



**PRE-COPYEDITED VERSION — PUBLISHED AS**

Dominy, Michèle D. 2018. Settler Postcolonial Ecologies and Native Species Regeneration on Banks Peninsula, New Zealand, *Anthropological Forum*, 28(1): 89-106.

Downloaded from <http://www.anthropologicalforum.net>

**COPYRIGHT**

All rights held by DOMINY, Michèle D. You need to get the author's permission for uses other than teaching and personal research.

## **Settler Postcolonial Ecologies and Native Species Regeneration on Banks Peninsula, Aoteroa New Zealand**

**Michèle D. Dominy**

Anthropology, Bard College

**Abstract:** The *2050 Ecological Vision for Banks Peninsula, New Zealand* is 'to create an environment in which the community values, protects and cares for the biodiversity, landscape and special character of Banks Peninsula'. Its aspirational goals point to the peninsula conservation trust's vision for success on the moral horizons of land and place. These horizons stretch visually from the volcanic crater ridgelines to the outer coastal bays and the sea beyond. Temporally they span one hundred and seventy-five years of cultural encounters of peoples and biota, and reveal community-based strategies designed to support thriving biodiversity on land that has been used primarily for production. This article draws on event, textual and interview data as well as fieldwork conducted in 2015 during the 175<sup>th</sup> anniversary of organised European settlement. Settler pasts and presents are negotiated in natural heritage preservation through the restoration of native flora and fauna in natural areas and protected connectivity corridors. A settler postcolonial ecology for these hill country lands is committed to the simultaneous conservation of biological and cultural diversity in which indigenous flora and fauna, landscapes and people, are irreversibly hybridised, and endemic species become constitutive of a postcolonial national identity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

**Keywords:** Conservation anthropology; Native species regeneration; Settler postcolonial ecologies; Banks Peninsula; New Zealand

The Banks Peninsula Conservation Trust's (BPCT) *2050 Ecological Vision for Banks Peninsula* is 'to create an environment in which the community values, protects and cares for the biodiversity, landscape and special character of Banks Peninsula' in Aotearoa New Zealand (2016). The eight aspirational conservation and sustainability goals, defined by this trust organization 'of and for the people of Banks Peninsula', posit what success in the spatial and temporal moral horizons of land and place might look like, document what has been achieved on the peninsula, and pose challenges for the future. These horizons extend visually from the ridgelines of the volcanic craters to Akaroa Harbour, the coastline of the outer bays, and the South Pacific beyond (see map 1). Temporally, they span one hundred and seventy-five years of organised European settlement history—a history of cultural encounters of native and settler peoples and their biota, and now revealing community-based strategies targeted to support sustainable indigenous and introduced biodiversity on sea and land that has been used primarily for production. The vision asserts the intersection of morality, land and place, and illustrates a code for comprehensive biodiversity conservation in the face of ecosystem threats that illustrate Joel Robbins's (2007, 300) formulation of morality realised through choice and the ethical fashioning of community subjectivity.

I conducted ethnographic fieldwork<sup>1</sup> in 2015 during the community's celebration of the 175<sup>th</sup> anniversary of European settlement on the peninsula, and the expansion of Hinewai Reserve, a private nature area promoting the regeneration of farmed lands into native bush with recognition of the integral value of naturalised invasives. This time was opportune for the anthropologist as both an incidental consumer and professional observer of cultural and ecological tourism. Ethnographic data include attendance at commemoration and festival events, archival records, textual and media promotional materials, newsletters, as well as participation in ecotourism, and conversations with managers and organisers, local residents and officials, and domestic and overseas visitors.

As conservation research scientist Geoff Park (2006, 196) has noted, there has been a coincident concern for the indigenous with the emergence of conservation values and practices with positive implications for environmental and social justice in Aotearoa New Zealand. Recently, the nation has captured international legal and media attention as a world leader for codifying indigenous ontologies of place and implementing radical small mammal eradication schemes, both of which capture and profile the Department of Conservation's goals and tools. After decades of Tūhoe Maori protest over the restitution of ancestral lands, national legislation granted legal personhood to Te Urewera National Park in 2014,<sup>2</sup> and to the country's third largest river, the Whanganui and its tributaries, in 2016 (Rousseau 2016; The Earth Law Center 2016). In both sites, 'all the rights, powers, duties, and liabilities of a legal person' were granted to the park and the river (Te Urewera Act 2014 No 51 Public Act 11).<sup>3</sup> This legislation acknowledges nature's rights, the exercise of *iwi* spiritual authority, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Fieldwork on place attachment and settler identity in rural Canterbury spans thirty years with previous short-term pilot fieldwork in Akaroa in 1986 and 2010.

<sup>2</sup> See Environmental Justice Atlas, <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/rights-of-nature-maori-resistance-results-in-te-urewera-former-national-park-gaining-legal-personality>, accessed 16 October, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> For the text, see [www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2014/0051/latest/whole.html](http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2014/0051/latest/whole.html), accessed 7 February, 2017.

the traditional agency of land understood as *whenua*—as physical site, territory, domain, state and home place—for Māori *iwi* (tribes), and as *taonga*—cultural treasures, broadly conceived. Its purpose is to protect significant inherent values, including indigenous ecological systems and biodiversity with the guardianship of a Board for Te Urewera representing the Crown and Tūhoe Māori equally. Furthermore, the Department of Conservation launched Predator Free 2050 New Zealand, its nation-wide rural and urban plan to free the country from invasive small mammalian predators —possums, rats, stoats, weasels and ferrets—through developing new technologies and fostering grassroots community-based collaborations. Funded in part by the government, the proposed benefits to the nation are multiple: to protect native flora and fauna, foster regional development, enhance trade and tourism, and help the primary productive agricultural, pastoral, and forestry sectors (Department of Conservation 2016). These conservation values and practices constitute for Aotearoa New Zealand a ‘moral making of the world’ in Didier Fassin’s terms (2012, 4), as the settler postcolonial state explicitly promotes an ecological model of nationhood as restitution for its past, essential for a sustainable future, and definitional for a postcolonial identity.

Drawing parallels with theoretical frameworks from multispecies studies, especially the anthropology of plants and theories of invasion ecology (Helmreich 2005; Frawley and McCalman 2014), I illustrate what it means for plants and people to belong to place on Banks Peninsula within the community’s ecological vision for twenty-first century Aotearoa New Zealand. I explore ‘an ecology of life’ (Ingold 2011, 16) and concept of habitation that focuses on the dynamic interspecies synergies of organisms and environments. A viable settler postcolonial ecology for these hill country lands constitutes an irredeemably paradoxical moral vision for the future, committed simultaneously to the preservation of biodiversity, landscape, and community character in a context where indigenous flora and fauna, landscapes and people, are understood as irreversibly hybridised rather than original or authentic. Simultaneously, preservation of endemic species and the reverse extinction of certain introduced species have become constitutive of a sustainable postcolonial national identity for Aotearoa New Zealand.

