

Chapter Title: Renaming and the Relationship Between Colonized and Colonizer: The Role of Commemoration within Dual Place Names in New Zealand

Chapter Author(s): Taylor Annabell

Book Title: De-Commemoration

Book Subtitle: Removing Statues and Renaming Places

Book Editor(s): Sarah Gensburger, Jenny Wüstenberg

Published by: Berghahn Books. (2024)

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.6879762.14>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Berghahn Books is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *De-Commemoration*

Part II

DE-COMMEMORATION AND SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION

Chapter 9

**RENAMING AND THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN COLONIZED AND COLONIZER**

The Role of Commemoration within
Dual Place Names in New Zealand

Taylor Annabell



Of the 7,262 official place names in New Zealand, 403 are “dual names”: a Māori name with a non-Māori one. Each name functions as a mnemonic marker of the landscape, originating from a different historical period, connected and separated by a forward slash within the dual name. The New Zealand Geographic Board (NZGB), responsible for place names, assert this naming convention “equally represents both histories and cultures within New Zealand.”¹ The recognition of both names as *the* official name becomes a way to represent Māori and Pākehā heritage in New Zealand, although the equal linguistic treatment may obscure the relationship between the colonized and colonizer.²

In this chapter, I situate dual names in the colonial context of the (re) naming of the geographic landscape and the ongoing project of constructing New Zealand as a bicultural nation. Using two case studies, I analyze how the NZGB, in their contribution to the national commemorative program, Tuia 250, present narratives about the past, attributing memories and meanings to dual names.³

Place Naming as Commemorative Practice

The relationship between place names, feelings of belonging, and selective narration of the past is well established.⁴ Following Schwartz and Rose-Redwood, I conceptualize place naming as a commemorative practice.⁵ Commemoration refers to the mobilization of symbols to foster and maintain beliefs and feelings about the past.⁶ Place names exemplify the way curated representations of the past signal belonging to those within and outside of the social group in public spaces. This goes beyond understanding a place name as commemorative because it honors the specific memory of a person, group, or event. Instead, naming practices discursively construct space as a place that should be remembered. Place names publicly suggest what memories should be associated with a specific place;⁷ they signpost what is considered historically important.

Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch outline four objectives that motivate renaming: to signal legitimacy of new political or cultural order, to cleanse inherited toponyms, to redress historical injustices through restoring previous names, or to promote the place for economic purposes.⁸ Except for the latter, this aligns with Alderman's assessment of renaming as a symbolic and material representation of a change in identity.⁹ As suggested by Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch's typology, this is intertwined with changing power dynamics between groups inside and outside of the nation. Not only do dominant groups name and "claim" the landscape, but as Alderman demonstrates, marginalized groups use place naming to challenge hegemonic ideas about the past by communicating alternative narratives of heritage and identity. Given that naming is an act of norming¹⁰ and claiming,¹¹ place names are sites in which the struggle over who has the power to assert belonging of geographical space and heritage becomes visible, particularly during renaming.

Naming and Renaming of the New Zealand Landscape

The New Zealand landscape was named by Māori between AD 500 and 900.¹² The commemorative practice of naming was connected to their spiritual connection with land and a communal land-ownership model. Events were recalled through the name of a geographical feature, and these recollections through the network of names enabled whakapapa (genealogy) to be remembered.¹³ Reciting these names was part of knowing what land "belonged to" different tribal groups. The daily use of names allowed history to be continually made present, further cemented by the way names were often understood through their connection to others. Through these net-

works, stories of Māori mythology, tribal histories, traditions, and events were passed down through generations.

