

Source:

Walker, Ryan; Jojola, Ted; & Natcher,

David. (2013) Reclaiming

Indigenous Planning.

McGill-Queen's University Press,

Montreal, Canada.

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Theorizing Indigenous Planning

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INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I explore various ideas and themes around the concept of what is now being termed "Indigenous planning." Theorizing Indigenous planning is potentially risky business. Any attempt to map out conceptual territory must be firmly hitched to analyses of it as a continually evolving practice by Indigenous peoples and communities around the world – in other words, planning by, rather than for these communities. As a "distinct" form of planning or indeed scholarly discipline, it might be deemed to be nascent in method and approach, however, it has been practiced since time immemorial. Its latest iteration is clearly a response to the violence of colonialism and a virulent racist discourse intent on exploiting, devaluing, oppressing, if not exterminating Indigenous peoples. Up ahead, it must weather attempts to destabilize and unsettle it, particularly as the colonial state and its apparatus continues to reinvent and redefine itself. Its ultimate aim must be to improve the lives and conditions of Indigenous people and "refuse" ongoing exploitation, oppression, and, in some cases, extinction. That said, the trick for Indigenous planning is to frame itself against the backdrop of a still virulent racist discourse but not get consumed by it. To do this requires a high degree of creativity, innovation, and reflexivity.

I begin by sketching out a tentative conceptual framework for Indigenous planning, its characteristics and what it might look like. I then establish a broader context for its evolution through chronological sequences. These are the various evolutionary phases that Indigenous peoples have continued to move in, through, and around as they negotiate their present(s) and futures across diverse cultural, temporal, and

spatial contexts. I then suggest an arrangement for its critical traditions. Indigenous planning must comprehend its history, its origins, where it might now be, and how its future as a legitimate, distinct form of planning could evolve. My objective is to show unashamedly that rather than "passive bystanders," Indigenous peoples have always been "active participants" in "their" planning. The problem has been the inability of the colonial-settler state and its progeny to accommodate it. Generally it hasn't. The latter part of this chapter loops back to a theoretical discussion about Indigenous planning as process and outcome. The conceptualizing continues through a working definition of Indigenous planning and an attempt to hitch theory to a set of approaches and methods. I conclude with a discussion about opportunities and challenges for the future.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR INDIGENOUS PLANNING

Planning is not just a word. It is also an imperial scholarly discipline and colonial practice located in the "West," around which much theoretical posturing and competing claims have accreted. As an activity, "planning" isn't owned by the West, its theorists, or practitioners. It just happens to be an English language descriptor for a universal human function with an abiding and justifiable concern for the future.

The critical questions for Indigenous peoples have always been: Whose future? Who decides what this future should or could look like? Who is doing the analysis and making the decisions? Who has the authority, the control, the final decision-making power? Whose values, ethics, concepts, and knowledge? Whose methods and approaches? What frameworks, institutions, and organizations are being used to guide the planning processes that most affect Indigenous peoples? Where are Indigenous peoples positioned in the construction of that future?

Until recently the locus of power and ultimate right to determine this future rested almost exclusively with colonizing non-Indigenous settler governments, either through the power of the musket or the power of law, policy, planning, and technology. Western/metropolitan planning has generally been complicit in the colonial project, a weapon brandished to erase/eradicate Indigenous peoples or at least contain them in rural enclaves or urban ghettos.

Already this points to key characteristics of Indigenous planning, including:

- A strong tradition of resistance, therefore commitment, to political change. Indigenous planning isn't just an armchair theoretical approach or set of methods and practices, but a political strategy aimed at improving the lives and environments of Indigenous peoples. To do Indigenous planning requires a commitment to political, social, economic, and environmental change.
- Indigenous planning has always existed. Indigenous communities pre-date colonialism and were planned according to their own traditions and sets of practices.
- Recognition that the central tenets of Indigenous planning are essentially community/kinship and place-based. It is a form of planning whose roots and traditions are grounded in specific Indigenous peoples' experiences linked to specific places, lands, and resources. In other words, planning within, for, and by the particular Indigenous community for the place they call theirs. Importantly, it isn't just spatial planning by Indigenous peoples, but has a much broader scope, focusing on the lives and environments of Indigenous peoples. To do Indigenous planning requires that it be done in/at the place *with* the people of that place.

Rather than get caught in the crossfire about whose or what planning theories count, planning "in human terms" is ultimately about the future – whether land-use planning; environmental planning; resource planning; or its recent, more enlightened descendants, collaborative, decentralised, community-based, feminist planning et al. While it has a future orientation that looks at where "we" are now and where "we" might want to be in the future, it must fully be informed by "our" past and critically how that past has constructed the present.

Indigenous people have had to respond/react to the systematic and institutionalized application of colonial practices whose primary aim has been to eradicate them. These were as varied as they were violent across different Indigenous communities. They ranged from the active/aggressive – warfare, death, disease, cultural genocide, territorial conquest, geographic displacement, and population "swamping" through settler occupation – to the more passive/aggressive eradication through imposed law, policy, planning, regulation, top-down authority, dependency, and imposition of private property.

All human communities plan, and as I have signalled already it is critical that Indigenous peoples define the word "plan" for themselves.

Therefore, for planning to be Indigenous, Māori, Aboriginal, or First Nations, it is reasonable to assume it will be done according to Indigenous analyses, frameworks, values, and processes. Indigenous planning implies a claiming and "naming" of the word by Indigenous people. It embraces the adoption/recovery of an Indigenous vernacular or idiom to describe it, give it form and to reflect a local Indigenous community history, reality, and experience. The "naming" of Indigenous planning needs to include, identify, and be contextualized to:

- the people or community (i.e., tribe, mob, clan, nation, iwi, or hapu);
- their space, place, environment, and resources (i.e., their traditional/custodial territories and resources, including foreshore and seabed);
- their knowledge, values, concepts, and worldviews;
- their practices, approaches, methods, and institutions.

Expanded out, four of the essential components of Indigenous planning include:

- The existence of a group of people, such as a tribe, mob, clan, or nation, linked by ancestry and kinship connections.
- The notion of an inextricable link and association with traditionally prescribed custodial territory that the group claims as theirs, i.e., lands, waters, resources, and environments, irrespective of current title.
- The concept of an accumulated knowledge system about the place, environment, resources, and its history, including values or ethics for managing interactions with the place, environment, or land.
- The existence of a culturally distinct set of practices and approaches, including approaches to making decisions and applying these to actions and activity agreed by the kinship group or community through various institutional arrangements.

To better understand its contemporary shape both as a planning tradition with its own form and focus, and a planning approach with its own sets of methodologies, I will now discuss a chronology or periodicity of Indigenous planning.

A CHRONOLOGY OF (MĀORI) INDIGENOUS PLANNING

Any attempt to construct a chronology of Indigenous planning as a tradition must acknowledge a number of major epochs in the history of

Indigenous peoples and the impact of colonialism. Indigenous responses to colonialism through the colonial era and across different geographic contexts and communities have been temporally and spatially varied. However, a number of themes continue to dominate.