### **Multispecies Anthropology and Plants in the Settler Postcolonial State**

Perhaps because of Australasia’s evolutionary isolation and physical distance, and radical threats to its unique endemic species, multispecies studies has emerged with particular saliency as a way of thinking ecologically about the co-constitutive relationships of plants and people in the animist and vitalist sacred spaces that constitute the material and spiritual features of ‘country’ for Australia (Myers 1986) and the ‘bush’ for Aotearoa New Zealand. With the fragility and global precarity of these disturbed zones, Australian theorists have forged a theoretical path acknowledging a multispecies anthropology that includes the human and the nonhuman, a redefined focus on the connectivity of all species, and ‘relational agentic thinking from indigenous peoples’ (van Dooren, Kirksey and Münster 2016, 2). I think its foundations rest also on Tim Ingold’s botanically inflected gesture to reposition the human from the ‘centre to the periphery of the lifeworld’ (2011, 218). His concept of an ‘ecology of

life’ (2011, 16) repositions the human and replaces the structural concepts of ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ with the ‘dynamic synergy of organism and environment’. Similarly, as Bruno Latour (2014, 14) writes, territory must be reoccupied as a decentred ‘unbounded network of attachments and connections’ in the Anthropocene. Multispecies studies is both an interpretive and methodological orientation and a descriptor of existing practices, and this conceptual recognition travels readily to Aotearoa New Zealand where the significance of land as *whenua* and *taonga* is recognised in the Waitangi Tribunal's acknowledgement of these place-based ontologies as a postcolonial ecological model for the nation.<sup>4</sup>

Environmental and ecological histories of New Zealand document the devastating consequences for flora, fauna, and landscape with the extensive grassland settlement pattern in this agricultural colony.<sup>5</sup> The ends of settler colonialism in New Zealand, as described by ecologist Geoff Park in his essays on landscape and *whenua*, speak to ‘world beating levels of native bird extinctions and wetland loss, and the confidence with which within a century we carried out one of the most comprehensive transformations of indigenous nature the world has seen’ (Park 2006, 196). Park’s critiques are eloquent in defense of the beauty of the native flora and fauna and devastating in his attack against European ecological imperialism. Park acknowledges how essential the draining of wetlands in particular was to this process of ecological extinction. Citing Daniel Janzen, he explains how wetlands were ‘landscapes of interconnection and interaction’ and so in their colonisation ‘what escapes the eye is the most insidious kind of extinction—the extinction of interactions’ (Park 2006, 196). Park characterises the “natural beauty” of landscape that emerged in the 1890s as comprising a ‘native quality of land, and he describes its present iteration as a ‘national quality—a quality of nation’, now preserved in the conservation estate but even so imperiled (2006, 197). In this way, New Zealand, like other postcolonial societies, is engaged in multispecies placemaking and ecological reclamation of these interactions, a complex highly localised process that generates a tightly interconnected, hybridised web of natural and cultural heritage, of conservation and management, of past and present.

In Australia, for example, Richard Martin and David Trigger (2015) examine the hybrid ways in which Aboriginal people can incorporate introduced species of trees into meaningful historically specific understandings of country, contrasting with settler descendant exclusions of these species from their notions of an imagined ‘authentic’ natural ecosystem. Eric Pawson and Andreas Christensen (2014), in their contribution to a primarily Antipodean collection of studies in invasion ecologies, focus on geological, settlement, agricultural and land claims history on Banks Peninsula. They highlight human agency in the construction of ‘middle landscapes’ and argue that ‘the future of locality is likely to be dominated by hybrid environments where a patchwork of meanings compete within the same spatial focus’ (Pawson and Christensen 2014, 8). My analysis of the 2050 ecological vision for the peninsula strives to expand these multispecies horizons ethnographically.

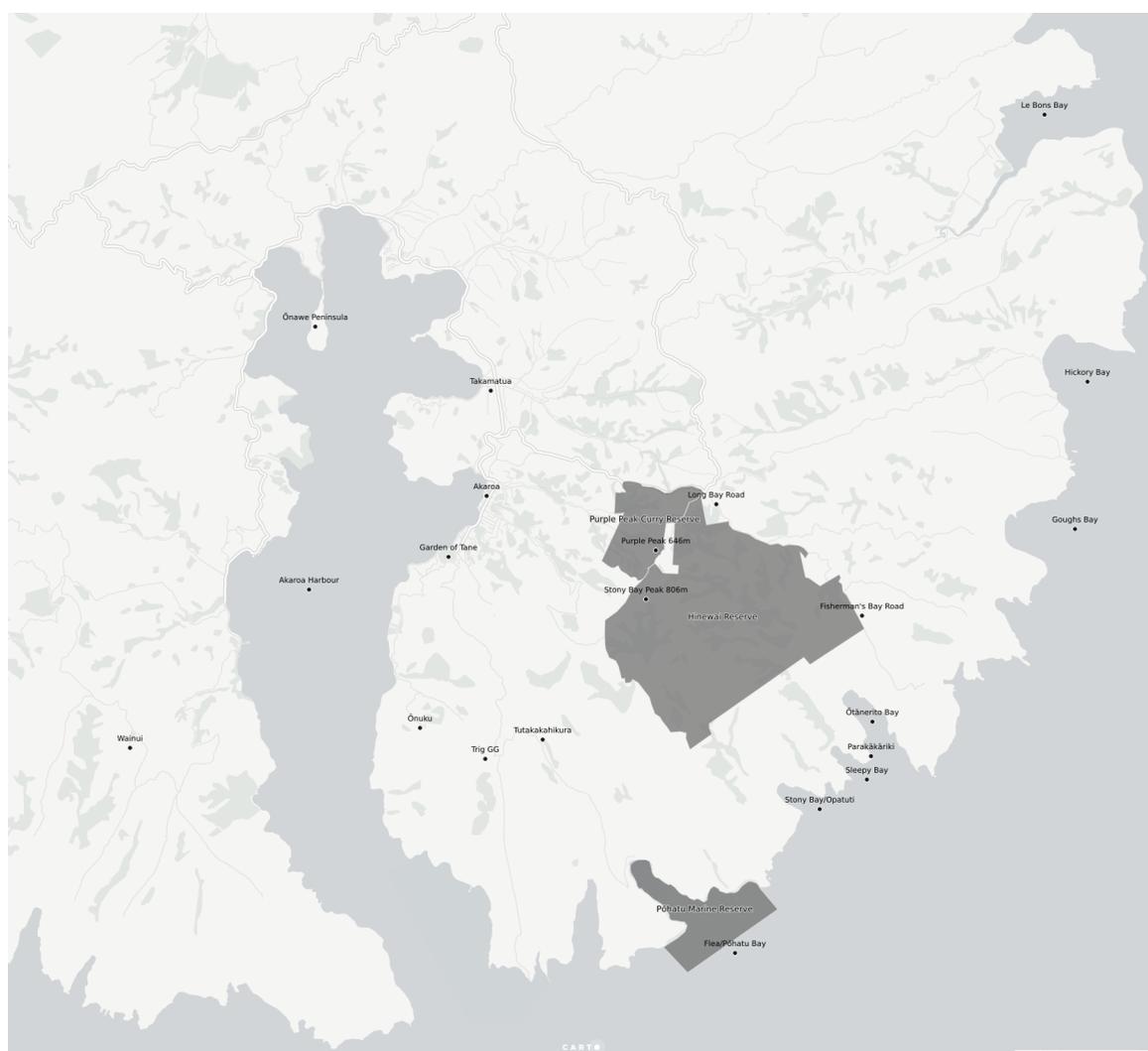
---

<sup>4</sup> My multispecies analysis of indigenous Maori ontologies of grass as ‘hearing’ and ‘thinking’ in colonial New Zealand challenged scientists to understand trees, birds and humans as mutually constituted, thus disrupting the static distinction between the natural and social sciences (Dominy 2002).