Exemplifying how renaming is part of colonial conquest by imposing names onto the indigenous landscape,¹⁴ the New Zealand landscape was de-scribed by European “explorers” and colonial settlers.¹⁵ Traveling around New Zealand in the 1770s, James Cook (whose voyages paved the way for colonialism) assigned names, which ranged from an arbitrary response to his impression of the land as viewed from *HMS Endeavour* to an experience by those on the ship or even a reference to British geography or people.¹⁶ Such renaming intensified following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, in which New Zealand became an official British colony, with names commemorating the British Empire and their heroes.¹⁷ Māori names along with specific stories associated with sites were pushed aside as new names in the English language marked the “discovery” of New Zealand. Furthermore, these names altered commemorative practices of naming with the marking of individuals and isolated memories compared to a network of Māori names. Smith argues that the renaming was “probably as powerful ideologically as changing the land” because it caused disconnections with histories coupled with the dispossession of land.¹⁸ Colonial histories, beliefs, and ideas about rights to land are embedded within these names. Consequently, the presence of Pākehā names is both a legacy of colonization and a reminder of the colonizer.¹⁹

A challenge to the colonial toponymic landscape is partially evident through the bilingual focus in New Zealand’s current place naming policy. Albury and Carter situate this within the agenda to promote Māori language and NZGB’s assumption that New Zealanders wish to see their history reflected in place names.²⁰ Through the NZGB Act of 2008, any person can submit a proposal to the NZGB, which is reviewed and subject to consultation with Māori and the public. There is a preference to adopt an original Māori name when assigning, altering, or discontinuing names. Names are also created and changed as part of cultural redress in Treaty of Waitangi settlement claims, which seek to acknowledge and compensate for injustices arising from breaches of the 1840 treaty by the Crown. Based on data available from the NZGB, 168 of the 499 place names connected to Treaty legislation are dual names. As demonstrated in Figure 9.1, the increase in dual names was driven by settlement claims beginning with the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998; subsequently, this type of name has increased in NZGB’s naming process. A dual name restores a Māori name in contemporary society—aligning with renaming as a reparation of historical injustice—but it does so by bringing it alongside the existing toponym, which emerged from colonial patterns of naming. As such, the non-Māori name continues to hold a commemorative function.

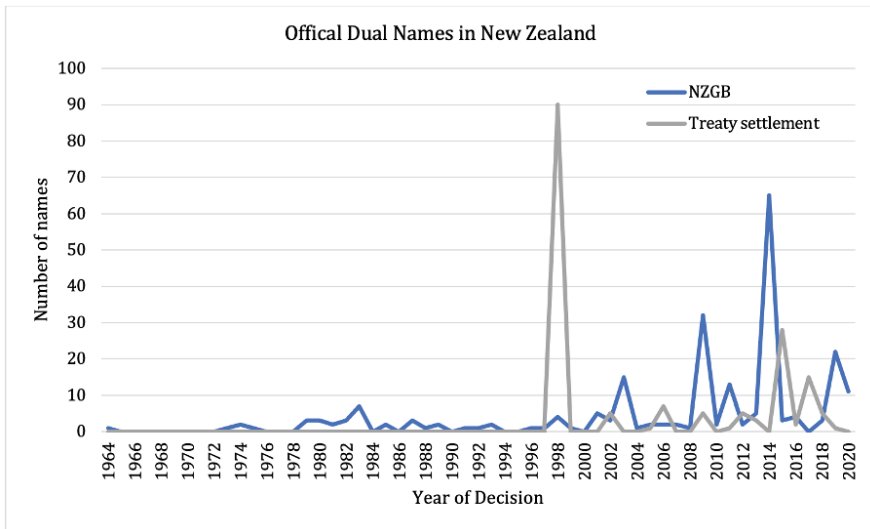


Figure 9.1. Official adoption of dual names in New Zealand. Source: Taylor Annabell, contains data sourced from the LINZ Data Service licensed for reuse under CC BY 4.0.