I will illustrate the nature of these colonizing practices/tendencies via reference to specific examples from the New Zealand context. Clearly my experience of Indigenous planning is grounded in local Māori experience. While the local or national might form part of an international Indigenous context with similar themes, global experiences are essentially an aggregate of local encounters. Ultimately, it's the local context that counts.

First among these was a rapacious desire on the part of settler governments that continues to this day for the traditional lands, waters, and resources of Indigenous peoples.

The most recent example in the New Zealand context is ongoing contestation over ownership of the coastal foreshore and seabed. Māori have always claimed ownership of New Zealand's foreshore and seabed based on customary title, historical rights of occupation, and guarantees provided by the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840. In 2004 the New Zealand Parliament enacted the Foreshore and Seabed Act, deeming its title to be held by the Crown. While the Act was subsequently repealed by the 2011 Marine and Coastal Area (*Takutai Moana*) Act, the coastline was not confirmed to Māori but rather put into the "public domain," meaning no one owns it. Māori now have to prove customary title through the courts via a series of stringent legal tests. The majority of *iwi* (Māori tribes) are of the view that the 2011 Act makes no tangible difference to the earlier confiscation of their coastal foreshore and seabed. The right to express *mana* over these areas remains their fundamental objective.

Secondly, the industrial-scale seizure of resources was further buttressed by the rapid introduction of colonial technologies, i.e., private property rights, surveying, land-use planning, mapping, and rural and urban planning aimed at consolidating and legitimating the land/resource grab.

In the New Zealand context the original, still lingering example is the Native (now Māori) Land Court established by the settler government in 1865. The unambiguous aim of the court was to convert Māori customary land from communal to individual title. The court required no more than ten owners to be nominated per block, irrespective of the size of the block or numbers of beneficial owners. This completely undermined Māori approaches to land ownership and succession, making it

easier to sell to the new settlers. In the 1860s, approximately 80 per cent of the North Island was owned/held by Māori. By 1865, the Crown and NZ Company had "purchased" all but 1 per cent of the South Island. By the early 1900s Māori held only 27 per cent of the North Island and by 2000, as little as 4 per cent of land in New Zealand remained in Māori ownership. The Native Land Court continues to this day.

Thirdly, the colonial enterprise systematically excluded Indigenous peoples from the various decision, planning, and management processes over their lands and resources.

Again, in the New Zealand context, the most recent example is conflict and debate over Māori representation on the new Auckland City Council, the country's largest city. Auckland was originally built on land gifted in the 1800s by the local tribe, Ngati Whatua, and is now home to the largest population of Māori in New Zealand. In 2009 and recognizing treaty rights, a Royal Commission recommended the creation of three electoral seats for Māori on a council of twenty-three. The Auckland "super" city was eventually created in 2010 by amalgamating seven of the region's city/district authorities. However, legislation that created the super city effectively rejected the creation of Māori electorates and specific Māori representation. Finally, colonialism as a project then successfully eradicated and erased the "materiality and memory" of Indigenous communities through a combination of if not extermination, then at least absorption, assimilation, community vaporization leading to invisibility, and the progressive marginalization of the remnants of these communities to a peripheral assemblage of enclaves, reserves, and ghettos.

Ironically, the recent Christchurch/Canterbury earthquakes of September 2010 and February 2011, now sees a colonial city coping with ruptures to its own materiality and memory. Christchurch has always prided itself on its Englishness but is now confronting its own tragedy, loss of lives, buildings, monuments, cathedrals, street patterns, urban landscape, and the familiar. The local tribe, Ngai Tahu, is not only taking a leadership role in the recovery of Christchurch but also negotiating its own re-inclusion in the city.

In New Zealand, as in most countries colonized by settler governments such as Australia, Canada, and the USA, the materiality (i.e., physical quality, presence, and structure) and memory (i.e., recall of experience, even existence) of Indigenous communities has generally been erased. In the cities it was replaced with imperial monuments, colonial buildings, colonial cathedrals, colonial gardens, and colonial city patterns modelled

on the "old world" and the mother country. In the New Zealand context, many cities were "designed" in England and simply migrated with the new settlers and dropped on the landscape to create a new home away from home. The countryside saw Indigenous biota cleared, native land carved up and replaced with farm lots for the new settlers. The aim was to remove any material evidence/reminder and memory of Indigenous communities, their places, sites, resources, and villages, and replace it with a new colonial order, ultimately creating a "new" materiality and memory for/of settler communities. Indigenous communities who survived/remained were either marginalized to "reserves" on the urban fringe between city and country and in a way neither "here" nor "there," or progressively engulfed or resettled in urban ghettos.

Therefore, understanding the archaeology of the city and country, "accepting" its Indigenous and colonial history, and facilitating a more nuanced reading of its multi-layered materiality and memory through architecture, planning, urban design, and environmental management, is arguably the greatest challenge for spatial planners and urban designers today.

TRADITIONS OF INDIGENOUS PLANNING

The aim of the colonial project has always been to clear the way for the settler state, its citizens, and economy. Planning has generally been complicit in this enterprise, providing the intellectual, conceptual, and technical skills to facilitate the scorched earth clearance of Indigenous people. Therefore "it" has a responsibility not only to confront its own complicity but aid the recovery and re-inclusion of Indigenous communities in what is now largely "shared" though nonetheless misappropriated space.

Taking colonialism as a key reference point, Indigenous planning must perceive its own historicity. Within this, three traditions seem to stand out, which for chronological convenience I refer to as classic, resistance, and resurgence.

The Classic Tradition encompasses the pre-colonial contact phase of Indigenous planning, based on traditional Indigenous worldviews and approaches to environmental management. The Resistance Tradition is reflective of the post-"colonial contact" phase of Indigenous planning, dominant from contact through to the 1970s, and generally characterized by active and passive Indigenous resistance to the aggressive hegemony of settler governments. The Resurgence Tradition on the other hand,

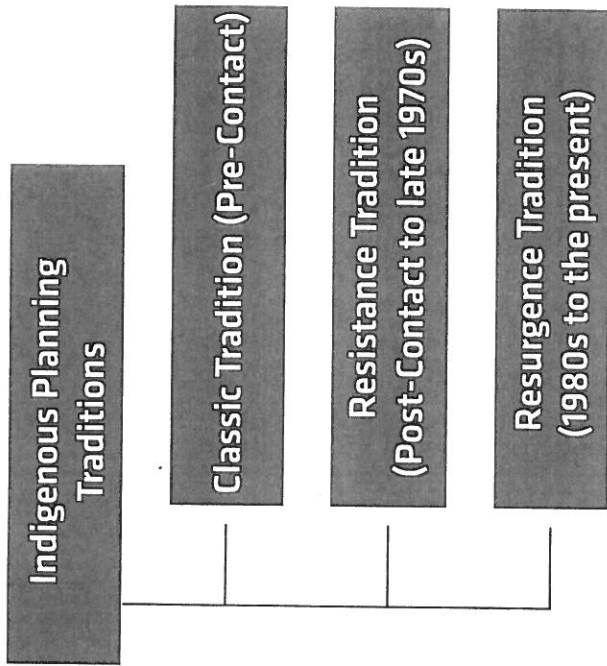


Figure 1.1 Traditions of Indigenous planning

embodies the period of Indigenous planning that emerged generally in the 1980s as a response to local Indigenous peoples' protests, particularly over loss of lands and resources and increasing environmental degradation, coupled with globalization of the Indigenous rights movement.