<sup>5</sup> See Darby et al. 2003; Park 2006; Pawson and Brooking 2013; and Young 2004.

## Ecological Vision of Banks Peninsula

Throughout the peninsula, land trusts, nature reserves, and projects for the management, regeneration and reintroduction of native flora and fauna reveal a morally inflected community-based commitment to biodiversity.<sup>6</sup> This represents a confluence of community building as local residents preserve cultural heritage, establish nature reserves for biodiversity preservation, coordinate the management of the unanticipated influx of cruise ship passengers, witness pastoral farming on the decline, and balance contrasting ways of life from the remote eastern bays to the second home and tourist destination of Akaroa village. Ecotourism can be a vehicle for sustainable development to benefit communities (see Charnley 2005, 81) and on the peninsula is promoted through land legislation and a culture of walking in ways that integrate nature and cultural heritage in reconstituted and consciously idealised pasts.



Map 1: Akaroa and the Eastern Bays, Banks Peninsula, New Zealand

<sup>6</sup> Hugh Wilson cites the proposed District Plan for Banks Peninsula by the Banks Peninsula District Council in 1997 as additional evidence for the Banks Peninsula community's moral commitment to conservation.

The Banks Peninsula Conservation Trust set the collaborative *2050 Ecological Vision for Banks Peninsula* to achieve ‘a healthy environment’. The Trust promotes ‘the conservation and enhancement of indigenous biodiversity and sustainable land management’ on the peninsula, as a non-profit organisation that prioritises covenants on private land in partnership with landowners, draws up ecological management plans, facilitates weed management, and features interdependent endemic songbird and bush restoration projects. The plan aspires to achieve eight scientifically grounded conservation goals, and specifies what constitutes success for each. The goals are: to protect and manage old growth forests and other rare ecosystems; to manage interlinked populations of marine and land species; to continue protection of four indigenous forest areas in excess of 1000 hectares each; to integrate productive land with ‘thriving indigenous biodiversity’; to increase ‘rare and common’ indigenous flora and fauna of Banks Peninsula; to reintroduce locally extinct species—including bird species such as tūī; and to eradicate pest animals. I illustrate the integration of these goals in my discussion of the Hinewai Reserve.

Parallel to the BPCT is the Rod Donald Banks Peninsula Trust whose strategic goals for the community prioritise partnerships and a vision ‘to facilitate and support the restoration of Banks Peninsula to its traditional status as Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū—the storehouse that nourishes’.<sup>7</sup> The moral imperative is to create ‘an ecological island’ linked by a connectivity walkway across the peninsula as an educational and recreational site, and defined by the imagined purity and richness of its biodiversity. Similarly, in *A Natural History of Banks Peninsula* botanist Hugh Wilson (2013) approaches the peninsula as a unique geological formation, set apart and bounded on three sides by the Pacific, with the potential collectively to foster a unique natural history through the protection and restoration of its diverse ecosystem. While some local farmers promote and contribute to the spread of conservation easements, others are opposed and argue that the peninsula seems separable from the rest of the South Island because of its geography. A second generation eastern peninsula farmer cautions that the preservation of the peninsula lands in reserves is a convenient solution for past ecological destruction while ‘the Plains go mad with [lucrative] dairy work’ and their own farms are likely to be purchased by affluent Christchurch second home owners. Paying attention to indigenous vegetation is vital to the ways in which some residents of Banks Peninsula address and reclaim their past and continue to settle in meaningful ways.

### **Celebrating Settlement History**

Marking 175 years of organised European settlement, Akaroa’s French Festival 2015 featured a reenactment of the landing of 57 French and German settlers from *the Comte de Paris*.<sup>8</sup> Events included a parade of these costumed settler family descendants to the Recreation Ground, displays of peninsula family narratives and photographs, historic walking tours, a Catholic mass, a market and entertainment, fireworks and a harbourside lightshow. A

---

<sup>7</sup> See <http://roddonaldtrust.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/RDBPT-Strategic-Goals.pdf>, accessed 22 January, 2017.

<sup>8</sup> For a history, see chapter V, ‘The French at Akaroa’ in Straubel (1957, 58–86.)

commemorative walnut tree planting signaled the foundational significance of the Garden of Tane, a village nature reserve that includes the Anglican, Catholic and Dissenters cemeteries and joins the circuit of the Akaroa Museum and the restored Akaroa Lighthouse for cruise ship visitors. Such festivals are idealised markers of Durkheimian solidarity and community building, especially in their promotion of a seemingly idealised, uncomplicated and unified settlement history, fostered by the participation of members of the local Māori *iwi* in traditional dress greeting the settlers on the village landing. Organised by the Akaroa Heritage Festival Committee, the Akaroa Civic Trust, and the Christchurch City Council, the event was unabashedly promoted to tourists to celebrate Akaroa's appeal as a 'boutique destination' ('Akaroa 175 New Zealand 1840-2015', promotional Brochure, 2015). Akaroa is a popular second home, retirement and summer holiday site for New Zealanders, and despite its small village status has replaced Lyttleton Harbour since the earthquake of 2010 as the scenic port for major international cruise lines, eliciting mixed reactions from the locals given visitor stresses on the infrastructure.

Designed also to cultivate curiosity and engagement with the peninsula, the yearly Banks Peninsula Walking Festival profiles Akaroa's walking tracks. It includes a circuit of the sacred whale-shaped Ōnawe peninsula pā, at 'the heart of the volcano', with the unique striated sedimentary and igneous rock formations that elicited appreciative comments from the walkers. Leading twenty-two walkers and representing the Ōnuku *runanga* (council), the niece of an elder told the history of the massacre of Ngāi Tahu in 1832 by Te Rauparaha, the Ngāti Toa chief, whose treacherous attack was facilitated when he was smuggled in by a white sea captain<sup>9</sup> (Straubel 1957, 30–31). Dame Claudia Orange, the historian of the Treaty of Waitangi, spoke in Akaroa as part of the heritage festival on the new Museum of Waitangi, set then to open in 2016. Members of the Civic Trust in the audience underscored that local Ngāi Tahu chiefs Iwikau and Tikao signed the treaty with Major James Busby on May 30, 1840 in response to the need for protection given British perfidy and Te Rauparaha's attack (see Orange 1987; Straubel 1957). The locals' lively and antagonistic response during and after her presentation pressed Orange to consider acknowledging and portraying Akaroa as an originary site in the museum's national story of the Treaty's history.

In contrast to the Ōnawe walk, a pioneer history focused farm walk on the old stock route in Takamatua from the harbour to Le Bons Bay took visitors across steep farmland hills to a renovated 'destination' folly, returning through native bush, past a waterfall feature and grove of original settlement trees including willow, poplar, fig and pear. Taken together the juxtaposition of a Maori cultural heritage site and tourist farm stay location in these featured, guided walks acknowledge Akaroa's promotion of simultaneous, intersecting and conflicting Māori and European histories through contemporary events that celebrates emplacement, history, and locality.

Two festival cultural events were especially revealing in capturing celebratory moments. These were the keynote prayer of congregant Heather Chapman at the commemorative Eucharist service for the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of St. Peter's Episcopal church; and an evening of staged readings from 1840, for 'Arrivals and Departures' Heritage week, featuring 'The

---

<sup>9</sup> See chapter II, 'Navigators, Sealers and Flax-traders' in Straubel (1957, 33–40).