Dual Names as “Restoring” Bicultural Heritage

I will now examine how NZGB approaches place names as a commemorative practice and negotiates the multiple memories and histories attached to two dual names: Tūranganui-a-Kiwa / Poverty Bay and Cape Kidnappers / Te Kauwae-a-Māui. Both histories are presented by NZGB on their website as part of the national commemorative program, Tuia 250. To commemorate 250 years since the first Māori and Pākehā encounters onshore in 1769, NZGB identified, researched, and published stories of two hundred place names given by Cook, emphasizing how the original Māori names of some of these places were restored through “dual heritage place names.”²¹ Outside of the *Gazetteer*, which provides brief details about each place name, New Zealand place-name stories are restricted to their contribution for Tuia 250.

In their Tuia 250 stories, NZGB presents the stories of the dual names, adopting a Māori perspective in some parts of the narrative. NZGB describes how Tūranganui-a-Kiwa is the name given by Kiwa, an important “tupuna” and “early ancestor,” who arrived in the area on the Horouta waka (“canoe”). By listing the range of stories told about what and why Kiwa was waiting, NZGB alludes to the oral tribal history of waka migration. The name Te Kauwae-a-Māui commemorates the story of Maui fishing up the North Island using a hook made from the jawbone of his grandmother.²² This presents history outside of the dominant colonial lens by recognizing and revitalizing

a national narrative previously silenced. The English name, North Island, is placed in brackets after Te Ika-a-Māui (Māori name for North Island), reinforcing a precolonial point of view of the named landscape. These Māori place names are used within the subsequent descriptions of Cook's arrival, thus conferring the Māori names with original status. As such, Cook arrives onto a Māori named and claimed landscape. In the case of Te Kauwae-a-Māui, the perception of *HMS Endeavour* as a "strange vessel" from the perspective of local Māori opens the story, asserting Māori as founders and the Māori name as the original. The texts exemplify how multiple discourses about the past are part of systems of knowledge within indigenous communities.²³ Yet, in listing these as "versions" and offering multiple ways in which the name Te Kauwae-a-Māui recalls the Māui "story," it may also continue the reclassification of such history as oral *traditions*, considered primitive within colonial ideology.²⁴

By presenting the stories of the Māori then non-Māori name within the texts, NZGB demonstrates how a single place has a dual heritage. It is striking that Kiwa and Māui are ancestors and demigods respectively with deep cultural significance while the non-Māori names are attributed by Cook, a single European explorer, privileging his experiences and feelings. Poverty Bay was named for the lack of resources the area provided while Cape Kidnappers refers to Cook's interpretation of local Māori attempting to rescue a Tahitian on board as a kidnapping attempt. The descriptions coexist in the



Figure 9.2. A view of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa/Poverty Bay, 2016. Photo by Kaye Annabell.

texts as equal stories contributing to the identity of the place name through different modes of commemoration. Thus, they engage with the bicultural discourse that recognizes Māori and Pākehā as founding people—distinct but equal partners who contribute to New Zealand identity and culture, sharing guardianship of resources.²⁵

The naming stories hint at how the non-Māori names given by Cook are founded from violent, unequal encounters, framed by a colonial perspective. The stories told about the dual names of both places assert interactions involved “cultural misunderstandings” despite the violent consequences and outcomes for Māori rather than Pākehā. For example, “a series of cultural misunderstandings followed, resulting in the deaths of about nine local Māori.” The arrival of “explorers” onto the already named and claimed landscape conforms to a colonial settler narrative in which misunderstandings are constructed as shared, while any violence arising from these cultural differences is downplayed. It preempts the period of colonization that followed Cook’s exploration in terms of the violence experienced by Māori during the New Zealand Land Wars and policies of assimilation and integration, as well as how this was narrativized through the ideology of racial harmony.²⁶ Although the texts remember the “deaths” and “misunderstandings” from which Cook named both places, the neutral framing lends a degree of legitimacy to Cook’s naming and by extension his actions and perceptions.