Classic Traditions of Indigenous Planning (Pre-Contact)

Pre-contact, pre-colonial approaches to managing the environment and interactions between humans and the natural world were based on traditional knowledge, worldviews, and values. It used traditional approaches, processes, and institutional arrangements to implement decisions – including environmental decisions – and to determine appropriate resource use and allocation. Generally “uninfluenced” by external forces outside the kinship grouping, this tradition consolidated the notion of place and kinship-based planning, interconnections between humans and their environment, and the importance of planning within and for the natural world.

Resistance Traditions of Indigenous Planning (Post-Contact to the 1970s)

The resistance traditions of Indigenous planning were a reaction to the ravages of colonization, the assertion of private (over tribal collective) property rights, and introduction of colonial technologies, i.e., surveying, mapping, and urban and regional planning to remove Indigenous communities from their lands and environment.

During this phase the aim of colonial governments was to look after settler interests and remove evidence of Indigenous peoples. If they weren't exterminated, they were marginalized to rural enclaves, contained on reserves, or transported to and engulfed in “new” urban ghettos. Generally, “white was right.” Urban design and city form through colonial buildings, monuments, and parks became a visual buttress for colonial power. In the countryside, rural form reflected the dominance of settler development, particularly farming interests.

Misappropriation of Indigenous lands and resources was further entrenched through exclusion from the machinery of local, regional, and generally central government. During this phase, Indigenous communities were not only removed from their lands and resources, but had their lifeline to colonial decision-making processes, governance, management, and planning severed. In short, Indigenous peoples were either structured out of existence or, if they survived, herded to rural or urban wastelands away from the gaze of the settler state and its beneficiaries.

Post-contact approaches to planning and managing Indigenous communities and environments retained as much of the characteristics of classical Indigenous planning as the politics of resistance and political advocacy allowed. The planning was often covert and subversive. Generally it was carried out in the enclaves or on the reserves to which Indigenous communities had been marginalized, but with a constant vigil over custodial/traditional lands and resources long ago or more recently alienated.

In the New Zealand context the end of this era coincided with a series of significant actions by Māori that irrevocably altered the dynamics of Māori-government relations, and with that the political landscape of the country. They included the creation in 1975 of the Waitangi Tribunal (to hear Māori tribal claims about Crown/government breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi), the Māori Land March of 1975 (protesting over the continued loss and alienation of Māori lands and natural resources), and

the occupation of Bastion Point in 1977–78. These “actions” symbolized the genesis of the modern Māori renaissance movement.

The Waitangi Tribunal, established under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, was a direct result of ongoing Māori protest about Crown/government breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi 1840, which promised Māori protection of their lands, resources, and decision-making authority. The tribunal’s responsibility was to investigate actions or omissions of the Crown since 1975 and recommend to the government redress for any grievances. In 1985 the tribunal’s jurisdiction was extended back to 1840. By March 2009 the tribunal had produced over one hundred tribunal reports (Waitangi Tribunal 2011).

In the same year, the Māori Land March became a potent symbol for the struggle by Māori to hold on to whatever land remained in Māori ownership. While the focus of the Waitangi Tribunal was on regaining what had been lost, the emphasis of the Māori Land March was holding onto what little of the original resource base remained in Māori ownership. The march of 1975 saw hundreds of Māori protestors and their supporters trek the more than one thousand kilometres from the top of the North Island to the bottom, ending at parliament buildings in Wellington.

The Bastion Point occupation was another seminal event in the history of the modern Māori protest movement. The thirteen acres of land situated on a promontory overlooking the Waitemata Harbour in central Auckland was taken by the Crown for defence purposes in the 1880s. In the 1940s the land was no longer required for defence and rather than being returned to the original Māori owners, the Ngāti Whatua tribe was “gifted” to the Auckland City Council for reserve purposes. By the 1970s Bastion Point was prime real estate close to the Auckland city business district. Rather than offering it back to Ngāti Whatua, the Crown announced that it would now be selling it on the open market to the highest bidder for high-cost housing. This precipitated a peaceful 507-day occupation of the site by the tribe and its supporters. The occupation was eventually terminated in May 1978, with their forcible removal from the site by the New Zealand police and army (Waitangi Tribunal 1987).

Importantly, this phase also coincided in New Zealand with the passage of the Town and Country Planning Act in 1977. For the first time in any New Zealand planning statute the relationship between Māori people, their culture, and traditions with their ancestral lands was deemed a matter of national planning importance.

Importantly during the latter part of this phase the notion of Indigenous planning as a political strategy requiring both active and passive resistance and a commitment to political change took hold. It created the space for more overt displays of Indigenous planning as an approach quite distinct and separate from the national planning system. The notion that colonized countries had a duality in their planning that needed to be recognized and provided for also gained fledgling currency. In other words, Indigenous communities had been doing their planning all along – “mainstream” planning had just not “seen it” let alone provide for it. That said, the concept of a dual planning heritage – one grounded in Indigenous communities and the other in the colonial settler state – entered the planning equation.

Resurgent Traditions of Indigenous Planning (Beginning in the 1980s)

What I term the resurgent traditions of Indigenous planning coincided in the 1980s with increasing levels of Indigenous peoples’ protest at a local and national, but increasingly international, level. Principally it was over the historic theft, ongoing misappropriation, and environmental degradation of traditional resources, i.e., lands, estates, forests, fisheries. Increasingly though, it centred on exclusionary practices in decision and planning processes for these resources. Critically, the resurgent tradition highlighted the causal nexus between alienation from the material resource and exclusion from settler state planning processes about the resource.

Across the globe a plethora of local and national cases was being taken to various tribunals, judicial fora, courts, and national governments, generally protesting land and resource grievances but also settler state abdication of Indigenous rights.

For instance, Māori grievances in the 1985 Manukau Harbour Claim centred on a number of major themes, such as environmental degradation of the harbour and surrounding environs, and loss of lands, estates, and other resources, such as fisheries. Importantly, it also highlighted the ongoing exclusion of iwi/Māori participation from planning for these resources. The claim eventually precipitated a comprehensive review of New Zealand’s environmental legislation leading to the passage of the Resource Management Act in 1991 and improved recognition of Indigenous rights and values (Waitangi Tribunal 1987).

Local and national advocacy by/for Indigenous communities expanded rapidly to the international context. In 1982 the United Nations officially

acknowledged Indigenous peoples with the establishment of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations to develop international standards concerning Indigenous rights. This was quickly followed by the UN Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations in 1985, adoption of the ILO Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries in 1989, International Year of the World's Indigenous People in 1993 and two separate International Decades of the World's Indigenous People (1995–2004 and 2005–2014) (United Nations 2009, 2–3).