Explorer, the Doctor, the Whaler and the Priest,’ organised by the Akaroa Museum and curated by Director Lynda Wallace. Heather’s prayer was an eloquent and humble speech event of meaning in faith, and belief in the unity of a ‘peninsula people’. It spoke to a powerful and transformative attachment to land and place; to the church and peninsula’s inclusivity of Māori and Pākehā (both a ‘people of spirit’ ‘struggling sometimes in these ill fitting skins of ours’); to the sensory experience of place; and to the voiced dichotomous beauty of containment and expansiveness, tame and wild, cultivated and non-cultivated, hills and tops. Most significant was her formulation of the key summarising symbol of the body of the land as a model of and for the people. This geologic melding of the physical place with the human exhorts the congregation to both ‘stick our necks out into the sea’ like a peninsula, and ‘to invigorate us when we are tempted to shelter away behind these hills’. Just as the landscape is a model of the human, volcanic energy is a model for the ‘collective creativity’ of human energy, and ‘reminds us’, she prays, of ‘the energy that blew and carved out a niche for this little town’. Her premise, like Tim Winton’s (2015: 111) in his Western Australian landscape memoir, is that ‘geography shapes our mentality’. In the words of a peninsula walker, ‘we look to define ourselves through landscape.’ Chapman charts a literal and conceptual moral horizon for land and a people, that acknowledges the fragility of an ‘irreplaceable organic estate’ (Winton 2017, 111) and acknowledges the forces of global connection and displacement.

While the staged 1840 readings by notable local figures from Catholic priest to former curator of the museum were remarkable for the rich first-hand detail they provide into life in Akaroa, the moral force of these texts rest in their descriptions of the landscape and the vegetation at its settlement moment. The observations of these early writers verify what botanist Hugh Wilson tells us in his *Natural History of Banks Peninsula*, ‘Once densely forested, the land was stripped of nearly all of its trees and much of its original wildlife by two great waves of human colonisation—Polynesian and European...’ (2009).<sup>10</sup> In an article documenting changes in the botany of Banks Peninsula over the course of geological history, Wilson wisely reminds us, as does Alfred Crosby in *Ecological Imperialism* (1986), that our landscapes are always products of ‘an immense history of disturbance and change’, where ‘vegetation is always more or less in a state of recovering from its latest disturbance or catastrophe’ (Wilson 1998, 101). As part of a continuous process, this was as true of the peninsula in 1840 as it is today.

Dr. Louis Thiercelin, the surgeon for the whaling ship *Ville de Bordeaux*, in January 1840 describes the steepness of the hills, the vibrancy of the waterfalls as they ‘cascaded down from rock to rock and pebble to pebble’ from the forested tops, the thick discouragingly tangled nature of the vegetation, the varieties of fern, and the ‘dense and impenetrable’ forests. His survey provides a baseline of present endangered vegetation as well as insight into its past. ‘This was really primeval virgin forest’, he writes.<sup>11</sup> Documenting deforestation

---

<sup>10</sup> From September 1983 until 1988 Wilson produced a detailed botanical survey of the entire Banks Peninsula, walking the land, scaling the cliffs, and crawling through gorse, to record 6m x 6m samples plots on a 1000-yard gridpoint system. Frances Schmechel in his forward to Wilson’s natural history specifies that there were 1331 plots (2013, 7-8).

<sup>11</sup> Sourced by the Akaroa Museum from Christiane Mortelier (1995) *Travels in Oceania*.

when he returned later in 1864, he wrote: ‘Warrior, paths, forest, everything is gone’ (cited in Wilson 1998, 101). Also in 1840, English Captain Owen Stanley steered the *Britomart* to Akaroa. In a 3 September letter written from Port Nicholson to Mrs. Hornby, a family friend, he writes, ‘The scenery here is as splendid as one could desire. A Basin surrounded by Mountains 3000 feet high, descending at the entrance to Cliffs of 300 feet perpendicular, thickly wooded and plenty of birds so tame that they almost perch on the gunbarrel’.<sup>12</sup> Father Jean-Andre Tripe, arriving in Akaroa in October, also comments on the birds: ‘The birds here are very numerous, their calls and chirping create a continuous concert...I call this song the birds’ morning prayers.’<sup>13</sup>

This reference to the native birds has particular significance for the peninsula’s biodiversity ecological vision for 2050 because a species specific bird restoration project, promoted by the BPCT, has been essential in fusing reclamation of the indigenous at the time of settlement with the assertion of peninsula identity in the present. In 2009, the Banks Peninsula Tūi Restoration Project initially translocated 30 tūi from Maud Island, Marlborough Sounds and released them on the peninsula in Hinewai Reserve. The birds are banded and identified with two colours, with well-placed predator traps enhancing their protection. Engaged volunteers set up strategically placed nectar feeders in their gardens, monitor flax bushes during nesting season, search for identifying bands with binoculars on parent birds as they hawk above the trees in the Garden of Tane, stalk out well-sited verandahs on Settler Hill with their telephoto lenses, and hose down roaming domestic cats. The assiduity of this dedicated network of tūi supporters is similar to science writers Elizabeth Kolbert’s (2014) and Brian Owens’s (2017) astonished description of the commitment of a nation to predator control in the service of indigenous wildlife restoration in campaigns labeled respectively, ‘The Big Kill’ in *The New Yorker* and ‘The Big Cull’ in *Nature News*. While NatureWatchNZ provides a site for recording participatory citizens’ observations,<sup>14</sup> other supporters sponsor and name a tūi with a donation, and follow their individual antics on local blogs. Unlike the mellifluous and gentler bellbird, the song of the tūi is more raucous, and they are more aggressive, not always earning uniform affection from peninsula residents, but unlike bellbirds they are ‘more rare and extraordinary to see’. Their iconic status—they are to be found digitally projected on a wall screen in Air New Zealand’s Auckland airport lounge, for example, and on souvenir placemats and tea towels in the Christchurch Botanical Garden gift shop—renders them an especially appropriate choice for ecological restoration as they generate local involvement and pride in the observable and audible success of this community project.

Farther Tripe’s reference to the birds’ ‘morning prayers’ can only be an understatement to the unique and spellbinding spring Akaroa dawn chorus; its church bell resonance was eclipsed even more powerfully on my first morning on the Banks Peninsula Walk at Ōnuku in October 2015. This definitional moment for walkers at the beginning of their immersion into the hybrid ecosystem of the peninsula evokes a sense of place that transports the listener back through time to Tripe’s sacred moment of emplacement in 1840. Birdsong provides

---

<sup>12</sup> Sourced by the Akaroa Museum from Cheshire County Records Office, Cheshire County Council, UK.

<sup>13</sup> Sourced by the Akaroa Museum, translated from French to English by Father Brian Quinn SM, September 2012.

<sup>14</sup> See <http://naturewatch.org.nz/projects/banks-peninsula-tui-restoration>, accessed 18 January, 2017.

continuity to the past through a shared soundscape at a moment when New Zealand's commitment to the integrity of land and place scans the temporal horizon to both past and future. The bellbird and the tūī have become collective representations, iconic symbols, evoking sentiment and reinforcing a shared sense of national belief in the timeless value of the bush.

