writing team worked closely with elders and knowledge holders from both villages, from whom they sought advice about specific scenes (such as a ceremony to welcome the first salmon caught for the season), and these knowledge holders read each draft of the script and ensured cultural accuracy and sensitivity.

Because the film is not yet finished or released, it is too soon to talk about the impact of this project on the Haida Nation. We can say that $800,000 worth of employment is coming to the two Haida communities during the production, and a considerable amount of capacity-building is happening, thanks to the UBC and Inuit partners training the Haida in various aspects of film making, including financing, management, and logistics, as well as scriptwriting, directing, and cinematography.

The medium and longer term intent is that the existence of the film itself, and the fact that it is made in the Haida dialects with English subtitles, will generate interest especially among young people in learning the language. It is our hope that the film and the film script will be developed into a one-month language module for the high school, and that teaching and learning relationships between elders and young people will be sustained beyond the end of the film production. In follow-up monitoring and evaluation after the completion of the film, the intent is to feed into the evolving language revitalization strategy of the Haida Nation, taking a critical look at whether the making of a film telling a story in the language of the community is an effective approach to language revitalization. The other hope is that there is sufficient training during this project for the Haida themselves to be able to continue to generate film projects, under their newly created film production company, with a group of young writers energized and inspired by this project.

While the primary beneficiary of this project is the Haida Nation and community members, it may also inspire other Indigenous communities to imagine ways in which they can use film as a means of language and cultural revitalization. We plan to do extensive Indigenous community outreach for coastal and northern communities once the film is completed, sharing not only film screenings but, equally important, the community development process through which this project was generated in the first place. Our hope also is that sharing this story with the planning profession and planning educators, locally and internationally, will contribute to re-thinking how to work with Indigenous communities to support cultural revitalization and self-determination, as part of a larger mission of the Indigenous Community Planning program at UBC of contributing to the decolonizing of planning.

Notes on Contributors

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Being Ourselves and Seeing Ourselves in the City: Enabling the Conceptual Space for Indigenous Urban Planning

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Indigenous notions of holistic development have typically (and historically) been more broad based than the relatively recent Western integrative shifts towards greater sustainability; yet they have been systematically underplayed in endeavours for envisioning cities. Now, some Indigenous groups have an energy and resource for facilitating urban transformation in a more autonomous way. Traditional and revived Indigenous knowledge, values and concepts may also be invaluable in more fully resolving contemporary urban dilemmas in locationally and culturally specific ways. While this is in its infancy in Aotearoa, New Zealand, there are some exciting examples of innovative practice within Indigenous communities that put much conventional urban practice to shame.

There are, of course, a host of aspirations for urban development on the part of Indigenous groups. We draw on specific examples here – and some principles will resonate with other Indigenous groups – but we speak of particular, local, cultural practices without intent of simplifying broader Indigenous heterogeneity.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, there is an expanding effort to make Indigenous presence visible in our cities. Arguably, the most exciting example of progress at present is in the city of Christchurch in response to post-earthquake reconstruction of the central area. Counter to the likelihood of the urgency of planning after a major disaster meaning that participatory practices are diminished, in