Critically for Indigenous peoples locally and internationally also came the recognition that expressions of Indigenous self-determination and its attendant social, economic, cultural, political, and environmental aspirations needed to be more explicitly codified. This has meant the need to “uncover,” prescribe, even create a range of iterative Indigenous planning processes, approaches, practices, and tools to underpin the dual process of internal self-definition and expression, and external advocacy with the settler state and its planning systems.

Local New Zealand Māori examples of these include tribal (*iwi*) management plans – as written expressions of tribal authority (*rangatiratanga*) and tribal stewardship and guardianship (*kaitiakitanga*), and increasing use of cultural impact assessments to gauge impacts of policies, plans, and development proposals on Indigenous communities.

Crucially, the resurgent tradition highlights the importance of retaining its own distinct tradition, history, contemporary identity, and practice as Indigenous planning, while at the same time developing the capability and indeed tools to advocate, negotiate, and mediate across the planning divide with “mainstream” Western planning.

INDIGENOUS PLANNING AS A PROCESS

Indigenous planning is in one sense a process, approach, or indeed activity that links specific Indigenous communities to defined ancestral places, environments, and resources. While this connection provides both the biological and spatial foundation for Indigenous planning, all attendant cultural, social, economic, even political threats and opportunities arising from this connection come firmly within its purview. It uses Indigenous (and other) knowledge, both traditional and contemporary, to make decisions highly contextual to that community, located within its worldview, set of beliefs and values system, how it sees itself and its future. Clarity of logic or rationale between decisions and specific actions and activities is critical. Ultimately the test is whether the action or activity

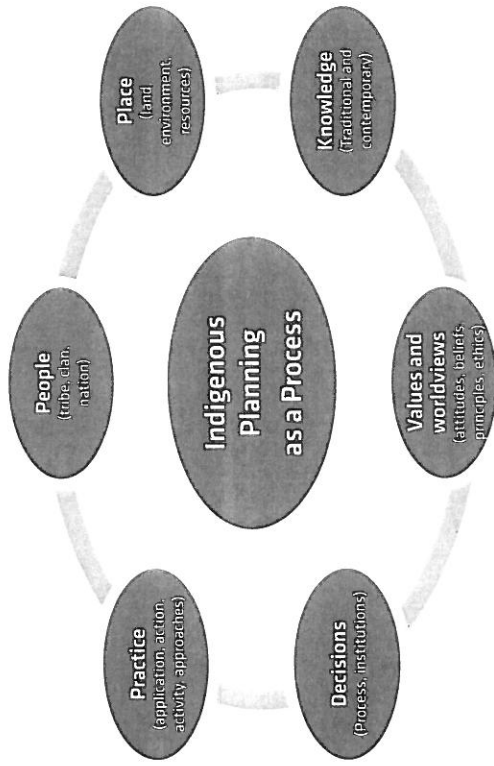


Figure 1.2 Indigenous planning as a process

leads to an enhanced state of well-being off/for the Indigenous community concerned, or indeed undermines pursuit of that goal.

The People

Although the prevailing view seems to mitigate against singular, universal definitions as too open or closed, “Indigenous peoples” is generally taken to mean communities, groups, and individuals descended from the original populations resident in a country. Other descriptors include tribal peoples, Aboriginals, Natives, First Nations, or fourth world communities.

For Indigenous planning, the “people” are the first peoples of “that place,” in other words, the present-day descendants of ancestors who have lived in that place prior to colonization/invasion by a foreign power since time immemorial.

In some respects it is more helpful to outline “elements” of Indigenousity, including pre-existence, non-dominance, cultural difference, self-

identification as Indigenous, close attachment to ancestral territories and natural resources, an Indigenous language distinct from a "national" language, and customary social or political institutions (Hitchcock 1994, 4).

That said, the most universally accepted definition seems to be:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which have a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system (United Nations 2009, 4).

What this definition infers rather than states explicitly is that Indigenous peoples also continue to be among the most marginalized, oppressed, discriminated against, poverty-stricken, dispossessed, and exploited communities in the world today. That this oppression is in/on the lands, territories, and countries that were once theirs adds an ironic urgency to the task of rebuilding and strengthening Indigenous communities across all indices of human development.

In this context Indigenous planning must have as its fundamental aim, the construction of theory, practice, and methodologies to "plan" these communities out of this state and in so doing refuse/reject their continued oppression.

Their Place

Indigenous planning is "place-based," therefore identifying which Indigenous community has the right or responsibility to do the planning will be geographically varied and depend on the issue, its scope, scale, spatial boundaries, and potential to negatively or positively affect the community. In one context the "community" might be a national Indigenous entity. More likely it will be a regional, local, site-specific community, or indeed various combinations of all. Across a national context it could extend to aggregations of Indigenous communities (e.g.,

tribes, clans, mobs, or nations), be based around a singular community (e.g., tribe), or indeed sector within a community (e.g., subtribe).

The notion of "place" must also be conceptualized against the colonial backdrop of misappropriation. "Their place" applies not just to what little might remain in the communities' legal title but also contested territory, lands, waters, and resources stolen or excised during the colonial era. Therefore the spatial parameters of Indigenous planning go potentially as far out as the boundaries of traditional pre-contact territory.

In this context, the notion of an affected, relevant, or appropriate Indigenous "community of interest" will often be the subject of protracted inter- and intra-Indigenous discussion and negotiation. In many cases though, it will be generally accepted that a particular Indigenous community "owns" the right/responsibility to plan the space because it is indisputably theirs, if not legally then at least morally.

Their Knowledge

Access to relevant knowledge that is deemed appropriate for the particular purpose and "accepted" as legitimate by that Indigenous community forms the bedrock of "good" Indigenous planning. A significant corpus of literature is now available on Indigenous knowledge as a distinct and legitimate epistemology with its own form, coherence, and justification. That said, Indigenous traditional knowledge can be defined as

the complex bodies and systems of knowledge, know-how and practices and representations maintained and managed by Indigenous peoples around the world, drawing on a wealth of experiences and interaction with the natural environment and transmitted orally from one generation to the next. It tends to be collectively owned whether taking the form of stories, songs, beliefs customary laws and artwork or scientific agricultural technical and ecological knowledge and the skills to implement these knowledges (United Nations 2009, 64).

Indigenous languages and idiom are also critical conductors of Indigenous-centric knowledge encompassing worldviews, concepts, values, and beliefs, even institutional frameworks and practices. They provide an essential buttress for self-definition and self-expression – defining what is important to that community, why, and how it should/could be expressed in their planning. While much has been retained in the oral

archive, much has also been lost during colonialism and is now in the process of being recovered. As critical identity markers and repositories of traditional knowledge about events, people, history, and relationships, Indigenous place names also have a central role in this recovery.