### **Predator Free New Zealand**

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) celebrated New Zealand's international leadership in protecting global biodiversity and eradicating invasive species, and supported the nation's call to governments and conservation organisations in December 2016. New Zealand Minister of Conservation Maggie Berry announced Predator Free 2050 at the Thirteenth meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity and in doing so, she reinforced an earlier commitment to the Honolulu Challenge at the IUCN World Conservation Congress in Hawai'i in September.<sup>15</sup> Elizabeth Kolbert in 'The Big Kill' anticipated the ideological force and ritual proportions of New Zealand's stance. Quoting then conservation minister, Nick Smith, she wrote:

And, as part of the maturing of New Zealand, there's the question, What do you connect your nationhood to? ... The connection with species that are unique to New Zealand is increasingly part of our national identity. It's what we are as New Zealanders... You need some things for a country to hold together. (Kolbert 2014, 167)

Kolbert describes the history of the nation's ecological tragedy, of its startling waves of extinction, and the significant reduction of native birds. She is simultaneously astonished at the scale of this 'wild plan to purge all pests', in Brian Owens's words (2017), and yet respectful of the intensity of the efforts of the nation and its citizens—from avid school children and suburban residents to farmers and conservationists—vividly documented in text and image in the Department of Conservation's weekly Blog.<sup>16</sup> Hinewai's manager strikes a similar sassy tone, as he reports of keeping 'the lid on the steaming pressure cooker of possum populations' when 'professional assassins...slammed the bushy-tailed denizens of [the] ... Reserve, taking out 311' (*Pīpipi* 2016, 6). Kolbert illustrates the successful, fervent, inch-by-inch reach of systematic extermination [of invasive mammals] as a 'grassroots affair', intrinsic to the expression of national identity [Kolbert 2014, 104]. This process of reverse extinction is a species-driven Antipodean environmental movement promoting local agency and citizen science engagement. This form of environmentality is consistent with the analyses of place-based ethnic and environmental movements that Arturo Escobar (2001) has contributed to a political ecology that embraces the interplay of mobility and engagement.

---

<sup>15</sup> See <https://www.iucn.org/news/iucn-welcomes-new-zealand-leadership-invasive-species>, accessed 18 January, 2017.

<sup>16</sup> See <https://blog.doc.govt.nz>.

## Hinewai Nature Reserve

Hinewai Reserve strives to realise the aims of the *2050 Ecological Vision for Banks Peninsula* in a single integrated site of territorial exclusivity. While Bruno Latour would recognise it as a ‘critical zone’ that captures the ‘intricate links between humans and nonhumans’ (2014, 11–12), John Hartigan similarly would recognise it, like the botanical garden, as a ‘multispecies domain’ where the human and nonhuman are ‘cultivated and managed’ (2015, 483). The moral is grounded through ecological practices and behavioral imperatives that are developed to define and sustain the vision for, and ecological health of, the reserve. This reconstituted landscape has become a conceptual dwelling place for the ‘quality of nation’ (Park 2006, 197), and reveals a ‘terrain of *moral* meaning...a means through which to access, examine, and enact moral relations and imaginaries’ that Stead and Dominy describe in the introduction as an essential quality of dwelling.

A privately owned public access nature reserve in the southeast corner of Banks Peninsula, Hinewai is owned and managed by the Maurice White Native Forest Trust,<sup>17</sup> and under permanent covenant from the Department of Conservation (see figure 1). With the purchase of an initial 109 hectares in 1987, and Ōtānerito Station in 1991, the reserve constitutes 1230 hectares extending from the volcanic crater line at Taraterehu/Stony Bay Peak (806 meters above Akaroa Harbour) to within one kilometer of the sea at Ōtānerito (Long) Bay on the eastern side of the peninsula (Wilson 2002).<sup>18</sup> Contained on the northeast by Long Bay and Fishermans Bay Roads, the reserve is bounded to the southeast by private land. Wilson’s dream is for the Trust to purchase the lands from the subalpine summits to maritime cool-temperate sea level to capture each bioclimatic zone in the reserve. The reserve has a network of tracks, totaling about 16 kilometres, including those linked to the final day of the popular Banks Peninsula Track walk. It features 66 species of ferns and fern allies (*Pīpipi* (2014 (40) 7); 300 species of native plants including kānuka, red beech (*tawairaunui*), black beech (*tawairauriki*), and mixed hardwood forests of tree fuchsia, māhoe and fivefinger; native birds such as fantails, wood pigeons (*kererū*), bellbirds (*korimako*), tūī (Cronshaw 2008); and, more recently, two pairs of breeding native falcons (*kārearea*). Hinewai’s expenses include the establishment and management of tracks, bridges, fences and signage; aggressive predator control against introduced mammals with trap and bait lines;<sup>19</sup> weather monitoring; maintenance of a 10-metre boundary strip clear of gorse and broom; and fire protection provision (Wilson 1994, 373). Donations, botanical and nature tourism, the Banks Peninsula

---

<sup>17</sup> A Christchurch businessman and accountant, White was a native son of the peninsula, raised across the harbor in Wainui, who met Hugh Wilson at a Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society meeting in Christchurch in 1986. Both men shared the same ecological moral vision.

<sup>18</sup> See Wilson’s (2002) *Hinewai: The Journal of a New Zealand Naturalist* for a fourteen- year history of the reserve extracted from the February 1992 through December 2001 newsletters. For a detailed natural history of the peninsula, see Hugh Wilson (2013).

<sup>19</sup> The key indicator plant species are tree fuchsia, fivefinger, and tōī (*Pīpipi* 2014 40, 6).

Track venture, and earning annual credits for carbon sequestration from Landcare Research generate income.<sup>20</sup>

### *Hinewai's Botanical Significance*

‘A growing treasure-store of native biodiversity’ and ‘a living museum of trees’, Hinewai has regenerated forty percent of former pastureland with native bush (Wilson 1994; 2002, 8, 23). It is well studied by scientists because of Hugh Wilson’s unusual botanical experiment in native forest protection, restoration, and regeneration, an experiment in which nature’s agency restores the landscape as native plants grow above and suffocate exotic gorse. The experiment reflects one man’s determined vision and faith in the native bush to regenerate, illustrating the dynamic interspecies synergies that characterise Tim Ingold’s (2011, 6) ‘ecology of life’. Similarly, a once derelict neighboring property of 38 hectares, purchased by Jane Chetwynd author of *Cloud Farm: High on Banks Peninsula* (2004), followed Hinewai’s lead by setting aside gorse covered pastureland for native regeneration, and created a track to the reserve as part of her singular commitment to the land. The principle of ‘minimal interference management’ eschews grazing, burning and herbicides to eradicate invasives.<sup>21</sup> Some plants—kānuka, kōwhai and ribbonwood, and narrow-leaved lacebark —actively regenerate in the happy shade of these invaders.

It’s been known for many years that gorse and broom are both evolutionarily-designed to colonise bare ground and give way from natural succession to something else. In Banks Peninsula and other parts of Canterbury and New Zealand, it gives way to the appropriate species of native forest. Nature does just that. (Wilson cited by Cronshaw 2008)

Alfred Crosby anticipated this potential for the more than human agency of plants in *Ecological Imperialism* by arguing that weeds are the ‘Red Cross’ of plants in dealing with ‘ecological emergencies’; ‘they give way to plants that may grow more slowly but grow taller and sturdier’ (1986, 169). Gorse and broom, and native vegetation provide clear botanical evidence for the insight of the anthropology of plants that they are ‘lively agents that bring one another into being’ (van Dooren, Kirksey, Münster 2016, 3). The agency of nature displaces the human and provides a vehicle for the co-constitution of the community and the state.