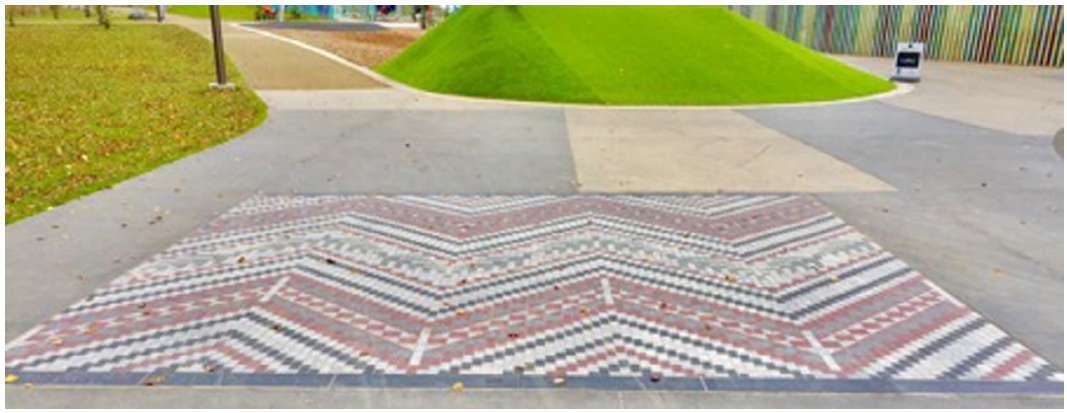

Figure 1. Te Whāriki Manaaki – One of 13 mats of welcome along Christchurch's Ōtākaro|Avon River, based on traditional weaving patterns, designed by Māori expert weavers.

Figure 2. Sculptures of important native bird species in the Christchurch rebuild, reflecting natural heritage of Indigenous significance and local language as well as scientific and English terminology.

certain aspects of the re-planning of Christchurch, participation has been enhanced. In addition to existing legal requirements for engagement with Māori in planning processes, the local Indigenous people have been formally represented at most levels of the recovery governance system in Christchurch.

This has involved multiple types of engagement, including with the main tribal body (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu), a tribal earthquake recovery group (Te Awheawhe Rū Whenua), the tribe's health agency (He Oranga Pounamu), the local tribal voice in urban reconstruction (Matapopore Charitable Trust), the local subtribal group (Ngāi Tūāhuriri), and other Māori living in the city from tribes not local to the Christchurch vicinity. In material terms, the result has been reconstruction that better interweaves traditional language, design, arts, natural heritage, recovery of natural resources, local narratives, important Māori values and aspirations (see Figures 1 and 2). This is a significant shift:

> While planning administration became centralised through the recovery process, the government saw the recovery as an opportunity to connect local government and Ngāi Tahu as partners. This is a move that has enhanced Indigenous influence as compared to conventional practices in the city up until the earthquakes (Thompson-Fawcett, Rona, & Rae, in press).

In addition, many Māori communities are reasserting traditional authority in terms of ensuring their activity in developing living and built environments for tribe members within traditional territories. There has been a flourishing of self-determination in terms of design and development – and that is challenging orthodox urban planning. Asserting Māori aspirations and applying Māori urban design principles and processes for the development of Māori settlements is a way of addressing issues of inequity and unaffordability of housing in our cities.

In the wider realm of community construction, many developments by tribal groups can be characterised as representing:

- Integration – for Māori, the built environment is not simply about physical spaces, rather it is an expression and extension of identity. Physical surrounds are inseparable from ancestors, events, practices and context. So, Māori development activity is holistic, not just about meeting houses in formal settings. It is about immersion schools, health centres, domestic villages, hospitality, responsibility, low impact design, spirituality, and self-determination.
- Visibility – Māori design, materials and symbolism have not been a typical feature in our cities. Nor have the values and principles of Māori development been taught in any substantial way in planning/design/architecture schools until very recently. In Aotearoa New Zealand, we should be giving expression to our unique cultural context. Our built environment should reflect the values and aspirations of local Indigenous groups. So this situation of relative invisibility of indigeneity in the built environment is a serious deficit.
- Purposiveness – the survival and revival of Indigenous culture in the built environment requires proactive steps via explicit models and processes.
- Capacity building – ensuring the capacity of people to engage meaningfully is indispensable, particularly in terms of non-Indigenous decision-makers and communities learning to cherish other ways of knowing and engaging in genuine partnership with Māori groups.

Some typical priorities of local Māori groups when developing their own land for members are summarised in Table 1. The table demonstrates the breadth of the mission of such developments; the concern with supporting members and their community and economic well-being, and with environmental sustainability. To exemplify what this might mean on the ground, we now take a look at one such development.

Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei is a subtribe based in central Auckland with a very contentious history of having its rights disregarded by local government. The masterplan development this community is undertaking is located on ancestral land that the tribe bought back from the Crown in 1996. It is an inner city suburb surrounded by some of the most upmarket waterfront housing in the City. The subtribe is

Table 1. Some key attributes of community developments by subtribes/*hapū* (Key: ✓✓✓ = highly evident; ✓✓ = moderately evident; ✓= slightly evident; X = not applicable).

	Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākēi	Te Aro Pa	Pukaki	Manga-tawa	Ngāti Hine-wera	Whare Ora	Ahi-para
Location	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Rural	Town	Rural
Return of members to land	✓✓✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	X	✓✓✓
Housing to support members	✓✓✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	X	✓✓
Co-ownership of housing	✓✓	X	✓✓	✓✓	X	X	✓✓✓
Housing affordability	✓✓✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓
Community facilities	✓✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓
Food source gardens	✓✓✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓
Urupa/cemetery	✓✓✓	X	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	X	X	✓✓✓
Job creation	✓✓	X	X	✓✓✓	X	✓	✓
High quality housing	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓	✓✓
Sustainable development	✓✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓✓
Community activities	✓✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓
Supportive Council plan	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓	✓	✓

creating a comprehensive development based on customary values and principles that will enhance the political, social, cultural, spiritual, environmental and economic conditions of the Ngāti Whātua community. This is now being facilitated by a Special Purpose Activity Zone within the Auckland District Plan (a plan change initiated by Ngāti Whātua) that facilitates tribal re-establishment on ancestral land and according to preferred tribal lifestyle. It recognises that Ngāti Whātua should be able to use its ancestral land in a manner that provides for tribal needs and aspirations.

In order to arrive at the development plan for the site, the Ngāti Whātua Trust Board ran 30 tribal meetings plus educative sessions and workshops. These established the planning process, the conceptual ideas, the preferred living environments, and the customary principles that would guide the development, including:

- Collaboration and cohesion: e.g. community facilities/amenities;
- Soul: e.g. orientation to important landmarks/ancestors;
- Hospitality: e.g. access to traditional food sources to enable generous hospitality;
- Membership: e.g. creation of places to reflect identity;
- Guardianship: e.g. restoration of waterways and natural areas; passive design;
- Self-determination: e.g. self-sufficiency within the development site.

The resulting development (which is under construction but not yet completed) includes apartments, clustered low rise town-houses (Figures 3 and 4), detached elders' housing, shared courtyards, orchards, shared vegetable gardens, home occupations, community buildings, play space, a health clinic, and a language immersion pre-school. Potentially, 6,000 member families will live on the site. New financial arrangements have been put in place to ensure tribe members can return to the location (many of whom will be first-time homeowners). Members who buy the houses will lease them for 150 years, with a tribe-based corporate system set up to run the development in place of New

Figure 3. Clustered low rise town-houses for tribe members.

Figure 4. Clustered town-houses that facilitate ease of community living.

Zealand's usual body corporate system. This is part of a goal to reinvigorate the location as the heart of the subtribal group/*hapū*.

What do we see as a result of development of this nature? We see an innovative interweaving of traditional and contemporary urban design. We see a reclaiming of Maori spatial narratives in the city. We can observe the re-establishing of the cultural presence of Maori in the city. Will non-Indigenous citizens notice the difference? They may recognise the difference in the process that is being used for governance and decision-making in the city. They may notice the difference in the principles and values that are driving some development in the city. They may appreciate the difference in the symbolism around the city – some overt art/sculpture is visible to all, but narratives behind certain design and landscaping may be subtle enough to remain known to only some. Does that matter? Not

all processes and outcomes need to be understood by everyone. But as an Indigenous group, being able to recognise your identity in the city is critical: that is, being able to be yourself and see yourself in the city. Nevertheless,

> Such Indigenous transformation also has implications for dominant society, which needs to be informed, even reformed, by the challenges emerging from the Indigenous world (Thompson-Fawcett & Quigg, 2017, p. 231).