Importantly, this knowledge is also subject to new and evolving interpretation as Indigenous communities continue the very human process of contextualizing traditional knowledge across a range of diverse and previously unpredicted settings. Increasingly, "other" knowledge systems including science, social science, and technology are being co-opted by Indigenous communities. That said, Indigenous planning must equip itself with the best knowledge to hand – whether Indigenous knowledge, traditional ecological knowledge, Western science, or technology. The aim should be knowledge collaboration rather than competition, and alliance rather than combat. Equally, oppositional, binary distinctions between tradition and modernity are unnecessary and should be removed. Indigenous knowledge exists on a temporal continuum of ongoing contextualizing and adaptation by the community. The community alone has the right to determine relevance and epistemic coherence.

Unhelpful knowledge hierarchies should also be rejected. Ultimately it's the Indigenous community's right and responsibility to reconcile the traditional with the modern, determine the appropriate blend of traditional knowledge and its descendants "fit for purpose," and indeed the place/relevance of other knowledges, from across the universal pantheon of knowledge systems.

Their Values and Worldviews

Indigenous worldviews and values are based on a deep and abiding physical and spiritual connection as kinfolk with their place, land, territories, environment, and resources since time immemorial. These worldviews and underlying values reinforce the inextricable link that exists between the community and, via the medium of ancestral land, their ancestors. Of that there is no doubt. Therefore, maintaining and/or re-establishing these links lies at the core of Indigeneity and therefore Indigenous planning.

That said, a wide range of factors from introduced colonial religions and technologies to social contact and miscegenation have had significant impacts on Indigenous communities, resulting in various degrees of syncretization of beliefs. These have had to be negotiated, mediated, and more often than not, fought over to protect the essence of Indigeneity.

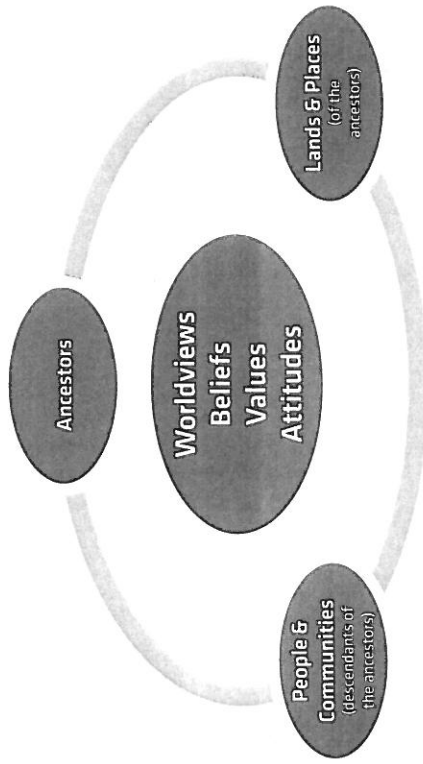


Figure 1.3 Core connections in Indigenous planning

Today, despite continual challenges to their veracity, the deep structure of Indigenous worldviews remains remarkably intact, still predicated on the fundamental causal link between people/communities and the places/spaces of *their* ancestors. These worldviews continue to be articulated, revised, and even reinterpreted through a combination of extant Indigenous practice and custom, fused with community values and attitudes to each other, their lands, and natural environment.

The theft and desecration of these lands and places has had a profoundly devastating effect on Indigenous communities. These continue to ripple out across all other indices of social, economic, and even cultural deprivation. Poverty, racism, marginalization, material and psychological dislocation are now critical signifiers in the Indigenous planning vernacular. While at its core, Indigenous planning must retain its place-based, spatial orientation, ancestral land is "merely" the fulcrum around which all other aspects of social, economic, and cultural development pivot.

Their Decisions

Indigenous approaches to decision making cannot be separated from the social structure of these communities or their political and administrative institutions. Neither can they be divorced from the lands, environ-

ments, even relationships and experiences that define these communities. However, the critical question is, which institutional arrangement has the responsibility/burden/right to make "the" decision and on what basis do they claim that right.

The principle context for Indigenous decision making is still largely the local community (i.e., tribe, subtribe, extended family). Specific issues, opportunities, and threats to Indigenous places, resources, and people are most immediately prevalent at the local level. That said, "local" Indigenous planning – hence decision making – should also position itself within the broader context of Indigenous coalition building at the regional and, where needed, the national level as a hedge against the hegemony of the settler state.

A number of common themes permeate Indigenous decision making, including:

- A determination to strive for general consensus/agreement within the affected group. This takes time and depending on the complexity of the issue often requires extensive discussion and debate to build trust within the group.
- Critical references to core traditional values to guide the decision process and assess the veracity of outcomes, including protecting future generations; protecting the land and environment from harmful, irreversible effects; enhancing the well-being of the community and strengthening community cohesion through reciprocity. These values often need to be mediated, reconciled, even reinterpreted, but never abandoned.
- Access to traditional knowledge unique to the group to underpin decisions, but also drawing on other knowledge systems to enhance the viability of any decision.
- Leadership from within the group. Leaders are generally chosen through a combination of skill, experience, knowledge, proven effectiveness, and ancestry. The ability to unite the group to a common purpose is a critical quality of sustained, effective leadership.
- The importance of the wisdom of Elders. Elders are generally the repositories of group knowledge, values, practices, and history. Importantly, through their assent, consent, or indeed dissent they provide a cultural and ethical check for decision processes and outcomes.
- The importance of being a good host. Hospitality, reciprocity, and conducting decision processes and meetings according to accepted

cultural protocols are essential precursors to quality decision making and sustainable decisions.

Their Practice

Clearly, once decisions are made they need to be acted on. Community leaders, including Elders, specialists, and/or delegates are generally "guardians" of the decisions, manage them on behalf of the community, and activate them through practices and approaches adjudged to be culturally valid and appropriate. There are countless examples today of Indigenous practices that have their basis in tradition but continue to be used as mechanisms for implementing community decisions. These practices are most readily reflected in various approaches to land and resource management that are quite unique. In many respects, they could only ever have arisen from a worldview and value system that continually reaffirms the deep physical and spiritual connection the community has with "its" place and environments.

In the New Zealand Māori context, one such example is the practice of *rahui*. *Rahui* can be used to regulate specific natural resources (e.g., stretch of land, bush, waterway) that might be under threat from pollution or overuse. *Rahui* "withdraws" the specific resource from everyday usage for a defined period of time until it is no longer polluted or has been replenished.

Again, the colonial context has created a "tricky" situation where internally derived decisions cannot simply be activated but must be shepherded to appropriate action through a parallel and often highly convoluted and complex dual planning system. In this context, Indigenous communities must be well versed in the political art/act of facilitating implementation of their planning decisions through to agreed practice. The community might have "control" over its internal planning processes and be able to use both customary and contemporary Indigenous practice to implement its decisions. However mainstream planning is ultimately controlled by the settler state and therefore able to wield its hegemonic influence as it wishes.

In this dual context, Indigenous decisions must have an internal coherence that is consistent with Indigenous values, worldviews, and processes. They must also be externalized to the settler state and its planning apparatus through political influence, mediation, negotiation, and advocacy. The ability to use Western legal processes adeptly and skilfully, often against the state and "its" national, regional, and district planning

systems, is critical to affirming Indigenous decisions and facilitating the pursuit of any desired outcome.