Wilson has documented the effects of human settlement on the likely continuously forested vegetation of Banks Peninsula and Hinewai from 1000 BP suggesting the survival of less than one percent on Banks Peninsula as a whole and four percent on Hinewai of old-growth forest (1994, 373). Today he describes the vegetation of Hinewai Reserve as ‘a mosaic of old forest remnants, dwindling pasture, and diverse successional stages from pasture back to

<sup>20</sup> See <http://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/about/news/video/from-gorse-farming-to-carbon-farming>. Wilson summarises an audit report on eleven plots samples in which dense-wooded kānuka stores the most carbon; also tagged are māhoe, kānuka, and tree fuchsia (*Pīpipi* 2014 (40), 10).

<sup>21</sup> See Wilson (1994, 373) after I. J. McCracken on natural succession in Canterbury.

forest involving both native and naturalised seral species'. Here the past and the present converge as the horizons of time and space fuse with each other. In 1987, he systematically began to record the yearly succession of plants in 12 plots, photographically documenting them from fixed photo points (1994, 376). Each year in October when fragrant flowering gorse is at its yellow peak, he climbs a raised wooden platform constructed on the former site of the piggery to document the gradual decline of the gorse and the dark green spread of native bush four miles down the valleys to Ōtānerito Bay. In this way gorse, the formerly alien invader is left alone, and has become naturalised as a 'non-native native' (Trigger 2008, 628).

In 2016, Hinewai assumed collaborative management responsibility and provided labour for the Purple Peak Curry Reserve of 192 hectares on its western border, named for Te Piki o Te Ake/Purple Peak (646 meters) and its former farm owners (see map 1).<sup>22</sup> As the director of The Native Forest Restoration Trust explains, the benefits of this new reserve include enhanced biodiversity of the peninsula, visible native forest, soil preservation, water quality improvement, and walking tracks directly to the village of Akaroa (Davidson 2016). Encompassing Purple Peak and the Grehan catchment, the property includes patches of old growth forest and regenerating forest as well as grazing farmland where shade loving native species regenerate under the nursery canopy of invasive gorse and broom, which they later choke out, furthering the botanical experiment that Wilson has realised in adjacent Hinewai.<sup>23</sup> The Purple Peak Curry Reserve also aims to contribute to the town's commitment to colonial cultural heritage preservation as it includes the childhood house site of Akaroa born Frank Arthur Worsley, who guided Ernest Shackleton's ship *Endurance* to safety during his 1914-1916 Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition.

### *The Banks Peninsula Track*

Hinewai's economic contribution to Akaroa is as part of a popular 35-kilometre destination walk through forest and pasture from the sea to the reserve and Purple Peak on the final day of the Banks Peninsula Track. In *Hinewai: The Journal of a New Zealand Naturalist* (2002), Wilson celebrates the then 12-year conservation success of this private venture, a partnership of eight landowners whose adjacent properties extend from Ōnuku on the west to Hinewai on the east and who have set land aside to protect native vegetation and wildlife habitat (Wilson 2002, 81, 107). Beginning and ending in Akaroa, the walk encompasses rocky coastal scenery, marine and bush reserves, and farmland, and fosters the value of rural and ecotourism to the community. Walked in either two or four days, depending on fitness, with a maximum of 16 walkers each day, the track offers vintage accommodation each night, a self-guide booklet written and illustrated by Wilson, and the opportunity to see native bush,

---

<sup>22</sup> The Native Forest Restoration Trust, the Rod Donald Peninsula Trust, and the Christchurch City Council, aided by a price reduction from the Curry family, purchased the property. It is under covenant by the Queen Elizabeth II Conservation Trust (Pīpipi 2014 (40), 1-2).

<sup>23</sup> At the inaugural celebration of the reserve, mature species, such as mataī and kahikatea, Hall's tōtara and the rare raukawa, were celebrated (Pīpipi 2016 43, 7). Regrowth of narrow-leaved lacebark, horopito, kānuka, māhoe and ongaonga is likely following the pattern of native forest growth on Hinewai.

waterfalls, nesting white flippered penguins, a sooty shearwater colony, fur seals and both Māori and Pākehā cultural heritage sites.

I walked the track in late October with a high country farmer—my key interlocutor for thirty years of fieldwork, and former chair of both the Queen Elizabeth Trust and the Molesworth Steering Committee, and member of the New Zealand Conservation Authority—a family of eight midlife cousins from across New Zealand, and an overseas amateur naturalist. On the first day, we set off for the 11 kilometer walk from Ōnuku in heavy rain climbing the inner side of the volcanic crater past Paradise, the homestead site of an old dairy with its tell tale cluster of non-native settlement trees, and crossing over in the mist to the outer rim by Trig GG at 699 meters. Then, as the skies cleared, we began the steep valley descent through Tutakakahikura, a reserve of native bush with red beech and regrowth hardwood trees donated by the Helps family at Flea Bay at the foot of the gully. The bridged approach to the old farm cottage was foregrounded by tall tussocks and flowering native cabbage trees (tī kōuka) filtering the bay's dark blue waters. The Helps manage the Pōhatu Marine Reserve, the largest white-flippered little blue penguin colony on the Mainland as part of an ecotourist venture that travels in by vehicle from Akaroa. With guides, we kayaked in the bay and in the late evening donned mottled-brown camouflage capes as we walked the cliffs to learn about these tiny endangered penguins in nesting boxes.

Beginning with clear blue skies, we set off on the second day up the track past nesting burrows dug into the hillsides up to 300 meters high. Pied shags occupied the tall pines above and spotted shags the rookeries in the opposite cliffs. Along the undulating bays and turbulent coastline on our way to Stony Bay (Ōpātuti) for the night, the track featured a New Zealand fur seal colony and a nesting site of sooty shearwaters in burrows behind a predator proof fence (Wilson 2014).<sup>24</sup> Stony Bay celebrates natural heritage through the Mokimoki Reserve tracks as well as cultural heritage with colonial cottages and a family museum displaying the former site of a Māori pā and the Armstrong family's pastoral history. Nature is melded into the sites with a shelter hut built into rocky outcrops, and a bathroom constructed around a tree with nesting baby bellbirds. We continued along the coast in an incessant southerly rain on the third day and ended at Ōtānerito with cascades of introduced wisteria defining our original farm homestead accommodation, and positioning us to begin the final day's ascent through Hinewai Reserve from the sea to Purple Peak saddle and then to the steady descent to Akaroa.

Names on the reserve follow the bicultural and botanically centered conventions established by manager Hugh Wilson in *Pīpipi*, the Hinewai newsletter sponsored by the Trust. Hand written and illustrated in pen and ink, the newsletter is published twice yearly in May and November and, like the signage in the reserve, models rigid prescriptive and proscriptive environmental education with science, humor and political bite. On the fourth day past the signed entrance to Hinewai Reserve—'in the interest of conservation, don't smoke or light fires and take litter home'—, the old farm Valley track climbs steadily through dense fern, past Murderer's Gully, and Boundary Falls, by massive kahikatea trees, silver tree ferns, blooming wineberry, gorse, predator traps, and red beech forest. The reserve is dense forest, a

---

<sup>24</sup> Simon Day (2014) provides an attractive portrait of the peninsula walk for a consuming public.

landscape starkly contrasting with the rugged coastline and gentle pastoral hill country of the first three days. Both a curated green retreat and an environmental educational oasis, Hinewai demonstrates the moral and anti-technological force of its manager's point of view in the descriptive names of its tracks, waterfalls, and streams, and in its hortatory signage, carefully and playfully carved white painted script on wooden planks. The track's vegetation and signage with both botanical and Māori names reveal a progressive ecological narrative from restoration to protection to regeneration. The moral force in the narrative consistently promotes and protects the agency of the site and its flora and fauna.