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Universities Can Empower the Next Generation of Architects, Planners, and Landscape Architects in Indigenous Design and Planning

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Indigenous design and planning is informed by an emerging paradigm that uses a culturally responsive and value-based approach to community development. As generations of people have successively lived over time in the same place, they have evolved unique world-views. Adherence to values such as stewardship and land tenure has tempered the immediacy of exploitative practices and reactionary planning. Leadership balanced the immediacy of action (short term) with a comprehensive vision (long term). In the lifetime of an individual, it would not be unusual for the extended family to consist not only of the individual but three generations before and three generations after (known as the seven generational framework).

Indigenous communities have an additional need to make their projects culturally viable. Their contributions have too often been dismissed as inconsequential to the evolution of 'great' building traditions and settlements. Often relegated to anthropology and the study of quaint vernacular traditions, accomplishments in indigenous architecture and planning have been consigned to anonymity and obscurity.

Today, one of the greatest challenges that tribes face is to see their populations, especially their young people, shift away from their cultural traditions and towards urbanization. There is a heightened urgency to develop community environments suitable for retaining their cultural identity.

ID+Pi (Indigenous design + Planning Institute) was created in the Fall of 2011 in the School of Architecture and Planning, University of New Mexico, to counteract this. Its goal is to empower the next generation of architects, planners and landscape architects in indigenous design and planning. Only a handful of campuses across the world have begun to come to terms with the challenges that indigenous design and planning pose for the profession.

In many ways, our School is leading the charge. iD+Pi's activities include both technical assistance and education. It advocates for a design and planning curriculum that is informed by indigenous theory, practice, and research. In the past few years, courses in Indigenous Planning (IP), Planning for Tribal Lands, Navajo Design and Planning, Pueblo Design and Planning, and Indigenous Architecture have been offered. Beginning in the Fall 2016, a new graduate degree concentrating on Indigenous planning in Master of Community and Regional Planning (MCRP) was offered. The first four students in IP graduated in the Spring of 2017.

The School employs both adjunct and regular Indigenous faculty members. Over 30 native students at both the undergraduate and graduate levels are enrolled in the School. Presently, iD+Pi has finished or is wrapping up a wide array of projects. They include projects with Ysleta del Sur Pueblo (cultural corridor plan), Nambe Pueblo (historic plaza plan), Taos Pueblo (community comprehensive plan), Cochiti Pueblo (architecture and Keresan language project), Navajo Tourism Department (Navajo Chapter Chaco Canyon Tourism Plan), Santo Domingo Pueblo (Tribal Comprehensive Plan) and Zuni Pueblo (ArtPlace America, Zuni Main Street).

The latter is an outcome of the first Main Street project awarded to an Indian tribe in the nation. Its groundbreaking work was the outcome of an Advanced Planning Studio offered through the Community and Regional Planning program during the Fall of 2013. The studio was headed by three CRP faculty members (Professors Ted Jojola, Ric Richardson and Moises Gonzales) and involved 20 advance graduate planning students working closely with the newly established Pueblo of Zuni Main Street Board. This was followed with a Capstone Studio in the Fall of 2016 and a fourth Year Architectural Design-Build studio in the Spring of 2017 (Professors Buffy Suina and Francisco Uvina). The project will be completed in the Fall of 2017.

ID+Pi projects bring into focus the unique aspects of human settlements and the role of place-making in sustaining cultural identity. Many of the challenges deal with the role of economic development and local empowerment. Such projects introduce students to the evolution of tribal sovereign authority and protocol, especially as applied to local governance and infrastructure development. Such ground-breaking approaches have resulted in invitations to showcase projects at numerous conferences nationally and internationally.

ID+Pi's tribally based activities are intended to educate and empower faculty members, students, practitioners, and community leaders to establish culturally responsive community development. Indeed, we encourage students and practitioners, of any 'stripe or flavor,' to seek our services and participate in our activities and courses. Together, we hope to reclaim our abilities to shape and mould our communities in our way, for the betterment of everyone.

Notes

1. A master's degree specialization in the School of Community & Regional Planning at UBC.
2. The film draws its name from a Haida saying, "the world is as sharp as a knife" – that as we walk along we have to be careful not to fall off one side or the other. This is the world we live in – so close to nature, our lives always hanging in balance – one slip can change everything.

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