INDIGENOUS PLANNING AS AN OUTCOME

Indigenous planning is not just a rudderless or directionless process meandering aimlessly through a set of processes, protocols, and rituals, however. Even "good" processes can potentially lead to "bad" decisions. Indigenous planning must therefore drive towards a series of environmental, social, economic, cultural, even political outcomes aimed at improving the present(s) and futures of Indigenous communities and their environments.

Under the broader rubric of self-determination this brings me to what I consider to be the five critical aims or indeed preferred outcomes of/for Indigenous planning. These are:

- improved environmental quality and quantity;
- political autonomy and advocacy;
- social cohesion and well-being;
- economic growth and distribution;
- cultural protection and enhancement.

Indigenous planning as a process needs to strive for balance across the five dimensions. In pursuit of these aims, it also needs to negotiate, discuss, debate, and mediate "internally" (i.e., within the group) the difficult terrain between tradition and modernity. Critically this is an "internal" discussion for Indigenous peoples and communities to have in specific places, in their own way and own time. It is their discourse and importantly not a canvas on which to post outdated Rousseauvian fantasies about Indigenous peoples and the land. Indigenous peoples cannot risk "their" planning being misappropriated into someone else's metaphor about Indigeneity and being Native. That said, Western planning needs to create the space within "its" planning for internalized Indigenous dialogue to occur.

I have been saying this for some time

Environmental Quality and Quantity

There is an ethic or duty of care to the land, its resource, and environments, particularly those located within the traditional territories of the group. By definition, Indigenous planning is placed-based and implies a

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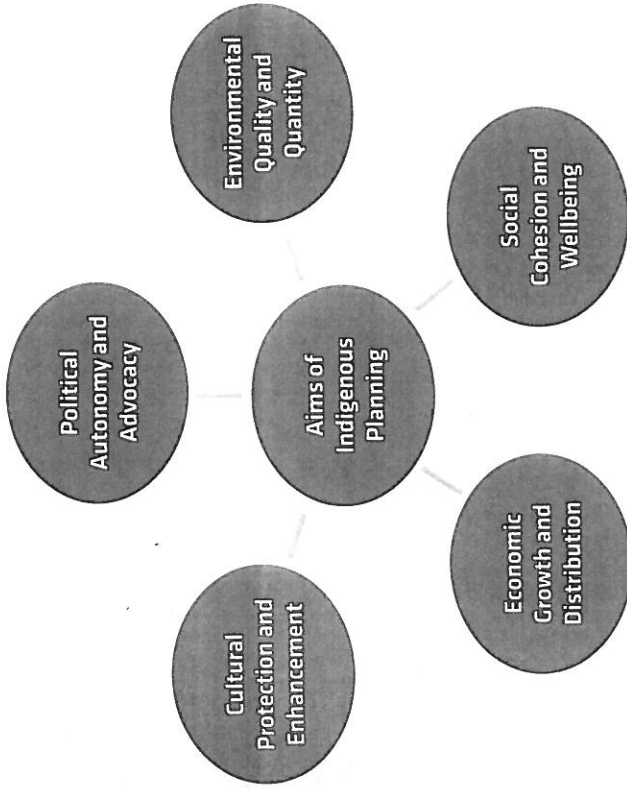


Figure 1.4 Indigenous planning as an outcome

long and close association, therefore knowledge of the specific environment and what it can sustain. Resources tend to be communally-owned and relationships (since time immemorial) exist with specific places. Indigenous planning should strengthen, nurture, and consolidate these relationships, protect the resource for future generations, and be symbiotic rather than parasitic (i.e., use not abuse). Critical questions arise, such as: How is this relationship being expressed in planning, resource use, development, and even design? Is the relationship with the resource constructive or destructive? How can Indigenous communities balance important social and economic priorities with environmental objectives?

As suggested, there are also perils in "defaulting" to the position of environmental conscience of the nation, but otherwise still landless and destitute. Indigenous communities must define what "a duty of care" means appropriate to their specific context, rather than risk it being

imposed externally by others, usually more economically privileged. Therefore the notion of "environmental quality" also has its context. And, the community, with considerable wisdom and caution must weight these against other social and economic priorities that it, and not others, set.

Indigenous planning should also strive for the return back to its traditional owners of lands and resources, historically or more recently alienated through the colonial process. While this should be a key operating principle, it might also open up other opportunities for co-management and collaboration with the settler government around agreed sets of management principles, approaches, and environmental outcomes. After all, the contemporary resource base is generally only a minute fraction of what it once was. Therefore the emphasis on environmental quality should also be matched with processes to secure re-appropriation of lands and resources "stolen" from the community.

Social Cohesion and Well-Being

Commitment to the group and improving the well-being of the kinship community are paramount. Consensus-based decision making upholds the sovereignty of the group rather than the individual. Therefore, decisions about appropriate resource use and allocation to enhance social well-being need, where possible, to be determined by community consensus. Importantly, the kinship group must be empowered to define the nature of "their" well-being and any associated social priorities.

Indigenous planning should strive for social cohesion within the group; aim to improve well-being across all social indices, including housing, health, welfare, and education; and (as a benchmark) social equity with non-Indigenous communities. The notion of social cohesion and well-being must be measured against the communities' own derivation of priorities and aspirations. Social indicators and preferred outcomes also need to be set by that community, rather than externally prescribed and applied.

Political Autonomy and Advocacy

The pursuit of political autonomy and power-sharing with the state – including planning agencies – are also critical aims of Indigenous planning. So too is the right to be self-determining, self-defining, and to have

collective agency. Across specific social and economic settings this notion extends to the right of Indigenous communities always to determine what is most appropriate for their situation and their context. The ability to utilize both endogenous (i.e., Indigenous) approaches and models, and exogenous (i.e., Western and other models), and adapt traditional models to a modern context is itself an expression of self-determination but also resilience of these communities.

Indigenous planning strives for improved, more equitable participation by Indigenous peoples in local, regional, and national politics and planning. It should also seek out reciprocal two-way relationships to realize the potential for Indigenous communities to manage not only their own affairs, but increasingly those of their mainstream neighbours. Indigenous planning isn't therefore just a theoretical position or approach but also a political strategy for invoking change.

Economic Growth and Distribution

Reclamation of traditional lands and resources coupled with the capacity to develop those resources is a critical plank in the pursuit of economic growth. The historic theft of natural and cultural assets during the colonial era has had a profoundly negative impact on Indigenous economies. During the period from first contact, these economies were either destroyed or severely arrested. Most are still in recovery. A critical part of that recovery is the return of what amounts to a minute fraction of the original resource, coupled, where possible, with financial compensation to rebuild the economy. An asset base on which to re-grow the economy, leading to improved social well-being and enhanced future economic viability, is critical.