At first, the native botanical restoration project defines the walker's path. A sign reads—'KAHIKATEA/*Dacrycarpus dachrydioides*/Tallest native tree/These planted ones are from local seed (1992).' As walkers climb, the narrative evolves to one of protection of old growth forest as a carefully labeled 660 year old, 31 meter tall white pine Kahikatea (*Dacrycarpus dachrydioides* fam. Podocarpaceae) is personified and given sentience for its observer—'Trees are big softies and won't tell you/to keep off their roots, so I will. /Signed Track Elf.' While this plant claims its agency and sentience, and the non-human authorship of the track elf eludes both Māori and Pākehā agency in its spiritual evocation, other plants illustrate their resiliency. The next sign reminds the walker of regeneration—'Saplings of native trees are/ establishing in shelter of ageing gorse/ which the natives will soon overtop and/ suppress/ age of gorse 20 yrs (2008)'. And 'Native trees are overtopping gorse which will/soon be shaded and killed./ Gorse was burned here in 1987 to try and clear it for pastures,/ but fire favours gorse'. This process is the heart of Hinewai's mission of nature regeneration, and as the track walkers reach the elevation where they can view the valley across a swath of green bush to Ōtānerito Bay below, they are reminded of the long-term science behind the project. 'IT'S A PHOTO POINT/ Every October we take photographs from here to record changes in vegetation and landscape/ SERIOUS FIRE RISK/ no smoking, no billy boiling' As walkers take their final upwards steps they reach old growth forest, signed—'RED BEECH/ TAWAIRAUNUI/ *Nothofagus fusca* Age c. 400 Yrs'. Finally, as they approach Brocherries Flat, before the descent back to Akaroa, the sign shifts the topic of the restoration narrative from the documentation of natural heritage to cultural heritage—'Reconstruction of 19<sup>th</sup> century/ slotted tōtara post and rail fence/ using remnants found at this site'—a reminder also of a settler colonial, peopled past that led to introduced enclosures defining plants such as gorse.

Hinewai is a partnership of plants and people that realises the ecological vision of the peninsula in its juxtaposition of biodiversity, landscape and the 'special character' (BPCT 2016) of this place and its people. The entire track walk depends on the shared commitments and mutual needs of each of its landholders to provide continued access rights. By 2017, one of the properties accessed on the third day of the walk had withdrawn from the partnership, illustrating Robert Hargreaves's prediction of the precariousness of this connectivity corridor as a conservation vehicle (2002). Removed is Sleepy Bay and a rugged sweep of coastal scenery, fallen sea arch, waterfall, seal colony, and historic Parakākāriki Pā<sup>25</sup> where Ngāti

---

<sup>25</sup> Hugh Wilson (personal communication) explained that parakākāriki metaphorically refers to a field after battle "with the ground churned up and littered with bodies and the injured," deriving its literal meaning from 'kākaāriki' a word referring to the patch of disturbed ground torn up by feeding parakeets.

Mamoe were defeated by Ngāi Tahu. Also gone is access to the final night's accommodation at colonial farmstead Ōtānerito. The remaining stakeholders have reduced the walk by one day, and rerouted the track up from Stony Bay to Hinewai via a new track that would, in the words of one positive thinking stakeholder, provide 'a different best' (Hayward 2016).<sup>26</sup> Their persistence even on this local level recognises Aotearoa New Zealand's broader national commitment to connectivity conservation in the 3000 kilometre Te Araroa Track, and more significantly across geographic scales in Australia's seven large-scale connectivity corridors as vital 21<sup>st</sup> century conservation approaches for land use and management, biodiversity conservation, and climate change (Worboys and Pulsford 2011).

## Conclusion

The Banks Peninsula Conservation Trust's ecological vision and related conservation efforts reveal the potential of active collaboration between national, regional, local community and individual levels for the management, preservation and conservation of valued landscapes, places, and communities. In determining significant inherent values, scientists, social scientists, practitioners, and many local residents are working collectively to engage in what Thomas Isern (2002) characterises as 'active-green approaches', as the postcolonial settler state hybridises native and alien flora and fauna in a dynamic bi-culturally infused notion of biodiversity conservation, and landscape and community heritage preservation. A project manager for Ōtākaro Limited, which is delivering the Central Christchurch Recovery Plan, drew a parallel between the peninsula projects and the 'massive redefinition of the city' in the rebuilding of post earthquake Christchurch. Acknowledging some cynicism, the manager highlights 'passionate landscape architects and Ngai Tahu people' who are 'consciously working at creating a narrative in our construction projects, linking the immediate pre-quake Christchurch, the Ngāi Tūāhuriri narrative, and the historical Christchurch and endemic and introduced plant species to the now' (personal communication).

Paying attention to native vegetation and bird species becomes vital to the ways in which many residents of Banks Peninsula assert and reclaim their past, rethinking their roots as settlers in meaningful ways that provide the vision for a sustainable and moral path forward. Preservation of endemic species and the reverse extinction of selected introduced species become constitutive of an aspirational sustainable postcolonial national identity for Aotearoa New Zealand in a context where introduced species and pastoral farmland have become naturalised. Belonging to place, across a range of geographic scales, means embracing preservation, regeneration, and strategic management of native and introduced flora and fauna in multispecies 'entangled worlds of uncertainty and contingency' where 'being is about becoming and becoming is always becoming with' (van Dooren, Kirksey and Münster 2016, 1).

The spatial and temporal moral horizons of land and place on Banks Peninsula—through the 2050 ecological vision plan, a governmentally defined 2050 predator control project, and the

---

<sup>26</sup> Wilson in *Pīpipi* (2016 44, 7) conveyed the remaining six families' sense of loss and described the choice to either reroute or close down. The departing property cited privacy concerns for its decision.

individually driven restoration narrative of Hinewai Reserve—provide an aspirational model for potentially successful local ecological engagement in other communities. This pertains also to the acknowledgement of the power of recognised multispecies indigenous ontologies of place to promote ecological justice. This is especially so in Australasia, which is defined by distance and a unique geological and settlement history that has the potential to recognise and promote the possibility of hybridised landscapes as a source of identity for the nation and ‘ethical self-formation’ (Laidlaw 2013, 179) as a nation, and the restorative vision of species interaction on the horizon of extinction. Even so, as botanist Hugh Wilson so presciently writes of such incommensurable interplays of emplacement and mobility across the range of geographic scales, ‘The isolation that allowed the evolution of such a unique (and vulnerable) ecosystem in the first place...is no longer enough to buffer us from human induced global change’ (1998, 118).