The absence of critique is heightened in the texts about both places by the shift away from viewing Māori as the sole “founding people.” A Pākehā gaze is implied through verb choices. Tūranganui-a-Kiwa was “named” Poverty Bay and Te Kauwae-a-Māui was “labeled” Cape Kidnappers, rather than renamed. This is acknowledged later in the text of one dual name through the perspective of students who learned “Cook had renamed something that already had a name” and so sought to “restore” the original name. Interestingly, this becomes downgraded within the Gisborne District Council’s proposal to “alter the name” to a dual name. Te Kauwae-a-Māui is “restored as part of the dual name with Cook’s name” within the Treaty settlement. The use of language here is revealing, indicative of a hesitation to explicitly acknowledge the linguistic colonization of the nation. Coupled with an emphasis on dual names enabling “restoration” of the Māori name within the framework of biculturalism, a power dynamic in which a level of Pākehā domination is maintained.

The structure of the texts presents the histories of renaming through a coherent, chronological narrative. The tension between the descriptions of the Māori and non-Māori names is unacknowledged. The names and stories are not conceived as offering competing versions of the past, despite the way Cook’s names override already named places. Instead, the issue of renaming is “resolved” in the presented stories through the process by which the dual

name was adopted. In 2015 the hapu (“clan”) of Heretaunga Tamatea “settled their historic Treaty of Waitangi grievances,” which involved Crown acknowledgment of the value of the area of Cape Kidnappers / Te Kauwae-a-Māui, a commitment to share management of the reserves, and “restoration” of the name Te Kauwae-a-Māui by an Act of Parliament in 2018.²⁷ As an outcome of a Treaty of Waitangi settlements, it exemplifies the official recognition of Māori culture and heritage to New Zealand, both through resources and symbolism. The dual naming of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa / Poverty Bay became official following a petition by local school children in 2013, which led the local council to propose a dual name to NZGB in 2018. Presenting dual names as the successful and natural outcome of two democratic processes offers a sense of resolution to any “misunderstandings” and demonstrates how the past can be used to embody contemporary ideals. New Zealand is presented as bicultural through showcasing how places have dual heritage, with the naming policy responding to the injustice of the past, involving, at times, the input of citizens.

Dual Names as Commemorative Networks

Schwartz describes how the interpretation of historical figures changes based on their implication within commemorative networks.²⁸ It is not only that actors are paired together but how the qualities of other actors in the same network of memory become attributed to one another. Coupling Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and Te Kauwae-a-Māui with Poverty Bay and Cape Kidnappers confers on the non-Māori names a legitimacy that Cook could name and claim the landscape, commemorating his worldview. The dual name supposedly overcomes a selective narration of the past when only the non-Māori name was officially recognized. Yet, dual names flatten asymmetric power relationships in the ongoing struggle over land and national identity by affirming a place should have a single name with two parts, although one name colonized the other. Thus, the restoration of Māori names does not require de-commemoration of Pākehā names.

The slash, then, becomes an important signifier, holding together the multiple strands of remembering. Palumbo-Liu uses a slash in Asian/American to represent “a choice between two terms, their simultaneous and equal status, and an element of indecidability.”²⁹ Viewing punctuation as performative,³⁰ the slash between the Māori and non-Māori names also divides as it connects, reminding the nation of its divided past and the relationship between colonized and colonizer. In the case studies discussed, the slash distinctly marks two different stories of arrival as separate while also attempting to communicate that they can and should be understood together within a single name,

telling a coherent story about the history of the place. Thus, dual names function as symbolic expressions of biculturalism, offering a vision of place as unified through a dual heritage.

Taylor Annabell is a PhD candidate in the Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries at King's College London. Her research addresses contemporary articulations of national identity in New Zealand with a focus on the role of discourse. She also explores disruptions in digital memory work performed by young women on social media platforms. Her research has published in *Memory Studies*, *Narrative Inquiry*, *Critical Discourse Studies* and *Discourse, Context & Media*.