Consistent with a philosophy which is highly redistributive, the benefits of economic growth should accrue back to the traditional owners of that resource. Therefore, Indigenous planning aims to redistribute the benefits of resource use and allocation equitably across the group, but also acknowledge and reward individual effort and enterprise. Again, definitions of sustainable development, economic growth, and sustainable management of the resource base need to be determined internally rather than externally imposed. Processes for fine-tuning the balance between economic development, social well-being, and indeed environmental protection are also an essential part of the armoury of Indigenous planning.

Cultural Protection and Enhancement

A multitude of concepts, ideas, and definitions about culture, its characteristics, and what it might mean now exist. One of the unifying characteristics is expressed in the tautology that culture applies to the collective identity of a group, and the characteristics and qualities that make a group distinctive. At one level of abstraction culture implies the norms, characteristics, and qualities that make Indigenous people – Indigenous as distinct from the “mainstream” majority, exotic, or immigrant populations. This distinction arises out of a shared national (and even international) history and experience of colonization – the attendant loss of life, lands, and resources, but also social and psychological effects of these experiences through subsequent generations.

At the level most relevant to Indigenous planning, culture connotes the unseen, unique world views, beliefs, and values that underpin Indigenous thinking and behaviour, attitudes to each other and the environment, and at its essence, what it means to be human. These qualities achieve visibility through Indigenous practices, institutions, ceremony, customs, languages, and distinctive idiom – even dress and bodily adornment that they portray, represent and even re-present. Implicit in this is the notion that the “unseen” can be re-interpreted and the “seen” re-expressed across a variety of spatial and temporal contexts while keeping their inherent structure and overall coherence intact. Clearly cultural protection and enhancement of Indigenous communities, and the very qualities that make them unique, must be a critical goal of Indigenous planning.

Support from Within the Community of Planners

In addition to broad goals for Indigenous self-determination, Indigenous planning should also expressly advocate and seek support from the local and national planning community for:

- Greater control over local, regional, and national planning processes, particularly those that continue to exert legal and regulatory influence over Indigenous communities.
- Improved utilization of Indigenous knowledge, concepts, approaches, and practices in “mainstream” planning and management. This does not mean redefining these concepts but rather accommodating and providing a place for them in planning.

- Improved socio-economic status for the Indigenous community. “Refusing” intergenerational poverty, dispossession, and displacement, and redressing the ravages of colonization should be a priority item on any mainstream planning agenda.
- Reclamation of traditional lands and resources. As already discussed, without their lands and natural resources, Indigenous communities do not have a “place to stand” and be Indigenous. Indigenous peoples are inextricably bound to their ancestral lands and environments. While reclamation is generally the preferred option, there are other forms of reclamation or association, such as co-management, collaborative management, or management by objective.

INDIGENOUS PLANNING AS A TRADITION AND METHODOLOGY

In its contemporary context, the primary aim of Indigenous planning is to improve the lives and environments of Indigenous peoples. Taking account of discussion so far, suitable working definitions could include Indigenous peoples analyzing their situation, making choices, and implementing decisions about their resources, their land, environments, and places – using their knowledge, values, practices, and approaches to enhance their collective social, economic, and cultural well-being. Or in rather more basic/fundamental terms: Indigenous peoples making decisions about their lives, their environments, and their futures.

Indigenous planning is principally concerned with transforming the lives and environments of Indigenous communities. That said, colonialism has created a socio-political context that requires internal navigation within these communities and external advocacy across the plethora of state planning structures that have retained hegemonic dominance. Therefore, Indigenous planning has to function within two critical contexts: its own internal community setting that it can largely control, circumscribe, and define, and an external political and planning environment over which it has very little control, except for its ability to influence.

While the focus of this chapter has been the internal context of Indigenous planning or planning by and for Indigenous communities, its broader context is the national state planning system within which, due to historical necessity and ongoing state hegemony, it must sit. Consequently, the “sequence” of Indigenous planning is critical. Its first priority must be self-defining with the community continually mapping out its preferred future and creating planning approaches and tools to consolidate this

future. Its second priority must be to advocate this future and influence the external political and planning environment through professional planning and political alliances, which nevertheless continue ultimately to dominate it.

Therefore Indigenous planning must position itself both as a theory and practice of internalized self-definition and externalized advocacy. Clearly, planning processes within and across the two contexts must be iterative, but also function in a highly reflexive, self-definition-advocacy loop. Furthermore, Indigenous planning can be conveniently defined according to two key characteristics (adapted from Moser's gender planning framework, 1993, 90):

- The notion of a planning tradition (i.e., a form of planning that has its own particular focus, knowledge base, objectives, agenda, organisation).
- Planning methods or methodologies (i.e., ways of organizing material, knowledge, etc. to guide actions).

While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to delve into this in any significant detail, applying these characteristics to Indigenous planning leads to a range of schema or organizing set of concepts, including those in table 1.1.

Taking this particular schema, the focus, goals, and objectives for Indigenous planning to a large extent have remained constant throughout history. What has varied are the political and social contexts that Indigenous communities have had to move through to survive. As a response, knowledge systems and planning frameworks have also had to evolve to cope with the constantly changing colonial setting. That said, Indigenous planning has to retain its transformative intent and have the freedom to co-opt, even create, new knowledges, planning tools, and approaches in pursuit of its ultimate goal.

However, any transformative process is by definition very political, creates high levels of anxiety, and always has potential for conflict both within the Indigenous community of interest and through its engagement with external agencies. Consequently, approaches and methods that acknowledge the importance of planning as a process that requires discussion, debate, mediation, and negotiation in order to seek "resolution," if not consensus, are essential. Given the political and often volatile climate within which it must function, Indigenous planning must use and consciously create "new" tools and methods to improve its

Table 1.1 Indigenous planning as a tradition and methodology

Focus	Indigenous peoples and their environments (i.e., lands, resources etc.)
Knowledge	Indigenous theories and knowledge including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional ecological knowledge • New indigenous knowledge, using indigenous epistemologies • Community-based knowledge • Other co-opted/adapted knowledge, e.g., science
Goals	Indigenous peoples' autonomy over themselves and their environments
Objectives	Achievement for indigenous communities of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved environmental quality and quantity • Political autonomy and advocacy • Social cohesion and well-being • Economic growth and distribution • Cultural protection and enhancement
Planning Framework	Iterative Indigenous planning processes using: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous planning tools, e.g., tribal management plans, cultural impact assessments • Indigenous planning procedures, e.g., meetings, gatherings • Indigenous planning practice, e.g., traditional and adapted approaches to planning, policy analysis, resource management

internal strength and external bargaining or negotiating power. These processes are never "neat," "rational," or "comprehensive" – culturally constructed as these terms might be, but often "piecemeal," tentative, and exploratory.

CONCLUSION

Indigenous planning has always been a "work in progress." That, in many respects, is its key strength – an ability to move and adapt as the context changes and evolves, but at its essence fixed to the unchanging goal of Indigenous peoples self-determination.