## References

- Akaroa Museum. 2015. The Explorer, the Doctor, the Whaler and the Priest. Akaroa Museum in collaboration with the Friends of Akaroa Museum. Readings selected by Lynda Wallace, director. Delivered 14 August and 16 October, 2015.
- Banks Peninsula Conservation Trust. 2016. 2050 Ecological Vision for the Banks Peninsula. <http://www.bpct.org.nz/resources/>.
- Charnley, S. 2005. From Nature Tourism to Ecotourism? The Case of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania. *Human Organization* 64 (1): 75–88.
- Chetwynd, J. 2004. *Cloud Farm: High on Banks Peninsula*. Dunedin: Longacre Press.
- Cronshaw, T. 2008. Return of the Natives. *The Press*, 2 February 2008. <http://www.pressreader.com/>, accessed 18 September, 2016.
- Crosby, A. W. 1986. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Day, S. 2014. Banks Peninsula Track Offers Rugged Beauty. *Stuff*. December 14 2014. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/travel/destinations/nz/64042845/Banks-Peninsula-Track-offers-rugged-beauty/>, accessed 18 January, 2017.
- Darby, J., R. E. Fordyce, A. Mark, K. Probert and C. Townsend, eds. 2003. *The Natural History of Southern New Zealand*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Davidson, G. 2016. Waiata and Korimako Welcome Guests to Purple Peak Curry Reserve. *Canopy: Newsletter of the Native Forest Restoration Trust* 62 (Winter): 4–5. <http://www.nfrrt.org.nz/>, accessed 18 January, 2017.
- Dominy, M. D. 2002. Hearing Grass, Thinking Grass: Postcolonialism and Ecology in Aotearoa-New Zealand. *Cultural Geographies* 9: 15–34.
- Escobar, A. 2001. Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization. *Political Geography* 20 (2):139–174.

- Fassin, D. 2012. Introduction: Toward a Critical Moral Anthropology. In *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*, edited by D. Fassin, 1–17. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Frawley, J. and I. McCalman. 2014. Invasion Ecologies: The Nature/culture Challenge. In *Rethinking Invasion Ecologies from the Environmental Humanities*, edited by J. Frawley and I. McCalman, 3–14. London: Routledge.
- Hargreaves, B. 2002. The Banks Peninsula Track—Case Study in Rural Tourism. Paper presented to the Pacific Rim Real Estate Society Conference. Christchurch, NZ, 21–23 January.
- Hartigan, J. 2015. Plant Publics: Multispecies Relating in Spanish Botanical Gardens. *Anthropological Quarterly* 88 (2): 481–507.
- Hayward, M. 2016. Banks Peninsula Track Cut Down to Three Days at the End of the Season. The Press, 4 November 2016. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/86089646/Banks-Peninsula-Track-cut-down-to-three-days-at-the-end-of-the-season/>, accessed 27 February, 2017.
- Helmreich, S. 2005. How Scientists Think: About ‘Natives’, For Example. A Problem of Taxonomy among Biologists of Alien Species in Hawaii. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.)* 11: 107–128.
- Ingold, T. 2011 [2000]. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge.
- Isern, T. 2002. Companions, Stowaways, Imperialists, Invaders: Pests and Weeds in New Zealand. In *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, edited by E. Pawson and T. Brooking, 233–245. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kolbert, E. 2014. The Big Kill: New Zealand’s Crusade to Rid Itself of Mammals. *The New Yorker*, December 22 and 29, 2014. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/12/22/big-kill/>, accessed 20 November, 2017.
- Laidlaw, J. 2013. Ethics. In *A Companion to the Anthropology of Religion*, edited by J. Boddy and M. Lambek. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Latour, B. 2014. Anthropology at the Time of the Anthropocene – A Personal View of What is to be Studied. Distinguished lecture. American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington DC. December. <http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/139-AAA-Washington.pdf>, accessed 8 December, 2016.
- Martin, R. J. and D. Trigger. 2015. Negotiating Belonging: Plants, People and Indigeneity in Northern Australia. *JRAI* ns 21: 276–295.
- New Zealand Department of Conservation. 2016. Predator Free 2050. <http://www.doc.govt.nz/our-work/predator-free-new-zealand-2050/>, accessed 20 November, 2017.

- Morphy, H. 1995. “Landscape and the Reproduction of the Ancestral Past.” In *The Anthropology of Landscape*, edited by E. Hirsch and M. O’Hanlon, 184–209. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Myers, F.R. 1986. *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place, and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Orange, Claudia. 1987. *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Port Nicholson Press: Allen & Unwin.
- Owens, B. 2017. ‘Behind New Zealand’s Wild Plan to Purge all Pests.’ *Nature News*, . January 12. <https://www.nature.com/news/behind-new-zealand-s-wild-plan-to-purge-all-pests-1.21272/>, accessed 24 October, 2017.
- Park, G. 2006. *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape & Whenua*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Pawson, E. and T. Brooking, eds. 2013. *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Pawson, E. and A. A. Christensen. 2014. Landscapes of the Anthropocene: From Dominion to Dependence. In *Rethinking Invasion Ecologies from the Environmental Humanities*, edited by J. Frawley and I. McCalman, 64–83. London: Routledge.
- Predator Free 2050. New Zealand Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai. See <http://predatorfreenz.org/>, accessed 14 January, 2016.
- Robbins, Joel. 2007. Between Reproduction and Freedom: Morality, Value, and Radical Cultural Change. *Ethnos* 72 (3):293–314.
- Rousseau, B. 2016. What in the World—In New Zealand, Lands and Rivers Can Be People (legally speaking). *International New York Times*, July 13, 2016. Accessed 14 January, 2016. [https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/world/what-in-the-world/in-new-zealand-lands-and-rivers-can-be-people-legally-speaking.html?\\_r=0/](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/world/what-in-the-world/in-new-zealand-lands-and-rivers-can-be-people-legally-speaking.html?_r=0/).
- Straubel, C. R. 1957. Maori and European to 1850. In *A History of Canterbury. Volume I: To 1854*, edited by J. Hight and C. R. Straubel, 15–134. Christchurch: Canterbury Centennial Association, Whitcombe and Tombs, Limited.
- The Earth Law Center. New Zealand. 2016. <https://www.earthlawcenter.org/international-law/2016/8/new-zealand/>, accessed 14 January, 2016,
- Trigger, D. S. 2008 Indigeneity, Fertility, and what ‘Belongs’ in the Australian Bush: Aboriginal Responses to ‘Introduced’ Animals and Plants in a Settler-Descendant Society. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S)* 14: 628–646.
- van Dooren, T., E. Kirksey and U. Münster. 2016. Multispecies Studies: Cultivating Arts of Attentiveness. *Environmental Humanities* 8 (1): 1–23.
- Wilson, H. D. 1994 Regeneration of Native Forest on Hinewai Reserve, Banks Peninsula. *New Zealand Journal of Botany* 32 (3): 373–383. DOI 10.1080/00288225X.194.10410480

- Wilson, H. D. 1998. Living in Raoul Country: The Changing Flora and Vegetation of Banks Peninsula. In *Étienne Raoul and Canterbury Botany 1840–1996*, edited by C. J. Burrows, 101–121. Christchurch: Canterbury Botanical Society and Manuka Press.
- Wilson, H. D. 2002. *Hinewai: The Journal of a New Zealand Naturalist*. Christchurch: Shoal Bay Press.
- Wilson, H. 2013 [2009]. *Natural history of Banks Peninsula*. Revised edition. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.
- Wilson, H. 2014. *Banks Peninsula Track: A Guide to the Route, Natural Features and Human History*. 14<sup>th</sup> edition. Cromwell, NZ: Mānuka Press.
- Winton, T. 2017. *Island home: A landscape memoir*. Minneapolis: Milkweed.
- Worboys, G. L. and Pulsford I. 2011. *Connectivity Conservation in Australian Landscapes*. Report prepared for the Australian Government Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities on behalf of the State of the Environment 2011 Committee. Canberra: DSEWPaC.
- Young, D. 2004. *Our Islands, Our Selves: A History of Conservation in New Zealand*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.