Notes

1. New Zealand Geographic Board, "Frameworks of the New Zealand Geographic Board Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa," (2018), 4.
2. *Pākehā* is a contested term, which is widespread and commonly refers to people with European heritage. See Paul Spoonley, "New Diversity, Old Anxieties in New Zealand: The Complex Identity Politics and Engagement of a Settler Society," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38, no. 4 (16 Mar. 2015): 650–61.
3. Held in 2019, Tuia 250 commemorates 250 years since the first onshore meeting between Māori and Pākehā in 1769. See "Tuia Encounters 250."
4. Derek H. Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. B. J. Graham and Peter Howard, 195–213 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Lawrence D. Berg and Robin A. Kearns, "Naming as Norming: 'Race,' Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14 (1996): 99–122; Jordan P. Brasher, Derek H. Alderman, and Joshua F. J. Inwood, "Applying Critical Race and Memory Studies to University Place Naming. Controversies: Toward a Responsible Landscape Policy," *Papers in Applied Geography* 3, no. 3–4 (2 Oct. 2017): 292–307; Lyn Carter, "The Big 'H': Naming and Claiming Landscapes," in *Making Our Place: Exploring Land-Use Tensions in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Jacinta Ruru, Janet Stephenson, and Mick Abbott, 57–69 (Dunedin, NZ: Otago University Press, 2011); Reuben Rose-Redwood, "From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City," *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 4 (June 2008): 431–52.
5. Barry Schwartz, "Rethinking the Concept of Collective Memory," in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. Anna Lisa Tota and Trever Hagen, 9–21 (London: Routledge, 2016); Rose-Redwood, "From Number to Name."
6. Schwartz, "Rethinking the Concept of Collective Memory."
7. Rose-Redwood, "From Number to Name."
8. Frédéric Giraut and Myriam Houssay-Holzschuch, "Place Naming as Dispositif: Toward a Theoretical Framework," *Geopolitics* 21, no. 1 (2 Jan. 2016): 1–21.

9. Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation."
10. Berg and Kearns, "Naming as Norming."
11. Carter, "The Big 'H.'"
12. Tanira Kingi, "Maori Landownership and Land Management in New Zealand," in *Making Land Work*, 129–52 (Canberra, Australia: Australian Agency for International Development, 2008).
13. New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, *The Te Roroa report, 1992*, Waitangi Tribunal report, 5 WTR (Wellington, NZ: Brooker & Friend, 1992).
14. Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, "Place Naming as Dispositif."
15. Giselle Byrnes, "Affixing Names to Places: Colonial Surveying & the Construction of Cultural Space," *New Zealand Studies* 8, no. 1 (1998): 22–28.
16. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, Z: University of Otago Press, 1999).
17. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.
18. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 63.
19. Byrnes, "Affixing Names to Places."
20. Nathan John Albury and Lyn Carter, "A Typology of Arguments for and against Bilingual Place-Naming in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38, no. 9 (21 Oct. 2017): 831–42.
21. Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Legacy – Tuia Encounters 250."
22. This history of Maui fishing up the North Island from the sea is told in different variations across the Māori world and other parts of Polynesia. It has also been scrutinised by Pākehā writers, including in "pre-history" of New Zealand rather than as part of its origins. See Nepia Mahuika, "Revitalizing Te Ika-a-Maui: Māori Migration and the Nation," *New Zealand Journal of History* 43, no. 2 (2009): 133–49.
23. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.
24. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.
25. Avril Bell, "Dilemmas of Settler Belonging: Roots, Routes and Redemption in New Zealand National Identity Claims," *The Sociological Review* 57, no. 1 (Feb. 2009): 145–62; Chris G. Sibley and James H. Liu, "New Zealand = Bicultural? Implicit and Explicit Associations between Ethnicity and Nationhood in the New Zealand Context," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37, no. 6 (Nov. 2007): 1222–43.
26. Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End* (Auckland, NZ: Penguin, 2004).
27. Heretaunga Tamatea Claims Settlement Act, New Zealand, 2018.
28. Schwartz, "Rethinking the Concept of Collective Memory."
29. David Palumbo-Liu, *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1.
30. Jennifer DeVere Brody, *Punctuation: Art, Politics, and Play* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

Bibliography

Albury, Nathan John, and Lyn Carter. "A Typology of Arguments for and against Bilingual Place-Naming in Aotearoa New Zealand." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38, no. 9 (21 Oct. 2017): 831–42.