Classifying its various traditions from the classic to resistance then resurgence as I have, is a way of writing Indigenous planning back into history. Until relatively recently it had been excluded. Colonialism didn't bring planning to the non-planning Natives. The Natives already had their institutions, practices, and planning systems. However, the colonial rhetoric of racial superiority simply could not comprehend Natives

planning, let alone planning with any degree of sophistication or complexity. The rhetoric needed to be buttressed by a conceptualization of Natives as capable, only of the savage things that Natives do – rituals, ceremonies, cannibalism, warring et al. Colonialism didn't create order from chaos. Order already existed. And despite the proselytizing ideology, the Natives weren't waiting to be missioned or planned into civil society. However, the colonial "othering" of Indigenous peoples as savage and uncivilized catapulted the rhetoric of superiority from the ideological to the hegemonic, effectively closing the door on Indigenous planning and excluding it from the national planning grid.

This is not to say that Indigenous communities did not embrace change, adapt to new circumstances, or co-opt new technologies. Far from it, even during early-stage colonialism the adaptive ability and resilience of these communities was highly evident. In some contexts adaptation took place over hundreds of years, while in others colonialism was grotesquely compressed, leading to cataclysmic consequences for these communities.

While colonial discourses fixated on planning Indigenous communities out of existence, Indigenous planning continued, as a unique form of resistance away from the gaze of the colonial enterprise, on rural Native reserves, remnant homelands, wastelands, and even urban enclaves. The door had been closed, but a window to the colonial world had been opened. Indigenous communities became highly adept at traversing these alternate worlds, navigating – as they still do today – the twin orbits of colonialism and Indigeneity.

Conservative estimates currently put the number of Indigenous peoples today in excess of 370 million, residing in over ninety of the world's 190 or so countries (United Nations 2009, 1). In other words, just under half of the world's countries have Indigenous communities. Far from dying out through war, extermination, disease, or government decree, these communities and their descendants have tenaciously refused extinction. However, they remain among the most marginalized, oppressed, and poverty-stricken of communities – still largely positioned materially and ideologically on the periphery of these nations. This situation is not an accident, nor just an unfortunate by-product of history. These communities were "planned" into this state.

It would be remiss to conclude this chapter without unsettling the dominant discourse of planning that still pervades contemporary nation states, or indeed failing to nudge Indigenous planning along the road to its next possible iteration.

If Indigenous peoples were planned into oppression, equally they can be planned out of it. In the distant and recent past, as well as continuing present, colonial planning and the planning profession has been a willing subaltern; its complicity with the colonial project has contributed significantly to Indigenous people's oppression and their continued material and ideological marginalization. Therefore, it has a critical role and ethical responsibility to support the recovery of Indigenous communities and to facilitate the restitution of Indigenous materiality and memory across spaces and places that once were theirs. The asymmetric impact of colonization justifies an equally asymmetric and differentiated colonial planning response to plan these communities out of this predicament. It requires more than simply "grafting" Indigeneity to "mainstream" planning as another "tricky" yet worthy agenda item. Fundamentally, mainstream/colonial planning must create a conceptual space for Indigenous planning through the acceptance of its legitimacy as a parallel tradition with its own history, focus, goals, and approach. It must then facilitate planning frameworks and tools to connect the two traditions, thereby altering the trajectory of its own future. This could have happened during an earlier period of colonial contact, but it didn't and there is now a lot of catching up to do.

Does Indigenous planning have a place for non-Indigenous planners? In my view it definitely does. Indigenous planning is as much an ethic and philosophy as it is a planning framework with a set of approaches and methods. It is highly collaborative but with an unambiguous focus on Indigenous peoples' self-determination. Being "grounded" in the Indigenous community of interest and a commitment to historical redress and recovery of these communities is critical. Therefore, Indigenous and non-Indigenous planners equipped with the ethical fortitude, desire, and skill to navigate the parallel planning worlds of Indigeneity and colonialism are an essential part of Indigenous planning as an ongoing project.

That Indigenous planning has always existed is the central thesis of this chapter. As a "work in progress" it must continue to be investigative, and develop new ways and not be fixed to a closed set of methods and approaches. While its frameworks over time might evolve, the focus, goals, and objectives of Indigenous planning will, for the most part, likely remain unchanged. Having said that, its adaptive, exploratory nature mean it is well positioned to actively embrace its own criticality, be self-exploratory, self-examining, and quite analytical in its self-questioning around many of the critical internal issues confronting Indigenous communities today, including the gendered nature of Indigenous power

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relations, the blend between tradition and modernity, balancing cultural imperatives with the exigencies of social and economic advancement, even new ways of constituting tradition, traditional values, and approaches. Against significant odds, Indigenous peoples have survived. Perhaps now is the time to look beyond resurgence to a new critical tradition for Indigenous planning that has its focus on evolving notions of Indigeneity that still has Indigenous peoples' autonomy over themselves and their environments as its goal, but which moves beyond the gaze and strictures of colonialism.

This chapter, like all narratives, is incomplete, and there remains ample opportunity for further work, discussion, dialogic debate, even dissent within and across the twin orbits of colonial/mainstream planning and Indigenous planning, given the two are now inextricably linked by history.

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PART ONE

Indigenous Communities

Reclaiming Indigenous Planning

Edited by

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DAVID NATCHER

McGill-Queen's University Press
Montreal & Kingston • London • Ithaca

© McGill-Queen's University Press 2013

ISBN 978-0-7735-4193-1 (cloth)
ISBN 978-0-7735-4194-8 (paper)
ISBN 978-0-7735-8993-3 (EPDF)
ISBN 978-0-7735-8994-0 (EPUB)

Legal deposit third quarter 2013
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec

Printed in Canada on acid-free paper that is 100% ancient forest free (100% post-consumer recycled), processed chlorine free

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through the Awards to Scholarly Publications Program, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Funding has also been received from the Publications Fund at the University of Saskatchewan and from the Canadian Pacific Partnership Program in Aboriginal Community Planning.

McGill-Queen's University Press acknowledges the support of the Canada Council for the Arts for our publishing program. We also acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canada Book Fund for our publishing activities.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Reclaiming Indigenous planning / edited by Ryan Walker, Ted Jojola, and David Natcher.

(McGill-Queen's Native and northern series ; 70)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Issued in print and electronic formats.

ISBN 978-0-7735-4193-1 (bound). – ISBN 978-0-7735-4194-8 (pbk.). –

ISBN 978-0-7735-8993-3 (EPDF). – ISBN 978-0-7735-8994-0 (EPUB)

1. Indians of North America – Land tenure – Canada – Planning. 2. Indigenous peoples – Land tenure – Planning. 3. Community development – Canada – Planning. 4. Community development – Planning. 5. Land use – Canada – Planning. 6. Land use – Planning. 7. Traditional ecological knowledge – Canada. 8. Traditional ecological knowledge. I. Natcher, David C., 1967–, editor of compilation II. Walker, Ryan Christopher, 1975–, editor of compilation III. Jojola, Theodore S. (Theodore Sylvester), editor of compilation IV. Series: McGill-Queen's native and northern series ; 70

HN110.Z9C6 2013 307.1'208997071 C2013-902452-2

C2013-902453-0

Typeset by Jay Tee Graphics Ltd. in 10.5/11.3 Sabon

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