- Alderman, Derek H. "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, edited by B. J. Graham and Peter Howard, 195–213. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
- Bell, Avril. "Dilemmas of Settler Belonging: Roots, Routes and Redemption in New Zealand National Identity Claims." *The Sociological Review* 57, no. 1 (Feb. 2009): 145–62.
- Berg, Lawrence D., and Robin A. Kearns. "Naming as Norming: 'Race,' Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14 (1996): 99–122.
- Brasher, Jordan P., Derek H. Alderman, and Joshua F. J. Inwood. "Applying Critical Race and Memory Studies to University Place Naming Controversies: Toward a Responsible Landscape Policy." *Papers in Applied Geography* 3, no. 3–4 (2 Oct. 2017): 292–307.
- Brody, Jennifer DeVere. *Punctuation: Art, Politics, and Play*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Byrnes, Giselle. "'A Dead Sheet Covered with Meaningless Words?': Place Names and the Cultural Colonization of Tauranga." *New Zealand Journal of History* 36, no. 1 (2002): 18–35.
- . "Affixing Names to Places: Colonial Surveying & the Construction of Cultural Space." *New Zealand Studies* 8, no. 1 (1998): 22–28.
- Carter, Lyn. "The Big 'H': Naming and Claiming Landscapes." In *Making Our Place: Exploring Land-Use Tensions in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Jacinta Ruru, Janet Stephenson, and Mick Abbott, 57–69. Dunedin, NZ: Otago University Press, 2011.
- Giraut, Frédéric, and Myriam Houssay-Holzschuch. "Place Naming as Dispositif: Toward a Theoretical Framework." *Geopolitics* 21, no. 1 (2 Jan. 2016): 1–21.
- Heretaunga Tamatea Claims Settlement Act, New Zealand, 2018.
- Kingi, Tanira. "Maori Landownership and Land Management in New Zealand." In *Making Land Work*, 129–52. Canberra, Australia: Australian Agency for International Development, 2008.
- Mahuika, Nepia. "Revitalizing Te Ika-a-Maui: Māori Migration and the Nation." *New Zealand Journal of History* 43, no. 2 (2009): 133–49.
- Mikaere, Ani. *Colonising Myths - Maori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro*. Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers, 2011.
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage. "Legacy – Tuia Encounters 250." Accessed 25 February 2021. <https://mch.govt.nz/tuia250/legacy>.
- New Zealand Geographic Board. "Frameworks of the New Zealand Geographic Board Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa." 10, April 2018. https://www.linz.govt.nz/sites/default/files/nzgb_frameworks-v10_20180615.pdf.
- New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal. *The Te Roroa report, 1992*. Waitangi Tribunal report, 5 WTR. Wellington, NZ: Brooker & Friend, 1992.
- Palumbo-Liu, David. *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben. "From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City." *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 4 (June 2008): 431–52.
- Schwartz, Barry. "Rethinking the Concept of Collective Memory." In *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, edited by Anna Lisa Tota and Trever Hagen, 9–21. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Sibley, Chris G., and James H. Liu. "New Zealand = Bicultural? Implicit and Explicit Associations between Ethnicity and Nationhood in the New Zealand Context." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37, no. 6 (Nov. 2007): 1222–43.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press, 1999.

- Spoonley, Paul. "New Diversity, Old Anxieties in New Zealand: The Complex Identity Politics and Engagement of a Settler Society." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38, no. 4 (16 Mar. 2015): 650–61.
- Till, Karen E. "Wounded Cities: Memory-Work and a Place-Based Ethics of Care." *Political Geography* 31, no. 1 (Jan. 2012): 3–14.
- "Tuia Encounters 250." Accessed 3 March 2021. <https://mch.govt.nz/tuia250>.
- Walker, Ranginui. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End*. Auckland, NZ: Penguin, 2004.